

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS
UPON THE
ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUES
OF
JOHN STARK AND DANIEL WEBSTER
PRESENTED BY
THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE



Class E234

Book 370.152

53D CONGRESS, }
3d Session. }

SENATE.

{ MIS. DOC.
{ No. 64.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

UPON THE

Acceptance of the Statues

OF

JOHN STARK AND DANIEL WEBSTER,

PRESENTED BY

THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.



651780

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

1895.

53D CONGRESS, }
3d Session.

SENATE.

{ MIS. DOC
No. 64.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

UPON THE

Acceptance of the Statues

OF

JOHN STARK AND DANIEL WEBSTER.

65,780

PRESENTED BY



THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

1895.

E 217
S 111

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION to authorize the printing and binding of the proceedings in Congress upon the acceptance of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER, presented by the State of New Hampshire.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),
That there be printed and bound in one volume of the proceedings in Congress upon the acceptance of the statues of the late JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER sixteen thousand five hundred copies, of which five thousand shall be for the use of the Senate, ten thousand for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining one thousand five hundred shall be for use and distribution by the governor of New Hampshire; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to have printed engravings of said statues to accompany said proceedings, said engravings to be paid for out of the appropriation for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

By Transfer

D 2. 1887



CONTENTS.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF JOHN STARK.

	Page.
<i>Proceedings in the Senate</i>	5
Address of Mr. GALLINGER, of New Hampshire	8
PROCTOR, of Vermont	33
DUBOIS, of Idaho	40
CHANDLER, of New Hampshire	44
<i>Proceedings in the House of Representatives</i>	49
Address of Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire	53
POWERS, of Vermont	70
GROUT, of Vermont	76
BLAIR, of New Hampshire	90

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

<i>Proceedings in the Senate</i>	113
Address of Mr. CHANDLER, of New Hampshire	114
HOAR, of Massachusetts	134
MORGAN, of Alabama	148
MORRILL, of Vermont	157
DAVIS, of Minnesota	161
PLATT, of Connecticut	166
CULLOM, of Illinois	175
MITCHELL, of Oregon	184
LODGE, of Massachusetts	208
GALLINGER, of New Hampshire	216
<i>Proceedings in the House of Representatives</i>	219
Address of Mr. BLAIR, of New Hampshire	222
EVERETT, of Massachusetts	241
CURTIS, of New York	249
MORSE, of Massachusetts	253
BAKER, of New Hampshire	256



65-780

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF JOHN STARK.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

DECEMBER 3, 1894.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the exercises in the Senate in connection with the reception from the State of New Hampshire, for the National Gallery in the Capitol, of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER be made a special order for Thursday, the 20th day of December.

DECEMBER 18, 1894.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That during the present week the privilege of the floor of the Senate be extended to the members of the council of the State of New Hampshire and to the members of the staff in attendance on the governor of New Hampshire in connection with the ceremonies on the reception of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER.

DECEMBER 20, 1894.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, to-day has been set aside by special order of the Senate for the presentation of the

statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER by the State of New Hampshire. I ask the presiding officer to lay before the Senate a communication from his excellency the governor of New Hampshire.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from his excellency the governor of the State of New Hampshire, which will be read.

The Secretary read the communication, as follows:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Concord, December 5, 1894.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with an act passed at the biennial session of 1893, and in acceptance of the invitation contained in section eighteen hundred and fourteen of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the State of New Hampshire has placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington two statues in marble—the one of JOHN STARK, the other of DANIEL WEBSTER. The statues were modeled by Carl Conrads after statues in bronze now in the State House Park at Concord. The original of the WEBSTER statue is by Ball, and was presented to the State by Benjamin Pierce Cheney. The original statue of STARK is by Conrads, and was erected by the State.

In behalf of the State of New Hampshire I have the honor of presenting these statues to the Congress of the United States.

Very respectfully,

JOHN B. SMITH, *Governor.*

HON. A. E. STEVENSON,

Vice-President and President of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The communication will lie on the table and be printed.

STATUE OF JOHN STARK.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. President, I offer the concurrent resolutions which I send to the desk, in relation to the communication which has just been read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read the concurrent resolutions submitted by the Senator from California.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolutions, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the thanks of Congress be given to the people of New Hampshire for the statue of JOHN STARK, illustrious for military services, being especially distinguished at Bunker Hill and as the victorious commander at Bennington.

Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall, and that a copy of these resolutions, signed by the presiding officers of the Senate and House of Representatives, be forwarded to his excellency the governor of the State of New Hampshire.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the concurrent resolutions.

ADDRESS OF MR. GALLINGER.

MR. PRESIDENT: JOHN STARK, a marble statue of whom is to-day presented to Congress by the State of New Hampshire and unveiled in the National Statuary Hall, was born in Nutfield (now Londonderry), N. H., on the 28th day of August, 1728, and died in Manchester, N. H., on the 8th day of May, 1822, in the ninety-fourth year of his age.

It is not an easy task to adequately and correctly portray the qualities and characteristics of this distinguished man. He was in many respects *sui generis* among the brave and patriotic men of his day and generation. Plain in appearance, awkward in manner, untrained in the arts of social life, uneducated and brusque, he nevertheless achieved undying fame, and the luster of his name will never grow dim so long as men love honesty, admire bravery, and recognize the grandeur of patriotic devotion to duty and to country. Indeed, the name of JOHN STARK stands prominent, if not preeminent, among the greatest generals who fought under Washington. Edward Everett well said that, Washington out of the question, STARK rendered services not surpassed by any other leader in the army of the Revolution. Bold, aggressive, patriotic, and fearless, he was the inspiring spirit and directing genius of the American forces at Bunker Hill, Trenton, and Bennington. Others shared the dangers and the honors of those battles, but to STARK more than to any other one man is credit due for the splendid defense at Bunker Hill and the overwhelming victory at Bennington—the Gettysburg of the Revolution—which led up to the

happy consummation at Yorktown of the long struggle for American independence.

Archibald Stark, father of JOHN STARK, was a native of Glasgow, Scotland, and was educated at the ancient university of that city. When quite young he emigrated to Londonderry, Ireland, where he married. Here he remained until twenty-five years of age, and in the year 1720 embarked for New Hampshire in company with numerous others. He had been preceded by a small party in 1718, and was soon after followed by a large number of his countrymen. These emigrants were of pure Scotch-Irish blood, full of energy, enthusiasm, and courage. They were descended from the Scotch Presbyterians who established themselves in Ireland during the reign of James I.

Holding to a belief that was not in harmony with the popular religion of either Ireland or England, and being strongly opposed to the system of tithes and rents then in vogue, these men determined to seek a home in America. The voyage proved to be one of great hardship and peril, as the vessel which brought over the emigrants had smallpox on board, from which disease Archibald Stark's children died on the voyage. When the vessel reached the shores of America the officers were refused permission to land in Boston, and were compelled to depart for the wilds of Maine, where the first winter was passed on the banks of the Kennebec, near where Wiscasset was afterwards settled. The trials of a northern winter under such circumstances must have been terrible, and during the next year, after encountering innumerable privations and hardships, they joined those who had preceded them from Ireland, at Nutfield, N. H., which was then a wilderness on the

extreme frontier, where they were subject to frequent incursions of hostile savages. Here a permanent and flourishing settlement was founded, which in 1722 took the name of Londonderry, in honor of the place in Ireland from which they emigrated.

In 1736 the house of Archibald Stark was burned, and in consequence he removed to Derryfield (now Manchester), N. H., settling near the falls of the Amoskeag, on the Merrimack River, where he was soon followed by several of his countrymen from Londonderry. Here Archibald Stark lived until his death in 1758, a record of which can be found in the old burial ground in Manchester, the stone bearing this inscription:

HERE LYES THE BODY OF MR.
ARCHIBALD STARK. HE

Departed This Life June 25th,
1758. Aged 61 years.

Four sons were born to Archibald Stark in America, namely: William, John, Samuel, and Archibald. Each one of them held a commission in the British army, serving with distinction during the Seven Years or French war. William, the eldest, served with signal bravery and skill on the northern frontiers, and also under General Wolfe in the expeditions to Louisburg and Quebec. Afterwards, when the war of the Revolution was inaugurated, it is said that, hearing the guns of Bunker Hill at his home in Dunbarton, he hastened to Cambridge and tendered his services to the cause of independence. Being rejected, and inferior men put in command, in a moment of passion he tarnished his well-earned fame by accepting a commission in the

British army. He was soon afterwards killed by a fall from his horse.

The ashes of JOHN STARK, in whose memory these exercises are held, lie beneath an obscure stone on historic ground on the eastern bank of the Merrimack River, in Manchester, bearing the simple inscription: "Major-General Stark." The monument is a slender shaft of granite, seldom seen except by those who chance to pass the spot. A more pretentious recognition of the gratitude of the people of the State of his birth can be found in the State House Park, at Concord, where a bronze statue was erected to his memory by the State in the year 1890, and dedicated with great pomp and ceremony. The oration on that occasion was delivered by Hon. James Willis Patterson, since deceased, at one time a distinguished member of this body, and whose ability and eloquence are remembered with pride by the people of New Hampshire. And now, in further recognition of the State's appreciation of the remarkable services and extraordinary career of this great man, a marble statue is added to the collection in the nation's Capitol, and we are here to-day to take appropriate notice of this important event. It is well thus to commemorate the deeds and virtues of heroes and statesmen, and on this point I venture to quote the eloquent words of the venerable and scholarly Moody Currier, ex-governor of New Hampshire, spoken on the occasion of the dedication of the statue of JOHN STARK at the capitol of our State. Governor Currier said:

The earlier records of the human race are written in stone. The first traces of civilization are gathered from the tablets and tombstones found in the mounds and drifting sands of Egyptian and

Assyrian deserts. Antiquity has intrusted to marble and bronze the keeping of the sacred forms and features of its gods and men. Thus the great events of the world, enshrined in imperishable forms by the skill of the painter and sculptor, become the permanent foundations of history, and the civilized nations of the earth have ever considered it a sacred duty to erect statues and memorial monuments in honor of their heroes and benefactors, and to inscribe upon brass and upon stone the names and noble deeds of the men who have given their lives and fortunes to humanity. Those who have battled for liberty and human rights are justly entitled to the everlasting gratitude of mankind. The divine instincts in man alone are immortal. Philanthropy, patriotism, and justice can never die; but the living countenance and distinguishing features of the great and the good may perish and be forgotten. The men of the Revolution have departed from our sight; their venerable forms no longer walk among us; but the memory of their heroic lives and public virtues still lingers in the minds of this generation. We owe it to ourselves, to those who shall live after us, and to the lovers of liberty throughout the world, to perpetuate the renown and valiant deeds of the heroes of the American Revolution. Monuments of bronze and of granite should lift their proud heads toward heaven in honor of their heroism and their victories, and their effigies should stand in our streets and in our public grounds, where, like the trophies of Miltiades, they will be a perpetual inspiration to the young men of our own and of all succeeding generations.

Time will not permit of a full delineation of the adventures and great military achievements of STARK. A hurried sketch only will be attempted, many interesting incidents being necessarily omitted. In the twenty-fourth year of his age he left his home in company with his brother William and two other men and went on a hunting expedition to Baker's River (now Rumney), N. H., that section then being a wilderness, without a white inhabitant. To reach their destination they traveled long distances through an unbroken forest. While there STARK was taken prisoner by the Indians, and subsequently one of the

party (Eastman) was captured, one was killed by the savages, and STARK'S brother escaped. When the Indians undertook to capture his companions, STARK interfered in their behalf, showing great bravery, and for this he was beaten by the savages. After being kept in captivity for about two months he was taken to St. Francis, and here the two prisoners were compelled to run the gantlet, the Indian ceremony consisting of making their captives run between two lines of young warriors who were armed with rods and sometimes with deadly weapons, with which the captives were beaten. Death frequently resulted from the whippings thus inflicted.

On this occasion STARK'S companion was severely beaten, but STARK had no intention of tamely submitting to such indignities. As he approached the line of warriors, with their uplifted rods and bludgeons, he coolly snatched a club from the nearest one and started down the line swinging the club in rapid circles about his head. He dealt far more blows than he received, and scattered the warriors before him. The old chiefs, who, as was their custom on such occasions, sat at a distance watching the ceremony, greatly enjoyed the discomfiture of the young braves, and instead of further punishing STARK seemed to admire him for his reckless bravery.

STARK proved to be a rather troublesome captive. When ordered to hoe corn, he cut it up by the roots and left the weeds undisturbed, and when still further pressed threw his hoe into the river, saying that it was the business of squaws, not of warriors, to hoe corn, thus giving expression to the Indian idea of the labor question. Instead of being angry with him, the Indians seemed pleased, and

proposed to adopt him into their tribe as a young chief. He was subsequently redeemed by certain agents who were sent from Massachusetts to Montreal to look after captives from that State, being returned to New Hampshire by way of Albany. STARK's ransom was one hundred and three dollars, while the savages asked but sixty dollars for Eastman. STARK repaid his ransom the next year by money received for furs which he gathered on the Androscoggin River, whither he went for that purpose.

This was the beginning of STARK's adventurous career, and the knowledge he thus gained of the manners and customs of the Indians was of great advantage to him afterwards.

From 1754 (when the Seven Years war really commenced) to 1758 STARK was continually engaged in important military duty, being recognized as a fighter of rare skill and courage. He rendered conspicuous service in the defense of Fort William Henry, which was at that time one of the two most northerly posts of the British dominions in North America. After the unfortunate attack upon Fort Ticonderoga, in July, 1758, where he displayed great gallantry and where Lord Howe lost his life, he returned to New Hampshire on furlough, and on the 20th of August of that year was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Caleb Page, one of the original proprietors of the township of Dunbarton, N. H.

In the spring of 1759 STARK enlisted a new company and aided in the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. During the campaign of that year he rendered valuable service, but the capitulation of Canada ended, for the time being, military operations in America. As a consequence

he returned to his home, busying himself in agricultural pursuits and in the management of his mills. He was also engaged in founding a new township, which was first called Starkstown and afterwards Dunbarton, the latter designation being from the town and castle in Scotland of that name. From this time he warmly espoused the cause of the colonists, and from his varied military experience was thoroughly equipped to take a prominent part in the war which ensued between Great Britain and her North American possessions.

When the news of the shedding of blood at Lexington and Concord, on the 19th of April, 1775, reached STARK, he was busy in his sawmill. His memoirs, written by his son, Caleb Stark, record the fact that he immediately quit work, went to his house, a mile distant, changed his clothes, mounted a horse, and without further formalities started for the scene of hostilities. Along the route he encouraged the people to volunteer, assuring them that the time had come to do battle for the liberties of the country. About twelve hundred citizens of the New Hampshire towns bordering on Massachusetts abandoned their pursuits and followed their patriotic leader to Medford, where STARK was elected colonel of the First New Hampshire Regiment. Thirteen full companies were soon secured, which, by action of the provincial congress of New Hampshire, were shortly afterwards increased to two thousand men, out of which three regiments were formed.

On the 17th day of June, 1775, the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, and the war of the Revolution commenced in earnest.

This is neither the time nor the place to discuss the question as to the relative strength of the New Hampshire and Massachusetts forces engaged in that contest. The people of New Hampshire believe that their State furnished the larger part of them. However that may be, it is sufficient for our purpose to know that JOHN STARK was there, full of courage and patriotic ambition. The New Hampshire regiments constituted the left wing of the American line. Opposed to them were the Welsh Fusileers, which were regarded as the finest light infantry regiment in the British army. They attacked the New Hampshire troops impetuously, but were repulsed in a manner reflecting great credit upon the raw recruits who fought under STARK. Addressing his men, STARK told them that the eyes of the world were on them, and that the cause of freedom was intrusted to their hands. By his fiery language he roused them to a high pitch of excitement.

Just before the battle, General Gage, surveying the scene from the cupola of the Province House, was asked whether he thought the Americans would await the assault of the royal troops, when he replied: "Yes, if one JOHN STARK is there, for he is a brave fellow." General Gage had seen him fight on the shores of Lake George, and knew that no man was truer or braver than he. Fortunately for the cause of independence, "one JOHN STARK" was there, and he fought desperately and well. Taking a stake in his hand, he deliberately walked in front of his line thirty or forty yards, where, planting the stake in the ground, he directed his soldiers to reserve their fire until the enemy reached the stake, threatening to shoot any man who disobeyed. The order was obeyed. The British soldiery advanced full of

confidence. When they reached the stake, a deadly volley was fired from behind the rail fence, fortified by a breast-work of new-mown grass, where STARK'S men had been massed, before which the trained battalions of the British army melted away. Three charges of the British troops were repulsed, but the fourth assault drove back the American forces, and STARK'S troops were withdrawn from the field without pursuit. As illustrating STARK'S true character, the incident may be cited that in the very midst of the fight he was told that his son was killed. "If he is," said the brave man, "it is no time for private griefs when the enemy is in front;" and he ordered the man back to his post. Fortunately, the report was erroneous, and his son served throughout the entire war.

STARK, with his brave followers, took post on Winter Hill after the battle, and when the evacuation of Boston was effected he was ordered to proceed to New York. From this point he was sent to join the army in Canada, but while on his way he met the American forces at St. Johns in full retreat. While he opposed making the disastrous attack on Three Rivers, he nevertheless energetically entered into it when it had been resolved upon. The army retreated to Ticonderoga, at which place the Declaration of Independence was read to the troops. In December STARK'S regiment was ordered to reenforce General Washington on the right bank of the Delaware. The American cause was enveloped in gloom at this juncture, and Washington realized the necessity of striking a decisive blow. The time had come for desperate action, and beyond a doubt Washington felt that the fate of the great cause for which he was struggling depended upon the result of this experiment. The river

was crossed, and momentous consequences depended upon the next military movement. It was first contemplated to attack all the British posts on the left bank of the Delaware, but the inclemency of the weather rendered this impossible. Instead, the attack was made upon Trenton, which was entirely successful.

In this battle STARK was a conspicuous figure. It is said that the New Hampshire troops under him displayed great gallantry. General Sullivan, writing home to Meshech Weare, said:

You may want to know how your men fight. I will tell you, exceedingly well. * * * Believe me, sir, the Yankees took Trenton before the other troops knew anything of the matter; more than that, there was an engagement, and, what will surprise you still more, the line that attacked the town consisted of eight hundred Yankees, and there were one thousand six hundred Hessians to oppose them.

Such was the record of New Hampshire men at Trenton. Their regiments were scarcely more than remnants. They had seen hard and discouraging work all through the preceding summer. They gained the admiration of Washington to such a degree that Sullivan wrote in the same letter:

General Washington made no scruple to say publicly that the remnant of the Eastern regiments were the strength of his army, though their numbers, comparatively speaking, are but small. He calls them in front when the enemy are there; he sends them to the rear when the enemy threatens that way.

As the hour for the battle of Trenton approached Colonel STARK addressed General Washington, and said: "Your men have long been accustomed to place dependence upon spades and pickaxes for safety. If you ever mean to establish the independence of the United States you must teach

them to rely upon their firearms and their courage." It was a bold speech, doubtless intended to suggest that real battles should now take the place of the war of posts and intrenchments which had been fought. General Washington is said to have promptly replied: "This is what we have agreed upon: We are to march to-morrow upon Trenton. You are to command the right wing of the advance guard and General Greene the left." STARK's reply was characteristic: "I could not have been assigned to a more acceptable position."

After the battle of Trenton STARK accompanied Washington when he again crossed the Delaware, and was with him at the battle of Princeton. Before this battle the period of enlistment of the men under STARK had expired, but he persuaded them to reenlist for six weeks, which every man of them did. Considering the critical affairs of the country at that time, this was a most important service, which STARK's great personal influence over his men accomplished. It is said that he earnestly appealed to the patriotism of the men of the granite hills who composed the New Hampshire regiments. He reminded them of their valor at Bunker Hill and elsewhere, and told them that if they left the army all might be lost. Finally, in the spirit of patriotism for which he was so distinguished, he assured them that if Congress did not pay them their arrears it should be made up to them from his own private property.

When the six weeks had expired, STARK returned to New Hampshire to recruit another regiment, and in March, 1777, the new regiment was full and ready for service. He repaired to Exeter to receive instructions, when he learned

that through the influence of certain army officers and members of Congress a new list of promotions had been made out by Congress, in which his name did not appear. This was an act of such great injustice that STARK resigned his commission, saying to Generals Sullivan and Poor, who begged him to remain with the army, that an officer who would not maintain his rank was unworthy to serve his country. He advised his fellow-officers of the dangerous situation of Ticonderoga, and expressed his willingness to reenter the service when he could do so honorably. He retired to his New Hampshire estate, his letter of resignation being as follows:

*To the honorable the council and house of representatives
for the State of New Hampshire, in general court assembled.*

GENTLEMEN: Ever since hostilities commenced I have, so far as in me lay, endeavored to prevent my country from being ravaged and enslaved by our cruel and unnatural enemy. I have undergone the hardships and fatigues of two campaigns with cheerfulness and alacrity, ever enjoying the pleasing satisfaction that I was doing my God and country the greatest service my abilities would admit of, and it was with the utmost gratitude that I accepted the important command to which this State appointed me. I should have served with the greatest pleasure, more especially at this important crisis, when our country calls for the utmost exertions of every American; but am extremely grieved that I am in honor bound to leave the service, Congress having thought proper to promote junior officers over my head; so that lest I should show myself unworthy of the honor conferred on me, and a want of that spirit which ought to glow in the breast of every officer appointed by this honorable house in not suitably resenting an indignity, I must (though grieved to leave the service of my country) beg leave to resign my commission, hoping that you will make choice of some gentleman who may honor the cause and his country to succeed

Your most obliged, humble servant,

JOHN STARK.

Notwithstanding his resignation, the intense patriotism of STARK found expression in the fitting out of all his family and servants capable of bearing arms and sending them to the front.

When the letter of resignation had been received, the council and house of delegates of New Hampshire passed the following vote on the 21st day of March, 1777, Colonel STARK being called before the assembly when the action was taken:

Voted, That the thanks of both houses, in convention, be given to Colonel STARK for his good services in the present war, and that, from his early and steadfast attachment to the cause of his country, they make not the least doubt that his future conduct, in whatever state of life Providence may place him, will manifest the same noble disposition of mind.

There can be no doubt that STARK'S resignation from the army was a severe blow to the cause for which he had done such valiant battle. American independence was never exposed to a more doubtful outcome than at this period. The British Government had become fully awake to the danger of losing her American colonies, and arms and men were abundantly supplied. Washington was driven from post to post; Philadelphia was taken by the British, from which place Congress fled; a strong army was marching from Canada, threatening a junction with the forces of Burgoyne, which were gradually but surely closing in upon Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. The outlook was desperate. New Hampshire had done all that she could, and, as public credit was at a low ebb, it was doubtful if another single regiment could be supported. The authorities of Vermont had notified New Hampshire

that unless speedy assistance was forthcoming they must abandon the contest. The New Hampshire assembly, which had adjourned only a short time before, was speedily convened, and the condition of the country presented to them. At this important crisis John Langdon, a merchant of Portsmouth and speaker of the assembly, came to the rescue in these patriotic words:

I have three thousand dollars in hard money. I will pledge my plate for three thousand more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the State. If we succeed in defending our fire-sides and homes, I may be remunerated; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our old friend STARK, who so nobly maintained the honor of our State at Bunker Hill, may be safely intrusted with the conduct of the enterprise, and we will check the progress of Burgoyne.

As can readily be imagined, this generous proposal gave new life to the cause of the struggling colonists. Rallying around their favorite leader, the entire militia of the State was formed in two brigades—one to be commanded by JOHN STARK and the other by William Whipple.

In this connection an event occurred which, while appearing insubordinate, demonstrated alike STARK'S wisdom and independence. Smarting under the wrong done him by Congress, he accepted command of the New Hampshire troops with the understanding that he should control his own movements and be wholly accountable to the authorities of the State. His commission authorized him to take command of the militia and to act in conjunction with the troops from New Hampshire or those from any other State or of the United States, as it should appear expedient to him. STARK knew that large military stores had been

accumulated at Bennington, Vt., and had learned that General Burgoyne had dispatched a force under Colonel Baum and Colonel Breyman to capture them. He resolved to go to the defense of this important point and realized that he must act promptly. At this moment General Schuyler ordered STARK to lead his troops to the Hudson to be placed under general orders.

His reply was a refusal to do so, because of the dangerous consequences that might ensue from the invasion of Vermont, which reply was sent to Congress. That body condemned his action, declaring the instructions he received from the council of New Hampshire "destructive of military subordination and highly prejudicial to the common cause." STARK hurried his troops toward Bennington, and they did not get to the scene of hostilities any too soon. The troops under STARK numbered about one thousand seven hundred and fifty men, at least one thousand of whom were from New Hampshire. Opposed to him was a force of veteran soldiers, commanded by Colonel Baum, a man of military learning and experience, who had a battery posted upon a commanding position. The American troops had no cannon and scarce a bayonet.

The battle was fought several miles from Bennington, on New York soil. At three o'clock in the afternoon STARK gave the order to advance, and the contest began, which lasted two hours. Whether or not he pointed to the enemy with his sword and said, as tradition has it, "See there, men! there are the redcoats; before night they are ours, or Molly Stark's a widow," it is certain that this brave commander engaged in the contest with a reckless courage worthy of the greatest of the world's heroes. The battle

was a terrific one for those days, described by STARK in his dispatches as "the hottest I ever saw. It was like one continued clap of thunder." STARK's horse was shot under him, and then, with his drawn sword, he marched through the thinned ranks of his brave followers, urging them on to the final assault. Vainly did the German dragoons endeavor to withstand the attack. They were trained soldiers and had fought before. Throwing away their muskets, with drawn sabers they rushed upon the American lines. A terrible volley met them and their line was shattered to pieces. "Over the cannon and over the breastwork the excited, maddened, shouting Americans go, in one overwhelming stream, and the field is won."

After the battle the American troops scattered, and word was brought that Colonel Breyman was approaching with a large British reenforcement. He had intended to join his troops with those of Colonel Baum, but the bad condition of the roads had prevented. Fully realizing the danger, STARK hastened to rally his men. The defeated troops of Colonel Baum, such of them as had not been taken prisoners, joined the forces of Colonel Breyman. The fresh troops of the British made a furious assault upon the disorganized American forces, driving them from point to point, and threatening to reverse the victory that had been won. At the critical moment Colonel Warner's regiment appeared upon the scene and bravely entered the fight. The result was magical. The British troops were again repulsed, and the day, fraught with such tremendous consequences, was finally won. Colonel Baum, a brave officer, was fatally wounded in the first engagement, and under cover of darkness Colonel Breyman effected his escape with such remnant

of his command as had survived the terrible onslaught of the American troops. This double victory resulted in the capture of many prisoners, and also of one thousand stand of arms, two hundred and fifty sabers, eight loads of army supplies, four ammunition wagons, twenty horses, and four bronze cannon, one of which was of the finest possible manufacture, and was afterwards known as the "Molly Stark." It is said that Colonel Baum, when being carried from the field, said that the American troops fought more like fiends than soldiers.

While the battle of Bennington, in these days of modern warfare, would be regarded as a trivial affair, when we consider the circumstances under which it was fought it was a great and decisive battle. It furnished one of the most conspicuous examples of untrained militia accomplishing all that could possibly be expected of veteran troops. The hardy yeomanry of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, many of them fresh from the farm and unused to military life, "advanced," as General STARK felicitously expressed it in his official letter, "through fire and smoke, and mounted breastworks that were well fortified and defended with cannon." The battle was as well planned and fought as it could have been by the best military science and talent of Europe, and this brilliant victory, from its inception to its achievement, was the work of JOHN STARK. To the council of New Hampshire STARK said in his report: "Our people behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery imaginable. Had they been Alexanders or Charleses of Sweden they could not have behaved better."

As showing the importance of this battle, Washington said, on learning the tidings: "One more such stroke and

we shall have no great cause for anxiety as to the future designs of Britain." The "one more stroke," in the surrender of Burgoyne, came sooner than Washington probably anticipated.

It is a singular bit of history that three days after the battle of Bennington (the news not having then reached the seat of Government) Congress passed the resolution censuring STARK for not having submitted to the army regulations.

When the resolution was presented, a New Hampshire member warmly declared that he believed the first battle of the North would be fought by STARK and his troops, and that, notwithstanding the disrespectful things that had been said of this great soldier, he should not be afraid to risk his honor or his life on a wager that STARK'S men would do as much as any other equal number of troops toward the defense of the country. The very next day news of the victory reached Congress, when, on motion of Mr. Bland, of Virginia, a resolution was passed declaring that the thanks of Congress be presented to General STARK, of the New Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command for their brave and successful attack upon and signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington, and that he be appointed a brigadier-general in the Army of the United States. Only one member of Congress voted against the resolution, and thus was STARK'S apparent insubordination recognized by Congress as an act of wisdom and good sense.

Slighted as he thought himself to have been by Congress, it was characteristic of STARK to neglect to inform that body of his victory, and the prompt recognition of the

services he had rendered must have been to him a source of profound satisfaction. He had disapproved, on the soundest of military principles, General Schuyler's plan of the campaign, and his success justified the apparent want of respect for his superior officer. Certain it is that Washington never called him to account for his refusal to leave Bennington exposed to the invasion of the British army.

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the further military career of General STARK. Suffice it to say that during the remainder of the war he had the fullest confidence of the commander-in-chief of the army and of Congress. He was present at the battle of Springfield, N. J., in June, 1780. He then returned to New England and enlisted a body of volunteers, which he conducted to West Point, after which he again went to New Jersey. He was a member of the military tribunal at West Point which tried and convicted Major André. He was next sent by Washington with two thousand five hundred troops to surprise the British on Staten Island. In the spring of 1781 he assumed command of the northern department, with headquarters at Saratoga, and while there learned of the surrender of Cornwallis. In April, 1783, he was ordered to headquarters by General Washington, and received the warm thanks of the commander-in-chief.

In 1786 he received the rank of major-general by brevet, in pursuance of an act of Congress passed September 30, 1783. When the war terminated, he returned to his New Hampshire home and quietly resumed agricultural pursuits. He lived forty-five years after the battle of Bennington, surviving all the officers of equal rank in the American army. He lived to see the country for which he had so

valiantly fought become strong and prosperous, and he gloried in her independence and power. It is said that for many years before his death he had become a privileged character in the community in which he lived, many strangers calling on him, and the most eminent men in the country showing him respect. Among his effects were letters from Jefferson and Madison, who seemed to take a great interest in the venerable hero.

Finally, broken down by age and physical infirmities, he quietly and uncomplainingly awaited the final summons. He was, in the truest and best sense, a grand old man, and well might it have been said of him—

As the proud oak that braves the pelting storm,
Unbroke, unbent, though lightnings play sublime;
Though ninety years have marked thy war-worn form,
Thou stand'st alone amid the march of time.
First in the list where warring champions stood,
Whose freeborn spirits brooked no sceptered lord,
Thy deeds of fame were writ in tyrants' blood,
And freedom blessed thy ever-conquering sword.

On the 7th day of November, 1849, a festival of the sons of New Hampshire resident in Massachusetts was held in Boston. Many gentlemen of distinction were present, among them being Mr. Justice Woodbury, of the Supreme Court of the United States; Hon. John P. Hale, of the United States Senate; Chief Justice Parker, of the Law School at Cambridge, and Daniel Webster. Mr. Webster made two addresses on that occasion, in the first of which he made the following interesting reference to General STARK:

It was in this discipline; it was in these Indian wars; it was especially in the war of 1756 against the French, in which almost every man in New Hampshire capable of bearing arms took part; it

was here that the military spirit of the country, the bravery, the gallantry of these mountain inhabitants were all called forth. They were a people given to the chase and to the hunt in times of peace, fitted for endurance and danger, and when war came they were ready to meet it. It was in the midst of these vicissitudes that they were formed to hardihood and enterprise and trained to military skill and fearlessness.

As one example out of many, I might refer to Gen. JOHN STARK, well known for his military achievements in all the wars of his time; a hunter in peace, a soldier in war, and as a soldier always among the foremost and bravest; and since he is brought to my remembrance, let me dwell upon the recollection for a moment.

General STARK was my neighbor, the neighbor and friend of my father. One in a highly important, the other in a less distinguished situation, they had seen military service together, and had met the enemy in the same field. It was in the decline of STARK's life, comparatively speaking, that the Revolutionary war broke out. He entered into it, however, with all the manliness and all the fervor of his youthful character. Yet in his advanced age, like other old men, he turned back fondly to earlier scenes; and when he spoke of the "war" he always meant the old French and Indian war. His remembrances were of Canada; of the exploits at Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, and Lake George. He seemed to think of the Revolution as only a family quarrel, in which, nevertheless, he took a warm and decided part; but he preferred to talk of the "war" in which he was taken by the Indians, as he was more than once, I think, and carried to Canada. The last time I saw him he was seated around a social fire with his neighbors. As I entered he greeted me, as he always did, with affection; and I believe he complimented me on my complexion, which he said was like my father's; and his was such, he said, that no one could tell whether he was covered with powder or not. The conversation turned, like other conversations among country neighbors, upon this man's condition and that man's condition, the property of one and the property of another, and how much each was worth. At last, rousing himself from an apparent slumber, he said, "Well, I never knew but once what I was worth. In the war the Indians took me and carried me to Canada and sold me to the French for forty pounds; and, as they say a thing is worth what it will fetch, I suppose I was worth forty pounds."

In brief, I have given an imperfect outline of the career of this great man. His son describes him as having been of middle stature, well proportioned for strength and activity. He always rode on horseback, even if accompanied by his family in a carriage, and at an advanced age mounted his horse with ease without other aid than the stirrup. His features were bold and prominent; the nose was well formed; the eyes light blue, keen, and piercing, deeply sunk under projecting brows. His lips were generally closely compressed. His hair, which was abundant, became white. His whole appearance indicated courage, activity, and confidence in himself.

Edward Everett truthfully said of STARK that his character was one of original strength and resource. He would have risen to consequence and authority however rude and uncivilized the community into which he might have been thrown; and had he been trained in discipline and enjoyed the opportunities of the great armies of Europe his name would have reached posterity as a military chieftain of the first rank.

General STARK was a man of strong individuality, and, although blunt and firm, had a kindness of heart that made him popular with his troops and gathered around him a host of friends. He was exceedingly generous and hospitable, and sustained a reputation for strict integrity. He was an honest and useful citizen and a faithful and dauntless soldier. The historian Headley declares him to have been independent and fearless, yielding to neither friend nor foe.

In early life he was an adventurous woodsman, in manhood a bold ranger, and in mature years an able and skillful

military commander, passing through his long and remarkable career without a blemish on his name. His life was marked by great adventure and peril, and, while exposing himself in battle with reckless daring, he came out of the war without a scratch or a wound. He exercised wonderful power over his troops. They loved and trusted him always, following him without question wherever he led, meeting the enemy with the steadiness and determination of veterans. Admiring the stern and resolute character of Charles XII, STARK made the history of the achievements of that brave ruler the guide and inspiration of his own campaigns.

Trusted alike by Washington and the people of his State, he never failed to respond to the call of duty wherever it led. His patriotism was as boundless as his nature was intense. He loved his State and his country, but he loved liberty better than all. Amid the gloom and despondency of the darkest days of that heroic struggle his vision discerned a victorious ending. Eighty-four years of age when the second war with Great Britain commenced, he longed for the energy of youth that he might engage in the strife, and chafed under the burdens that kept him from again serving his country.

It is said that when he was told that the British cannon which he captured at Bennington were among the trophies surrendered by Hull at Detroit he manifested great emotion and mourned for "my guns," as he was in the habit of calling them. Associated as they were with one of the most brilliant events of his life, they had become a part of his existence, and it seemed to him in his old age like

robbery to take away these monuments of his well-earned military reputation.

Sir, the fame of JOHN STARK is a heritage not alone to the State of his birth, but to all the people of this great nation, and it is safe to assume that among the great heroes of the Revolution and the incorruptible patriots of all ages his name will forever live, to be recalled by the lovers of liberty with gratitude and pride.

ADDRESS OF MR. PROCTOR.

MR. PRESIDENT: It has been said that STARK was only a partisan leader—of the highest type to be sure. He was a partisan leader only when the times and circumstances required partisan warfare. He was a natural leader of men wherever he might be, whether in the hunter's camp, on the Indian trail, in the frontier settlement, or in the councils of organized armies. Even when held a prisoner by the Indians he so won their respect by his strong personality that he was adopted by their tribe as a young chieftain. The high estimate in which he was held by trained soldiers is an evidence that they considered him their equal at least in natural ability. Lord Howe, Amherst, Abercrombie, as well as the colonial officers, were his friends while he was yet a young subaltern in the Seven Years war with France. Lord Howe was so favorably impressed with him that the night before that officer was killed he invited STARK to dine with him in his tent, and consulted him as to the dispositions for the attack on Ticonderoga the following day.

If he had served in great armies, with the opportunities for training and experience which such service affords, he would still have been in the front rank. Whenever his field broadened he proved himself equal to its requirements. He was more than a partisan when he held the left of the line at Bunker Hill, or when in command at Bennington. All in all he is an excellent representative of the best type of our country's pioneer leaders. New Hampshire, therefore, fitly selects him as one of the two from that State to

be honored by statues in this Capitol. Vermont gladly joins in doing him honor, for his most distinguished public services are a part of her early history. I shall confine my brief remarks, therefore, to that portion of his career which is especially identified with Vermont.

The scene of his greatest exploits was along Lake Champlain, its tributary, Lake George, and the upper waters of the Hudson. It is a historic battle ground. From our earliest knowledge of it and from still earlier tradition it had been the scene of many bloody conflicts between the tribes of the St. Lawrence and those of the Mohawk valleys. So fierce and constant had been this warfare that, notwithstanding its natural advantages for Indian habitation, no tribe had attempted to occupy it permanently. It had been debatable ground from the earliest times, and so continued after the French settlement of Canada and the English colonization farther south. The Iroquois name for Lake Champlain was "The Gate of the Country," and so unmistakably has nature made it the gateway between the original French and English colonies, between Canada and the States, that all authorities agree and recent British military writers have said that in case of a war between the two countries its operations must follow the line of the Indian trail and bark canoe of two hundred years ago. The names of Champlain, Frontenac, Montcalm, Baron Dieskau, Lord Howe, Amherst, Abercrombie, Johnson, Putnam, Williams, Rogers, Ethan Allen, Stark, Gates, Arnold, Burgoyne, and McDonough, so intimately associated with this section, establish its claim to historic interest. Here STARK served his military apprenticeship. In 1754 he was lieutenant in Colonel Blanchard's regiment,

and afterwards in Rogers's rangers. At Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Fort William Henry, and in many minor but desperate engagements, he did valiant service. With his rangers he built a road through the wilderness of Vermont for eighty miles, from Charlestown Number Four to Crown Point, to enable New England troops to cross from the Connecticut River to Lake Champlain.

At Bunker Hill he commanded a regiment of minute-men, and in the New Jersey campaign he took an active part. But it was reserved for him to perform the most conspicuous service in the vicinity of Lake Champlain, which had been the scene of his earlier military exploits.

It is upon his success at Bennington more than all else that STARK'S fame must rest. Here for the first time he was in command of an army, small though it was, hastily gathered and poorly equipped, but composed of earnest and determined men, fighting for home and country. The importance of the engagement can not be measured by the number of men engaged. Burgoyne's march from Canada along the Champlain route had been so far one of uninterrupted success. England was confident that his campaign would close the rebellion. Burke, in the *Annual Register* for 1777, thus describes the situation:

Such was the rapid torrent of success which swept everything away before the northern army in its onset. It is not to be wondered at if both officers and private men were highly elated with their good fortune, and deemed that and their prowess to be irresistible; if they regarded their enemy with the greatest contempt; considered their own toils to be nearly at an end; Albany to be already in their hands, and the reduction of the northern provinces to be rather a matter of some time than an arduous task full of difficulty and danger.

At home the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all those who hoped or wished the unqualified subjugation

and unconditional submission of the colonies. The loss of reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal consequences, than even that of ground, of posts, of artillery, or of men. * * *

It was not difficult to diffuse an opinion that the war in effect was over, and that any further resistance could serve only to render the terms of their submission the worse. Such were some of the immediate effects of the loss of the grand keys of North America—Ticonderoga and the lakes.

Bennington was a well-planned and well-fought battle. But there were other reasons which contributed to our success. The men knew their general; he knew his men. Many of STARK'S troops at Bennington had served with him in the previous war. Vermont had been slower of settlement than her adjoining New England States on account of her exposure to border warfare and the incursion of French and Indians from Canada. In the Seven Years war the soldiers of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire had crossed and recrossed "The Wilderness," as the State was then called, in their campaigns on Lake Champlain and Lake George. They had noticed that its lands were rich, and with the fall of Quebec hastened to take them up under the New Hampshire grants, so that many of the settlers were men who had served with STARK in the French war.

The men of New Hampshire and Massachusetts who joined them were their kinsmen and friends. There was entire harmony; no discord or jealousy. STARK was at once comrade and commander—comrade by virtue of his long service in their border warfare as a scout, subaltern, and captain, and by reason of his simple life as a citizen and his plain, unassuming ways; commander by his iudicious

right to lead and his long and successful experience as a soldier.

Warner, the colonel of one of the Vermont regiments, was his trusted counselor and lieutenant, and his regiment turned the tide of battle at a critical moment. After STARK's forces, with desperate valor, had driven and scattered the British troops they fell into disorder, rejoicing and gathering plunder. General STARK, in his report to the New Hampshire legislature, says:

Before I could get them into proper order I received intelligence that there was a large reenforcement within two miles on their march, which occasioned us to renew our attack. But, luckily for us, Colonel Warner's regiment came up, which put a stop to their career.

Creasy, the foremost of military critics, says of Burgoyne's plan of campaign that—

without question it was ably formed, and had the success of the execution been equal with the ingenuity of the design the reconquest of the thirteen United States must in all human probability have failed, and the independence which they proclaimed in 1776 would have been extinguished before it had existed a second year. No European power had as yet come forward to aid America.

And he adds, in reference to the people upon whom resistance to this invasion devolved:

The five northern colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, usually classed together as the New England colonies, were the strongholds of the insurrection against the mother country. * * * It was among the descendants of the stern Puritans that the spirit of Cromwell and Vane breathed in all its fervor; it was from the New Englanders that the first armed opposition to the British Crown had been offered, and it was by them that the most stubborn determination to fight to the last, rather than waive a single right or privilege, had been displayed.

Burgoyne had instructed Baum to cross the entire State of Vermont from west to east and return. His orders were to "mount your dragoons, send me one thousand three hundred horses, seize Bennington, cross the mountains to Rockingham and Brattleboro, try the affections of the country, take hostages, meet me a fortnight hence at Albany." The only part of the order which Baum was able to execute was to "try the affections of the country." This he did satisfactorily, but, instead of crossing the State twice, he was met and crushed at its very border and never entered the confines of the State except as a prisoner with a mortal wound. Four days after the battle Burgoyne wrote to the British minister: "The Hampshire Grants" (as Vermont was then called) "in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and rebellious race on the continent and hangs like a gathering storm on my left." He had at that time found good reason to speak of the Hampshire Grants "in particular." Baroness von Reidesel wrote of the battle from the British camp: "This unfortunate event paralyzed at once our operations." On our side Washington writes of it to Putnam as "the great stroke struck by General STARK near Bennington." Bancroft, the historian, calls the victory "one of the most brilliant and eventful of the war."

Bennington practically assured the victory at Saratoga. There was no danger of further marauding expeditions from Burgoyne. Bennington had cost him more than one-tenth of his entire force. The homes of the settlers were now safe, and they hastened to join the main army under Gates. The effect of the victory upon the morale of the armies was

still greater than upon their numbers. Burgoyne's confidence in the final result was destroyed. Instead of being the attacking party, he was thenceforth confined to a defense every day becoming more hopeless.

Creasy (writing before the rebellion and Gettysburg), in his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, beginning with Marathon and ending with Waterloo, makes Saratoga one of the fifteen, and the only one fought on the Western Hemisphere. "It was one of those few battles of which a contrary event would essentially have varied the drama of the world in all of its subsequent scenes."

"Nor can any military event," states this writer, "be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777; a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, insured the independence of the United States and the formation of that transatlantic power which not only America but Europe and Asia now see and feel."

Success at Saratoga might have been possible, though not probable, without Bennington. STARK's victory made it a certainty.

The sculptor, with true artistic sense, seeks to represent his subject at the supreme moment of his career, and I doubt not that in this case the artist would say that a fitting inscription for the pedestal of this statue would be "STARK at Bennington."

ADDRESS OF MR. DUBOIS.

MR. PRESIDENT: In pursuance of a custom which has been honored by many States, we are met to-day in the Chamber of the United States Senate to accept from the State of New Hampshire statues of two of her most gifted and illustrious sons, selected from among the long and honorable list which that sturdy Commonwealth has given to the American Union. This custom originated through an act of Congress passed July 2, 1864, by which the old Hall of the House of Representatives was set apart, "or so much thereof as may be necessary," as a National Statuary Hall, and the President authorized to invite each and every State to furnish statues of not more than two of its deceased citizens. Rhode Island was the first State to accept the invitation, and presented the statue of Nathaniel Greene in January, 1870, and Roger Williams in January, 1872. Illinois was the last State to respond prior to these ceremonies, presenting the statue of Gen. James Shields on December 6, 1893. Including New Hampshire, twelve States have placed statues of their illustrious citizens in Statuary Hall, namely: Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Vermont, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maine, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, and New Hampshire.

Occasions of this kind are not only pleasant in themselves, but are profitable to the country. While the ceremonies of this day will be plain and unostentatious, and will consume but a few hours, and while those of us who participate in them will soon pass away, the record will be

kept. The splendid deeds of these grand characters will again be recalled as an inspiration to the young men of now as well as those who are to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities of our Republic in the future. The statues will remain as a perpetual reminder to the hundreds and thousands of visitors to the Capitol that our nation is proud to keep fresh the great and heroic achievements of the sons of her respective States.

It is well to turn aside thus for a few hours from the perpetual contests and strifes in which we are of necessity engaged, in order to unite as Americans in extolling the deeds of those who aided so greatly to make our Republic possible and who contributed so much to place it upon a substantial foundation.

The Senators who honor New Hampshire in this body represent one of the oldest States in the Union. Their courtesy in asking me to say a few words concerning Gen. JOHN STARK is due, quite likely, to the fact that Idaho is next to the youngest State. What New Hampshire was in the days of this illustrious patriot Idaho is to-day in many respects. New Hampshire was then the mountainous frontier, where hardships were to be endured and sturdy characters were to be found. JOHN STARK little dreamed, when doing such valiant and self-sacrificing service in preparation for a Union of thirteen States, that but little more than a century afterwards a representative of the forty-third State of that same Union would stand side by side with the representatives of his own State to do honor to his memory.

No doubt the Senators from New Hampshire had this thought in mind when they conferred upon one of the newest States the honor of participating in this tribute to one

of her most distinguished pioneers. It would have been a pleasing recompense for his hardships and trials could he have known that such a Republic of States, held together by such strong ties as bind us, would have been builded upon the foundation he assisted so materially in laying. I wish he could have foreseen it. He builded better than he knew. Could he have contemplated the future greatness and power of the nation then forming, however, it could not have changed him. He did his full duty at all times, under all circumstances, and acknowledged no leader superior to his own conscience.

As other Senators have spoken so ably and fully already of the character of General STARK, I will present but a few facts of his life as they come down to us through history, and thus close.

Archibald, the father of JOHN STARK, was born in Scotland and was highly educated. He came to this country and settled in Londonderry, N. H., in 1720. JOHN STARK was born in the same town in 1728. His boyhood days were filled with thrilling adventures among wild Indians, were occupied by trapping, and accompanied by the hardships which always have and always will go to make up life on the frontier.

In the early wars between the English and the French, growing out of rival claims over disputed territory in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, JOHN STARK, then a young man of about thirty years, took an active and brave part on the side of the English. At the close of the war, in 1760, at which time he was a captain, he retired to the pursuits of private life, having married Elizabeth Page in 1758, when home on a furlough. When the war of the American

Revolution broke out with the battle of Lexington, in April, 1775, Captain STARK was the first to rush to the defense of the colonies, and quickly raised one thousand two hundred men, he being made colonel of a regiment. He fought through the entire war of the Revolution, down to the surrender of Cornwallis, save when he retired from active service during short intervals, on account of treatment which he conceived to be unjust and a reflection upon himself by the civil branches of the Government. He was particularly conspicuous at the battles of Bunker Hill, Trenton, and Bennington. In 1786 Congress conferred upon him the rank of major-general.

STARK, during his entire career, was wonderfully popular with the people of his State and with his soldiers, but was often in quarrels with the civil authorities, who had more or less control and direction of the military. These civilians did not seem to fully understand the character of STARK. He paid them but little respect, but always forced recognition by his unswerving patriotism, matchless personal bravery, and wonderful sagacity in times of peril.

During the years after the close of his military life he devoted himself to business with success, amassing a moderate fortune. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and the other brilliant and able men of our early history demonstrated their appreciation of his services to his country and their admiration for his character by personal and touching letters to him. He was in every respect a son of New Hampshire, and will probably always occupy the conspicuous position in the State of being a typical representative whose qualities they delight to honor. He lived to the ripe age of ninety-four, dying at Manchester, N. H., in 1822.

ADDRESS OF MR. CHANDLER.

MR. PRESIDENT: JOHN STARK was New Hampshire's great fighter in the war of the Revolution. The roll of honor of our State in that conflict is a full one, and is most creditable to the New Hampshire troops, who, from a population of eighty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, numbered eighteen thousand two hundred and eighty-nine out of a total of three hundred and ninety-five thousand and sixty-four raised by the thirteen colonies from the year 1775 to the year 1783, inclusive, for the Continental army.

Maj. Andrew McClary was shot dead at Bunker Hill; Baldwin was killed there; Adams, Colbourne, Thomas, and Bell died at Stillwater; Conner and Lieutenant McClary at Saratoga; Sherburne at Germantown; Cloyes and McAulay in the Seneca region, and Alexander Scammel gave his life at Yorktown. Our high officers besides STARK were John Sullivan, Henry Dearborn, Enoch Poor, James Reed, George Reid, William Whipple, Joseph Cilley, and Nathan Hale, and they conferred distinction upon the Commonwealth.

It was, however, not difficult to select from all our Revolutionary soldiers JOHN STARK as the most appropriate figure for one of our two places in the National Gallery.

More than any other commander he rejoiced in the fierceness of actual conflict on the battlefield. The sound of cannon and the smell of powder stirred his powers to their utmost without impairing his coolness and self-control. As

a leader of men in battle he has had few equals and almost no superiors in history.

The strong character and patriotic services of STARK have been fully described by the speakers who have preceded me. It is also due to historical accuracy always to remember that his actual merits as a soldier have been naturally enhanced in public estimation by the great importance to the cause of the colonies of the three conflicts which have made him famous.

The fight at Bunker Hill, on June 17, 1775, was the first pitched battle of the Revolutionary struggle. It taught the British that the Americans would meet and withstand the veteran troops of Europe and would boldly sacrifice their lives for independence. The slaughter of General Howe's officers and soldiers carried sad news to many English homes and brought the King and his ministers face to face with the obstacles in the way of conquering the colonies. The battle of Bunker Hill was the most romantic and heroic conflict of the whole war; and its history can not be written without displaying JOHN STARK at the head of the New Hampshire forces, numbering more than all the other troops engaged, and covering the retreat of the gallant men, who in the main redoubt displayed a persistent bravery which has immortalized their conflict.

It was next the good fortune of STARK to lead Washington's advance at Trenton on December 25, 1776. The continental cause was then in a desperate condition, after the disastrous battle of Long Island, the retreat from Brooklyn to New York, the evacuation of that city, the capture of Fort Washington, and the retreat of all the colonial forces into New Jersey. The invasion of Canada by

Montgomery and Arnold had proved disastrous; the British had advanced as far as Crown Point, while the Americans had only a precarious hold on Ticonderoga. New England and New York were separated from Pennsylvania and the southern colonies. The army seemed to be dissolving, and Philadelphia was in danger of capture.

Washington's plan for reviving the national spirit by his midwinter surprise of the Hessians at Trenton contemplated four simultaneous movements, all of which failed but his own. General Ewing, with his troops, was to cross the Delaware one mile below Trenton and march up; ice prevented his crossing. General Putnam was to cross still farther down the river, below Burlington; symptoms of an insurrection in Philadelphia stopped him. General Cadwallader was also to cross near Putnam's forces; he sent over part of his command, but ice hindered the remainder, and all returned.

Washington crossed nine miles above Trenton, divided his forces, and attacked before daylight above and below the town. One corps was led by General Sullivan, under whom JOHN STARK was in the van. Washington Irving says: "Colonel STARK led the advance guard, and did it in gallant style." The victory of Trenton, the killing of Colonel Rahl, the capture of the Hessian troops, and the subsequent conflict at Princeton redeemed the Jerseys, drove Cornwallis back toward New York, and revived the drooping hopes of the colonies. It was one of the decisive battles of the Revolution.

Next we see STARK at Bennington. The British plan of campaign for 1777 was to divide the colonies by seizing the line of the Hudson River. Burgoyne was to go down the

lakes from Canada to Albany, while Sir Henry Clinton was to force his way up the Hudson to join the northern army. Burgoyne moved with great display down Lake Champlain, and on July 5 captured Ticonderoga. The Vermont settlers became alarmed and hundreds gave in their submission, while others fled across the mountains to the men of New Hampshire. That State responded, and her militia flocked into Manchester, Vt., and when Burgoyne made the fatal mistake of dividing his army and sending Colonel Baum to the east to forage and to ravage, JOHN STARK met him with the New Hampshire troops, and on August 16, 1777, fought and won the battle of Bennington. This victory changed the whole aspect of affairs. Thereafter no British advance was possible, retreat became impracticable, and after the battles of Bemis Heights and Freeman's Farm Burgoyne's pretentious invasion ended with the surrender of his whole army to General Gates at Saratoga on October 17. General Clinton from the south had on the 6th of October carried by assault Forts Montgomery and Clinton, in the Highlands, and was within a few hours' sail of Albany when he heard of Burgoyne's surrender, and retreated down the river.

The capture of the British army at Saratoga was the most decisive event of the war, because it led France to espouse and make successful the cause of American independence. In 1759 France had surrendered Canada to Great Britain. England became strong; France, weak and cautious. But the victory of Saratoga removed all hesitation, and France acknowledged our independence and prepared to support it by fleets and armies. England gave up her colonies for lost, and became willing to grant everything

they had asked for, except independence. Prussia and Austria refused to furnish any more mercenary soldiers.

The accurate and accomplished historian, Samuel Adams Drake, in his sketch of "Burgoyne's Invasion of 1777," describes the effect in America:

At home the surrender of Burgoyne thrilled the whole land, for all felt it to be the harbinger of final triumph. The people went wild with joy. Salvos of artillery, toasts, bonfires, illuminations everywhere testified to the general exultation. The name of France was hailed with acclamations. At once a sense of national dignity and solidity took the place of uncertainty and isolation. Now and henceforth the flag of the United States was known and respected abroad as at home, on the sea as on the land.

Fortunate, thrice fortunate, was the immortal STARK that he was able to exercise his unsurpassed faculty of command and to exhibit his extreme personal valor by leading the New Hampshire troops at Bunker Hill, by heading Washington's personal advance at Trenton, and by planning and winning, as the chief commander, the decisive victory of Bennington.

Fortunate also is New Hampshire that she is able to place in the National Gallery the statue of a military hero whose services in arms contributed so much to American independence and whose memory is so deserving of perpetuation in all patriotic hearts.

MR. GALLINGER. I ask for the adoption of the resolutions.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. PASCO in the chair). The question is on the adoption of the concurrent resolutions submitted by the Senator from California [MR. PERKINS].

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF JOHN STARK.

PROCEEDINGS IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

DECEMBER 12, 1894.

Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of New Hampshire of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER, to be erected in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, be made the special order for Thursday, the 20th day of December, at two o'clock p. m.

The resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted was laid on the table.

DECEMBER 18, 1894.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following letter:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

Concord, December 5, 1894.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with an act passed at the biennial session of 1893, and in acceptance of an invitation contained in section eighteen hundred and fourteen of the Revised Statutes of

the United States, the State of New Hampshire has placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington two statues in marble—the one of JOHN STARK, the other of DANIEL WEBSTER. These statues were modeled by Carl Conrads after statues in bronze now in the State House Park at Concord. The original of the WEBSTER statue is by Ball, and was presented to the State by Benjamin Pierce Cheney. The original statue of STARK is by Conrads, and was erected by the State.

In behalf of the State of New Hampshire I have the honor of presenting these statues to the Congress of the United States.

Very respectfully,

JOHN B. SMITH, *Governor.*

HON. CHARLES F. CRISP,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. This communication will lie upon the table until the House determines to act upon it.

DECEMBER 19, 1894.

Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire, rose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. BAKER], as the Chair understands, desires to submit a resolution relating to the ceremonies fixed for to-morrow.

Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire. I ask the adoption of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That his excellency the governor of New Hampshire, his escort, and the executive council be admitted to the floor of the House during the exercises on the 20th instant incident to the acceptance from that State of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Hampshire asks unanimous consent for the consideration of this resolution. The rules provide that the Chair shall not submit a proposition for unanimous consent for the admission to

the floor of any person not designated in the rule on that subject. The Chair understands that provision, however, to apply to occasions when the House is engaged in the transaction of ordinary business; and it has been customary, as the Chair understands, when business of the character named in this resolution has been before the House, to admit to the floor the governor of the State concerned, his staff, and the accompanying committee. The Chair, therefore, submits the question whether there is objection to the consideration of this resolution.

There was no objection.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the resolution, and it was adopted.

DECEMBER 20, 1894.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of New Hampshire of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER, to be erected in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, be made the special order for Thursday, the 20th day of December, at two o'clock p. m.

Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the letter of his excellency the governor of New Hampshire, addressed to the honorable Speaker of this House, which has been read and laid upon the table, be taken from the table and again reported.

The letter was read, as follows:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

Concord, December 5, 1894.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with an act passed at the biennial session of 1893, and in acceptance of an invitation contained in section eighteen hundred and fourteen of the Revised Statutes of the

United States, the State of New Hampshire has placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington two statues in marble—the one of JOHN STARK, the other of DANIEL WEBSTER. These statues were modeled by Carl Conrads after statues in bronze now in the State House Park at Concord. The original of the WEBSTER statue is by Ball, and was presented to the State by Benjamin Pierce Cheney. The original statue of STARK is by Conrads, and was erected by the State.

In behalf of the State of New Hampshire I have the honor of presenting these statues to the Congress of the United States.

Very respectfully,

JOHN B. SMITH, *Governor.*

HON. CHARLES F. CRISP,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. BAKER. I submit the following resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress be given to the people of New Hampshire for the statue of JOHN STARK, illustrious for military services, being especially distinguished at Bunker Hill and as the victorious commander at Bennington.

Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall, and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the presiding officers of the House of Representatives and the Senate, be forwarded to his excellency the governor of the State of New Hampshire.

ADDRESS OF MR. BAKER.

MR. SPEAKER: The biography of men is often as interesting and instructive as the history of nations. We can more easily understand the motives and purposes of individuals than comprehend the necessities and intentions of governments. The right word spoken or a brave blow struck for freedom, country, family, or friends, when the exigency is great, comes closer to the hearts of the people than the edicts of kings or the decrees of synods and councils. The one is always picturesque and patriotic, the other sometimes hostile in purpose and hated in practice. Everywhere the people have been quick to recognize those in public or private life who represent a great principle or do brave deeds that freer government may bless the nations and ennoble humanity.

So love of country and willingness to die that liberty may live are honored among men. The truly good, the unselfishly patriotic, and those who by great talents have inspired the people, and taught them how to defend and preserve their liberties, have been in all ages commemorated by statues and monuments. Advancing civilization encourages these tokens of appreciation, veneration, and love.

While our nation was torn by civil war and faint hearts feared that it would not survive the shock of battle, Congress, never doubting the success of the national arms and the final restoration of the Union, provided by statute for the erection in the Capitol of "statues in marble or bronze of deceased persons illustrious for their historic renown or

for distinguished civic or military services," and invited the several States to honor two of their most renowned citizens by such statues. To-day New Hampshire avails herself of the national invitation, and erects in Statuary Hall the statues of her renowned sons, Gen. JOHN STARK, the intrepid, patriotic citizen soldier, and DANIEL WEBSTER, the orator, statesman, and greatest constitutional lawyer of our country.

Of the early settlers of New Hampshire many were of Scotch-Irish descent. They were an honest, hardy, law-respecting, patriotic, and industrious people. No country could have a better class of citizens. Among them was Archibald Stark, who, born in Glasgow, Scotland, and educated in the university of that city, removed to Londonderry, Ireland, where he married Eleanor Nichols, the daughter of a resident Scotchman, and emigrated to America in 1720.

The voyage was long, tedious, and disastrous to his high hope of immediate prosperity. All his children died at sea, and when, late in autumn, he arrived at Boston, the authorities refused to permit any one to land from the vessel because many of the passengers were ill with smallpox. Being driven from that port, they landed on the wild shores of Maine, where they passed the winter in great discomfort. The next summer Mr. Stark and wife found their way to friends in Londonderry, N. H., where they made a home and began life anew. Here their son JOHN STARK was born August 28, 1728. When he was eight years old his father's house was burned, and the family removed to a location on the Merrimack River just above Amoskeag Falls, in the present city of Manchester. Here the Stark family

made its permanent home and here Gen. JOHN STARK lived and died. Here his father educated his children, and they grew up working on the farm, hunting and fishing, and becoming inured to the hardships of the forests and warfare with the Indians.

JOHN STARK remained at home until twenty-four years old, and then, with three friends, went on a hunting expedition to Baker's River, in Rumney. In about thirty days they had secured furs valued at more than two thousand five hundred dollars. Having observed signs of hostile Indians, they decided to return home. The next day young STARK, while collecting the traps, fell into an ambushade and was captured. Endeavoring to save his companions, he sent the Indians in the contrary direction from the camp; but his friends, becoming alarmed at his unusual absence, fired several guns to call him back, and thus revealed their position to the enemy. From his continued absence they suspected what had befallen him and attempted to escape, two in a boat and one on shore. The Indians soon captured the one on land and then commanded STARK to call his friends in the boat and tell them to come ashore. On the contrary, he informed them what had happened, and advised them to pull for the opposite shore, which they did. Some of the Indians then attempted to shoot them, but STARK struck up their guns. Others fired and killed one of them; the other, STARK's brother William, escaped and reached home safely. Having cruelly whipped STARK and captured his furs, they returned to their wigwams on the St. Francis River, in Canada, where he was compelled to run the gantlet. After receiving several blows, STARK struck right and left, knocking some

of the young Indians down, the others preferring to make way for him than to meet his sturdy resistance. They ordered him to hoe corn, but he carefully destroyed the corn and cultivated the weeds, hoping thus to avoid further labor, and as he was not successful in this he threw his hoe into the river, boldly asserting that "it is the business of squaws, not warriors, to hoe corn." These brave and unusual acts pleased the old men of the tribe, and they named him "the young chief" and wished to adopt him. In a few months he was ransomed by the payment of a pony valued at one hundred and three dollars. This experience with the Indians, the knowledge he acquired of their customs, skill, and language, was of great aid to him in his military career. The next season he went on a hunting excursion upon the banks of the Androscoggin, and secured enough furs to repay the money advanced for his ransom.

In 1754 STARK received his first military commission, being appointed an ensign in an expedition to the upper Coos to ascertain the truth of a report that the French had occupied that territory and were erecting a fort, and, if the rumor should prove true, to demand their authority for such hostile demonstrations. They found that country unoccupied, and promptly returned home. The same year the Seven Years war began, and the New Hampshire colonists heartily espoused the cause of the mother country.

In 1755 an extensive campaign was planned, and the execution of that part of it which was intended to secure the reduction of Crown Point and the occupation of the territory along Lakes George and Champlain was intrusted to the troops raised in New England. Among these was a band of rugged hunters, familiar with the forests, the methods

of Indian warfare, and accustomed to all the dangers and hardships of frontier life, each being an expert sharpshooter, who could endure the fatigue of long marches, the pangs of hunger, and the cold of winter, camping without shelter, and frequently without fire, wherever night or the necessities of the occasion required. These New Hampshire troops were known as "Rodgers rangers," and STARK was their second lieutenant. His whole life had been a school for this warfare, better than any which the nations had established. They did good service, but were discharged when preparations were made for winter encampment. They had demonstrated their ability and the necessity for their peculiar methods of warfare; and when the campaign of the next year opened the rangers were organized as a permanent corps. STARK was again a lieutenant, but was soon promoted to a captaincy in recognition of his brilliant service.

Captain STARK, returning home on a furlough, was married, August 20, 1758, to Miss Elizabeth Page, a daughter of one of the original proprietors of the township of Dunbarton, N. H.

By the spring of 1759 he had enlisted a new company of rangers, and was early at the seat of war. He remained in active service until the close of the campaigns of 1760, when it was conceded that the war was virtually ended, and then resigned his commission and returned home with well-earned military honors and the good will of his commander, who assured him that he could resume his rank in the army whenever he wished. This he probably would have done had not the conquest of Canada and the restoration of peace enabled him to superintend his farm and mills

and for a time attend to his private affairs, which had been so long neglected.

The war so happily ended had been a remarkable school for the colonists. They had received seven years of instruction in tactics and military science; had measured themselves by daily contact with the best troops of England, and had helped defeat the French. The result of their comparison was more favorable to themselves than they had anticipated, and when it became necessary to defend their liberties by arms they were more confident of the result than they otherwise could have been.

Captain STARK, ever held in high honor and esteem by his neighbors and the people of his State, was appointed one of the "committee of safety" in 1774. He was always their friend, and uniformly espoused their cause. He never yielded any of their rights, yet counseled moderation and regretted the impending necessity for armed resistance.

The news of the battle of Lexington found him at work in his sawmill. He understood that it was the beginning of the hazardous struggle for liberty he had so long feared, but for which he had quietly prepared his people. He at once stopped his mill, returned home, mounted his horse, and rode toward the scene of hostilities. Everywhere he aroused the people and directed them to follow him and encamp at Medford, Mass. They were not slow to obey their old captain and friend, for their hearts loved liberty and they were as patriotic as their leader. Several hundred of them reported for duty with such arms and equipments as they possessed. They organized by unanimously electing STARK colonel and by selecting a full line of officers for the regiment, which consisted of thirteen companies. STARK'S

prompt and patriotic action and the ready response of the New Hampshire citizen soldiery made the battle of Bunker Hill not only excusable but justifiable and the result beneficial to the cause of liberty. More than one-half of the Americans actually engaged in the battle were from New Hampshire. The leadership of STARK and the heroism and devotion of the New Hampshire troops prevented a disastrous rout and turned actual defeat into the glory of substantial victory.

The lessons of the Seven Years war were repeated and verified, and the colonists learned anew that British troops are not invincible. Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill gave confidence and courage to the Americans and fixed their determination to resist every effort to oppress them. The war was actually begun. The right of self-government was on trial. On the one side was the power of established monarchical government; on the other, the unorganized, disunited, and somewhat discordant colonists, who were strong only in their love of liberty and their firm purpose to maintain the freedom they had enjoyed.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British, Colonel STARK and his regiment marched to New York and helped to strengthen its defenses. Thence he was ordered to proceed to Canada and assist the American army there. He marched via Albany and joined the army at St. Johns. General Sullivan, another New Hampshire officer, soon assumed command, and directed an attack upon the enemy's post at Three Rivers. STARK, in a council of war, protested against this, but gave it his hearty support when ordered. The expedition was a failure. The retreat was conducted with great skill by General Sullivan, Colonel

STARK bringing up the rear. They retired to Crown Point and subsequently to Ticonderoga.

Here, on the 8th of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was received and proclaimed to the army. It was greeted with applause and every evidence of approval and delight. STARK'S command was encamped upon a hill, which, in honor of the event, was named Mount Independence. Sixteen years before, serving as a captain under General Amherst, he had been present when the French surrendered Ticonderoga. Then, commanding a regiment, he heard the independence of his country proclaimed to a patriotic army holding that fortress against the English. Soon after he was assigned to the command of a brigade. That fall he learned that several colonels holding junior rank had been promoted to brigadier-generals. He protested against this, asserting that such action was unjust, would cause insecurity of rank and command, and produce discord in the army.

When it was known that the enemy had retired to winter quarters, several regiments, including STARK'S, were ordered to reinforce General Washington, then on the right bank of the Delaware, at Newtown, Pa. When thus reinforced, his army contained about seven thousand effective men. Congress and the people were despondent and all felt the necessity for some brave action which should encourage them. At this time STARK gave his opinion to General Washington in favor of active operations. He said: "Your men have too long been accustomed to place their dependence for safety upon spades and pickaxes. If you ever expect to establish the independence of these States you must teach them to rely upon their firearms

and their courage." Washington replied: "We are to march upon Trenton to-morrow, and you are to command the advance guard of the right wing." He was also with Washington at Princeton and rendered good service there.

A few days before these engagements the term of enlistment of two New Hampshire regiments expired. One of them was STARK'S own regiment. There was no more gloomy period of the war. The troops were ill-fed, poorly clothed, almost barefoot, and unpaid. In this emergency STARK proposed to his regiment to reenlist for six weeks. He told them that if they left the army the cause was lost; he reminded them of their valor at Bunker Hill and their honorable service at all times, and promised that if Congress did not pay them his private property should be pledged to raise the necessary funds. His popularity and influence were so great that every man in both regiments reenlisted.

The army went into winter quarters at Morristown, and STARK returned home to obtain recruits. Such was his reputation that men readily enlisted, and by March, 1777, his regiment was full. He then reported to the State authorities at Exeter for any instructions they might give. There he was informed that Congress had made further promotions of junior officers, and that he had received no recognition. He at once resigned his commission, although Generals Sullivan and Poor attempted to dissuade him. His reply, that "an officer who would not maintain his rank is unworthy to serve his country," was characteristic of him, and showed his high sense of honor.

Though dissatisfied with his own treatment, he remained faithful to the cause, and returning home sent all the

members of his family into the army who were old enough for military duty. In every way possible, except by personal service in the army, he did his utmost to advance the patriot cause. He pointed out the exposed condition of the northern frontier and the necessity for the reenforcement of Ticonderoga.

His fears in this regard were soon realized. The early summer saw the invasion of the States by the army under Burgoyne and the retreat of the American army from Ticonderoga. The way seemed clearly open for the forces under Generals Howe and Burgoyne to unite and maintain communication from New York to Canada by the Hudson and Lakes George and Champlain, thus separating the States into two disconnected and feeble sections. The danger was great; the fear of the people intense. The authorities of Vermont informed the council of New Hampshire that unless speedy assistance came to them they would be compelled to yield to the power they could not successfully resist. When this message came the assembly of New Hampshire was not in session, but was immediately summoned.

In three days they had assembled. The emergency was great, their resources were few. Our people had already done all they thought possible. The public credit was exhausted, and many despaired of being able either to raise or support another regiment. At this time John Langdon, a merchant of Portsmouth, was speaker of the house. He addressed the representatives, as follows:

I have three thousand dollars in hard money; my plate I will pledge for as much more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most they will bring. These are at

the service of the State. If we succeed, I shall be remunerated ; if not, they will be of no use to me. We can raise a brigade, and our friend STARK, who so nobly sustained the honor of our arms at Bunker Hill, may safely be intrusted with the command, and we will check Burgoyne.

A messenger was dispatched for Colonel STARK, who immediately responded in person. He accepted the command upon the condition that he was not to join the main army or be responsible to any authority other than the State of New Hampshire. The militia officers were ordered to disarm all persons who made excuses or refused to aid in defending the country. A day of fasting and prayer was observed with deep feeling.

The reappearance of their old commander filled the people with enthusiasm. The militia enlisted with alacrity, and soon more men had volunteered than had been authorized. They reported for duty at Charlestown, N. H., and then marched to Manchester, near Bennington, Vt., where STARK organized and disciplined his troops. While there he was visited by General Lincoln, with orders from General Schuyler to conduct the New Hampshire militia to the main army. This STARK refused to do, and stated his instructions from the authorities of New Hampshire. The reply being reported to General Schuyler, he wrote Congress complaining of STARK and urging his own need of reinforcements. Congress passed a vote of censure upon the council of New Hampshire and upon STARK.

Meanwhile STARK was preparing for active work. Burgoyne had detached Colonel Baum with a considerable force to capture the military stores at Bennington, and STARK was there to defend them. He was joined by the

Vermont troops and by militia from the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts. Baum had intrenched himself upon advantageous ground and had several cannon in position. STARK attacked him in rear and in front, and after a hotly contested fight of two hours the enemy was driven from his defenses and the battle won.

The prisoners were speedily collected, and had hardly been marched from the field before the reenforcements which Colonel Baum had called for were heard approaching. Opportunely, Colonel Warner's troops arrived at the same time to aid STARK. The New Hampshire brigade rallied, and the fight was renewed with great energy on both sides, and lasted until nearly night, when the enemy retreated. STARK pursued them until darkness ended the conflict. The victory was complete. The enemy had two hundred and seven killed and many wounded. The American loss was thirty killed and forty wounded. Four brass cannon, eight drums, many swords, several hundred stands of arms, and seven hundred and fifty prisoners were among the immediate fruits of victory. The militia of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts had met veteran troops protected by intrenchments defended by artillery, had carried them at the point of the bayonet, and won a signal victory. STARK said of them: "Had every man been an Alexander or a Charles the Twelfth they could not have behaved more gallantly." Certainly sixty per cent of these troops were New Hampshire men, and it is stated that one hundred and sixty-five of them had fought at Bunker Hill.

Doubt and despair were turned into faith and rejoicing. New hope and life pervaded the people. The army gained

new courage, and offensive operations were resumed. Burgoyne had met with a serious loss, and henceforth was harassed on all sides. STARK'S victory made his surrender a necessity. The French saw the courage and determination of the Americans, and decided to assist them. This victory was the turning point of the war. It was the third day after the battle when Congress passed its vote of censure upon STARK, but as soon as it heard of his victory it made full, though tardy, recognition of his ability and patriotism. It passed a resolution in this language:

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be presented to General STARK, of the New Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon and signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington, and that Brigadier STARK be appointed a brigadier in the army of the United States.

Congress officially transmitted this resolution to him, with the commission he had earned months before.

After the battle, but before Congress had done him justice, he saw that the capture of Burgoyne was possible, and no personal feeling could longer keep him from joining the main army. But the term of enlistment of his troops had expired. They had left home upon a day's notice. General Gates had a large command, and they could not see that their presence was essential to success. Moreover, they had enlisted upon the distinct understanding that they were to be commanded by STARK only, and though he was willing to waive that point they were not, and returned home.

Thus General STARK, who then held no commission in the Continental Army, was left without a command, and

followed his soldiers to New Hampshire. Everywhere he was received with great honor and many expressions of gratitude. He immediately asked for new enlistments, and such was his popularity that he was soon in command of nearly three thousand men. He saw that the way was open for Burgoyne to retreat to Canada, and decided to prevent it by putting his troops in the rear of the enemy. He captured Fort Edward, and then stationed his men in such positions as to prevent Burgoyne's retreat. When this became known to General Burgoyne, he saw no escape and submitted terms for the surrender of his army. The campaign of 1777 having been gloriously ended by the capture of Burgoyne's army, General STARK—his commission as brigadier-general, with the thanks of Congress, being received—returned home in high spirits to raise recruits and supplies.

In December he was ordered by Congress to proceed to Albany and prepare for a winter campaign in Canada. These orders were issued without the knowledge of General Washington, and the expedition was abandoned for lack of sufficient preparation and support.

General STARK was assigned to the command of the northern department in the spring of 1778, with headquarters at Albany. His service here was unpleasant, as it involved no active operations beyond the watching and punishment of Tories and spies, and he gladly received orders to report to General Gates in Rhode Island. Here he remained until December, 1779, when, the British having been driven out of that State, he reported to General Washington in New Jersey. During the winter he returned home for recruits and supplies, but rejoined the army

at Morristown. After a brief service he was ordered to New England to raise volunteers to reenforce the army at West Point. In this he was successful, and, having delivered the recruits, rejoined his command. In September he returned to West Point with his brigade and resumed command there. While on this duty he was assigned to the court-martial which condemned Major André.

His health became greatly impaired at the close of this campaign and he thought seriously of retiring from the army, but by the advice of General Sullivan asked for a furlough for the winter. This was granted, and in the spring he returned to the army with improved health and renewed zeal. In June, 1781, he was again assigned to the command of the northern department, with headquarters at Saratoga. His command was not a pleasant though an important one. There was no open foe, but traitors, spies, and Tories cursed the land. He ruled them with a strong hand, and imprisonments and executions were not infrequent.

He was at Saratoga when Cornwallis surrendered his army at Yorktown, and regretted that he could not personally participate in the glory of that event.

The war being now virtually ended, General STARK secured the public property, and thanking his militia for faithful services, dismissed them to their homes. As 1782 passed without important military operations, and as it was known that negotiations for peace were pending, he did not report for active duty that year.

In 1783 he reported to General Washington for any duty that might be assigned him, and did much good by his endeavors to allay discontent in the army. When the

Society of the Cincinnati was organized he regarded it with distrust and refused to join it. He proposed to lead the life of Cincinnatus on his own farm, and said: "To imitate that great man, we should return to the occupations we have temporarily abandoned without ostentation, holding ourselves ever in readiness to obey the call of our country."

The independence of the United States having been acknowledged by England, the army being disbanded, and the officers having taken leave of Washington and of one another, he quietly returned to his home on the Merrimack, where he managed his estate for many years, receiving the respect and honor due his virtues and services. By an act of Congress of September 30, 1783, he was given the brevet rank of major-general in the army of the United States.

In the events of the war of 1812 General STARK felt a deep interest, but his advanced age—more than fourscore years—prevented his taking the field again. When he heard that the cannon he had captured at Bennington had been surrendered at Detroit by General Hull he became exceedingly angry, and until they were recovered by the capture of Fort George never ceased to bemoan the loss of his guns, as he affectionately called them.

He lived until the Republic he had fought to establish had triumphantly emerged from another war with England and had taken high rank among the nations; until her institutions were secure and the right and wisdom of self-government were vindicated.

On the 8th of May, 1822, he answered the roll call where so many of his comrades had preceded him. He

had outlived all the generals of the Revolution except Sumter, and was almost ninety-four years old. His children were five sons and six daughters—eleven in all. Three of the sons were officers in the army.

General STARK was well proportioned, of medium size, and too active to become corpulent. His features were well formed and prominent, his eyes blue yet piercing, though softened by projecting eyebrows. His lips showed firmness and were ordinarily closed. His forehead was high and full, his nose sharp and large.

Physically and mentally he impressed everyone with his self-confidence, his self-possession in times of difficulty or danger, his capacity to command, his power to execute, and his courage at all times. His character in private and public life is without a stain. Though stern and unrelenting when duty called or honor was involved, he was open and frank in his manners, speaking freely his opinions. He was always kind to the needy and hospitable to all, especially to his comrades in arms. His integrity was unquestioned, his honor never doubted. His patriotism was pure and perennial. He said: "The cause of my country appears the noblest for which man ever contended, and no measures should be neglected or sacrifices withheld which will support it to a favorable result. In such a cause we may even despise death itself. You may assure Congress that I am most happy when I can do my country the greatest service."

ADDRESS OF MR. POWERS.

MR. SPEAKER: Vermont rightfully claims audience on any occasion when honor is proposed to the memory of Gen. JOHN STARK.

The military achievement which gave him enduring fame was planned on her soil and carried into successful execution by the aid of Vermont valor.

Down to the summer of 1777 nothing had occurred in the war for independence that threatened such dire disaster to the American cause as the invasion of General Burgoyne. That such an invasion on his line of march was possible had been early foreseen, and when the news of Lexington reached the settlers of Vermont, brave old Ethan Allen anticipated this danger, and in a heroic way and as the self-appointed representative of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress—two authorities then held in little respect by the commandant of Fort Ticonderoga—seized the fortress which commanded the southern entrance to Lake Champlain.

The British cabinet had discovered that the great waterway by Lake Champlain and the Hudson River from Montreal to New York was a natural line of bisection which would cut off New England from her sister colonies. In Indian warfare and in the French wars this line had been traversed by warring armies, and its natural advantages, with its natural environment were, well understood in British counsels.

Accordingly it was determined that a well-equipped

army, under a trusty commander, should march by this line to Albany, where it was expected it would meet a co-operating force coming north from New York City, and thereby the confederated colonies would be cut in twain.

The plan was bold in design and pregnant with hope. The British cabinet and the British people saw in the expedition a speedy close of the war. Burgoyne and his generals entered upon it as if upon a holiday excursion. Some of the officers were accompanied by their wives, who were for the first time to witness the wild novelties of American scenery and the humiliation of American rebels.

The army lacked nothing in equipment, nothing in numbers, nothing in expectations. But it lacked all appreciation of the mettle of New England farmers.

In marked contrast with this elevated spirit of the invaders was the consternation that seized upon the settlers in New England, especially in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. Vermont, close by Burgoyne's line of march, would naturally expect forays from his army, so certain to need provisions and supplies. An urgent call was made upon the New Hampshire authorities for aid, and this gave STARK the opportunity of his lifetime, for by common consent he was placed in command of the hastily recruited militia that gathered on the Vermont border.

Washington was too much engaged south of New York to spare large detachments to meet Burgoyne's invasion. General Schuyler, however, was expected to check the advance near Albany; but in the light of subsequent events it is altogether probable that he would have failed had not Burgoyne's march been crippled on its way south of

Ticonderoga. The country through which he passed was sparsely settled and more sparsely provisioned.

STARK saw that Burgoyne, so far from his base, would need provisions more than recruits, and rightfully divined his purpose to seize whatever stores had been accumulated at Bennington for the use of the militia that had hastily been called out for the defense of their homes. It has often been said that General Baum was detached by Burgoyne for the simple purpose of seizing these stores, but this was not the main end in view. It was only one thing out of many that Baum was to do. Burgoyne had discovered that he had an enemy on his flank and in his rear that required as close attention as the one he expected to meet in his front. He saw also that the most thickly settled portions of Vermont, on both sides of the Green Mountains, could supply him with provisions and horses, and so General Baum had orders to seize the stores at Bennington, and then, by way of Manchester, north of Bennington, to cross the mountains and move down the Connecticut River to Brattleboro, and thence through the Berkshire Hills to rejoin the main army.

STARK'S determination to give battle at Bennington is thus seen to have promised the best possible protection to the infant settlements in Vermont as well as the comparatively unprotected settlements on both sides of the Connecticut River, and fully justified him in declining to obey the orders of General Schuyler to march his men to the mouth of the Mohawk.

STARK'S commission empowered him to act independently of the Continental Congress and of officers acting under its commission. He could render the national cause

more aid by disabling the invading army than by running ahead of it or around it, and, although Congress censured his disobedience of Schuyler's orders, yet as soon as it learned of his victory it made haste to revoke its censure and vote its thanks to him and his men.

The details of the battle of Bennington are familiar history. No better generalship or better soldiership was developed during the war. STARK was the personification of heroism and the inspiration of victory. No commander less such could have held his undisciplined men so tenaciously to duty. He displayed the dash of a Sheridan, the strategy of a Lee, and the firm mental poise of a Grant.

He flanked and surrounded Baum before opening his fire. Every soldier saw in defeat the possible widowhood of his own "Molly Stark." Such men, under such a leader and fighting for home, are always and everywhere invincible.

The results of STARK'S victory at Bennington were of the most far-reaching consequence to the American cause. Burgoyne had lost one-seventh of his men and seven-sevenths of his overconfidence. His journey was no longer a holiday trip, but had become a matter of anxious business. He discovered that he must meet his enemy in front in a crippled condition, while the most rebellious people on earth hung upon his flank like a withering storm.

Bennington was at once a revelation to the haughty Briton and an inspiration to the hopeful American.

Alison says that the battle of Valmy, the first test made of the mettle of soldiers of France after the breaking out of the revolution of 1789, carried the arms of France to Vienna and the Kremlin. So it may be affirmed that

Bennington made Saratoga not alone possible—it made it inevitable. Saratoga brought recognition from France and Spain, and with that independence was practically won. Bennington restored the waning courage and drooping hope of America. It unified public sentiment throughout the colonies, it emphasized the belligerent character of the contest, and, better than all, it demonstrated the ability of the American volunteer to cope with the professional soldier of Europe.

Vermont has in many ways testified her appreciation of the part taken by her own militia and the militia of New Hampshire and Massachusetts at Bennington. She has kept the 16th day of August in constant annual remembrance for a hundred years. Seven years ago she celebrated the centennial anniversary of the battle upon a large and imposing scale of ceremonies. The occasion was graced by the presence of the President of the United States, his Cabinet, the governors and legislatures and many distinguished citizens of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Elaborate commemorative exercises brought to the mind of the present generation a keener view of the significance of the battle. Three years ago another monster celebration brought together an assemblage no less distinguished, in honor of the dedication of the monument erected to commemorate the deeds of STARK and his men.

To-day New Hampshire adds one more testimonial of honor to her distinguished son by setting his statue in our national gallery of fame, and appropriately couples it with that of her other son, DANIEL WEBSTER, the foremost American in law, letters, and statesmanship. What other State can boast the motherhood of two such sons?—the

one a master in the arts of war, the other a master in the arts of peace. Both dedicated their lives to the honor and glory of their country, and both have secured the applause of countless millions of men who will share the blessings of free government.

Let Statuary Hall, then, admit these statues into that group of heroic casts that reflect the civil and military renown of our common country, and before their pedestals the ceaseless throng of visitors to the American capital from every State in the Union, in all the years to come, will pause to bow its tribute of respectful homage to two of the best types of American manhood.

It was the fortunate mission of STARK to win the liberty of his people to the end that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people might be ordained; and of WEBSTER to analyze, discover, and expound the proper functions and aims of the system. Be it ours to preserve, perpetuate, and transmit it, unbroken in form, unchecked in scope, undefiled in spirit, in the proud trust that it is unending in time.

ADDRESS OF MR. GROUT.

MR. SPEAKER: I wish in behalf of Vermont to acknowledge the courtesy of the invitation extended by New Hampshire to say a word in these memorial exercises about Gen. JOHN STARK.

This invitation is accepted with pleasure, because the early history of the two States runs so much together, and especially that part which relates to the great event in the life of General STARK, that Vermont feels almost an equal interest in this occasion with New Hampshire.

That event really touches Vermont history at one of its most heroic periods. It not only carries us back to the battle of Bennington, where Vermont men stood side by side with the men of New Hampshire, but it opens the whole chapter of the independent career of Vermont as a State, as well as her long struggle for admission into the Union, of all of which the hero of Bennington was neither an indifferent nor a silent spectator.

General STARK's victory at Bennington was so surprising at the time, and still stands so prominently among the events of that day, that we naturally want to know something of the men who stood in the ranks. Let me for a moment tell you about those from Vermont, and the fitting school they had for the work done on that occasion.

The reader of history knows that the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants received their lands from the royal governor of the colony of New Hampshire, paying therefor the stipulated price; and that later title to these lands was claimed by the royal governor of New York to be his

by virtue of the royal grant to the Duke of York in 1764; and the settlers were called upon to pay a second time. This was thought to be once too often, and was resisted with spirit by those hardy pioneers, who were struggling for existence against the difficulties and dangers of the wilderness, in which prowled alike the wild beast and the lurking savage.

The New York claimants easily obtained writs of possession from the New York courts for the lands, but in no instance did the settlers on the grants allow one of their number to be permanently ejected. This, of course, called for organization, and, as the result, the "Green Mountain Boys," as they called themselves, under Allen, Warner, and Baker, had, for more than seven years before STARK was at Bennington, been in a kind of border war in resistance to the attempted jurisdiction over them by the King's governor of the colony of New York. If he sent surveying parties upon the grants, as he did, the settlers drove them off. If he commissioned justices and other civil officers, they soon found official life at once a burden and a peril, and resigned or moved away. If officers went from Albany to serve process or make arrests in land matters, they were, to use the language of an old report, "seized by the people and severely chastised with twigs of the wilderness." In these forays the sheriff always came off second best; and at one time, with a posse of seven hundred and fifty New York militiamen, went back to Albany empty-handed.

If by hook or by crook a New York grantee succeeded in displacing a settler, as was done by Colonel Reid and his tenants at the far-away mouth of Otter Creek—of

Pangborn, who had been in possession with a paid-up title for twelve years—Allen and his men hastened to expel the intruder, which was done twice in this case, and the last time with notice not again to return, “on pain of suffering the displeasure of the Green Mountain Boys.” At this juncture the governor of New York appealed to General Haldiman, commander in chief of the King’s troops in America—this was in 1773—for help in enforcing his authority on the grants, complaining that the militia could not be relied upon. This, however, the commanding general declined to do, expressing doubt as to the propriety of using regular troops for that purpose.

But I must not prolong this story, full of local interest as it is, and showing, as it does when fully told, the heroic struggle of the hardy settlers on the New Hampshire Grants in defense of their homes and their lives, which culminated in 1774 in a proclamation by the governor of New York and a counter proclamation by Allen and his men, from which an armed collision could not have been far away. But just then another war cloud loomed upon the horizon, obscuring and absorbing for the time all minor controversies.

The cry of blood from Lexington and Concord on the 19th day of April, 1775, rang like a tocsin in every home; and instantly every hamlet was astir with preparations for war, and every patriot breast on fire for action. The brave men on the New Hampshire Grants were no exception; but, on the contrary, were conspicuous for activity and valor. They forgot for the time their differences with New York, and, promptly changing front, gave battle to the common enemy.

Not waiting for the Continental Congress, or any other authority except their own council of safety, on the 10th day of May (only twenty-one days after the affair at Lexington) Allen, at the head of these intrepid men, captured the fortress at Ticonderoga, and upon a formula that has made his name immortal. On the same day these men also captured the garrisons at Crown Point and Skeensboro. And later we find Allen in unequal conflict with General Carleton at St. Johns, where he was unfortunately taken prisoner. And later still the same year we find Warner, with his "Green Mountain Boys," repulsing Carleton at Montreal and sending him by night, with muffled oars, down the St. Lawrence to Quebec. And these (except Allen, who was still a prisoner of war in London) and others like them from the State of Vermont were the men whom STARK had to help him at Bennington.

I said the State of Vermont. I should have said the independent State of Vermont, for such the New Hampshire Grants had become at the time of the battle of Bennington.

The settlers on the grants, finding themselves in the midst of a great war, and on the very frontier between the contending forces, and without organization or allegiance, except as claimed by New York, to which they could never accede, just twenty days after the Declaration of Independence, to wit, on the 24th day of July, 1776, met in convention at Dorset, and, at an adjourned meeting the following January, declared their territory "to be forever thereafter a free and independent jurisdiction or State under the name of Vermont;" thus cutting loose from every other power or authority on the footstool, and

acknowledging allegiance only to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. And this little independent State so maintained herself for the period of fourteen years, and until her admission into the Union in 1791, all the time standing out as an independent power among the powers of the earth, with a sovereignty of her own, a currency of her own, including coinage, with postal and excise laws—in fact, laws of every kind of her own, and withal with a national policy of her own, which, firmly adhered to, at last secured for her an equal place in the Union of the States.

The new State, of course, had a constitution. And that you may more fully understand the character of the men from Vermont who supported STARK at Bennington, let me read two brief sections from their constitution.

In the very first section is found this language:

No male person born in this country or brought from over sea shall be holden by law to serve any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice after he arrives at the age of twenty-one years; nor female in like manner after she arrives at the age of eighteen years, unless they are bound by their own consent after they arrive at such age, or bound by law for the payment of debts, damages, fines, costs, or the like.

This constitution was adopted July 8, 1777, ten years before the Federal Constitution and six months before the old Articles of Confederation—early, as you will see, in the era of written constitutions; and yet, with slight alterations, it is the constitution of Vermont to-day, and a model of its kind, providing for every function of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—even to authority for the establishment of a court of chancery, a branch of jurisprudence then in the infancy of its modern jurisdiction. But more notable than all this is the fact that it contained this prohibition of slavery, while every one of the

colonies tolerated the institution. And more notable still is the fact that it is the first constitutional prohibition of slavery ever put forth by any people anywhere, at any time, in the whole history of man. Yes, let it be written in letters of gold that the "Green Mountain Boys" were the first in all the earth to write in their organic law an absolute interdiction of an institution which had run with the history of the race, and which all the more enlightened nations have since copied, and at last, though in blood, has been written in the Constitution of our common country.

The other section in that remarkable constitution which I wish to read is as follows:

No man ought to, or of right can, be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any minister contrary to the dictates of his conscience; nor can any man be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship; and that no authority can, or ought to, be vested in or assumed by any power whatever that shall in any case interfere with or in any manner control the rights of conscience in a free religious worship.

Now, here was a clean departure by New England men from New England laws, customs, and traditions. Here was a declaration for a complete separation of church and state, while at that time throughout New England, except Rhode Island alone, the church and state were so united that it was difficult to distinguish between the two. All were taxed by law for the support of the established worship, and all were compelled to wait on its ministrations.

In those early New England days no one could vote unless he belonged to the church, and one's influence in

public life was always measured by his observance of its rites and ceremonies. In that day this was a universal condition ; no power on the face of the globe existed without a state religion. And to this late day it remains, though in modified form, a disturbing question in English politics, the great Gladstone having closed one of the most brilliant careers in English history and left to his successors in office the difficult and delicate work of disestablishing the church.

But the men on the New Hampshire Grants took the centuries by the forelock. When they flung in the face of all the world the flag of their free State, they said it shall be free indeed ; shall forever be the dwelling place of complete civil and religious liberty. They said the church shall not be supported on compulsion of law, but by voluntary contribution, as it is to-day throughout all this broad land.

Mr. Speaker, let it not be thought that this was the declaration of a wild, wayward set of fellows with more courage than conscience. The last clause of this free religious section shows that they were not only liberty-loving but God-fearing men. It is as follows:

Nevertheless, every sect or denomination of Christians ought to observe the Sabbath or Lord's Day, and keep up some sort of religious worship which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God.

- And the first legislature under this constitution, till special statutes could be adopted, declared the laws "as they stand in the Connecticut law book, and in defect of such laws the plain word of God as contained in the Holy Scripture, to be the law of the land." And in further

proof that these were not irreverent men, the second legislature passed a law punishing blasphemy with death, and profane swearing, cursing, lying, and drunkenness with sitting in the stocks.

But enough. This constitution was adopted at Windsor, July 8, 1777, only thirty-nine days before the battle of Bennington; and as it was being read, paragraph by paragraph, for the last time, a courier arrived in hot haste from the west side with information of the fall of Ticonderoga and that Burgoyne was advancing in heavy force along both sides of Lake Champlain.

To quote from myself on another occasion: "Here was indeed an awful crisis, one beyond the control of constitutions or conventions and for which the only cure was bayonets and bullets, which certain and effective remedy every man in that convention felt that he knew how to administer; and some were for instant adjournment and immediate work on Burgoyne's flank. Allen in his history says they would have adjourned only for a terrific thunderstorm, which detained them in the building. But they did not adjourn, and there, amid salvos of heaven's artillery, these men completed their work, laying broad and deep the foundations of civil and religious liberty, and marking, as by a milestone, an era in constitutional government. They appointed a committee of safety, called on New Hampshire and Massachusetts for help, and adjourned and hurried over the mountain to pay their respects to General Burgoyne."

And these are the men, these constitution makers and such as these from the new independent State of Vermont, who were at Bennington on the memorable 16th of August

with STARK, who had brought over the mountains from New Hampshire brave men of equal character; for among the number, and probably a fair sample of the lot, was Capt. Ebenezer Webster, father of the godlike DANIEL, the great Constitution expounder, whose statue stands alongside that of STARK in yonder Hall, and whose name is writ with his high on the scroll of fame.

How little these men could have thought that this sublime portion awaited them, when DANIEL, a young lawyer at Portsmouth, on his way to the courts in Concord, and STARK, living in the retirement of his farm, met at the old hotel in Hookset, and the hero of Bennington spoke of the sale of himself at one time for forty pounds, and was ready to believe DANIEL was the son of Captain Webster because of the same deep, swarthy color of his face, only "blacker."

But let us for a moment see how STARK happened to be at Bennington. We left the courier at Windsor on July 8 with information of Burgoyne's advance, which was, of course, forwarded to the New Hampshire council of safety, and must have been received not later than the 11th or 12th.

The Vermont council of safety had learned from the affair at Hubbardton that without assistance they were powerless against Burgoyne's ten thousand, flanked by merciless savages, who thought only of scalps, and on July 13, from Manchester, addressed a formal appeal to the New Hampshire council, asking for help, and reminding them that when Vermont was subjugated New Hampshire herself would be on the frontier. This appeal was addressed to New Hampshire because there was no time in which to

reach Congress or the commander in chief of the Continental army; and the policy of Schuyler, commanding in that quarter, was to draw everything from Vermont and concentrate at Stillwater, in which the independent State of Vermont did not believe.

The patriotic spirit of New Hampshire was at fever heat. Her general court was in session, and she responded nobly and promptly. On July 19 the president of her council notified the Vermont council that orders were then issuing for three battalions under General STARK to go to their assistance, and that they should depend upon the people of Vermont to provision them; and also asking to have some proper person meet General STARK at Number Four (Charlestown) to explain the situation and conduct him over the mountains.

On July 30 STARK was in Charlestown, calling on the New Hampshire council for kettles and bullet molds, saying there was but one pair in the place.

Think of it! One pair of bullet molds for an army!

On August 2 he again wrote from Charlestown:

Brigade not yet complete. * * * Would have sent account of strength, but troops arrive in small parties and are sent forward in small divisions. Shall leave one company here and two on height of land between this place and Otter Creek to protect the inhabitants.

On August 6 he was at Peru, on the mountain top; on August 7 at Manchester, and on August 9 at Bennington. Only twenty days from the time he received orders he had recruited and equipped his little army and had it on the ground. Napoleon never moved with greater promptitude nor greater celerity. And he, you will remember, when

asked why it was that he always whipped the Austrians, replied: "Because they do not understand the value of five minutes of time." It should be remembered that these men from New Hampshire were not in the service, but came up straight from their homes on call of the council. But why did STARK stop at Bennington? Why did he not join Schuyler at Stillwater, as at Manchester he received orders from that general to do?

Some have criticised General STARK for not obeying Schuyler's order, and others have claimed he did obey. But it should be remembered that STARK did not receive his authority from Congress, but from the council of safety of New Hampshire, and upon express condition that he was not, unless he chose, to report to or obey any Continental officer or the Continental Congress, from whose service he had just resigned; that he was, in short, to cooperate with the troops in Vermont or elsewhere as he thought best for the protection of the people and the annoyance of the enemy; and when General Lincoln presented Schuyler's order at Manchester, STARK undoubtedly explained the independent nature of his command and declined to be ordered by him. This is quite clear from the fact that on Lincoln's report to Schuyler and his to Washington Congress proceeded on the 19th, three days after the battle, to censure the New Hampshire council for sending STARK out in that irregular way. And yet, in a letter to the Hartford Courant of August 18, two days after the battle, speaking of this order, STARK says:

In obedience thereto I marched with my brigade to Bennington on my way to join him (Schuyler), leaving that part of the country (about Manchester) almost naked to the ravage of the enemy.

Now, from this it would seem that while STARK had signified to Lincoln that he could not be ordered by Schuyler or any other authority except the New Hampshire council of safety, yet he had gone to Bennington, in the direction of Schuyler, not being fully decided but that he might join him in case he thought it best for the cause, as after the battle he in fact did.

But why did he stop at Bennington, where he won a brilliant victory, which was the very first streak of light in the Continental struggle? He tells us why in this same letter.

In the very next sentence he says:

The honorable the council then sitting at Bennington were much against my marching with my brigade, as it was raised on their request, they apprehending great danger of the enemy approaching to that place, which afterwards we found truly to be the case. They also happily agreed to postpone giving orders to the militia to march.

Of course they did. They never for a moment thought of sending the Vermont militia to Schuyler till the storm had swept past them; and they persuaded STARK that if he would but stop with them there would soon be business for them all, as there was. They knew, for they had dwelt upon it so long that with them it was a verity, and STARK, with quick military intuition, instantly saw that Burgoyne would not move on to Stillwater without reaching out, as he passed, for the valuable stores at Bennington, which were so much needed by his army.

Why, the men of this council of safety, who STARK says in this same letter were just from general State convention at Windsor, could not only make constitutions, having just turned out one that overlapped the progressive growth

of public opinion for a hundred years, but they could also plan campaigns. Their whole lifetime had been a continuous campaign in defense of their homes, their lands, and their lives. They took nothing for granted, but were ever on the alert; and as early as July 15, at Manchester, foresaw the battle of Bennington. In a circular to the militia officers, among other things, they said (using the capitals and spelling of the original):

The Continental Stores at Bennington seem to be their present aim. You will be supplied with provisions here on your arrival. Pray send all the Troops you can Possibly Raise; we can Repulse them if we have assistance.

And again, on the 13th of August, at Bennington, they sent an order to Colonel Marsh, saying:

There are therefore the most Positive terms to require you without a moments Loss of time to march one-half of the Regiment under your Command to this Place.

* * * * *

There will Doubtless be an attack at or near this Place within twenty-four hours. We have the assistance of General Stark with his Brigade. You will hurry what Rangers forward are Recruited. Now is the Time, Sir.

And it turned out that it was the time.

But I must not dwell on the battle of Bennington. It was a small affair in numbers, but out of all proportion thereto in results. STARK had with him from New Hampshire eight hundred men, and from Vermont, then sparsely populated, six hundred men, and probably one hundred and fifty from the Berkshire Hills in Massachusetts, near by; only fifteen or sixteen hundred all told. But every man was there because he wanted to be. He was there to strike for liberty, for independence, and against the monarchical idea in

government. And what chance had the savages, the Tories, the Hessian hirelings, or the King's troops against such men, among whom was a pastor and his flock, and all of whom were imbued with something of the spirit of those of old, of whom it was said: "Five of you shall chase a hundred, and a hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight"?

Verily, these men, though few, were a host, and their leader was every way worthy to command them. He was no novice in war. He was a veteran of that seven years struggle between the French and English for supremacy on this continent. He was in the successful defense of Fort William Henry in 1757; was with Lord Howe in his unsuccessful assault on Ticonderoga in 1758; was with Amherst at its reduction in 1759; was on the left of the line at Bunker Hill, where the redcoats were three times repulsed, and was the last to retire; was with Washington at Trenton and Princeton, and in all these encounters he was brave and capable. He was every inch a soldier and he knew it, and now that he had an independent command he proposed to show the Continental Congress, whose favor he seems not to have gained, that he could fight and win; that he knew—

When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
Of battle; open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war.

He chafed like a caged lion all day that rainy 15th while the enemy was throwing up his intrenchments, but in the morning made his dispositions for attack, and in such a way that when the game came down he would bag it; for, though the enemy was behind breastworks, with artillery, and he

had none, he was confident of victory, and victory was his, though not without the "hottest" fight this soldier of a dozen battles had ever seen, and of which he said in his official report that "had every man been an Alexander or Charles of Sweden he could not have behaved better."

The poet has presented STARK at Bennington in the following lines:

When on that field his band the Hessians fought,
Briefly he spoke before the fight began:
"Soldiers, those German gentlemen were bought
For four pounds eight and sevenpence per man
By England's King; a bargain it is thought.
Are we worth more? Let's prove it while we can;
For we must beat them, boys, ere set of sun,
Or my wife sleeps a widow"—It was done.

Yes, "it was done." The day was ours, with four brass cannon, two of which now guard the State capitol of Vermont, and the other two ought to guard that of New Hampshire; one thousand stand of arms, forty-four officers, and seven hundred and fifty prisoners, with two hundred and seven of the enemy, as STARK reported, "killed on the spot."

Yes, "it was done." But at one time the fate of the day hung trembling in the balance. It was after the patriots had finished Baum, charging over his breastworks and capturing his cannon, with hardly a bayonet, with only fowling pieces, and after they supposed and STARK supposed the battle was won, and after the troops had scattered, some pursuing and gathering up and others guarding prisoners, some seeking refreshments and others collecting the spoils of victory, when of a sudden Breyman's bugles sounded his approach with a thousand fresh

men and two field pieces. This officer in his report says: "The cannon were posted on a road where there was a log house. This we fired into, as it was occupied by rebels." And later he says, "We then repulsed them on all sides."

It was a critical moment. Was it possible for STARK to rally his scattered men, weary with the work of one battle, and fight another? In his report he says: "Luckily for us, Colonel Warner's regiment came up, which put a stop to their career. We soon rallied, and in a few minutes the action became very warm and desperate, which lasted until night." Not more timely nor more decisive of the day was the arrival of Dessaix at Marengo or of Blucher at Waterloo than was the coming of those one hundred and fifty fresh men of Warner's regiment, who had marched from Manchester, under Major Safford, after the battle was set at Bennington, Warner himself having been all day with STARK in the fight.

Who will say what the result of that day's business might have been only for the arrival, in the very nick of time, of those "Green Mountain Boys," who with impetuous zeal went immediately into action, and, as STARK himself says, "put an end to their career." Who will say what the entry by the Muse of History against the name of JOHN STARK might have been had not those fresh men "put a stop to their career," and enabled STARK to say: "We soon rallied," etc.? Probably no one can appreciate the significance of this question more completely than did the old hero himself, for in his letter to General Gates he says: "Colonel Warner's superior skill in the action was of extraordinary service to me. I would be glad if he and his men could be remembered by Congress." And from

that day forth General STARK always held the warmest friendship toward the people of Vermont.

But the battle was won, and STARK'S name and fame are now the common heritage of the American people, challenging always their applause and gratitude. The results of this victory were indeed far reaching, and its effect upon the colonial cause, loaded down with two years of disaster and discouragement, was almost magical. Since the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Allen in 1775 on substantial victory had crowned the Continental arms in any quarter. And now Burgoyne, with a splendidly equipped army, was to march from Canada to New York by way of Albany and the Hudson, thereby impressing the people with the invincibility of the King's troops and the great advantage of the King's protection. Men will not long stand up for a government that can not protect them.

Ticonderoga, long considered "the key to North America," had fallen before Burgoyne's triumphal march, of which Schuyler wrote:

An event so alarming has not happened since the contest began.

In some places it was the occasion of fasting and prayer. The Tory everywhere raised his head, and the Whig was filled with fear. Meanwhile Burgoyne was moving toward the Hudson, all the time holding in each hand the King's ready pardon and protection for his loving subjects, and his army was all the time increasing by Tory recruits, while the desertions from St. Clair's army as it fell back from Ticonderoga were fearful to contemplate. On July 14 General Schuyler wrote Washington from Fort Edward:

I am informed a very great proportion of the inhabitants are taking protection from General Burgoyne, as most of those in this

quarter are willing to do. Desertions prevail and disease gains ground: nor is it to be wondered, for we have neither tents, houses, barns, boards, or shelter, except a little brush. Every rain that falls, and we have it in great abundance almost every day, wets the men to the skin. We are, besides, in great want of every kind of necessary, provision excepted. We have camp kettles so few that we can not afford one to twenty men.

Washington was almost discouraged. August 7, nine days before the battle of Bennington, he wrote Schuyler:

As matters are going on, General Burgoyne will find little difficulty in penetrating to Albany.

And again he wrote:

Could we be so happy as to cut off one of his detachments, supposing it should not exceed four, five, or six hundred men, it would inspire the people and do away with much of the present anxiety. In such an event they would lose sight of past misfortunes, fly to arms, and afford every aid in their power.

While Washington was praying STARK performed; this, only on a larger scale, was just what he did at Bennington, and Washington's prediction was verified. It electrified the colonies. Handbills giving the news went out from Boston. Town-criers throughout all New England proclaimed it. Bonfires were built, bells were rung, and again the colonies were aglow with a spirit of patriotism and valor. All had been darkness, but light was breaking. Burgoyne's army was no longer looked upon as invincible. STARK had revealed the fact that it could be beaten, and badly beaten, too; that Indians, Tories, Hessians, Canadian volunteers, and British regulars could all be overwhelmed together.

The wise new prudence from the wise acquire,
And one brave hero fans another's fire.

Instead of desertions there were now enlistments. Not only this, but no more Tories rallied to Burgoyne's standard. They did not contemplate with satisfaction the treatment of their brethren taken prisoners at Bennington, who were tied two and two with bedcords, furnished by the Bennington housewives, and then fastened to a horse and marched through the streets amid the jeers and gibes and thrusts of the indignant crowd. The victory at Bennington wrought a complete change in the atmosphere of the northern department. The Indians even took it in. Governor Clinton wrote:

Since that affair not an Indian has been heard of; the scalping has ceased.

And later two hundred and fifty Indians in a body left Burgoyne's army and joined the American forces.

When Washington heard the news from Bennington he said: "One more such stroke and we shall have no great cause of anxiety as to the designs of Great Britain." And in writing Putnam he expressed the hope that New England would follow up the blow struck by STARK and crush Burgoyne. And she did; October 17 told the story. Saratoga was the place.

But he received his deathblow the 16th of August. On the 18th, two days after the battle, in a letter to Lord Germain, explaining the difficulties that beset him, he said, among other things:

The Hampshire Grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most warlike and rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm on my left.

Burgoyne was both surprised and stupefied. The Baroness Reidesel, then with her husband in the British camp,

well explained the changed condition when she wrote: "This unfortunate event paralyzed at once our operations."

Could Burgoyne have foreseen the storm that was gathering for him at Stillwater, set in motion by STARK'S inspiring example at Bennington, and have pushed forward without delay, he might have connected with Sir Henry Clinton on the Lower Hudson, or, acting seasonably, he might have fallen back on Canada.

But after this unexpected blow at Bennington he seemed to drift in a bewildered, aimless way, till Warner, with his "Green Mountain Boys," had cut off all chance of retreat by capturing the transports on the lakes, and at last the most powerful army that ever entered America from Canada was surrendered and largely absorbed into American citizenship; and Burgoyne, the pet of the ministry, went home in disgrace and out of sight forever. And JOHN STARK was the man who dealt him the stunning blow that ended his career!

But enough. STARK never forgot how the Vermonters helped him out on that greatest day of his life; and in that prolonged and varying struggle of the people of Vermont for admission into the Union, which lasted in all fourteen years, and was full of novel situations and dangerous complications, STARK was all the time their consistent and faithful friend. And when by a certain act of Congress in 1781 he supposed Vermont was to be admitted as a State, in honor of the surrender of Cornwallis he fired a salute of fourteen guns at Saratoga, where he was in command, one being for the new State of Vermont.

It is true, however, when the twelve towns in New York and the thirty-five in New Hampshire were so

attracted by the constitution and government of Vermont that they left their allegiance to their respective States and asked to be annexed to the new independent State of Vermont, STARK, who was then in command at Albany, was much troubled on account of his Vermont friends. He could not consent to the dismemberment of his own State, and his official position compelled him to disapprove the encroachment upon New York. This somewhat strained but did not break the friendly tie that bound him to Vermont.

When he supposed Vermont was admitted as a State, he wrote Governor Chittenden as follows:

ALBANY, August 27, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR: I only waited the prudent and happy determination of Congress to congratulate you upon the interesting and important decision in your favor. Be assured, sir, that no intervening circumstance on the grand political system of America since the war began has given me more real pleasure than to hear of your acceptance into the Union—a measure that I do now and always did think was highly compatible with the real interest of the country. It is with difficulty I can determine in my own mind why it has been postponed to this late hour; but perhaps Congress had motives that we are strangers to. The best and wisest mortals are liable to err.

I am very happy to acquaint you that the people in this city show very much of the highest solicitude upon the matter, fully convinced that to be separate will be more for the interest of both States than to be united.

* * * * *

To have been connected with New Hampshire is what many in the State would have been very sorry for, as very inconvenient and expensive for both bodies of people, and no real good resulting from such connection. Therefore, I am of the opinion that every man who consulted the public interest must be an advocate for separation; for had they been connected there would have ever been

a jealousy between the two States which would have been infallibly dangerous to both. But that jealousy, by the separation, must entirely subside, and New Hampshire and Vermont live in perfect friendship as sister States.

That Vermont in its government may be happy and a stranger to internal jars is the ardent wish, my dear sir, of your most obedient servant,

JOHN STARK.

TO GOVERNOR CHITTENDEN.

The action of Congress referred to by STARK was for the appointment of a commission, which Vermont had reasons for believing would divide the State along the mountain range between New York and New Hampshire, and she promptly rejected the Congressional plan, refusing in a most spirited manner to accept anything short of unconditional admission.

This was in 1781, and STARK wondered why admission "had been postponed to that late hour." Vermont was not admitted till 1791, ten years thereafter; ten years of struggling and waiting, of diplomacy and war, of border raids and internal tumults, the whole story of which would read more like romance than a plain recital of actual facts. But this is aside.

New Hampshire is fortunate in the selection of characters for Statuary Hall. STARK and WEBSTER are great names in the Granite State, great throughout the country, and great with all English-speaking peoples.

Vermont congratulates New Hampshire, and welcomes these her sons in commemorative marble to the companionship of the great in marble and bronze from other States. The hero of Ticonderoga from Vermont welcomes the hero of Bennington from New Hampshire. There let

them stand, typical soldiers of typical States, contemporaries in life and in the sculptured renown of death. The eminent lawyer, jurist, and statesman, Jacob Collamer, who came nearer making good the place of WEBSTER in the Senate than any other man of his time, now welcomes that great lawyer, orator, and statesman to that silent illustrious assemblage.

Vermont will always welcome these men; for STARK was with her in war and WEBSTER counseled her in peace, his words still ringing throughout the State from the summit of the Green Mountains, where, standing beside a log cabin in 1840, near the place where STARK crossed on his way to Bennington, he spoke, making clear then, as always, the points of a political faith in which Vermont is as steadfast as her heavenly neighbor, the North Star, and her light equally constant.

Yes, Vermont, in common with all the States of this now "glorious Union," welcomes the return of DANIEL WEBSTER to the Capitol, and there in yonder hall let him forever stand amid the undying echoes of those mighty words which have not only made his name immortal, but which have been burned into the very hearts of the American people by the fires of civil war, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

ADDRESS OF MR. BLAIR

MR. SPEAKER: JOHN STARK was the military genius of the Revolutionary war. Independent as he was intrepid, and conscious that his judgment was unerring, impatient of restraint which he knew to be founded in error, and irascible under ill treatment which touched his honor as a soldier, he was not always a model of unquestioning subordination, and was better adapted to command alone than to serve under mediocrity. But no one can study his personal character and trace his work without conceding that no military man of his time, except George Washington, rendered more important service to the cause of American independence, and that in purely martial achievements his were the most brilliant of any rendered by the officers of the Continental army.

He was a natural commander in chief; but the highest capacity to command implies the highest capacity to obey, and no man ever served more loyally than STARK did his superior officer. Yet such was the strength of his genius and his boldness, vigor, circumspection, celerity, skill, and success in action that in every important battle or campaign in which he was engaged he was at the front of affairs; and as wherever Macgregor sat was the head of the table, so wherever STARK fought was the head of the army and the turning point of the battle.

Where he was, something important was always going on. He spent his time in doing decisive things, and so it came to pass that it is hardly too much to say that JOHN STARK

was the turning point of the war for American independence. Without him Bunker Hill would have been a useless slaughter and a precedent of subsequent defeats and general demoralization, instead of a substantial victory and the harbinger of hope and ultimate success. Trenton would probably have been a failure; Bennington would never have been fought at all; Burgoyne would have made good his attempted retreat and escape from Gates back into Canada, and there would have been no surrender at Saratoga. Without Saratoga there would have been no French alliance, no Yorktown, no independence, no happy, free, united America.

I shall not trespass upon the time of the House with much of the detail of the life of this remarkable man. My colleague and other gentlemen will do his fame more ample justice. Yet I desire to sketch very briefly a few of the salient points in his marvelous career which justify the high eulogiums which have been pronounced upon it and the action of New Hampshire in selecting him from among her many illustrious and gallant sons as the most conspicuous and useful of all of them who have fought for the independence and glory of their country.

Like so many of the great men of America, Gen. JOHN STARK was of that wonderful Scotch-Irish stock which emigrated from the north of Ireland and settled in several of the colonies during the early part of the last century. His father, Archibald Stark, was a graduate of the University of Glasgow, and brought with him to the New Hampshire wilderness the energy of his race and the culture of that renowned institution. He was one of the first settlers of Londonderry, N. H., and was one of the leading

men in that extraordinary body of emigrants, who brought with them the best development of civilization in common life then existing on earth, and whose descendants have maintained the same relative position ever since; have spread through the continent, always at the front and molding the development of society by the principles and abilities inherited from their ancestors. It is not too much to say of the Scotch-Irish settlement founded at Londonderry in the year of our Lord 1719 that no like community has exerted a greater influence upon the nation and the world. The whole people seemed to be instinct with an elevated and creative energy, and leadership has been the natural function of their descendants wherever they have been found.

JOHN STARK was born at Londonderry, within a few miles of what is now the city of Manchester—itsself located upon a part of the territory covered by the settlement and one of its descendants—in the year 1728, and died upon his homestead, now in the suburbs of the city, in the year 1822, almost ninety-four years of age, and, except General Sumter, the last surviving general officer of the Revolutionary war. He was one of many children, and was educated by his father so far as their stern environment would permit.

At the age of sixteen years, having penetrated the wilderness as far as where the town of Rumney, in Grafton County, is now situated, with his brother William and two other men, named Eastman and Stinson, on a hunting expedition, he was captured by the Indians and carried to Canada, where he remained nearly a year, learning thoroughly the character of the Indians and their methods of warfare.

The Indians also learned something of STARK. After his capture, with his own death threatened as a consequence, he shouted to his companions to escape; when forced to run the gantlet, he so vigorously belabored the two lines of young Indian braves, whose business it was to castigate him, that they were glad to get out of his way; when ordered to hoe their corn he flatly refused to do the work of squaws, cut up the corn, and threw his hoe into the river, and thereby won the admiration of the chief, and was treated as a son during the remainder of his captivity.

After his ransom and return to Londonderry his services were sought to aid in the exploration of the northern part of New Hampshire and Vermont, along the borders of Canada, which was the bloody ground debated for nearly a century between the French and Indians on the one side and the English settlements on the other. During all this time the situation was little better than one of savage warfare. That wonderful frontier people were always ready for massacre and death, but generally preferred to take time by the forelock, and came off, as a rule, best in the perpetual encounter with the wild beast, the still wilder and more savage Indian—who too often was inspired by the vindictive and relentless cruelty of civilized men—and with nature herself, who in that early day was the most stubbornly hostile of them all.

Throughout the French and Indian war, which began in 1756 and ended in 1763 with the subjugation and cession of all the continental French possessions to Great Britain, STARK was engaged in active service. He was a captain in the famous regiment of Rodgers's rangers. On

several occasions he exhibited his superiority as a commander under the most difficult circumstances; more than once saved the army and important positions by his vigilance, daring, and skill; became the confidant and favorite of Lord Howe, the ablest and most beloved British officer of his time, and returned home at the close of the war the real inferior of no fighting man in America.

Then he married and raised a family, which was the main business of our fathers, as, indeed, it is of man in all the ages. He was, however, ardently alive to everything pertaining to the public welfare; and as the contest for independence came on there was no more staunch and determined patriot than JOHN STARK.

When the embattled farmers stood arrayed at Lexington and Concord "and fired the shot heard round the world," his ear caught the familiar sound of war, and, quitting his sawmill, he leaped upon his horse and galloped to Boston, rallying the people on his way.

As the aroused sons of liberty gathered from all New England and beleaguered the city of Boston, where Gage was with the British army, three regiments of New Hampshire troops were organized. STARK commanded one of them at Bunker Hill, and here was rendered his first great service in the Revolutionary war. It is not probable that there was so ripe and able an officer at that moment on either side as JOHN STARK.

The story of the battle is a familiar one. The ardor of the aroused Americans could not be restrained, but could hardly be directed with precision and good effect because of the lack of time for that discipline and experience in the field which alone can make an army.

Determined to drive the British from Boston, if possible, and at all events to fight, the Americans seized an advanced position in the night and threw up a small redoubt on Breed's Hill, in Charlestown, which was tolerably complete by noon of the next day, the immortal 17th day of June, 1775, and filled with about one thousand men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, of Massachusetts, one of the bravest of the brave and a cool and able officer.

The astonished Gage, in command of the English forces, stared and held his breath until the day was well advanced, but then determined at once to dislodge and destroy the rash and impudent rebel horde.

Three thousand of the choicest veterans of Europe moved across the bay to storm the redoubt. The rear of the earthwork was indefensible, and on the left slope of the hill, between it and the water, there were no defenses, nor was it possible to prepare any of importance. There STARK and his regiment, with gallant troops from other States, took position in the open field, with no defense but a few rails covered with fresh-mown hay to oppose the charge of the English, who sought to turn the redoubt, while a part of their forces moved directly up the hill to engage the garrison.

Three times the farmers repulsed the veterans, and the British dead in front of the rail fence where STARK commanded "lay thick as sheep in a fold," when the ammunition of the patriots failed and Warren fell. Driven from the redoubt, its exhausted but still resolute defenders, under the lion-like Prescott, were shot and bayoneted by scores, and would have died in their tracks or have been utterly routed and captured in a body but for the troops

who fought in the open under STARK checking the progress of the victorious foe. Finally they effected a retreat across the peninsula upon the main army, with a total loss to the Americans of one-fourth that suffered by the soldiers of King George. Bunker Hill was a victory. True that the enemy captured the position, but in their triumphant retreat the patriots carried off the honors of war, and STARK and his brave New Hampshire men, as they fell back grimly from the seashore to the continent, carried with them the new-born independence of America just delivered on that bloody field. More than half the men who fought at Bunker Hill were from my own beloved State! What if that battle had been a rout? What would have been the result of the Revolutionary war? What would have been the fate of America if New Hampshire and STARK had not fought at Bunker Hill?

Eighteen months later and the scene of action had changed to the Middle States. Washington was on the Delaware and hope was dead. But that great chieftain would do his duty still. The time of the New Hampshire troops had expired, but STARK aroused them to volunteer for six weeks more, so that one last battle might yet be made for liberty.

In the council of war STARK said to the commander in chief: "If we are ever to win our independence we must teach the army to depend upon their firearms and their courage; their guns and not their shovels."

Washington replied that he proposed to, and that they should have a fight. They crossed the Delaware. STARK led the advance guard under Sullivan, who commanded the right wing of the army; Washington and Greene, the

left. The right charged first into the town, STARK at the head of the column, or, as Wilkinson says, "the dauntless STARK, who dealt death wherever he found resistance and broke down all opposition before him." Meanwhile the left wing had moved in a more circuitous route and the army was soon reunited in the decisive victory of Trenton. Princeton followed, STARK ever at the front, for he never was anywhere else.

Once more God had almost visibly interposed for us, and the people took courage.

Medals of honor have been awarded to brave men who fought in the late war when their terms of enlistment were over, but the men of New Hampshire volunteered in masses when their service was done, and they were in rags, without pay, and their families suffering at home, to march many miles on frozen ground with bleeding feet in a cause then so hopeless that it must have seemed more like a procession to meet the doom of traitors than a march to victory in the cause of freedom.

Soon after his extraordinary services on the Delaware Colonel STARK resigned his commission and returned to his home in New Hampshire.

Congress had done him a grave personal injustice in the promotion of an inferior officer under circumstances which inflicted great humiliation upon his stern, proud spirit. He declared that a man who would not resent personal dishonor was unworthy to mingle with soldiers, and that not to resign would tend to demoralize the army. But his patriotism was as strong as ever, and he immediately fitted out all of his family and servants capable of bearing arms and dispatched them to the army, and warned the Congress

of the dangerous condition of Ticonderoga, a warning which, if heeded, would have arrested Burgoyne at the beginning of his campaign and saved the Continental army from great disasters.

The legislature of his State did not fail to thank him for the important services he had rendered the country. Burgoyne was now in full march from Canada, by way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, to join Clinton at Albany and separate the Eastern from the Middle and Southern States, thus ending the war by the easy subjugation of their divided strength. Ticonderoga had fallen; the triumphant English and Hessian horde had crossed the Hudson, and neither Schuyler nor Gates was able to arrest the progress of Burgoyne. There was no more perilous period during the whole war.

Vermont, although of the Union, was not then in the Union. Her gallant sons, under Allen and Warner and others, were among the most efficient opponents of the Crown, and this campaign of Burgoyne's was an invasion of their homes. New Hampshire was herself a frontier State from the beginning, and the authorities of Vermont cried aloud to their New Hampshire brethren, being the first to feel what, if not met at the threshold, would become the common distress.

John Langdon was president of the New Hampshire provincial assembly, and delivered to them what I consider the greatest speech in our history, except WEBSTER's reply to Hayne:

I have three thousand dollars in cash. I will sell my plate for three thousand more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which I will turn into money. We will raise two regiments of men. Our friend STARK will take command of them and we will drive back Burgoyne.

In one month the men were raised; they had crossed the mountains; Vermont and Massachusetts had contributed all who could be assembled, and STARK, in command of the whole of them, refusing to act under the orders of Congress, but, operating under authority of the State of New Hampshire, had fought the battle of Bennington, destroyed more than one thousand of Burgoyne's best troops, one-sixth of his entire army, and so weakened and demoralized him and aroused the whole country that further progress was impossible. This ended STARK'S contemplated service, but his country recognized at once that her true genius had appeared on the scene, and Congress desired him to join the main army under Gates.

But STARK did not consent, believing that if he did so Burgoyne would be allowed to escape to Canada. Urged by Langdon and his associates, he remained in the field under the commission of his State, rallied an army which seized the fords of the Hudson just as Burgoyne arrived on the western bank of the river on his stealthy retreat to Canada, which he had begun without the knowledge of the unwary Gates. Finding STARK interposed between his disheartened army and Canada, and more than twice his own numbers under Gates in front, the discomfited commander of His Majesty's forces fought bravely but hopelessly and surrendered at Saratoga.

Then followed the French alliance and several years of indecisive war, which the united strength of both nations was not able to bring to a successful result until the Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes finally triumphed together at Yorktown in 1781.

For his transcendent services at Bennington Congress was not slow to thank the true hero of that occasion and of the whole campaign of 1777, and to redress the injustice done him after the battle of Trenton, by forwarding to him a general's commission in the Continental army.

On at least three vital occasions during the Revolutionary war the services of Gen. JOHN STARK were most conspicuously important.

Whoever studies the campaigns by which our independence was achieved will thank God for JOHN STARK at Bunker Hill, at Trenton, at Bennington, and the whole campaign against Burgoyne. So far as the agency of one man can be essential in working out the purposes of Providence, it must be conceded that in all these great affairs he was plainly that one man.

Let anyone answer hopefully who can the question, What would have been the fate of America if JOHN STARK had not fought at Bunker Hill, at Trenton, and at Bennington? Doubtless America would at some time have been free, but through what years of additional blood and suffering we might have attained to the promised land is beyond mortal ken.

After the campaign of 1777, General STARK served principally in the department of the north, in charge of that portion of the Union which he had done so much to free from the Briton, the Canadian, and the Indian. I can not take more of the time of the House to enlarge upon his illustrious career. After the war he lived on his farm, now within the corporate limits of Manchester, the city where I have the honor to reside, a city which reveres his memory and is now engaged in a great effort, to which she

would gladly give national proportions, to erect a suitable monument over his grave.

This monument will rise on a conspicuous spot in that happy valley where the eyes of hundreds of thousands of our countrymen and of all countrymen of civilized lands, as they hurry through that great avenue of travelers, now annually behold the Stars and Stripes waving in the heavens to mark the last resting place of him who has had no superior in exalted patriotism or in native genius for war among all the great men born upon our soil.

It has been deemed fitting by New Hampshire, who has not forgotten the importance of his perpetual presence in the grounds of her own capital, that his statue should be placed among those of the immortals in yonder Hall. I close with the sentiment which Gen. JOHN STARK gave to the committee which sought his presence at the celebration of the battle of Bennington not long before his death:

Stand by the flag of your country; live free or die!

Mr. Speaker, in accordance with the will of the State of New Hampshire, expressed through Governor John B. Smith, her distinguished executive, the statue of JOHN STARK is now presented to the country. I have the honor to move the adoption of the resolutions.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),
That the thanks of Congress be given to the people of New Hampshire for the statue of JOHN STARK, illustrious for military services,

being especially distinguished at Bunker Hill and as the victorious commander at Bennington.

Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall, and that a copy of these resolutions, signed by the presiding officers of the Senate and House of Representatives, be forwarded to his excellency the governor of the State of New Hampshire.

THE SPEAKER. If there be no objection, these Senate resolutions will be substituted for those offered by the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. BAKER], and action will be taken upon them instead of upon the House resolutions.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The Senate resolutions were unanimously concurred in.



ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

DECEMBER 3, 1894.

Mr. CHANDLER submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the exercises in the Senate in connection with the reception from the State of New Hampshire, for the National Gallery in the Capitol, of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER be made a special order for Thursday, the 20th day of December.

DECEMBER 20, 1894.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I send to the Secretary's desk concurrent resolutions, for which I ask present consideration

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolutions, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of New Hampshire for the statue of DANIEL WEBSTER, a citizen of that State, illustrious for historic renown and for distinguished civic service.

Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions, duly authenticated, be transmitted to his excellency the governor of New Hampshire.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the concurrent resolutions.

ADDRESS OF MR. CHANDLER.

MR. PRESIDENT: New Hampshire gives to the National Gallery in this Capitol the statue of her most distinguished son, who was also the greatest lawyer, orator, and statesman of America.

Thomas Webster, a Puritan of the English race, settled at Hampton, on the New Hampshire coast, about the year 1636, sixteen years after the landing at Plymouth and six years after the arrival of Governor Winthrop at Salem.

Descended, as is believed, from Thomas Webster was Ebenezer Webster, who was born in Kingston, near Hampton, April 22, 1739, and in 1763 moved as a pioneer farmer to the township first called Bakerstown, next Stevenstown, and finally Salisbury. His second wife was Abigail Eastman, of Welsh descent, a resident of Salisbury. Ezekiel Webster was born March 11, 1780, and on January 18, 1782, DANIEL WEBSTER was born in Salisbury, in that part which is now Franklin.

The Salisbury line started at the head of the Great Falls in the Pemigewasset River, just above "the crotch" where the confluence of that stream with the Winnepesaukee forms the Merrimack, and extended down the latter river four miles to a point about fifteen miles above Penacook, now Concord, and from the Merrimack the lines extended west four miles apart for a distance of nine miles across the hills between the Merrimack and the Blackwater and up the eastern slope of Kearsarge Mountain. The Webster birthplace was a home of dark and gloomy forests, bleak

and barren hillsides, fields hard to cultivate during the short summers, and covered deep with snow during the long and tedious winters. The father's first house was a log cabin, and, as the son has told us in a pathetic and memorable description, "when the smoke first rose from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers in Canada."

Amid these surroundings DANIEL WEBSTER was born and came to manhood. It is impossible to correctly judge of their effect upon his character without a careful contemplation also of the traits and opinions of his father.

Ebenezer Webster when only eighteen years of age served as one of the Rodgers rangers in the French and Indian war. In the campaign of 1758 he went out as a private in Timothy Ladd's company. Against Crown Point in 1760 he served as a sergeant in Capt. Philip Johnson's company in Goff's regiment. He evidently became, after his arrival and his growth to man's estate, in the little frontier settlement of Salisbury, its leading citizen, and as the Revolution approached he was looked to by reason of his previous experience as a ranger to be the foremost soldier of Salisbury's company to march to Boston after the battle of Lexington. Mr. Bancroft says that by the 23d of April, 1775, two thousand men had arrived from the interior of New Hampshire, sent "not to return before the work was done."

May 1, 1775, Salisbury voted "to raise fifteen pounds lawful money in order to purchase ammunition for a town stock to be kept in Salisbury;" "also to choose a committee of inspection in said town," and to make Capt. Ebenezer

Webster its chairman. On April 12, 1776, New Hampshire's committee of safety asked all the male citizens to sign a declaration as follows: "That we will, to the utmost of our power and at the risque of our lives and fortunes, with arms, oppose the hostile proceedings of the British fleets and armies against the United American Colonies." Ebenezer Webster signed this engagement, and as first selectman certified to the committee the names of eighty-three who had signed it—every male adult in the town except two, who withheld their signatures for reasons not unfriendly to the cause of the colonies.

Ebenezer Webster did not render continuous military service during the Revolution, but whenever the town furnished soldiers for the Continental army he was placed in charge of the work either alone or with Capt. Matthew Pettengill, and Captain Webster on various calls marched to the armed conflicts of the Revolutionary struggle. In 1776 he performed six months' service in the army, enlisting a company, marching to New York, and participating in the battle of White Plains.

At the battle of Bennington, August 16, 1777, he was captain of a company composed of sixty-six men, forty-two of whom were from Salisbury, serving under General STARK. He was ordered to find other companies of two hundred men who were out on a scout, to take charge of the whole, and to fall upon the enemy in the rear when the action should commence at the front. When the charge was made, Captain Webster was the first to leap the defenses, but his command was driven back. Later he was placed by STARK on the left wing of the army, and

fought to the successful finish with bravery and with credit to himself and his command.

In August, 1778, Captain Webster, in obedience to a request from the committee of safety, raised a company, which he commanded; it was the third in Colonel Nichols's regiment of Whipple's brigade, serving in the Rhode Island campaign. In 1780 he was captain of the fourth company in Colonel Nichols's regiment, raised for the defense of West Point. One of Captain Webster's soldiers, Stephen Bohannon, who was with him at the time of General Washington's discovery of the treason of Arnold, in September, 1780, related the following incident to Hon. George W. Nesmith:

Webster was called to General Washington's tent and commanded to guard it during that night, and the General remarked: "Captain Webster, I believe I can trust you."

Bohannon said that Washington did not sleep at all that night, but spent the time either in writing or walking in his tent.

In 1782 Captain Webster performed a six-months service in the northern part of New Hampshire. Most of the soldiers in his company resided in that part of the State. This was known as the "Ranger service," and was the last in which he was engaged.

"As an officer he was beloved by his soldiers, and set the good example of always being in front of his men and in the thickest of the battle. He was born to command; of cool, steady nerve, and possessing sound judgment; in stature six feet tall, erect, stately, and of splendid physique, with a voice of great compass and clearness, making himself heard all along the line and in the thickest of the

battle; eyes black and piercing; a countenance open, frank, and generous, and a complexion which 'could not be soiled by powder.'"

After the close of the war Ebenezer Webster continued to be engaged by his fellow-citizens in public service. He was placed upon all the important town committees, and in 1788 was chosen, with Captain Pettengill, as a delegate to the convention at Concord for forming a State constitution. In 1794 the town voted to choose a committee of seven to engage "minutemen," and made as chairman "Col. Ebenezer Webster."

He was chosen moderator at the second town meeting in 1769, and fifteen times thereafter, the last election being in 1803. In 1769 he was also chosen selectman, and eight times subsequently. He was representative in the legislature from Salisbury in 1780, 1781, and 1790. He also was State senator for five terms from 1785 to 1789, became colonel in the militia in 1784, and finally, about 1791, a county judge for the county of Hillsborough. He was a Presidential elector when Washington was first chosen.

In 1788 Salisbury sent Mr. Webster as delegate to the convention which met in February at Exeter "for the purpose of considering the proposed Constitution," and a town committee was "chosen to take the matter up and instruct Colonel Webster how to act upon their decision." Most of the northern towns were against the Constitution. Public feeling was so strong against it at Exeter that the friends of the measure found that they must secure delay, and the convention adjourned to meet at Concord in June, 1788. Mr. Webster came home, discussed the subject with his constituents, and obtained from them leave to do as he

thought proper. When the vote was about to be taken he arose and said:

Mr. President, I have listened to the arguments for and against the Constitution, and I am convinced that such a government as that Constitution will establish, if adopted—a government acting directly on the people of the States—is necessary for the common defense and general welfare. It is the only government which will enable us to pay off the national debt—the debt which we owe for the Revolution, and which we are bound in honor to fully and fairly discharge. Besides, I have followed the lead of Washington through seven years of war, and I have never been misled. His name is subscribed to this Constitution; he will not mislead us now; I shall vote for its adoption.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge], in his attractive, discriminating, and just biography of DANIEL WEBSTER, in the American Statesman series, vividly describes Ebenezer Webster:

There were splendid sources of strength in this man, the outcome of such a race, from which his children could draw. He had an imposing bodily presence and appearance. He had courage, energy, and tenacity all in high degree. He was businesslike, a man of few words, determined, and efficient. He had a great capacity for affection and self-sacrifice, noble aspirations, a vigorous mind, and above all a strong, pure character, which invited trust. Force of will, force of mind, force of character—these were the three predominant qualities in Ebenezer Webster. His life forms the necessary introduction to that of his celebrated son, and it is well worth study, because we can learn from it how much that son got from a father so finely endowed, and how far he profited by such a rich inheritance.

Such was the father of DANIEL WEBSTER. The mother must not be forgotten by those Americans who are grateful for the patriotic achievements of the son. Little is recorded of Abigail Eastman Webster in authentic narrative, but

the mental traits of her sons Ezekiel and Daniel must have been largely inherited from her or were due to her early training, and surely their development was made possible only by the sufferings and sacrifices through severe toil and in grinding poverty which she welcomed and endured equally with her husband, if not even more fully than he did, in order to give opportunity for the growth and fruition of those marvelous talents which not too fondly nor mistakenly they believed they saw in the sons they loved with such intense devotion.

Mr. Edward Everett says: "Like the mothers of so many men of eminence, she was a woman of more than ordinary intellect, and possessed a force of character which was felt throughout the humble circle in which she moved. She was proud of her sons, and ambitious that they should excel. Her anticipations went beyond the narrow sphere in which their lot seemed to be cast, and the distinction attained by both, and especially by the younger, may well be traced in part to her early promptings and judicious guidance."

Sustained and urged forward by such parents, DANIEL WEBSTER studied in the district school at Salisbury under Masters Thomas Chase and James Tappan, and in 1796, beginning in May, at the Phillips Exeter Academy, under Principal Benjamin Abbott and Ushers Nicholas Emery and Joseph Stevens Buckminster for nine months, and next, from February to August, 1797, under the charge of Rev. Samuel Wood, at Boscawen. While taking him to Mr. Wood his father confided to him his intention to send him to college; and the son says in his autobiography: "I remember the very hill which we were ascending, through

deep snow, in a New England sleigh, when my father made known his purpose to me. I could not speak. How could he, I thought, with so large a family and in such narrow circumstances, think of incurring so great an expense for me? A warm glow ran all over me, and I laid my head on my father's shoulder and wept."

Completing his studies with Mr. Wood, he entered Dartmouth College in August, 1797. Reflecting, while enjoying his advantages, that he alone was profiting by the self-denial of his family, while his brother Ezekiel, whose talents he admired, was deprived of the opportunity of higher education, he determined that the brother also should come to the college, and he argued the case to his father. He records the reply: "He said at once he lived but for his children; that he had but little, and on that little he put no value, except so far as it might be useful to them; that to carry us both through college would take all he was worth; that for himself he was willing to run the risk, but that this was a serious matter to our mother and two unmarried sisters; that we must settle the matter with them, and if their consent was obtained he would trust to Providence and get along as well as he could." The father laid the case before the mother. "The farm is already mortgaged, and if we send Ezekiel to college it will take all we have; but the boys think they can take care of us," he said. It did not take the strong-hearted, sagacious woman long to decide the matter. "We can trust the boys. I have lived long in the world, and have been happy in my children. If Daniel and Ezekiel will promise to take care of me in my old age, I will consent to the sale of all our property at once, that they may enjoy

with us the benefit of what remains after the debts are paid."

As a result of this self-sacrificing decision Ezekiel fitted for college and entered Dartmouth in March, 1801. Each boy struggled earnestly to keep along and finish his four-years' course and get his degree. DANIEL paid his board for a year "by superintending a little weekly paper (called the Dartmouth Gazette) and making selections for it from books of literature and from the contemporary publications," and he was graduated in 1801, shortly after Ezekiel entered. Ezekiel left college in 1803 and went to Boston and taught a private school for a year, but returned and was graduated in 1804, having spent but three years in college.

Immediately after graduating, in August, 1801, Mr. WEBSTER began the study of the law in the office, in Salisbury, of Thomas W. Thompson, a lawyer of note, who later became a member of the national House of Representatives, and also a Senator from June, 1814, to March, 1817. The need of money soon compelled the young law student to go to an academy at Fryeburg, Me., to teach at a salary of one dollar per day, where he also did copying as assistant to the register of deeds at that place. In September, 1802, he returned to Salisbury and resumed his studies under Mr. Thompson, and in July, 1804, went to Boston and studied for six months with Hon. Christopher Gore, an eminent citizen of high culture and great ability, who held various public offices—was governor of Massachusetts, and was also United States Senator from May 5, 1813, to June, 1816, when he resigned.

While in Boston Mr. WEBSTER was asked to return home

to accept the office of clerk of the court of common pleas for the county of Hillsborough, which had been offered to him by the judges out of regard for his father, who was one of what are called "side judges"—men of character and ability appointed for certain service for the county not requiring knowledge of the law. By advice of Mr. Gore he declined this office on the ground that it would sacrifice his professional prospects, but with many doubts of his own and on the part of his father. Returning to Boston, in March, 1805, he was admitted to practice in the court of common pleas for Suffolk County. Going back to New Hampshire, he opened an office in Boscawen, the next town south of Salisbury, so as to be near his father, who, however, died in April, 1806, and in September, 1807, Mr. WEBSTER relinquished his office in Boscawen to his brother Ezekiel and removed to Portsmouth, in accordance with his original intention. He remained in practice there nine years, coming in contact and enjoying an intimate acquaintance with those great New Hampshire lawyers, Jeremiah Smith, George Sullivan, William Plummer, Jeremiah Mason, and Ichabod Bartlett.

During his residence in Portsmouth he was drawn into politics. It had been the custom for the most noted scholars at Dartmouth College to deliver Fourth of July addresses. Mr. WEBSTER had pronounced such an oration July 4, 1800, at Hanover, while a member of the junior class, which was printed. Mr. Lodge says:

The boy WEBSTER preached love of country, the grandeur of American nationality, fidelity to the Constitution as the bulwark of nationality, and the necessity and the nobility of the Union of the States; and that was the message which the man WEBSTER delivered

to his fellow-men. The enduring work which Mr. WEBSTER did in the world and his meaning and influence in American history are all summed up in the principles enunciated in that boyish speech at Hanover.

Mr. Lodge, in thus tracing to its source the origin of Mr. WEBSTER'S intense nationality and his fidelity to the Constitution as its bulwark, might well have gone back still further to that speech of Ebenezer Webster in the convention at Exeter, where he said that the new Government would be one "acting directly on the people of the States." The father thus spoke in June, 1788. In February, 1833, the son, in his reply to Mr. Calhoun, characterized the Government as one "creating direct relations between itself and individuals."

The following entry appears in the history of Salisbury: "Eighteen hundred and five. DANIEL WEBSTER delivered the Fourth of July oration to the Federalists at the South Road, and Thomas Hale Pettengill to the Democrats, then called Republicans, at the Centre Road." Mr. WEBSTER also delivered a Fourth of July oration while he was at Fryeburg, which has been printed. In 1806 he made a Fourth of July oration to the Federalists at Concord. In 1808 he wrote a pamphlet against the embargo. In 1812 he delivered a Fourth of July address before the Washington Benevolent Society at Portsmouth, which was an argument against the war; but he insisted upon the necessity of a better navy. This address was followed by the election of Mr. WEBSTER as a delegate to a mass convention held in August, 1812, in Rockingham County, where he drew the report of a committee, adopted by the convention, known as the "Rockingham Memorial."

As the result of this political work, Mr. WEBSTER was elected to Congress in 1812, and took his seat May 24, 1813, and he was once reelected, closing his New Hampshire period of service on March 4, 1817.

On first entering Congress he was placed upon the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Mr. Calhoun was chairman. He first made a speech on resolutions, introduced by himself on June 10, 1813, attacking the Administration for an alleged concealment of the information that France had repealed the Berlin and Milan decrees until after the declaration of war against England; and the resolutions were passed. At the next session of Congress the dominant party dropped him from the Committee on Foreign Relations. He spoke on several occasions, his principal speech being against a bill to encourage enlistments, which was an attack upon the Administration in connection with its conduct of the war, and he denounced the embargo, which was shortly thereafter repealed.

The controversy in reference to a national bank had begun, and Mr. WEBSTER opposed the plan, which favored a large capital and a non-specie-paying bank under obligation to make heavy loans to the Government, and the bill was defeated by the casting vote of the Speaker. The vote was reconsidered, the bill freed from its objectionable features, and passed by a large majority; but it was vetoed by the President.

In the Fourteenth Congress, beginning in December, 1815, and ending April 30, 1816, Mr. WEBSTER participated in the debates upon the bank bill and again opposed irredeemable paper. He offered resolutions and spoke in favor of requiring all Government dues to be paid in coin

or its equivalent. His resolutions were adopted. During this session Mr. WEBSTER was challenged to fight a duel, by John Randolph, which challenge he declined in language which Mr. Lodge says is a "model of dignity and veiled contempt." "He refused to admit Randolph's right to an explanation, alluded to that gentleman's lack of courtesy in the House, denied his right to call him out, and wound up by saying that he did not feel bound to risk his life at anyone's bidding, but should always be prepared to repel in a suitable manner the aggression of any man who might presume on his refusal."

The period of nine years which have been mentioned, covering his law practice at Portsmouth and his four years in the House of Representatives, ended Mr. WEBSTER'S citizenship in New Hampshire. He had acquired a high reputation at the bar, had been called to try cases in Boston, and had realized the need of a larger field of employment and of more ample remuneration. He had also become known nationally, and seemed evidently destined to a great career both as a lawyer and a public man. Therefore, in August, 1816, he removed to Boston. Thereafter his name and fame belonged no more to New Hampshire alone, but especially to Massachusetts, and to the whole country as well.

It is not the purpose of these introductory remarks to follow in detail Mr. WEBSTER'S career after he ceased to be a citizen of New Hampshire. His official life was mainly passed in the national House of Representatives, in the United States Senate, and in the Cabinet as Secretary of State.

He was elected from Massachusetts to the House of

Representatives in 1822, taking his seat in December, 1823, and was twice reelected. He was a member of the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1830. He became United States Senator March 4, 1827, and served till 1841, when he resigned to become Secretary of State in President Harrison's Cabinet. He continued in President Tyler's Cabinet, but finally resigned in May, 1843, and resumed the practice of the law in Boston.

On March 4, 1845, he again entered the Senate, succeeding Rufus Choate, and he once more resigned July 22, 1850, to enter President Fillmore's Cabinet as Secretary of State, where he remained until his death at Marshfield, Mass., on October 24, 1852.

In politics he was first a Federalist, afterwards a member of the Whig party, and several times a candidate in the conventions of that party for the nomination for President.

Mr. WEBSTER'S national fame as a lawyer began with the Dartmouth College case, argued in the New Hampshire court on May 18, 1817, and in the United States Supreme Court on March 10, 1818, which established the doctrine that grants of privileges by States to corporations give vested rights not subject to repeal at the will of the legislature.

In the case of *Gibbons and Ogden*, at the February term, 1824, he successfully contended that a grant by a State of an exclusive right of navigation in the waters of the State was void, because an encroachment upon the right of the Congress to regulate commerce; and in the case of *Ogden and Sanders*, at the January term, 1827, he argued, with only partial success, that all State insolvent laws were unconstitutional.

In the Charles River bridge case, in 1836, he vainly sought to sustain the exclusive right of the bridge company against an act of the legislature authorizing the erection of Warren bridge.

In the Girard will case, in February, 1844, he unsuccessfully contended that Christianity was so far the paramount law of the land that the exclusion, in founding a college, of all ministers of whatever sect from holding office and from admission within its walls was void.

In the Rhode Island case of Luther and Borden, on January 27, 1848, he maintained the validity of the Government under the old charter as against a new constitution set up by a voluntary convention of the people.

His published address to the jury for the prosecution on the trial, in August, 1830, of John F. Knapp for the murder, on April 7, 1830, of Capt. Joseph White, of Salem, has been universally read. Mr. Everett says that "the record of the causes célèbres of no country or age will furnish either a more thrilling narrative or a forensic effort of greater ability."

Mr. WEBSTER'S renown as an orator arises largely from his Plymouth oration of December 22, 1820, his Bunker Hill Monument orations of June 17, 1825, and June 17, 1843, and the Adams and Jefferson oration of August 2, 1826; but his extraordinary powers were also exhibited in his other occasional addresses, in his legal arguments, and in his speeches in the Senate, especially in his second speech in reply to Mr. Hayne.

Mr. WEBSTER'S reputation as a statesman is based upon a series of speeches in the Senate and at political meetings and upon his public acts as Secretary of State. The most

notable speeches were those made in the Senate while opposing nullification and maintaining that the Constitution is not a compact between the States from which any State may withdraw at its pleasure, but a national charter proceeding from the people themselves, and only to be terminated and destroyed by revolution. His remarks on this topic and in defense of Massachusetts and New England from the attacks of Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, are to be found in the three speeches of January 20, January 26, and January 27, 1830, on Foote's resolution.

During his career Mr. WEBSTER treated in speeches, with great distinctness, amplitude, and force, the following subjects: The tariff, internal improvements, the national bank, the currency, the Monroe doctrine, the Texas question and the Mexican war, and slavery in all its relations, ending with his speeches of the 7th of March, the 17th of June, and the 17th of July, 1850, in favor of the compromise measures of that year.

As Secretary of State his principal act was the negotiation with Lord Ashburton of the Treaty of Washington, on August 9, 1842, which settled the controversy with Great Britain over the northeastern boundary, provided for the extradition of fugitives from justice, and promoted the suppression of the slave trade by a practical arrangement for the mutual right of search of the vessels of the two countries. This treaty was defended later in the Senate by Mr. WEBSTER in speeches of April 6 and 7, 1846. The correspondence also disposed of the vexed question of the impressment of seamen and of the destruction of the *Caroline* and the arrest of McLeod in 1837, and of the maritime

rights connected with the slave mutineers of the ship *Creole*, in 1842.

Other correspondence and arrangements adjusted our controversies with Mexico about certain American citizens captured at Santa Fe and concerning the independence of Texas, and our differences with Spain growing out of the seizure of the schooner *Amistad* and her slaves, and secured the independence of the Sandwich Islands. The mission to China and the treaty with that power, accomplished by the learned and versatile Caleb Cushing, were noted achievements. The Hulsemann correspondence carried on with the Austrian minister in vindication of the welcome given by our people to Louis Kossuth, the eloquent Hungarian patriot and refugee, attracted world-wide attention and received universal commendation in America.

These achievements constitute the substantial basis of Mr. WEBSTER'S greatness and entitle his native State of New Hampshire to place his likeness in marble as one of her two memorial statues in the National Gallery in this Capitol.

If it may not be claimed that no one has surpassed Mr. WEBSTER as a lawyer, there can be no reasonable doubt that no one has excelled him as an orator or as a statesman; and surely the combination as a whole, in his mind and person, of the qualities tending to superiority in each of the three spheres of action—as a lawyer, as an orator, and as a statesman—marks him as the greatest civilian of the first hundred years of our national existence under our matchless Constitution.

It is not, however, the part of wisdom, nor required by the demands of the hour—it would be, indeed, discouraging

rather than helpful to the rising generation of to-day—to present the character of Mr. WEBSTER as wholly perfect. The great man was not without personal faults, nor did his public acts escape severe criticism. At this distance of time and on this occasion any historic truth may be plainly disclosed and considered, and any disapproval may be expressed which may be deemed appropriate by those who take part in these exercises.

In his early days in Congress Mr. WEBSTER strongly opposed a protective tariff, when, under the lead of Mr. Calhoun, the South sought by duties on imports to develop the home industries of cotton and other manufactures, while New England was agricultural and commercial merely, and largely engaged in the carrying trade upon the ocean.

Afterwards, when New England had bowed to the national policy and had invested her means in manufacturing enterprises, upon which her property and wealth became absolutely dependent, Mr. WEBSTER changed his position, and argued with great earnestness and force in favor of protection according to the American system of Henry Clay. Here was no moral question—it was economic purely; one of expediency, and one whether there should be a broad or narrow construction of the Constitution. To-day there is no serious controversy whether it was wise and constitutional to enact the second law of the First Congress, passed on July 4, 1789, for laying duties on imports, declared to be “for the encouragement and protection of manufactures.”

When the slavery question first became dominant in national politics Mr. WEBSTER was one of its leading opponents and committed himself most positively in favor

of the Wilmot proviso, demanding a prohibition by direct and affirmative national law against the existence of slavery in any of the Territories of the Union. Yet in his 7th of March speech he made a radical change, abandoned the Wilmot proviso, and again, as a follower of Mr. Clay, supported the compromise measures of 1850.

This transition of Mr. WEBSTER occasioned widespread criticism. Great bitterness toward him in public discussion caused him infinite distress during the remaining two years of his life; and there is still contention as to the motives of his change and as to the wisdom and patriotism of his course.

In an address in the Senate on February 18, 1889, upon the reception from the State of Michigan of the statue of Lewis Cass, also a native of New Hampshire, the present speaker sought for the reasons which led that Northern statesman to be willing to make so many concessions to the South and to slavery. The controlling motive, it may fairly be claimed, was love of the Union of these States and fears of its dissolution. Now that the Union, after more than one hundred years of national life under the Constitution, has been cemented by the blood of hundreds of thousands of patriotic citizen soldiery in the greatest war of modern times, these fears of the men of 1850 may seem to have been fanciful and needless. But they were real to them. The Union meant, as they believed, everything that was dear to them and to their children, and they were willing to yield and to suffer much rather than to risk the doubtful issue of fratricidal warfare for its maintenance.

That such a motive influenced Mr. WEBSTER there can be no doubt. Whether it was the sole motive may be

questioned. Mr. Lodge, speaking of the 7th of March speech, says:

It is impossible to determine, with perfect accuracy, any man's motives in what he says or does. They are so complex; they are so often undefined, even in the mind of the man himself, that no one can pretend to make an absolutely correct analysis.

But whether the just and impartial historian will conclude that Mr. WEBSTER acted from mixed motives, his eulogists can unflinchingly assert that he was sincere in his devotion to the Union. If he had lived until 1861, when the South and slavery began the war, he would have spoken uncompromisingly for the maintenance of the Union by force of arms, and would have thrown all his surviving energies and eloquence into the contest for the establishment of liberty to all men, without distinction of color, as well as the perpetuation of the Union.

So that it is universally conceded that Mr. WEBSTER'S intense nationality, which was inherited and was strengthened by the labors of a lifetime in behalf of the American Union, entitles him to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen.

In centuries to come, if the statues in the gallery escape the leveling hand of time, and future generations look upon the likeness of WEBSTER and ask who he was and what he did, there shall come the undying eulogium: He was the great expounder and defender of the American Constitution. There is no military halo around his mighty head; no names of battles tell his fame; but he set forth and explained in living and burning words, as no other did or could, the immortal principles of American government, to defend which navies were built, armies were raised, and our great military chieftains fought, and bled, and gave up their lives.

ADDRESS OF MR. HOAR.

MR. PRESIDENT: There are few faithful portraits of human faces or faithful representations of human figures which take their place by the side of the ideal creations of art, such as the Jove of Phidias, or the Apollo Belvedere, or the Venus of Melos, as examples of consummate beauty, or as expressing great moral qualities, or as types of nations or races. The face of George Washington, as represented by Stuart; the portrait of the young Augustus, where in the innocent face of unstained youth appears already the promise of an imperial character; some Greek and Roman busts; some representations of the youthful Napoleon; the head of Alexander Humboldt; the glorious forehead of Coleridge; the lips of Julius Cæsar—are almost the only examples that I now recall. The figure and head of DANIEL WEBSTER I think we shall all agree to include in the same list.

No man ever looked upon him and forgot him. His stately personal presence was the chief ornament of Boston and of Washington for a generation. When he walked, a stranger, through the streets of London, the draymen turned to gaze after him as he passed. Sidney Smith said of him, "He is a cathedral by himself;" and at another time, in homelier phrase, "A steam engine in breeches." Carlyle wrote to Emerson of him:

The tanned complexion; that amorphous craglike face; the dull black eyes under the precipice of brows, like dull anthracite furnaces needing only to be blown; the mastiff mouth, accurately closed; I have not traced so much of silent Berserker rage that I remember of in any man.

The qualities of one of the greatest races of men which the world has seen in its greatest age and fullest development appeared in that majestic countenance and looked out in the gaze of those magnificent eyes. Command, courage, steadfastness, intellect, the repose of conscious strength, the capacity for tenderness or for burning passion, are all there.

Mr. WEBSTER'S family, as is the case with very many of our eminent men, both living and dead, is of Scotch origin, though they dwelt for some time in England before they came to this country. That element, whether it came originally from Scotland itself, or indirectly from Ireland or England, has contributed some of the best citizens to New England, as to other parts of the country. The shrewd sense, the active intellect, the undaunted perseverance, the indomitable courage, the deep religious faith, the tenderness of family affection, the stanch patriotism for which the Scotch are so distinguished, have never suffered in the transplanting. Wherever anything good is to be had or to be done in this country, you are apt to find a Scotchman on the front seat trying to see if he can get it or do it.

He touched New England at every point. He was born a frontiersman. He tells us that when the smoke rose from his father's chimney there was no other similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. He was bred a farmer. He knew well the history of the growth of every crop, the chemistry of the soil, the procession of the seasons. He knew, too, the simple and tender history of the country fireside, and what the farmer was thinking of as he guided

his plow in the furrow in April or pitched the hay into the cart in midsummer. He was a fisherman in the mountain brooks and off the shore. He never forgot his origin, and he never was ashamed of it. Amid all the care and honor of his great place here, he was homesick for the company of his old neighbors and friends. Whether he stood in Washington the unchallenged prince and chief in the Senate, or in foreign lands the kingliest man of his time in the presence of kings, his heart was in New England. When the spring came he heard far off the fife bird and the bobolink calling him to his New Hampshire mountains, or the plashing of the waves on the shore at Marshfield alluring him with a sweeter than siren's voice to his home by the summer sea.

That Mr. WEBSTER was the foremost American lawyer of his time, as well in the capacity to conduct jury trials as to argue questions of law before the full court, will not, I think, be seriously questioned by anybody who has read the reports of his legal arguments, or who has studied the history of his encounters before juries with antagonists like Choate or Pinkney.

That he was foremost in that field which is almost peculiar to this country, where the orator utters the emotions of the people on great occasions of joy or sorrow or of national pride, the reader of the orations at Plymouth Rock and on the occasion of the foundation and completion of the monument at Bunker Hill, the eulogies on Adams and Jefferson, on Story and Mason, will not question. There has been nothing of the kind to surpass them or to equal them since the funeral oration of Pericles.

That he was a great diplomatist, able to conduct difficult

negotiations to successful issue or to debate with the representatives of foreign Governments questions in dispute between nations, was abundantly shown in his brief terms of service in the Department of State.

But the place of his achievement and renown was here in the Senate Chamber. He was every inch a Senator—an American Senator. He needed no robe, no gilded chair, no pageant, no ceremony, no fasces, no herald making proclamation, to add to the dignity and to the authority with which his majestic presence, his consummate reason, his weighty eloquence, his lofty bearing invested the Senatorial character. His statue will stand in yonder chamber to be the first object of admiration to every visitor for centuries to come. But no work of art can do justice to the image of WEBSTER which dwells in the hearts of his countrymen, and there shall abide when the walls of this Capitol shall have crumbled and the columns of the Memorial Hall shall lie prostrate. That image will abide, one and inseparable, with the Union which he defended and the liberty which he loved.

I do not think Mr. WEBSTER'S style is maintained at its highest excellence throughout his speeches as they come down to us in print. The thought is never tame or mean. You never doubt that a great mind is at work. But it often seems to be working sluggishly. The expression sometimes seems that of a man half asleep. This may largely be due to the imperfection of reporting. His masterpieces of English are a few passages where his faculties seem to have been at a white heat. It is a common mistake to speak of Mr. WEBSTER'S as a nervous Saxon style. Except in a few sentences the characteristic of Mr.

WEBSTER'S style is a somewhat ponderous Latinity. There is more of Dr. Johnson than of Shakespeare in it. I think that for his purposes he was discreet in the choice of a vehicle for his thoughts, for which the resources of that part of our language which is of Saxon origin would often have been inadequate.

The Saxon is tough, sinewy, racy. It is the fittest speech for common life. It is not without resources for the utterance of lofty emotion, as witness many passages in the Bible which we know by heart. But still there is something lacking in it. When the intellect would express its profoundest meaning, or clothe itself in state or splendor, it seeks in the Latin what it does not find elsewhere. If we were to endow the animals with the gift of speech, we should give the Saxon to the otter, to the ferret, to the bulldog, and even to the eagle. But I think we would need something else for the lion. Indeed, in Campbell's matchless couplet, even in describing the eagle's flight, with what a fine instinct he touches both chords. The Saxon will do for the swift flight, like a bullet to its mark. But the lofty, unapproachable solitude must be described in the majestic Latin:

Lo! the death-shot of foemen outspeeding he rode,
Companionless, bearing destruction abroad.

The Saxon is a safe tongue for persons who are in danger of spoiling their English style by the use of little pomposities. The attempt to give dignity to a mean or common thought, or to a thought which should be uttered simply, directly, and plainly, by clothing it in a certain affected stateliness of phrase, is the ruin of many writers and of

more speakers. The Saxon is not likely to be used by a writer who has no thought at all.

But on every occasion he knew how to convey his weighty meaning to any tribunal he had to address, whether court or Senate, alike to the understanding of the people and the apprehension of any antagonist. The grandeur of Mr. WEBSTER'S speech was always mingled with moral tenderness and beauty. But his passion is a restrained and contained passion. He belonged to a race, he spake to auditors of a race, not in the habit of uncovering the springs of emotion to every observer. The few incidents where he gave way and seemed to have lost command of himself in deep personal feeling, as in his Dartmouth College argument, are handed down to us by tradition only. He did not prepare them beforehand, and he has left no record of them himself. There is in all Mr. WEBSTER'S speeches the appearance of reserved power, of avoidance of extremes, which adds so much to their impressiveness.

Half his strength he put not forth.

It was said of him by a great philosopher of New England, the only man of his time whose influence as a great public teacher equaled his own:

His weight was like the falling of a planet; his discretion the return of its due and perfect curve.

He was not more distinguished from other public speakers by his severe reason, his sound sense, and his lofty eloquence than by his moderation and restraint. He was master of every emotion but one—love of country. That alone he allowed to obtain mastery of him.

It was hard for him to argue the wrong side. His genius was less the genius of the advocate than of the

judge. His style was the fit vehicle for truth only. His clear logic could never be at the command of error. Calhoun, in his dying hours, said, when Mr. WEBSTER'S name was mentioned to him:

Mr. WEBSTER has as high a standard of truth as any statesman I have met in debate. Convince him, and he can not reply; he is silenced; he can not look truth in the face and oppose it by argument. I think that it could be readily perceived when he felt the force of an unanswerable reply.

It is scarcely too much to say that DANIEL WEBSTER first taught his country her own greatness. There can be found no utterance of his, whether he speaks of his country or in behalf of his country, which is not in a manner befitting a first-class power among the nations of the world. There is no vanity or pettiness or boasting. There is no deference or beseeching in his tone. The contrast in this particular between Mr. WEBSTER'S state papers and many of those that preceded his time, and some, I am sorry to say, of a time later than his, is quite marked. This lofty and dignified tone marks all his speeches from his first entrance upon public view. No Englishman, no Greek, no Roman ever felt a loftier pride in the character of his country, in his country's proudest day, than DANIEL WEBSTER felt in his.

From the time of his first public speech which arrested the attention of his countrymen until to-day his speeches are the literature of American nationality. No other orator or statesman divides with him this honor. Mothers teach their children the love of country in his words. The schoolboy knows them by heart. On every patriotic anniversary the orators repeat them. They are inscribed

on the walls of banquet halls and on triumphal banners. They will never be forgotten. They are to the American what the Psalms of David were to the Hebrew, what the songs of Burns are to the Scotchman.

If Mr. WEBSTER had died when General Taylor was nominated for the Presidency in 1848, he would have gone down in our history as its chief historical figure, save Washington and Lincoln alone. The estimate in which the people of New England would have held him would, I think, have been accepted by the whole country, and would have scarcely fallen short of idolatry. There would have been perhaps a little complaint that in his last years he had been slow and unready in taking his place as the foremost leader and champion of liberty and in marshaling her hosts for the great struggle for dominion over the vast territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific. But the judgment of the country would have been that such hesitation was only the deliberation due to the gravity of the question and the importance of his own relation to it.

Until the 7th of March, 1850, he was the oracle of New England. His portrait was upon the farmers' walls. He seemed to dwell at every fireside, not so much a guest as at home, in an almost bodily presence, mingling with every discussion where the power, the glory, or the authority of the country was in question. Before 1850 DANIEL WEBSTER had never come off defeated from any intellectual encounter or lowered his spear before any antagonist. In the strifes of party politics his side had often been defeated. But his arguments of fundamental questions had sunk deep into the hearts and had convinced the reason of the vast majority of his countrymen of all parties.

But in 1850, for the first time, he encountered quite another antagonist. He put himself in opposition to the conscience of the North. The voice of law, as he interpreted it, and the voice of God, speaking to the individual soul, for the first time in our national history seemed to be in conflict. I suppose the time has not yet come for a sound and dispassionate judgment of Mr. WEBSTER'S motives in choosing his side. It is possible that, like so many other and ordinary men, he hardly knew them himself. A man conscious of great powers, the object of a worship amounting almost to idolatry, not merely from common men, but from the ablest, wisest, and most illustrious of his contemporaries, knowing well his own fitness for the highest public service, and knowing also his own purpose to employ supreme power, if intrusted with it, solely for the public advantage, can hardly measure the influence of ambition as affecting his judgment.

Mr. WEBSTER was doubtless sincere when he stated his apprehension of a dissolution of the Union, and of the vast mischief to humanity if that dissolution should be accomplished. Subsequent events and calmer reflection have shown that in this respect it was he, and not his opponents, who was right. But no language can fitly describe the condition of mind with which the report of Mr. WEBSTER'S speech of the 7th of March, 1850, was heard. Nothing could have resisted the dominion of DANIEL WEBSTER over New England until he provoked an encounter with the inexorable conscience of the Puritan. The shock of amazement, of consternation, and of grief which went through the North has had no parallel save that which attended the assassination of Lincoln. Is it you, DANIEL

WEBSTER, who are giving us this counsel? Do you tell us that when the fugitive slave girl lays her suppliant hands on the horns of the altar it is our duty to send her back to be scourged, to be outraged, to be denied the right to read her Bible, to be the mother of a progeny on whom, for countless generations, these things shall be the common and relentless doom? Is it you—the orator of Plymouth Rock, of Bunker Hill, defender of the Constitution—from whose volcanic lips came those words of molten lava, “Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable”? Has the intellect that wrought out the massive logic of the reply to Hayne descended to this pitiful argument? Do we—

Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him
Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves?

Is it slavery and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable? Do you, who erected in imperishable granite the eternal monument of Nathan Dane among the massive columns of your great argument, tell us now that natural conditions are to determine the question of slavery, and that an ordinance of freedom is an affront to the South, and that we must not reenact the law of God? Is the great territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific to be left to its fate? Do you, who came to the side of Andrew Jackson in 1832, counsel that the lawful authority of this nation shall yield to the threats of revolution and secession? Is it from you that we hear that there is no higher law? Even if you are right in your interpretation of the Constitution, when did you discover that it was greater than the law of God?

Were not the mandates of Laud, which the Puritans resisted and from which they fled, founded upon English law? Was not the revocation of the edict of Nantes from the same lawful authority as that which enacted it? Were not the doings of St. Bartholomew's eve by command of a lawful king? Did not the English judges determine the question of the right to impose ship money in the king's favor? Were Hampden and Russell mere traitors and agitators? Your doctrine condemns in one breath the champions and the martyrs of English liberty and of our own.

Mr. WEBSTER, for the first time in his life, failed to comprehend the temper of the people among whom he was born and bred. He met this expostulation with arrogance and contempt. It was perhaps not unnatural. He was growing old. He had been fed on adulation. He had found no antagonists fit to cope with him, or who dared to cope with him. He had failed—

Only when he tried

The adamant of the righteous side.

He had an old man's dread of a new order of things. He had a not ungenerous ambition. He was right in his estimate of public danger. His constitutional arguments remained unanswered.

WEBSTER died while the storm of this mighty conflict was still raging. He was disappointed in the hope that it would be given to him to compose it. The compromises which he had hoped would settle forever the questions growing out of slavery were never observed by either side. In the national convention of his own party, as its candidate for the Presidency in 1852, out of two hundred and

ninety-three votes he received but thirty. He counseled his friends to cast their votes for the candidate of the Democracy, and went home to Marshfield to die prematurely, and—

Foiled in aim and hope, bereaved
Of old friends, by the new deceived,
Beside the lonely Northern sea,
Where long and low the marsh lands spread,
Laid wearily down his august head.

It would have been fortunate for Mr. WEBSTER's happiness and for his fame if he had died before 1850. But what would have been his fame and what would have been his happiness if his life could have been spared till 1865! He would have seen the transcendent issue on which the fate of the country hung made up as he had framed it in 1830. Union and liberty, the law of man and the law of God, the Constitution and natural justice, the august voice of patriotism and the august voices of the men who settled the country and of the men who framed the Constitution are all speaking on the same side. He would have lived to see the time for concession all gone by; the flag falling from Sumter's walls caught as it fell by the splendid youth of 1861; the armed hosts pressing upon the Capitol beaten back, everything which he had loved, everything which he had worked for in the prime of his years and in the strength of his manhood, rallying upon one side—patriotism, national authority, law, conscience, duty, all speaking together and all speaking through his lips and repeating his maxims. He would have seen his great arguments in the reply to Hayne, in the debates with Calhoun, inspiring, guiding, commanding, strengthening.

The judge in the court is citing them. The orator in the Senate is repeating them. The soldier by the camp fire is meditating them. The Union cannon is shotted with them. They are flashing from the muzzle of the rifle. They are gleaming in the stroke of the saber. They are heard in the roar of the artillery. They shine on the advancing banner. They mingle with the shout of victory. They conquer in the surrender of Appomattox. They abide forever and forever in the returning reason of an estranged section and the returning loyalty of a united people! Oh, if he could but have lived! If he could but have lived, how the hearts of his countrymen would have come back to him!

What will be the final verdict of mankind upon the last three years of the life of DANIEL WEBSTER it would be arrogance and presumption here to declare. But whether, as many men think, they will be held to have been but another instance of human frailty, giving way before a supreme temptation, to be pitied, to be pardoned, to be forgotten, or whether those years will be held to have been years of a supreme and noble sacrifice of self to patriotism and for the safety of the country, it is too early, although nearly half a century has gone by, to pronounce with confidence. May none of us in our humbler public career be subjected to such a test or be brought to the bar of history to receive its sentence after such a trial!

The bitterest enemy, the most austere judge, must grant to DANIEL WEBSTER a place with the great intellects of the world. He was among the greatest. Of all the men who have rendered great services to America and to the cause of constitutional liberty there are but two or three

names worthy to be placed by the side of his. Of all the lovers of his country, no man ever loved her with a greater love. In all the attributes of a mighty and splendid manhood he never had a superior on earth. Master of English speech, master of the loftiest emotions that stirred the hearts of his countrymen, comprehending better than any other man save Marshall the principles of her Constitution, he is the one foremost figure in our history between the day when Washington died and the day when Lincoln took the oath of office.

ADDRESS OF MR. MORGAN.

MR. PRESIDENT: It is said of DANIEL WEBSTER that the last utterances of his tongue were, "I still live." We are here to-day for the purpose of affirming by the action of this august body that he who lived in this Chamber, in this association, and under the Constitution of the United States, with so much renown, still lives in the hearts of his countrymen, and particularly he lives in the hearts and admiration of the Senate of the United States. He lives in such a way that no American regrets that he ever lived. His life was so perfectly rounded out; his spirit of devotion to America and American institutions was so thorough, so irreproachable; his love of his country and of the people of his country, his respect for them, his fellowship with them, and his admiration of the people, were so great that he has not left in their hearts a sting or a feeling of resentment which has survived the half century of his active life, or the other half century during which he has been lying in his honored grave.

This, Mr. President, in my estimation, is, after all, the highest achievement of American statesmanship, that when a man has passed his life in the public councils and has gone away, the subsequent generations of his countrymen shall say of him, "He served his country with fidelity and without a feeling of personal ambition for his own exaltation; he devoted himself assiduously, honestly, and sincerely to his duties; he followed his convictions amidst all clamors and all reproaches and against all opposition, and

he gave to his country that sincere and noble service as a statesman which should stand as a lesson to all coming generations of men, from which they could gather profit for themselves and for their country, and could forever stand together as brethren, without reproach for any differences of opinion honestly entertained. His life, his opinions, his policies, and his sentiments were not reproachful to other Americans while he lived, and his memory is an honorable treasure to America."

Such was the career of DANIEL WEBSTER, as I understand it, as I receive it from history, and as I appreciate and applaud it. I had not the opportunity of knowing this distinguished American, neither have I resided in that part of the country where the least incident of his life is treasured up as if it were a precious jewel among his acquaintances, his friends, and his constituents. But what I receive from the public history of the United States, of which his life is an essential part, is that which is received and recorded in the hearts of all Americans—that there was no more eminent statesman than DANIEL WEBSTER, perhaps no abler lawyer than he, and certainly no man who was more profoundly determined in the support of the Constitution of the United States, which rests with the obligation of an oath upon every conscience that has any dealing with the Government in any official relation.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar] has pointed out the very extraordinary and tremendous state of agitated feeling that occurred in New England after Mr. WEBSTER had made his speech in the Senate of the United States on the Wilmot proviso. Doubtless his great and magnanimous and tender heart was much disturbed by the

fact that he had aroused the censures of those who loved him so much and whom in return he so well loved. But if I were called to point out in the history of DANIEL WEBSTER the most conspicuous evidence of his great moral power and moral courage, it would be that, following his own convictions and guided by his own sense of duty to his country, he obeyed the Constitution of the United States rather than the clamor and sentiment of those by whom he was most nearly surrounded and was most beloved. That I consider the highest example that he has left in the history of his life of the majesty and grandeur and nobility of his character.

I could not point out an incident in the life of DANIEL WEBSTER that would add anything to what is known by his countrymen in respect of the history of his career. It is not necessary that I should do so. His reputation is monumental in that it stands conspicuously up amongst the loftiest characters that America has produced, and in its simplicity and truth attracts the attention, the veneration, and the love of all Americans—yea, of all English-speaking people, and of all the people in the world who have respect for our system of constitutional law and free institutions.

I might add that his reputation is not only monumental, but it is immortal, for immortality as we understand it consists in the fact that the memory of one is carried on from generation to generation while this world shall exist, from lip to lip and from page to page of history, so that the readers who stand at the farthest imaginable end of this great line shall understand the character of the man who has thus built for himself a glory that is inextinguishable.

That, after all, is true immortality, as we understand it; and yet there is an immortality that is given to us which is personal to us, which concerns us and us alone, which relates to a different sphere of existence after we have thrown off this mortal coil. In that immortality his fame is tried by severer tests than we can apply; but I do not doubt that in that land he is still engaged in some noble employ and is conscious of the love of his countrymen.

But in respect of the immortality which men create by the transmission of their belief in and their veneration for the character of those who have lived in this world DANIEL WEBSTER has achieved immortality, and he yet lives. He will live, Mr. President, as long as history lives. Not an incident of his life of any importance will have faded from the memory of man when the child that is born centuries hereafter shall gaze upon him with even a clearer and more distinct vision than those had who had the honor and privilege of living in his presence in this world. That is true immortality. That he achieved this great and conspicuous honor on the floor of the Senate more than elsewhere in the world is an honor to this body which we should fully appreciate and always preserve among our brightest recollections and our most cherished traditions.

As a Senator from the South, I take great pleasure in participating in an occasion which has for its purpose the recalling of some of the splendors of WEBSTER'S achievements and some of his great efforts in debate upon the floor of this Chamber. Whether New England exhausted herself in the production of WEBSTER, or whether others may come like him hereafter, it makes no difference. In

WEBSTER those older States bestowed upon America a grand endowment. He has, as the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Chandler] stated, when he left his native State, passed out into the keeping of the people of the United States, and they will not only always cherish and revere his memory, but they will feel proud that they belong to his country; and Senators in this Chamber will feel a just pride that they are members of that body among whom he labored so faithfully for this great Government.

The history of two lives has been presented to-day by New Hampshire for us to think about and to emulate. The one was a great general of the Revolutionary war, who was amongst the redeemers of the people. With his sword, his great daring, his intrepidity, his chivalrous bearing, with all that belongs to the actual heroism of a great soldier, that noble Revolutionary general assisted in relieving a people from the thralldom of submission to a Government that had become their persecutor, their oppressor. The other man was not a redeemer of the people from oppression, but he was a teacher, a teacher of the Senate of the United States, of the Congress of the United States, of foreign nations, and more particularly and more essentially of the great body of the people of the United States.

He was a great teacher as to the form and essence of this Government, and of the nice and delicate bearings and adjustment of all its different parts in their relation to each other. He was less a combatant for his opinions upon the floor of the Senate than he was an instructor to all Senators, those who opposed and those who agreed with him, upon the proper construction of the principles of the

Government under which we live, and of the Constitution, which is the exponent and embodiment of those principles. Hence it was that it has been said here to-day that he followed the lead of Henry Clay, the great popular statesman of the South and West, and that at times he yielded his opinions and changed his position from one attitude to another as measures were expounded and illustrated by the arguments of some other great Senator on this floor.

DANIEL WEBSTER did not change his views to meet any man's opinions, in my judgment, nor did he follow Mr. Clay because of his supremacy in leadership; but he followed his own clear conscience and sound judgment in respect of the fundamental law of the United States, and where that led, it mattered not where or into what company, he went willingly and with a firm and brave step to the front. That is my conception of him; that, above all else, is why I admire him; that is why the people whom I represent here respect his reputation as an honor to them, although in many respects his position on public measures seemed to be adverse to what they considered as being the policy which would best subserve their interests.

Mr. President, this man is a very peculiar character in American history. He was born in 1782, seven years before the Constitution of the United States was adopted. We then had no President of the United States. That office had not been created. These thirteen States had separate sovereignty of such an independent character with respect to each other that they were in every essential sense foreign States. They were drawing together under the impulse of a necessity for forming a better, a wiser, and a stronger government, but their assemblage was not

by any means a merely sentimental union of states. They came together dispassionately and with prearrangement which involved the discussion of every principle of government which concerned the formation of this great Union under which we are now living, and this Constitution, which is the supreme law not of this land only but is the supreme law of humanity, and will hereafter become the supreme law of nations.

WEBSTER was seven years old when that Constitution was adopted. He took his degree and left Dartmouth College in 1801. At that time there were fifteen States in the Union; but when he died, in 1852, there were thirty-two States in the Union. So his life measured the beginning and the development of the most wonderful system of government which was ever ordained by the wisdom of man, bringing greater growth and prosperity than has been witnessed by any government or people in all the ages of history.

In the midst of all this growth there was need of men like DANIEL WEBSTER and John Marshall for the purpose of regulating and settling in respect of this new plan of government those fine and nice distinctions in regard to the powers possessed by the United States and the powers possessed by the several States which have been so important, and are still so important, in the adjustment of the relations of those States with each other in the Union which we Senators represent here.

It was an inconceivable blessing to the American people that such a man was found, with such splendid powers of reasoning and oratory, such clear conscience, such firm resolution, and so just a mind, to lay down in the very

beginning, as with the prescience of prophecy, and to adjust to the narrowest and nicest lines the principles upon which these different great organizations and sovereign States could associate with each other without friction and without danger.

In that direction he accomplished as much as any other American statesman, and in doing that work he has conferred upon us a blessing of incalculable value, for which I love his name, reverence his memory, and would do honor to his glorious fame.

Perhaps DANIEL WEBSTER is entitled to a certain distinction of being the most American of those statesmen who have represented us in our foreign relations, not because he felt any more sensibly or was any more firmly convinced of the proud attitude which we had a right to occupy among the nations of this earth than others were, but because his great resolution and his massive powers, when they were brought into action upon questions of a diplomatic kind with other governments, moved directly and without hesitancy to the American interpretation of those questions, and he never halted in his march until he achieved glory for his country and security for her institutions and her rights.

No man has excelled him in the State Department in the strong and earnest presentation of the American view of all questions which concern our relations with foreign governments, and no man ever had a more difficult task than to adjust, I might say, the limited powers of the Government of the United States and its peculiar organization, through the relations we hold with other powers, to their peculiarities and with their methods of conducting diplomatic

affairs. Perhaps the McLeod case presents the most perfect illustration of that situation, and shows as distinctly as anything else that this great statesman ever did how well he understood the duties of the Federal Government toward the American States and toward foreign countries.

Mr. President, I have not attempted in what I have said to eulogize DANIEL WEBSTER. I do not aspire to the ability to pronounce a eulogy upon him. If I have conveyed to this Senate some idea of the high appreciation in which I hold this great character, this splendid man, that is all I desired to do. I expect to place no additional crown of honor upon his brow, or to add a thought which could give greater majesty to his character or make his memory sweeter among the American people.

ADDRESS OF MR. MORRILL.

MR. PRESIDENT: My remarks on this occasion will be brief, and perhaps I should not have spoken at all but for my abiding interest in the progressive enrichment of the National Statuary Hall.

New Hampshire must be heartily congratulated upon her admirable selection of the historic characters she has chosen to commemorate. The Granite State justly claims much in presenting WEBSTER and STARK as her sons, but they will be greeted with equal homage and affection by the whole nation.

A Boston critic once stated that "the principal wealth of New Hampshire is great men and water power; but instead of keeping them herself she squanders them on Massachusetts, and WEBSTER was one of those free gifts." The critic should have added that no State can better afford to permit another State to replevy what rightly belongs to it than Massachusetts.

The number of American statesmen and heroes already represented in that superb and venerated Hall, with the long list of worthies sure to find a place there, but still held in reserve by States embarrassed by too large a number entitled to selection, or by worthies not yet fully ripe, are sufficient to give abundant assurance that this large assemblage of statues will be of unrivaled public interest, a distinctive honor to the several States, and wholly worthy of the Republic.

The majestic form of DANIEL WEBSTER has been so frequently presented in bronze and marble, and his life and

character so often portrayed by those who best knew his intellectual endowments, and were best qualified to appreciate him as a lawyer and as an orator, or as a statesman and Cabinet minister, that for me it is a dubious task to add a word to what has been more fitly spoken long ago, or that will be by others here to-day.

Probably only a small number of those present to-day ever saw or heard Mr. WEBSTER speak in either branch of Congress; but no man who ever looked upon him would fail to discover that he was a man of no common mold, and it would be safe to say that in the presence of any "sea of upturned faces" of Americans his intellectual primacy would not be contested.

It was my fortune to listen to a political speech of Mr. WEBSTER in 1840, at Baltimore, the same year at Orford, N. H., and years after in Faneuil Hall. Again, being in Boston, and learning that an important patent case was to be on trial in the United States district court, where Mr. Choate was the counsel on one side and Mr. WEBSTER on the other, I lost no time in securing a seat in the courthouse. Different in manner as might be supposed that of Achilles and Ulysses would be, both greatly interested me, as both appeared to be exerting their utmost professional skill to win the case. To me the treat seemed worth a journey across the continent.

I was in Washington in 1836, 1840, 1848, and 1852, and of course saw Mr. WEBSTER, but never heard him speak at any length in the Senate. I may, however, be pardoned for mentioning one or two occurrences that came under my observation more than forty years ago, though of little importance, and will trench very little upon your time.

On one of these early Washington visits I was present at an all-night session of the Senate in the old Senate Chamber. As the hours grew late all got tired, and Mr. WEBSTER bent his head over his desk, with his face pillowed on his hands, while another Senator in a rambling speech, and suddenly enthused with rapturous admiration for Mr. WEBSTER, pronounced him "The statesman! the historian! the philosopher! the poet!" when Mr. WEBSTER, halfway raising his head, in a gruff voice ejaculated, "Enough! enough!" Senator Butler, of South Carolina, evidently thought so too, but had some difficulty in persuading the jubilant member to take his seat.

A day or two in advance of the meeting of the Whig national convention in Baltimore, in 1852, to which I was a delegate, to nominate a Presidential candidate, I visited Washington, and was invited, with others, by Mr. WEBSTER, then Secretary of State, to dinner. As it was not my intention to support Mr. WEBSTER in the convention, the invitation was rather regretted; but, being told by a friend that such an invitation here from the President or the Secretary of State was never to be declined, it was accepted. There were about a dozen at the table, Mrs. Webster being the only lady. Mr. WEBSTER appeared in his blue coat with gilt buttons, light buff vest, low shoes, and white silk half hose, and led the conversation most happily, whether grave or gay. Upon leaving the dining-room the gentlemen all returned to the drawing-room, and there Mr. WEBSTER was so gracious and attractive in general and special conversation as to quickly place everyone at his ease, especially as he did not even allude to the coming convention. By way of inquiry as to the preparation

of his speeches I ventured to say I had heard it stated that among the passages often quoted one had been conceived by him many years prior to utterance, and referred to his picturesque description of the power of England, "Whose morning drumbeat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with the continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

He promptly replied, "As a mere fact, it is true that, while visiting Quebec several years before the speech of 1834, one morning I arose early, as is my wont, and walked out upon the ramparts of the city, where I soon heard the morning drumbeat. It then occurred to me that this, a little later, would be repeated at Montreal, then at Toronto, again in Columbia, and so on around the world," adding, "Oh, I never pretended to be one of the inspired geniuses. I bring forth nothing without labor. If not precisely at the time, it has cost labor at some time."

When I left his residence, then on D street northwest, Mr. WEBSTER seemed to have grown greater to me, and, unlike some so-called great men, who, as you get nearer to them, become slender, if not mediocre, he appeared, like a Doric temple, to loom up more grandly the nearer approached.

The next day, however, I did not vote in his favor at the convention, the speech of March 7, 1850, being insurmountable; but I ever felt glad, proud, that DANIEL WEBSTER was born, lived, and died an American.

ADDRESS OF MR. DAVIS.

MR. PRESIDENT: The corner stone of the extension of the Capitol was laid on the 4th day of July, 1851, and DANIEL WEBSTER was the orator of the event. It was most appropriate that he who for a generation had builded upon the foundations of the Constitution such cyclopean architecture of intellectual power should speak the words of dedication of this marble pile, and the Constitution which it symbolizes, to the love of the people and the protection of Almighty God.

And now, after the lapse of more than forty years, the mother State which held him in her granite cradle has proudly set up in this building the image of her wondrous son. It was not needed, yet it was fitting to be done. Some men, and of them was WEBSTER, can not be expressed by monuments. We say of such a man:

Nothing can cover his high fame but heaven;
No pyramids set off his memories
But the eternal substance of his greatness,
To which we leave him.

The time of that ceremony was a troubled one. The future was black with portents. Compromises had been repealed, and substituted compromises were proving to be mere vanishing makeshifts. The earth was tremulous with two vast agitations. They were conflicting and destructive. The North was slowly moving with reluctant yet ominous power. The South, in possession of safeguards which could not save, knew this fact, and was in

the first throes of that convulsion which at last opened the chasm of disunion by war.

In the midst of such agitations this was one of WEBSTER'S last public utterances, and in it he pleaded with passionate earnestness for the supremacy of the Constitution and the preservation of the Union.

His life had been one long advocacy of these objects. His devotion to them explains, if it does not justify, every position he ever assumed. From his Fourth of July oration at Salisbury in 1805 until he ceased to speak he stood before the Constitution and the Union their ever-ready champion. He thought that the Constitution as it was could preserve the Union as it was. Even after the world saw that this could not be, millions of patriotic men looked with loyal hope upon the mighty defender of a falling cause, panoplied with armor that none but he could bear, and dealing blows that he alone could give.

It is not strange that everything was hoped from him who had done so much to raise and strengthen the imperiled institutions. For constitutions are made, and then they begin to grow. If they are not suffered to grow, they dislocate, disconnect, and fall to pieces. No scheme, however wisely devised, that they may contain for their formal and orderly amendment can avoid this process. It is the action of public necessity, coercing and convincing the popular thought and will, which exert themselves through great and chosen men. The Constitution of the United States was thus made, it thus grew, and DANIEL WEBSTER and John Marshall were the great and chosen men who mainly did the work.

It can not fairly be questioned that when the great

debate was held between WEBSTER and Hayne our Constitution had thus expanded. The process was slow, intermittent, sometimes reactionary, but it can be perceived by observing the stages that are distant from each other. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] has clearly seen and stated this in his life of WEBSTER. Necessity had decreed that the compact between the States should become a personal covenant and duty between the people of those States. Andrew Jackson had so proclaimed it to the people of his native State. But it was reserved for DANIEL WEBSTER to register this transformation by an edict which has never been reversed.

This was his greatest service to his country. The league became a nation; the federation became a unity. From that time forth it can be plainly seen that the United States moved with a loftier port among the nations and felt within itself the workings of a greater and growing power, until, when the time came for its exercise upon sectional revolt, it was found that never in all the tide of time, under any form of government that man has known, were energies so enormous displayed for national supremacy and preservation.

At the bar, in the Senate, in the Cabinet, DANIEL WEBSTER built upon and expanded the Constitution beyond any man of his time or any party of men. Yet it has been said of him that he was not a constructive statesman, that he originated few measures, drafted few statutes, and that he was a mere demonstrator. Exactly the contrary is the fact. He was the most constructive of American statesmen. He construed the Constitution constructively in nearly all of its articles. He applied it and expounded

it, and to-day his personality is inseparably identified with it as it is.

This majestic presence among men seemed born for this great duty. His cosmic intellect seemed from the day of its first exertions to fill the Union. What trait did he display to indicate in what State he was born? He was not a Puritan. He showed no trace of provincialism. He filled the land. This mighty Antæus drew strength from contact with every portion of it.

It is said that he erred at last. This is true. A divinity stronger than he, that power that through the popular conscience makes weak all human strength, lifted this giant from contact with the earth that gave him power. The overmastering force it once had given him no longer came. He struggled with stronger powers than his until earth took him, stilled in the sublime repose of death, into her bosom at Marshfield, where the sea intones its everlasting monody at his tomb.

Censure has ceased to vex his memory; contemporary blame has somehow turned to praise; for we hear now only the loving undertones of Whittier's lyric, only the tender pathos with which Parker immolated his memory. Posterity has seen, what so many of his contemporaries failed to see, that the acts they blamed were the efforts of a great man, mistaken as to the forces and tendencies of his time, to uphold the Constitution and to preserve the Union from disruption by revolutionary force. The Constitution and the Union were preserved, but not by the means through which he strove. The fountains of the great deep broke with destructive power, as he predicted they would. He did not live to see this. But could he stand to-day in his

place in this Chamber he would see the Constitution working with powers adequate to every emergency; a Union restored and preserved, with no North, no South, no East, no West as political definitions; he would see all this efficient over a nation grown great beyond any prediction he ever made. He would also feel that the deliberate judgment of the generation next his own had decided that his efforts imparted to the people powers of constitutional action which secured "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

It is now forty-two years since the setting of that sun. But in all time to come, whenever the Constitution and the Union may be darkened like the northern continent in some long arctic night, that sunken orb, circling forever beyond the horizon of time, will irradiate the gloom of the world it shone upon with its unquenchable and guiding light.

ADDRESS OF MR. PLATT.

MR. PRESIDENT: The State in which DANIEL WEBSTER was born, nurtured, and educated, in which his vigorous manhood was developed, does well in placing his statue in our Memorial Hall. When those whom we love and reverence depart from us, our dearest wish is to mark their resting place with some memorial which shall perpetuate their virtues and tell posterity how much we loved them. The monument, whether simple or ornate, is as truly a necessity of our lives as is the family home. Love and faith, which flourish at the fireside, find expression, when our loved ones are gone, in the monuments which mark their graves, in the portraits or statues which preserve their semblance.

Closely related to this individual necessity is the common desire of the whole people in State or Nation to honor their departed heroes and great ones by memorials which shall appropriately and enduringly proclaim their admiration, reverence, and affection. The hero, the great man, belongs not to his family and friends alone, but to all alike—to the State, the Nation; indeed, to all mankind for all time.

The longing to tell coming generations of WEBSTER finds its best expression in the marble statue which preserves his features and displays the lineaments of his character. And the appropriate place for that statue is in National Statuary Hall, in the building where his greatest work was accomplished, where his most patriotic and

signal triumphs were achieved. He returns to-day to the scene of his struggle, to the arena where his eternal trophies were won. Henceforth the marble shall be imbued with life, and to all who look upon it and love our country WEBSTER shall be a new inspiration.

Those who by law set apart yonder hall to its memorial use builded better than they knew. The fires of patriotism are kindled at the hearthstones of the people; but as the years roll on the silent yet eloquent figures in Statuary Hall will more and more increase patriotic devotion and help to bind together more firmly the country in whose history the men thus represented were such great actors.

Yes, New Hampshire does well when it places the statue of WEBSTER in our historic and memorial hall, for he was one of the Nation's greatest men. Many have esteemed him, many in the future will esteem him, to have been the greatest civilian the country has produced; none will deny him a place among the greatest. He does not belong alone to New Hampshire, where he was born, nor to Massachusetts, where he died; but his name, his fame, and his greatness are the heritage of all. DANIEL WEBSTER belongs to the Nation.

The really great men of any period are but few; and when a man does indeed compel the acknowledgment of his preeminence among a race where all possess the elements of greatness, we may do especial honor to his memory. WEBSTER lived and moved in a period when all possessed in a marked degree robust manhood, high purpose, unyielding strength. "There were giants in those days;" and yet as I read history I think he stood higher than any other man of that period—a giant among giants.

I have often looked upon a forest of sturdy trees outlined against the clear twilight sky, and have seen here and there a tree which pushed its branches higher than the surrounding level of tree-tops. Few indeed they were; but sometimes as my eye swept the whole forest line it has rested at last upon a single tree, towering in grand and massive strength above all others—a veritable monarch of the forest—symmetrical and strong, meeting unharmed the full measure of every storm.

Such was WEBSTER. The men of his generation were robust and forceful. A few—I need not name them—were exceptional in their eminence; but he overtopped them all. To what particular trait, quality, or circumstance he owed this conspicuous exaltation we may not be certain, any more than we may know to what in seed or soil or environment we may attribute the growth of the tallest and grandest oak in the forest. Men have spoken and written of his ancestry, of the influence upon his mind in its formative stage of beautiful and impressive scenery, of the precepts and counsel of parents and instructors, of his early and continued thirst for knowledge, of his careful and judicious study, of his severe mental discipline, of his ambition, of the power begotten in fierce struggle; and yet we can never be sure that we have at all discovered the real source of his strength.

True greatness defies analysis, and I shall not attempt to analyze the character of WEBSTER in the hope of describing and cataloguing the elements which composed it. Fascinating as the attempt would be, I could not hope to succeed where so many have failed. We only know that when a great occasion arises in history a man equal to it

appears on the scene. It has always been so; we may believe that in the providence of God it always will be so. We believe it was so in the case of WEBSTER. Providence seems to have set before him a great work to do, for a man must have accomplished some great work in the world in order to have achieved enduring greatness. He must have been great in performance as well as in the utterance of great thoughts.

Many are regarded great during their lives whose fame does not long survive them. Attractive qualities, fortunate opportunity, a magnetic personality may win for a man the applause of his fellows and give him for the time being deserved preeminence. But passing years are the unfailing test of real greatness; and whatever men during his lifetime may have thought, however much they may have doubted whether he would carry into history the fame he achieved in his generation, now that more than forty years have passed since his death we know that WEBSTER was grandly and truly great. Time has withered none of his laurels; it has steadily added to his appreciation.

What one thing, then, more than another has caused WEBSTER to live in the hearts of the people? I think others equaled him at the bar, and in mere eloquence as understood by the schools. I am quite sure that other legislators crystallized more of their thought into legislation of the day than he did. Indeed, his was not a constructive life; he originated little either of policies or statutes. With all his marvelous grasp and comprehension of public affairs, his speeches were mainly for or against measures proposed by others or in support of resolutions introduced by himself expressive only of abstract opinions. He was

not a leader of his party in the sense that he marked out a course for his party to pursue. He seems often to have acquiesced in party measures for which he could not secure the approval of his own judgment. His course appears to have been vacillating and inconstant on many occasions.

On what solid foundation, then, does his fame securely rest? I think on this: That it was given to him to see clearly and to convince others fully that the United States of America was an indissoluble Union, not a mere association of States, to be dissevered by the withdrawal of one or more, but that it was a Union of all the people—in the felicitous language of Lincoln, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, whose laws must be respected and obeyed by all.

As the great apostle to the Gentiles was raised up to teach mankind that all true believers constituted one church, WEBSTER was raised up to teach Americans that all the people in all the States constituted one Government. Paul was the apostle of Christian unity; WEBSTER was the apostle of our national unity. For this one great work all his life seems to have been a special training. His birthplace and home near which the Cradle of Liberty was rocked; the patriotism inherited from his patriotic father; his intense love for every foot of our soil; his wonderful mind, which went to the core of every subject; his vivid imagination, which could picture the undeveloped glory of the Nation; his vast range of legal learning, which fitted him to become the great expounder of the Constitution; a presence which convinced equally with his logic; an eloquence which electrified all hearers, and a diction which secured a home for his thoughts in mansion and cabin alike—

all these were but a preparation for the hour when he should step forth in yonder Chamber the champion of an indivisible Union.

The senior Senator from New Hampshire has spoken of WEBSTER as combining in greater measure than any other American the qualities of the lawyer, the orator, and the statesman. Let me add, as another and final constituent of the combination, that of the patriot. He was indeed great as a lawyer, as an orator, and as a statesman; but greater yet, far greater, as a patriot. In all that he said and all that he did the most intense and burning love of country was apparent. It was the keynote of nearly every public utterance of his life, from his first boyish speech to that magnificent peroration, unequalled in any language, closing with the immortal words, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." The love of country was with him above all other love.

The first great battle for the Union was fought not with cannon and musketry, nor with the resistless movement of infantry, nor the impetuous charge of cavalry. It was not won on a field with thousands of soldiers left dead, wounded, or dying, but it was fought and won in the old Senate Chamber on the 26th day of January, 1830, with weapons of argument and logic and patriotic eloquence wielded by the greatest American that ever entered the field of historic debate.

WEBSTER was needed for that contest. Looking back over those times, we can see no other man who could have fought and won that battle. That battle lost, it is not too much to say that the country we love and glory in to-day would not exist. If the doctrine of secession or the claim

that a State might declare a law of the United States null and void had not been that day overthrown and demolished, few will believe that the subsequent war for the Union could have been carried to a triumphant conclusion.

It is hard for us to realize now what a desperate battle WEBSTER then fought. The idea of national unity is now so firmly established that we can not understand how it could ever have been denied or doubted. Yet those who went that day to the Senate Chamber feeling that indivisibility of country ought to be the doctrine of the Constitution went with hearts failing them for fear. They feared that it was not really to be found therein; they feared that the true interpretation of that instrument evidenced only a compact between States, and that it was not the organic law of a perfect and complete and self-sustaining Government.

Nor was this a strange fear. When the colonies denied the authority of the British Crown and declared themselves independent States, they did not assume to organize as a single and perfect government, but to confederate as thirteen States; and when after a few years of experiment our Constitution was at last adopted, the Government created by it was regarded generally, I think, as an improved confederation. In many States this had been openly avowed, and to a certain extent acquiesced in. There had been too much of this in New England. The Hartford Convention of 1814 had tolerated, if it had not asserted, the doctrine that a State might for sufficient cause withdraw from the Union. Even WEBSTER, so far as I know, though he had never given public sanction to this idea, had never publicly combated it.

When, after the war of 1812, the development of our

country opened the eyes of our public men to its future—as they began to love it for what it was to be, as well as for what it had been and was—the desire for nationality became the patriot's passion; his intense longing was for a nation that no earthly power could destroy or hinder and which no internal dissension could tear asunder. Gradually he came to feel that in some way ours must be an indestructible nation; but he feared that the legal fact was otherwise. It was not until WEBSTER made good his promise to Senator Bell, that before the sun went down on that eventful day he would, by the blessing of God, show the people what the Government really was, that patriots took heart. Then they saw clearly what they had earnestly hoped for, but only dimly, if at all, comprehended.

And yet it was the patriotic fervor of the people that made WEBSTER'S victory possible. Emerson, in an essay on Napoleon, says, in substance, that if Napoleon were France, if he were Europe, it was because the men he swayed were little Napoleons. So WEBSTER became the exponent and bulwark of national unity because the patriotic heart of the people longed for and demanded it.

It was a great personal as well as national victory that WEBSTER won on that day. They were no mean foemen whom he met and vanquished. They were masters of argument, of logic, and oratory. They were powerful in their combination, audacious in their attack, bitter in their personal dislike, and fully determined to crush not only WEBSTER'S doctrine but WEBSTER himself.

And WEBSTER stood alone to resist their attack, a single knight to answer and meet every challenger. Yet his

triumph was complete. History, I think, records no other such conflict and no such victory. Not for twenty-five years thereafter could the advocates of the theory which was then so boldly avowed, so audaciously championed, and so completely overthrown, rally to the onset again. And when at last the doctrine of nullification and secession was once more proclaimed, national unity had become a thing no longer open to debate, but a cause which men were ready to die to maintain.

Gettysburg and Appomattox were but the sequel of that day's conflict. The battle which WEBSTER fought then in the Senate, in the day of the Nation's sorest peril, saved the Union forever. If he could now live again and behold a country glorious and strong, far surpassing in its present and probable development all that his patriotic love had ever pictured, he would find his reward in the contemplation of his Nation's glory rather than in the plaudits of his countrymen. To that day, to that conflict, to that triumph, all his life led up. It culminated there.

His life's greatest work was accomplished. Subsequent failure can never mar that splendid record; subsequent mistake can never dim the glory of the crown which a grateful people placed upon his head to commemorate that triumph. The great men of earth have not been perfect—the imperfection of humanity has attached to them all; and WEBSTER constitutes no exception in this respect. But mankind justly honors its great for the courageous blows they have struck, for the mighty deeds they have done. Their foibles and mistakes we forget; their true work lives. We unveil this statue of WEBSTER to-day because he saved our Nation.

ADDRESS OF MR. CULLOM.

MR. PRESIDENT: Every citizen of the United States, by the very birthright of his citizenship, is endowed with an inalienable interest in the renown achieved by those great civil and military heroes of our land whose careers have long been ended, and upon whose lives history has pronounced the verdict of admiration and approval. This inalienable interest which we proudly claim as a possessory right is a cherished heritage, guaranteed to us under those unwritten preemption laws which have decreed that the glorious memories of the genius, the honor, and the greatness of the earlier American statesmen and warriors shall be the common property of the people of this country through the uncounted ages of future time.

Mr. President, during the first half of the nineteenth century, among all the great statesmen of the Republic, no man occupied a higher place in the forum of the Senate, none achieved greater success as an advocate at the bar, and no one so completely challenged the criticism and admiration of the American people as DANIEL WEBSTER, "the great expounder" of the Constitution. And although more than forty years have passed since his lips forever ceased to pronounce those commanding sentences, or paused in most emphatic periods, yet the halo of freshness still crowns his finished oratory, and the vigor of his arguments still thoroughly impresses the reader with his greatness of mind and the scope and breadth of his power of comprehension.

The works of DANIEL WEBSTER are among those which adorn the collection of American classics, and many of them would not suffer by comparison with the greatest orations delivered in the Roman senate. It might be an extravagance to say that WEBSTER stood highest among the orators and thinkers of his day, but it is not too much to claim him as the equal of the greatest. And if the United States, like France, had possessed a Society of Immortals, a body in which the wondrous gifts of eloquence, forensic skill, statesmanship, and knowledge of law were among the requisites for the exalted membership, there, high upon the roll, would have been found the name of WEBSTER.

How apt and true were the words of Edward Everett in his address at Faneuil Hall in Boston upon the death of WEBSTER! He said:

There is but one voice that ever fell upon my ear which could do justice to such an occasion. That voice, alas! we shall hear no more forever. No more at the bar will it unfold the deepest mysteries of the law; no more will it speak conviction to admiring Senators; no more in this hall, the chosen theater of his intellectual dominion, will it lift the soul as with the swell of the pealing organ, or stir the blood with the tones of a clarion in the inmost chambers of the heart.

Mr. President, the student of to-day, the teacher, the merchant, the farmer, the American citizen of whatever calling, would feel himself poor in knowledge and sadly equipped even for humble life not to know of the men upon whose brows the laurels of civic victories have been justly placed.

Calhoun, Clay, and WEBSTER, naming them in the order in which they were claimed by death, were, each in

his sphere, the embodiment of the ideas, theories, and opinions entertained by his respective admirers and adherents, and they composed a trinity of statesmen to which any land might look with pride. But WEBSTER was the great leader, and was, as Rufus Choate once said:

The last of that surpassing triumvirate; shall we say the greatest, the most widely known and admired of them all?

Mr. President, while WEBSTER was regarded in his day as the great expounder of the Constitution, he was also a great master of oratory. There are two kinds of oratory, differing widely in character and expression; oratory which sheds luster upon the orator, and oratory which stirs the minds and hearts of men to lofty aspirations and noble deeds. It is said that after Cicero had spoken the people exclaimed, "What a splendid orator is Cicero!" but when Demosthenes declaimed the cry arose, "Let us march against Philip!"

The eloquence of WEBSTER was of the Demosthenean type. It stirred the hearts and inflamed the patriotism of his fellow-countrymen. Happily this great American master of oratory has left to us his own conception of what true eloquence is. It is found in his immortal oration at Faneuil Hall in commemoration of the lives and services of Adams and Jefferson, the two patriotic ex-Presidents who died on the Fourth of July, 1826:

Pure eloquence—

Says he—

does not consist in speech. It can not be brought from far; labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshaled in every way, but they can not compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occa-

sion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire to it; they can not reach it. It comes, if it comes at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires with spontaneous original native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men when their own lives and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country hang on the decision of the hour. Their words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object—this, this is eloquence, or rather it is something greater and higher than all eloquence: it is action, noble, sublime, godlike.

No words of mine could possibly convey the conception of the eloquence of DANIEL WEBSTER as do these grand words, which constitute at once an inspiration to patriotism and an ornament to English literature. His words have become to all generations a priceless inheritance. No statesman and orator of our country has ever inculcated in the minds of his countrymen a truer or more devoted Americanism. In one of his impassioned utterances, apparently carried away by his enthusiasm, he exclaimed:

America, America, our country, fellow-citizens; our own dear and native land!

How his soul would have abhorred that petty political doctrine of discontent which has been inculcated in this country in these latter years. One of the grandest tributes which he ever paid to his fellow-citizens of Massachusetts was the following:

You have conquered an inhospitable clime, you have conquered a barren soil, you have conquered the ocean which lashes your shores, and have made yourselves the glory and esteem of all the world.

WEBSTER reserved his greatest utterances for grand occasions and great inspiration. On one occasion, in referring to the affairs of Hungary, then in her struggle for liberty, he said:

I see that the Emperor of Russia demands of Turkey that the noble Kossuth and his companions shall be given up to be dealt with at his pleasure, and I see that this demand is made in derision of the established laws of nations. Gentlemen, there is something on earth greater than arbitrary or despotic power. The lightning has its power, the whirlwind has its power, and the earthquake has its power, but there is something among men more capable of shaking despotic power than the lightning, the whirlwind, or the earthquake, and that is the excited and aroused indignation of the whole civilized world.

The story is told that before the great audience was aware of what was coming his majestic form began to tower, his eyes to kindle, and his voice caught the keynote of the vast building, till, in the illusion of the senses, the lightning flashed, and the whirlwind shook the place, and the firm foundation seemed to rock as with an earthquake. Such was the power of DANIEL WEBSTER as an orator.

Mr. President, for centuries the relations between nations were largely determined in whispered conversations between statesmen and ambassadors. Whatever a statesman said, even in private, was treated as a public utterance, and nations were held responsible for remarks made by public men even in the social circle. If the representatives of one nation at the court of another were received with smiles, it was regarded as evidence of amity and good will, but if received with a frown, this was

regarded as evidence of hostility. If a sovereign turned his back upon an ambassador, this was regarded as almost a declaration of war, and dispatches were sent forthwith by flying couriers to all parts of the world. We may recall the history of that celebrated congress of nations which met at Ryswick, Holland, about 1697, to settle one of the most disastrous wars of that age.

Almost every court in Europe sent its representatives, and the entire body spent months in determining how they were to meet, who should be entitled to precedence, and how many attendants each should have. Much time was spent in advancing toward each other at the place of meeting. No representative was willing to appear more anxious than the other, and the consequence was that as they advanced if one took a step more than another they all had to go back and begin over again; and so they continued in dancing a sort of minuet and counting the steps of each other. William III of England and Louis XIV of France each sent a trusty representative to confer together by themselves. They met in an orchard, and while walking up and down for an hour or so these two practically settled the controversy and left the ambassadors to go on with their dance until they heard that the business was settled.

In 1850, if I remember rightly, when WEBSTER was Secretary of State, he made a speech at a dinner in Washington in which he commented bitterly on the conduct of Austria in the treatment of the Hungarian revolutionists. Baron Hulsemann was the Austrian ambassador to this Government. He immediately wrote the Secretary asking him what he meant by his speech, and in reply received an answer which deservedly made a great noise in the world.

With the utmost politeness Secretary WEBSTER substantially told the Austrian ambassador to mind his own business, declaring that the purpose and intentions of the American Government were not to be learned from the private, unofficial remarks of anybody. He took the position that this country would speak to other countries officially, and by such communications alone this country should be pledged. This, I think, was a new departure in diplomacy, and struck a powerful blow at the old and childlike methods which had prevailed for centuries.

It is just and proper that nations should communicate with each other in written words, leaving no uncertainty as to what is said or intended. It is remarkable that in 1880, while Mr. Gladstone was making a canvass for his election to Parliament, he reflected, in a public speech, on Austria, charging that nation with entertaining the deliberate purpose of violating treaty obligations. Mr. Gladstone was not then in office, but in a few weeks became prime minister of England. The Austrian ambassador at once wrote to him asking what he meant by his recent speech. The Grand Old Man did not reply as DANIEL WEBSTER did. Reflecting on the matter, he finally, with that proud humility which always characterized him, admitted that he was wrong. WEBSTER pursued the more statesmanlike course. He struck at the old, childish methods of diplomatists, carried on by whispers and smiles and frowns and petty actions, which were not manly and were liable to be misunderstood.

It is to be hoped that this Government will continue to follow the example of WEBSTER, and extend the practice of communicating with other nations in writing, so that

there can be no possible dispute as to what is said, and that the amenities of social intercourse shall not be held as meaning anything whatever in diplomacy.

Mr. President, I feel some pride in the fact that DANIEL WEBSTER, as early as 1837, when in the full tide of his manhood, impressed with the importance of the West, sought out and purchased a tract of land in my own State of Illinois, something like a thousand acres, not very far from my own home, where he contemplated the possibility of enjoying his later days when he should be relieved from public duties. In conversation he often referred to this investment, and in his will he refers especially to its disposition after his death.

DANIEL WEBSTER, in all the relations of public life, was dignified and manly. His social intercourse with even his greatest political antagonists was sincere and enjoyable. The greatest possible admiration for each other existed between WEBSTER and Calhoun, and the latter, feeble and broken, but a few days before his death almost risked his life to listen to a great speech of WEBSTER in the Senate. WEBSTER was generous and sympathetic, and although between him and Benton there had for some years existed a solid barrier over which neither would step, he brought about a reconciliation, and a perfect and happy fellowship thereafter existed between them. But to others more properly belongs the privilege of eulogy and praise, and to them I leave it.

Mr. President, Senators, we to-day receive and accept from New Hampshire, the State which gave DANIEL WEBSTER to the country and to the world, the semblance of his commanding figure—

In pallid marble fashioned.

His statue is to take its place in the appropriate hall yonder, amid that noble group of noble men, where his sculptured form may claim just fellowship with all. In such association may we not imagine that the enduring stone shall for a time stand forth clothed anew with life, endowed with the divine adornments of humanity, and be given voice to speak immortal words to the wondrous audience in that great chamber of patriots and heroes? Let the imagination go further, and show to us Washington, and Lincoln, and Adams, and all the illustrious company, once more sentient with life, and stepping down from their pedestals to hail and join each other in a great chorus of joy over the stability of the Government which their great minds had conceived and their earnest hands builded and maintained. And then, when silence reigns, following the final invocation and dedication, the oration, an oration from the godlike WEBSTER, shall close and terminate forever this imaginary quickening into life, upon which each marble form will resume its place, inanimate, eternal, glorious.

ADDRESS OF MR. MITCHELL, OF OREGON.

MR. PRESIDENT: After the many able and interesting speeches to which we have listened, any words of mine would seem to be a superfluity, and nothing but the honor done the State I in part represent here, by the invitation from the distinguished Senators from New Hampshire that I should say something, would induce me at this late hour to trespass on the patience of the Senate.

Seldom is it that the Senate of the United States is privileged to participate in a ceremonial like the present; infrequent that any State in the Union is permitted to enjoy the distinguished honor which the State and people of New Hampshire enjoy to-day. That New Hampshire should have been the birthplace of DANIEL WEBSTER is an honor of much more than ordinary distinction, and one of which the State may well be proud.

Forty-two years ago the morning of the 24th of October last the great heart of DANIEL WEBSTER performed its final office, gave its parting throb, and a great man died. Then it was that the tomb uncovered to welcome to its shades America's intellectual giant, one among that class of great men of this and other ages endowed with extraordinary discursive faculties. Then one of the ablest, if not indeed the ablest, interpreter of the Constitution and one of the most stalwart champions of constitutional government surrendered his life to Him who gave it. Then the bar, not only of the State of his birth and the State of his adoption but of the United States, was deprived of one

of its most conspicuous and shining ornaments. Then the Nation, represented by all the people, following the declaration of the immortal Dryden, said: "I will myself be the chief mourner at his obsequies," and stood with uncovered head before the waiting tomb, in obeisance to the name and memory of one whose public services had been of the very highest order and of inestimable value to the state.

Having lived in a generation that has passed away, we can only see him in the light of history; but viewed in that light we behold in him the greatest of all the great expounders of the Constitution, if we may indeed except perhaps the late Chief Justice Marshall; abreast of the foremost in rank of the great lawyers of his time, second perhaps to none, but excelling all in solid ability, depth and breadth of thought, and in power of demonstration, among the entire list of American statesmen. Peerless in mentality, gifted in prescience, thoroughly instructed in historical and governmental literature, endowed with extraordinary oratorical powers, he was surpassed in these respects by none of his day and generation, and only equaled by the most intellectual and accomplished of either ancient or modern times.

WEBSTER was a human prodigy, a unique intellectual entity. He towered above his fellows in his lines of superiority like Napoleon in France, Bismarck in Germany, Gladstone in England, in their respective traits of greatness. The light of his marvelous mind did not "shine eccentric, like a comet's blaze," but clear and steady, like the sun in his splendor when it "shines serenely bright."

That he was endowed by nature with rare gifts, all will agree. That he was a patriot in the grandest and loftiest

sense of that term, none will deny. That as a logician, statesman, orator, he ranked inferior to none among the logicians, statesmen, and orators, not only of the times in which he lived but of any period, but was superior to most, there are few to dispute.

To WEBSTER more than to any other American is due the credit of infusing into the American mind and crystalizing in the American conscience a correct interpretation of the Constitution. Fortunate for his country, he lived at a time when his commanding presence, his great intellect, his legal learning, his acknowledged familiarity with constitutional law, his remarkable oratorical powers, his grand patriotism, his wide influence, all combined to equip him to correctly interpret the fundamental law under which we live in respect of the relation existing between the National Government and the States respectively, and in respect of the jurisdiction and powers of each.

That the interpretation which he placed on the Constitution in these respects has stood the test not only of the most able criticisms of lawyers eminent in their profession as constitutional and statutory constructionists, but of the more trying ordeal of the conflict of arms, is of itself a monument of commendation to his sagacity, his great ability, his legal learning, his constitutional knowledge, his proficiency as a dialectician, his patriotism.

The inspiration of his matchless speeches in support of the integrity of the Constitution and the Union, and in opposition to a vicious construction of the fundamental law sought by some to be ingrafted on that great instrument, infused patriotism into the minds and hearts of a million men and prompted them to the rescue when thirty

years or more later that integrity was assailed by force of arms.

That DANIEL WEBSTER was in respect of rare intellectual powers unexcelled, if indeed equaled, by any American logician or statesman that has ever lived, may well be questioned. That he was not as brilliant, or as thoroughly accomplished in classical literature, or perhaps not as well grounded in the law as a few others, are also facts recognized by history.

In the generation in which WEBSTER lived there were many men of great aptitude and power, of distinguished lineage, of great learning, of incomparable capacity as lawyers, logicians, orators, and statesmen; but among all these looms up in history the great, the immortal WEBSTER, as has been stated of Napoleon, "grand, gloomy, and peculiar," endowed with those superb and varied intellectual qualities which united in making him but little less, if at all, than the peer of any of them in every one of these rare endowments and attainments, and preeminent in respect to most of them.

The names of many men of ability, of genius, of power, who lived in the generation in which WEBSTER lived; the names of illustrious lawyers, statesmen, logicians, contemporary with him, may, and doubtless will, as time shall complete its coming cycles, fade away and be forever forgotten in the history yet to be written, when the name of WEBSTER will in that same history be remembered with pride, and the light of his undying fame as statesman, orator, logician, patriot, will shed unfading luster upon its pages.

Although he was denied that prestige and eminence

which attach to those upon whom has been conferred the highest honor the Republic can bestow on any of its citizens, yet the names of many of those so honored will be less conspicuous in future history than that of WEBSTER.

That he was as great a jurist as John Marshall, or Jeremiah Mason, or Pinckney, I do not believe. That he was not naturally as oratorically brilliant as Henry Clay, in the common acceptance of that term, must, I think, be conceded; but that he was greater than all these in solidity of intellect, breadth, depth, and expansion of mind, and in capacity and power to grasp, unfold, elucidate, demonstrate, and make clear and plain to all, great, intricate, fundamental governmental questions, there can be no room for doubt.

That DANIEL WEBSTER, forty years after he had lived and died, having such contemporaries as Clay, Calhoun, Hayne, Everett, Choate, and many more scarcely less illustrious, and after having been followed since then by such accomplished orators and statesmen as Sumner, Seward, Conkling, Carpenter, Blaine, Douglas, and Lincoln, who have in their respective spheres shed the unfading glory of their eloquence on the pages of our history, adorned them with the elegance of their erudition, and garnished them with the beauty of their matchless diction, should have been characterized in the cyclopedia of universal history as "the greatest master of American oratory" is of itself a tribute to his name and memory in that regard of unexceptionable character.

Whether WEBSTER was really the most gifted and thoroughly equipped lawyer of his time has been a question of serious disputation among lawyers of high rank. The late

Senator Carpenter, of Wisconsin, acknowledged by all as standing in his time in the front rank of the American bar, gave Choate the preference. In Neilson's *Memoirs of Rufus Choate*, Mr. Carpenter, in his contribution, says:

He (Choate) always stood in awe of WEBSTER, and spent nights in preparation when about to contend with him at the bar. This I never could understand. As a mere lawyer I think Choate as much the superior of WEBSTER as WEBSTER was the superior of lawyers generally.

Possibly the fact that Choate was Carpenter's tutor when he studied law may, to some extent, have warped his judgment. However, all agree that Rufus Choate was one of the most gifted and accomplished lawyers the American bar has ever known.

DANIEL WEBSTER was, in the opinion of General Butler—

the foremost lawyer of Massachusetts, as well as the foremost lawyer of the country.

The two most distinguished lawyers of the New Hampshire bar in WEBSTER'S earlier practice were Jeremiah Mason and Jeremiah Smith, both eminent in their profession, the latter being the chief justice of the State. As mere lawyers they were, I believe, almost universally regarded as WEBSTER'S equals in legal attainments, and by many as his superiors. Later on, in his professional career in the city of Boston, when but thirty-five years of age he crossed legal swords with such distinguished lawyers as Dexter, Story, Shaw, Prescott, Otis, and others, all then men of national reputation in their profession. And in legal contests with them he won unfading laurels. In his more advanced life, when the cares of state enveloped him

as with a cloud, he, at intervals, in the Supreme Court of the United States, added additional jewels to a professional wreath of fame already lustrous in its brilliancy by his legal battles with Pinckney, and Wirt, and Johnson, and Seward, and Holmes, and other men of like world-wide reputation as lawyers.

His matchless and successful constitutional argument in the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College case, in 1818, when but thirty-six years of age, and his equally great though unsuccessful effort in the Girard will case in the same court twenty-six years later, in 1844, were, by the concurrent historic testimony of bench and bar, forensic efforts characterized by great knowledge of constitutional and statutory law, by irrefutable logic, by clearness and power of elucidation and demonstration, and by impressive and impassioned jurisprudential oratory, unsurpassed by any ever heard in that august tribunal either before or since.

Hilliard, in speaking of WEBSTER'S argument in the Dartmouth College case, says:

No better argument has been spoken in the English tongue in the memory of any living man, nor is the child that is born to-day likely to live to hear a better. Its learning is ample, but not ostentatious; its logic irresistible; its eloquence vigorous and lofty.

While Justice Story, then a member of the court, is reported by the same historian as saying, in speaking of it:

For the first hour we listened to him with perfect astonishment; for the second hour with perfect delight; for the third hour with perfect conviction.

Mr. Hilliard thus estimates him as a lawyer:

Of his eminence in the law, meaning the law as administered in the ordinary tribunals of the country, without reference for the

present to constitutional questions, there is but one opinion among competent judges. Some may have excelled him in a single faculty or accomplishment; but in the combination of qualities which the law requires no man of his time was, on the whole, equal to him.

Mr. Charles Lanman, long his private secretary during the later years of his life, in the "preliminary note" to a little volume published in this city the month succeeding Mr. WEBSTER's death, entitled "Private Life of Daniel Webster," pays him this high tribute:

His fame as a patriot, a jurist, a statesman, an orator, and a scholar is coextensive with the civilized world

Mr. Hiram Ketchum, in his eloquent address to the bar of New York City on the death of WEBSTER, said:

The great luminary of the bar, the Senate, and the council chamber is set forever, but it is a subject of rejoicing that it is set in almost supernatural splendor, obscured by no cloud; not a ray darkened.

Mr. WEBSTER was a master of the English language—the good, old-fashioned Anglo-Saxon kind. In his demonstration of intricate political problems, in his grand efforts at the bar, as well also as in his marvelous literary addresses, there is no trace of "*circuitus verborum*," nothing periphrastic; while, upon the other hand, he could never have truthfully said of himself, "*brevi esse laboro, obscurus fio*"—in endeavoring to be concise, I become obscure—but yet he was brilliant. Milton, on the great handiwork of Him who is greater than all, says:

He sow'd with stars the heav'n.

So this master mind on great occasions bedecked and beautified the literary, the professional, the national firmaments with jewels as rare, as matchless in beauty and

expression, as were ever coined by human speech or fell from mortal tongue:

In WEBSTER'S more conspicuous oratorical efforts were unified the various arts of directness, dignity, pertinency, condensation, energy, persuasiveness, grace, and power. Lacking, perhaps, somewhat in brilliancy those of Clay, in erudition those of Everett or Sumner, he excelled them all in irrefragible logic, in solid ability, and in power of demonstration.

Macaulay, in speaking of Goldsmith, said:

He was a great and perhaps an unequaled master of the arts of selection and condensation.

Among the statesmen of America WEBSTER in this respect perhaps had no superior and but one equal. Abraham Lincoln was the peer of any American that ever lived in respect of endowment of these peculiar, rare, and attractive qualities of mind.

One of WEBSTER'S most gifted contemporaries and eulogists said of him:

More than any living man he has instructed the whole generation of American citizens in their political duties, and taught the young men of the country how to think clearly, reason fairly, and clothe thought in the most simple and beautiful English.

What more exalted passage can be found in the world's eloquent literature than WEBSTER'S closing words in that memorable address on the settlement of New England, delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1820, when, rising even superior to himself, with a beckoning smile, casting his eyes through the vanishing twilight as it gradually receded before the dawn of approaching years, and speaking as though inspired, he extended a cordial welcome to the

advancing generations of the future in these sublime words:

Advance, then, ye future generations! We would hail you as you rise in your long succession to fill the places which we now fill and to taste the blessings of existence, where we are passing, and soon shall have passed, our own human duration. We bid you welcome to this pleasant land of the fathers. We bid you welcome to the healthful skies and verdant fields of New England. We greet your accession to the great inheritance which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government and religious liberty. We welcome you to the treasures of science and the delights of learning. We welcome you to the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred, and parents, and children. We welcome you to the immeasurable blessings of rational existence, the immortal hope of Christianity, and the light of everlasting life.

Or where else in all the choicest national panegyrics with which the altar of any nation was ever decorated; where among all the beautiful creations with which the name and fame of nations have been forever embalmed in human speech; where in the most classic written history or in the most erudite national essays of either ancient or modern times, is to be found a passage surpassing in elegance of diction, in sublime pathos, in superb grandeur, in matchless eloquence, that of the closing sentences of WEBSTER'S reply to Hayne:

When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather, behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—bearing for its motto no such

miserable interrogatory as, *What is all this worth?* nor those other words of delusion and folly, *Liberty first, and Union afterwards*; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—*Liberty and Union*, now and forever, one and inseparable!

His oration of December 22, 1820, at Plymouth, on the bicentennial anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims; that of June 17, 1825, at the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument; on the 17th of June, 1843, at its completion; on August 2, 1826, in Faneuil Hall, commemorative of the lives and services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, two signers of the Declaration of Independence, and each an ex-President of the United States, and who had, on our national anniversary, died within a few hours of each other; his oration in this city in 1832 at the services commemorative of the birth of George Washington; his eulogies on Mason and Story, on Calhoun and Taylor; his grand constitutional arguments in the judicial courts of the country; his able and patriotic speeches in the two Houses of Congress on an infinite variety of topics—on finance, on our foreign relations, on commerce, foreign and domestic, on naturalization and bankruptcy, on the Mexican war, on the Texan question, on the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, his reply to Hayne, and various other notable speeches; and finally his last national address, delivered on the 4th day of July, 1851, at the laying of the corner stone of the addition to the Capitol of the United States—will all forever live on history's brightest pages, embellishing them with their beauty and embalming them with their fragrance, as specimens of

erudite, captivating, chaste oratory, unexcelled by that of any country or of any age.

And although the luster reflected on his name by these great arguments and orations, and the fame which his half a century of highly distinguished professional life and his thirty years of invaluable service to the State, had made him conspicuous in the history of his time as lawyer, statesman, orator, had secured for him the unstinted admiration and seemingly the unfading gratitude of his countrymen, yet some would have us believe, even at this late day, that this grand monument which he had builded to himself was, in the gathering shades of a waning life, shattered and destroyed by a single destructive blow wielded by the arm of its own great builder. They would have us believe that his speech in this body of March 7, 1850, practically confirmed by that of June 17, 1850, and the sentiments of which were substantially repeated in his speech on the compromise bill, July 17, 1850, had wrested immortality from a name otherwise immortal, and that by this one act the glory thence hitherto attaching to his name had departed forever.

True it is, there is some room for criticism, and apparent grounds for insistence that the opinions of Mr. WEBSTER on the subject of slavery in the Territories, as shown by these speeches, had undergone a change from those held by him in former years, and so vigorously asserted and ably and patriotically maintained in his speech in relation to the exclusion of slavery from the Territories delivered August 12, 1848, on the bill to organize a government for the Territory of Oregon, and in many former speeches.

In that of August 12, 1848, Mr. WEBSTER made the following declaration:

My objection to slavery is irrespective of lines and points of latitude; it takes in the whole country and the whole question. I am opposed to it in every shape and in every qualification, and am against any compromise of the question. * * * I will never vote to extend the area of slavery.

And again in the same debate he said:

I shall consent to no extension of the area of slavery upon this continent, nor to any increase of slave representation in the other House of Congress.

This, however, was but a repetition of many of his previous declarations on the same subject.

His subsequent opposition, however, to the Wilmot proviso and his support of the Soulé amendment present an apparent inconsistency with his previous record. But when viewed in the light of his vigorous and persistent contention that there were natural, and to his mind conclusive, existent reasons and causes sufficient to forever exclude African slavery from the Territories, to which this proviso and this amendment were intended to apply; that their assertion was unnecessary to prevent the introduction of slavery into those Territories, and would do no good, but on the contrary, in his judgment, be a source of humiliation and irritation to the people of the South, are we not bound to accord to him honorable motives and consistency of action in this regard, even though we are unable to accept his assumptions and arguments as valid? And this is the conclusion I long since reached in regard to this whole matter.

And though Whittier may have written his "Ichabod," and though the poetic beauty and power of that lyric dirge

and the honest criticisms of patriotic men, coupled with the hypercriticisms of an unjust and carping world, may for a time have cast a shadow over a planet of the first magnitude, may have partially obscured for a brief period the splendor of its former glory, I, while not indorsing some of the sentiments and expressions it contains, am not of those who can in that speech, by any fair construction of which it is susceptible, taken as a whole and interpreted as it should be in the light of the accompanying assumptions and arguments, see any justifiable cause for detracting from or for casting any just reflection on the name or fame of DANIEL WEBSTER. But, on the contrary, I see in the ceremonials of this hour impartial history to-day rising in its majesty above the clamor of the discordant elements of those times, and, wielding the pen of justice, rejecting the insinuations of "Ichabod," as its distinguished author himself in a great measure rejected them before his death, and the name and fame of WEBSTER, notwithstanding this speech, shining again serenely in the firmament of our nation's history.

If the *sentiments* expressed in that speech on the subject of slavery as it then existed in this country must be regarded as a cloud upon an otherwise immortal name, then with much more force might it be justly held that the *acts* on that subject of the great men who framed our Constitution in giving slavery recognition should consign their names to lasting infamy.

WEBSTER in that speech but dealt historically with the subject of slavery as it existed from the earliest history of the world, and as it then existed in the United States—in virtue of the fact that the convictions of the fathers on that

subject, that is, as to the best mode of dealing with what they all then regarded as a great evil, had caused them to recognize it in the fundamental law of the land. The same course of reasoning by which WEBSTER is condemned for the sentiments contained in that speech would tarnish the names of the thirteen Northern Senators, including those of John A. Dix and Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York; Levi Woodbury and Charles G. Atherton, of New Hampshire; John M. Niles, of Connecticut; John Fairfield, of Maine; James Buchanan and Daniel Sturgeon, of Pennsylvania, and Benjamin Tappan and William Allen, of Ohio, all of whom voted for the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave State, with a provision attached making it possible for four more slave States to be carved out of it.

WEBSTER'S public life presents overwhelming evidence of the fact that he was unalterably opposed to the extension of African slavery into the Territories of the United States.

The sentiment of the South in regard to slavery had materially changed from that held by the framers of the Constitution. When the Constitution was framed, its authors had declared without dissent or qualification that slavery was an evil, moral and political, but they recognized its existence in the fundamental law; whereas, in 1848, John C. Calhoun, the great Southern leader, the master mind of the South, the great exponent of Southern sentiment, in his place in the Senate on August 10, on the bill providing a Territorial government for Oregon, made this startling declaration:

Slavery has benefited all mankind, all countries but the South. Slavery, like the waters of the Nile, has spread its fertilizing influence over all the world.

WEBSTER, therefore, with other Northern statesmen of his time, was brought face to face with a great controversy that threatened the dissolution of the Union. He had to contend with a changed sentiment, a hostile and formidable power in the South, and in his intense desire to prevent secession and a bloody war and to preserve the Union intact he compromised in speech and act to an extent that brought upon him the condemnation of many well-meaning men.

The great purpose, it seems to me, of Mr. WEBSTER'S speech of March 7, 1850, was the preservation of the Union. He seemed to be impressed for years with an apprehension that an attempt to dissolve the Union peaceably might be made, and that such an experiment would in his judgment surely result in bringing on a bloody and destructive war, and in that very speech he uttered these remarkable and prophetic words:

Mr. President, I should prefer to have heard from every member on this floor declarations of opinion that this Union could never be dissolved than the declaration of opinion that in any case, under the pressure of any circumstances, such a dissolution was possible. We hear with distress and anxiety the word "secession," especially when it falls from the lips of those who are patriotic and known to the country and known all over the world for their political services. *Secession! Secession! Peaceable secession!* Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle. The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffling the surface! Who is so foolish, I beg everybody's pardon, as to expect to see any such thing!

Sir, he who sees these States, now revolving in harmony around a common center, and expects to see them quit their places and fly off without convulsion, may look the next hour to see the heavenly bodies rush from their spheres and jostle against each other in the realms of space without causing the wreck of the universe. There

can be no such thing as peaceable secession. Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. Is the great Constitution under which we live, covering the whole country, to be thawed and melted away by secession as the snows on the mountain melt under the influence of the vernal sun, disappear almost unobserved, and run off? No, sir! No, sir! I will not state what might produce the disruption of the Union; but, sir, I see as plainly as I see the sun in heaven what that disruption must produce. I see that it must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe in its twofold character.

Some men accounted great rise above their fellows in but a single department or line of professional, scientific, or public life—some as lawyers at the bar, others as statesmen in the halls of legislation, while others excel only in the more intricate fields of diplomacy. WEBSTER excelled in all.

Excelling others, these were great;
Thou, greater still, must these excel.

This master mind left the lasting impress of its greatness not only on the records of his profession as a lawyer and on the journals of both branches of Congress, but on the diplomatic pages of his country's history. The historian tells us his diplomatic discussion with Lord Ashburton, which led to the adoption of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, resulting in the final settlement of the disturbing controversy relative to the northeastern boundary of the United States, was, to use the language of the historic writer, "as able as were the questions involved intricate."

True it is, although the treaty settled a controversy that had existed and been a source of aggravating irritation between this country and Great Britain from the date of the treaty of peace in 1783, a period of nearly sixty years, and although after long and able discussion in this body it had received five-sixths of all the votes of the Senate in

favor of its ratification, it was subsequently bitterly assailed here and in the House of Representatives and elsewhere, notably by Senators Dix and Dickinson, of New York, in the Senate, and Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, in the House, and Mr. WEBSTER, as one of its authors, was severely arraigned on the alleged grounds—

First. For its unconstitutional surrender, as claimed, of a portion of the State of Maine and certain strategic military points;

Second. Because of the mode in which the subject of the search of vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade on the coast of Africa was disposed of; and

Third. Because it was insisted no proper redress had been obtained for the violation of the territorial rights of the United States in the destruction of the steamboat *Caroline* in the harbor of Schlosser by a British force in December, 1837, and which subsequently led to the arrest of one Alexander McLeod, a British subject, composing part of the force, by the authorities of the State of New York, for an alleged murder committed by him on that occasion.

But all these objections are to my mind completely answered and absolutely overthrown by Mr. WEBSTER himself in his two-days speech in this body in defense of that treaty, April 6 and 7, 1846. In that great speech Mr. WEBSTER demonstrated beyond all question the justice of the appeal contained in its closing sentences, when in concluding he said:

I am willing to appeal to the public men of the age whether, in 1842 and in the city of Washington, something was not done for the suppression of crime, for the true exposition of the principles of public law, for the freedom and security of commerce on the ocean, and for the peace of the world.

Were I disposed, or if proper on this occasion, to indulge in criticism, the one thing in Mr. WEBSTER's public career, as I understand it, with which I should find most fault was his attitude on the Oregon question.

Mr. WEBSTER, I regret, did not estimate Oregon Territory at its true merit. He did not seem to comprehend its importance as an integral part of the Republic, either in a domestic or an international sense, and he failed utterly and absolutely to properly assert and defend our rights to that Territory, either as Senator or as Secretary of State. He was indisposed always to give any countenance whatever to our claim to territory farther north than the forty-ninth parallel. And when President Polk, in his message in 1845, declared that, in his judgment, our title to the whole of the country—that is, to fifty-four degrees forty minutes—was “clear and unquestionable,” Mr. WEBSTER, in his place in the Senate, not only took issue, but insisted we had no claim whatever, nothing to arbitrate or settle, beyond the forty-ninth parallel. He insisted this boundary had been established by the treaty of Utrecht and assented to by the people of the United States. But not only so; he left even our rights to the south of the line in doubt, and suggested that should the forty-ninth parallel be recognized there would still be left open for negotiation, arbitration, and settlement the right of Great Britain to the use, either permanently or for a term of years, of the Columbia River, and also, to use his own language, “in regard to all that respects straits and sounds and islands in the neighboring seas,” referring evidently to the Strait of San Juan de Fuca and the waters and islands of Puget Sound.

It is not generally believed that Mr. WEBSTER in dealing

with the Oregon question either exhibited that knowledge of facts or the possession of that faculty of prescience generally so characteristic of and attributed to him. This is clearly indicated by a remark in his speech in the Senate of April 6 and 7, 1846, in defense of the Treaty of Washington. In that treaty our right to float logs down the river St. Johns, through the province of New Brunswick, to the Bay of Fundy had been secured, and Mr. WEBSTER, in referring to what he regarded as its immense value, said:

We have heard a vast deal lately of the immense value and importance of the river Columbia and its navigation, but I will undertake to say that for all purposes of human use the river St. Johns is worth a hundred times as much as the Columbia is or ever will be.

* * * It (the St. Johns) is navigable from the sea and by steamboats a greater distance than the Columbia.

The naked fact is, Mr. President, the river St. Johns was not then, is not now, and never will be, for any considerable distance, more than a highway for rafts of logs from the forests of Maine and New Brunswick to the city of St. Johns and the Bay of Fundy. And the statement of Mr. WEBSTER, it is submitted, was not warranted by the then existing facts, nor has it ever been confirmed, and never will be, by subsequent history. The vast commerce borne to-day upon the waters of the Columbia River and the immeasurable possibilities as to the future, which all now concede, present conclusive evidence as to how very much at times even the greatest of public men may be mistaken.

That DANIEL WEBSTER, great as he was, had his weaknesses and failings, as every mortal man, however great or good he may be, has in greater or less degree, no one will controvert. But that these, unlike the weaknesses and failings of those less conspicuous, in either private or

public life, were greatly exaggerated, truthful history attests. One of his contemporaries, eminent in his time, in an eloquent eulogium delivered at his death, in delicately referring to this aspect of the great statesman's life, and after premising it with a declaration that it was due to truth and sound morality to say that no public services, no eminent talent, can or should sanctify errors, said:

To say that he had no weaknesses and failings would be to say that he was not human. These failings have been published to the world, and his friends would have no reason to complain of that if they had not been exaggerated.

And after further stating that he had a close personal intimacy with Mr. WEBSTER in private and domestic life for a period of over twenty-five years, and had during that time received numerous letters from him, he said :

I have had the pleasure of meeting him often in private circles and at the festive board where some of our sessions were not short, but neither in his letters nor conversation have I ever known him to express an impure thought, an immoral sentiment, or use profane language. Neither in writing nor in conversation have I ever known him to assail any man. No man, in my hearing, was ever slandered or spoken ill of by DANIEL WEBSTER. Never in my life have I known a man whose conversation was uniformly so unexceptionable in tone and edifying in character. No man had more tenderness of feeling than DANIEL WEBSTER.

On this same occasion J. Prescott Hall pronounced a eulogy, in which, among other things, he said:

I have partaken of his innocent and manly amusements; I have walked with him at twilight upon the shore of the "far-resounding sea;" I have seen him in the forum and the Senate Chamber, his gigantic intellect towering above all his compeers, and under no circumstances and on no occasion did I ever know him to forget his own dignity or cease to impress, if not overwhelm, with the sense of

his surpassing greatness. From his lips I never heard an irreverent, a profane, or an unseemly expression, while his playful wit, his deep philosophy, his varied acquirements, and unrivaled powers of conversation are among the choicest treasures of my recollection.

One writer truthfully says:

Many take pleasure in speaking about the weaknesses of an exalted character.

That WEBSTER was, in a measure, incautious, perhaps to an extent improvident, in personal monetary matters, seems to be conceded. This failing, however, it is not believed was the result of any lack of personal integrity, but rather of indifference as to his own individual necessities and comforts, present and future, coupled, doubtless, in a great measure with the fact that his life, professionally and as a public man, was devoted to a service the least of the purposes of which was that of getting money, much less getting rich.

While, therefore, we would reject the Shakespearean philosophy suggested in the phrase—

Condemn the fault and not the actor of it?

Why, every fault's condemned ere it be done—

but rather remembering the beautiful sentiment of Moore—

As sunshine broken in the rill,

Though turned astray, is sunshine still—

may it not be said, and truly and justly said, now that the rains of forty-two summers and the driving snows of as many winters have beat upon the tomb of the great departed and we come to-day to bear fitting testimony to his name and memory by placing in the Statuary Hall of this great Capitol his marble bust, there to remain while this proud edifice shall stand, that the delinquencies of

DANIEL WEBSTER, if any, whatever they may have been, whether moral or political, whether venial or otherwise, have, by common consent, by universal acquiescence, in the light of his grand intellectual powers, which none can dispute, which all must acknowledge, and in view of his great public service to the State which entitles him to universal commendation, been condoned?

The Senate of the United States to-day pauses in its deliberations and does honor to DANIEL WEBSTER, a former member of this body, distinguished, illustrious, preeminent among the men of his time. And in the Statuary Hall of this great Capitol, by common consent of the people and government of the State, of his nativity, of the people of the State of his adoption, and of the Government and people of the United States, he takes his place among those who are deemed fit to stand in silent representation in that historic presence.

And when we, the representatives in this Chamber to-day of forty-four sovereign States, composing a nation the greatest, the grandest on the face of the earth, shall have passed away; when our names, or at least the names of most of us, shall be no longer remembered among men, the name of WEBSTER will live in history, and will reflect unfading glory on the pages of the future historian.

And when generations yet unborn shall walk through these historic halls, and shall pause as they come and go in yonder part of this great edifice, to look upon the speechless marble representations of the great men of this and former times, they will, in contemplating in the light of faithful and accurate history the lives and characters of the men there represented, without hesitation and with

common consent accord to WEBSTER a place first among the great intellects of departed statesmen. Of course, rising above him in other and different attributes and in political and patriotic attainments and power and in the estimate of peoples and of nations, will ever stand pre-eminent, rightfully demanding and forever receiving the first consideration and the unrestrained and enthusiastic plaudits of all patriots, of every lover of human liberty, of every coming generation—George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

ADDRESS OF MR. LODGE.

MR. PRESIDENT: Some time ago the Congress of the United States decreed that statues of distinguished Americans presented by the States to the nation should be placed in the old Chamber of the House of Representatives. That hall is a very fine one, and it may be doubted whether its beauty has been enhanced by the collection of statues now ranged about its walls. The hall, both in its proportion and its design, is simple, dignified, and harmonious; but no one, I imagine, would think of applying those adjectives to the collection of statues which it contains. They certainly are not harmonious, for they are of all sizes, diverse heights, and different substances. There is, to be sure, a certain uniformity of artistic execution, but even in this direction the uniformity is not complete, for among the figures there are some good statues. The most remarkable thing about the collection, however, is the choice of subjects, which ranges from George Washington to a governor of very passing if not purely local reputation. This offers certainly a wide range of selection, but it seems to lead to some confusion as to what entitles a man to have his statue in the national Capitol when we consider who have been omitted and who let in.

In view of these facts, therefore, it is a peculiar pleasure to receive to-day from the State of New Hampshire two statues which rightfully belong in any place set apart to commemorate the distinguished men who have served the Republic. One of these two was a soldier, conspicuous among those who established by arms the independence

of the United States. He sprang from that sturdy stock which brought to the north of Ireland the blood of the Scotch Covenanters and of Cromwell's Ironsides. He was of that race of men who flung back the forces of the Stuarts in the desperate siege of Londonderry, and who have played such a noted part in the history of this country as soldiers, statesmen, and pioneers. New Hampshire to-day places his statue in the national Capitol, but the American people will always think of JOHN STARK, not in the cold repose of bronze or marble, but as he looked leading the van through snow, and sleet, and darkness when Washington saved the Revolution at Trenton, or still more as he was when, blackened with powder, he charged with his men upon the British lines at Bennington.

But it is not for me to dwell upon the services of this brave soldier of the Revolution. That more fittingly belongs to the Senators of his own State. New Hampshire, however, presents the statue of not only JOHN STARK, but also that of a famous lawyer, statesman, and orator, DANIEL WEBSTER, one of the greatest names in our national history. In New Hampshire WEBSTER was born and bred, and it is most fitting that she should give his statue to the nation. There he first practiced law, and thence he was first sent to Congress; but his later career and his great fame belong to Massachusetts, the State which he served and honored and which loved and honored him for so many years. We may well pause a moment in the business of the day to look back at such a man and such a career.

Nature was generous almost without stint to WEBSTER. He was endowed with marvelous gifts, both physical and

mental. The splendid lines of Shakespeare so often abused in eulogy could be applied to him without either exaggeration or bad taste. He in very truth had—

The front of Jove himself;
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
A station like the herald Mercury,
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
A combination, and a form, indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.

It were much to be wished that some painter or sculptor could set him before our eyes as Hamlet beheld his father, even—

In his habit as he lived.

And with these physical gifts, which WEBSTER had in such large measure, there went also a personal charm as strong as it was impalpable, something quite apart from the intellect, and which is too often overlooked by the biographer and historian. From the day when as a small boy he sat by the roadside and read the Bible to the admiring teamsters who stopped to water their horses, or went to the fair and spent not only his own money but his brother's, WEBSTER was followed and admired, supported and sustained, by hundreds of men and women who asked nothing more than to be able to serve and love and follow him. He awed and impressed the multitude who merely saw and heard him. He charmed and fascinated those with whom he came in closer touch.

At the end of his life, wearied and disappointed in his immediate ambition, he declared that "law was uncertain and politics utterly vain." Yet his career had been crowded with all that men most desire. He had stood at

the head of the bar of the United States. He had had all that his great profession could give of renown and achievement. No arguments before our highest court have a fame equal to some of his, and he has left in his works the greatest speech to a jury in the language. As strong in argument as it is powerful in its appeal to the emotions, the diction as beautiful as the style is finished, the speech which avenged the murder of Stephen White stands unsurpassed. For nearly thirty years in the politics which he called "utterly vain" he filled a place and wielded an influence unsurpassed by any other man in a generation which included Clay and Calhoun. As an orator he had no rival, and the literary quality of his speeches is so fine that they are repeated and familiar to-day, while those of his great antagonists are scarcely read except by students.

The disappointment and regret of his last days came from the fact that he had failed to gain the one great office which he felt should have been his. The ambition was honorable, as the disappointment was natural. He could not see, as we see, how completely fame and achievement like his overshadow and outweigh the mere office for which he longed. Schoolboys declaim his sentences; lawyers quote his opinions, and orators and statesmen appeal to his arguments to uphold their own, while some of the men who grasped the glittering prize for which he strove in vain are little more than names in the catalogue of history.

His speeches, his writings, his work, are all part of our history and our literature, and will so remain. The memory of the man fills almost as great a place now as his living presence did fifty years ago. Of all the men whose

statues have been placed or are yet to be placed in yonder hall there is not one so identified with this national Capitol as WEBSTER. The old House recalls the speech for the Greeks and the denunciation of the Triple Alliance. The first thing that is said to any stranger who enters the Supreme Court room is that this was the spot where WEBSTER replied to Hayne. The new wings remind us that it was his stately eloquence which commemorated the laying of their corner-stones.

It is most fit that it should be so. WEBSTER'S memory ought to be part of the Capitol, which stands as the symbol and expression of the National Government, for to the nation and to the Union the love of his life and the best work of his noble intellect were given.

WEBSTER is too great a man to treat with the contempt which is implied by mere eulogy and the consequent implication that he was faultless. He had serious imperfections and grave moral defects. This is not the place to enter into any analysis of either the strength or the weakness of his character. History recognizes and judges both. We set up his statue here beneath the dome of the Capitol in memory of his public career. There is no need, nor is there time or space, to follow that career in all its varied achievement, in its successes or its shortcomings. It is the great central fact of his life and work that is of most concern to us here. For what did this man so marvelously gifted stand preeminent? For what does he stand preeminent to-day? In his own lifetime he was called "the expounder of the Constitution." The title is too dry and too narrow. He stood then and now stands as the great defender and champion of Union and of the nation in the

days when they needed defense. Not even the 7th of March changed him in that respect.

That famous speech was the great crisis of WEBSTER'S life. He then turned his back upon his past, deserted his lifelong opposition to slavery, and sustained the compromise in which slavery was dominant. In so doing he defended the Union with all the fervor of his earlier days, but of the vast change in his attitude toward slavery there could be no question. The North fell away from him in grief and pain. The Northern people felt that he had deserted them as he had deserted his own past. In the heat of that bitter time it was said that he had sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, that he had abandoned his principles and his people, and bowed his knee in the house of Rimmon, bribed by a Southern promise of the Presidency which would never be fulfilled. It was a terrible explanation, but it was a simple one, and the simplest explanation is usually accepted at the moment.

History, however, can not be content with what is merely obvious. In the tangled network of human motives only omniscience can accurately decide which one governs. But this much can easily be seen, that human motives, so difficult always to determine, are rarely simple. Many influences may work to the same end. That the passion for the Presidency and the longing for Southern support played an important part in WEBSTER'S change of attitude can not be doubted. But it is narrow and unjust to think that this meaner influence was the only one. Then as always the dominant motive with WEBSTER was his love for the Union. That he made a capital mistake on the 7th of March is clear enough to all who look

calmly at our history and who, in the words of Washington, "think continentally." That he of all men should have seen that the Union could not be saved by compromise and that he above all men should not have tried to save the Union by compromise are equally plain. Yet, when all is said and all admitted, the fact remains that on the 7th of March, 1850, dread of secession and love of Union moved him to action—however mistaken that action may have been—as they had always moved him before.

As in his earliest so in his latest years, that love of Union was the passion of his life. When the excitement of the compromise period had passed, and when the war had been fought out, this became more and more apparent. Men looked back behind the 7th of March speech, forgot the hour of weakness, and recalled the days of strength. There we can see, above all, in the mighty speech known as the reply to Hayne, what WEBSTER really did for us. He depicted the Union as it was. He showed how the Constitution had ceased to be an experiment and had made a nation and not a confederacy or a league. His words sank into the hearts of the people, and not only offered them arguments but gave them faith. He did more to create the national sentiment in the years before the war than any other man, and it was this national sentiment that he expressed so passionately which nerved the arms and stirred the hearts of the Northern people when war came, and which drove forward the bayonets of the national armies on many a stricken field.

WEBSTER'S devotion to the Union was as heartfelt as it was fervent. He not only believed in it as a patriot, but it

was a part of his very nature. He had "no Alleghanies in his politics," and, like one of Lowell's pioneers, "he had empire in his brain." In the great rush of the closing passages of that 7th of March speech he cried "Peaceable secession! peaceable secession! What States are to secede? What is to remain American? What am I to be?" This was not the utterance of a colossal vanity or an overwhelming egotism. It was a cry of the heart. The thought of a broken Union filled him with horror. He could not conceive himself as other than a citizen of the United States. He felt that he should stifle and die if he were forced to be a dweller in one of half a dozen little republics on the South American model, and this he knew, as we all know now, was what secession carried in its train. It was this conception of Union and nationality, this imperial instinct, which inspired WEBSTER'S noblest words. If all else were forgotten, the memory of his battle for the Union and the nation would still survive. To the man who rendered this great service and who brought such splendid gifts to its performance we do well to raise a monument, and no place can be so fit for it as the very Capitol itself of the nation he so dearly loved.

ADDRESS OF MR. GALLINGER.

MR. PRESIDENT: The career of DANIEL WEBSTER has been so ably and elaborately set forth on former occasions and to-day that nothing remains for me to do but to add a single word. Spending my summer vacations in the town where WEBSTER was born, and frequently passing the spot on which the farmhouse stood where he first saw the light of day, it would be a labor of love to trace his steps from the obscure surroundings of his boyhood days to the time when he became the foremost figure in the Senate of the United States and the universally recognized leader of the political party to which he belonged. But this has already been done by others better than it could be done by me.

The word I will say is simply to emphasize WEBSTER'S devotion to the Union and his broad and all-pervading nationality. He loved his country and its institutions. He revered the Constitution, which he defended with consummate ability in the National Legislature. He deplored sectional strife, and exerted himself always to strengthen the bonds of good feeling between the States and the sections of our common country. Nullification, secession, disunion, were to him things of horrid import, and his influence and words were always in behalf of an inseparable and indissoluble Union.

Were WEBSTER alive to-day, no fact connected with the Republic would give him so much joy as that the contest for a separation of the Union had been fought out and settled, and that the great principles of government which

he so ably advocated are forever established in the hearts and consciences of the American people. Here to-day, as a statue is unveiled in the nation's Capitol to his memory, and his virtues and achievements are recalled, we may well adopt his words as our own, and, renewing our vows to the cause of constitutional government, say to the people of all parts of this great land:

Let our object be our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country; and by the blessing of God may the country itself become then a splendid monument, not of oppression and power, but of peace and prosperity, at which the whole world may gaze in admiration forever.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolutions submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar].

The concurrent resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

PROCEEDINGS IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

DECEMBER 12, 1894.

Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the desk.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of New Hampshire of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER, to be erected in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, be made the special order for Thursday, the 20th day of December, at two o'clock p. m.

The resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted was laid on the table.

DECEMBER 17, 1894.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following letter:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Concord, December 5, 1894.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with an act passed at the biennial session of 1893, and in acceptance of an invitation contained in section eighteen hundred and fourteen of the Revised Statutes of the

United States, the State of New Hampshire has placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington two statues in marble—the one of JOHN STARK, the other of DANIEL WEBSTER. These statues were modeled by Carl Conrads after statues in bronze now in the State House Park at Concord. The original of the WEBSTER statue is by Ball, and was presented to the State by Benjamin Pierce Cheney. The original statue of STARK is by Conrads, and was erected by the State.

In behalf of the State of New Hampshire, I have the honor of presenting these statues to the Congress of the United States.

Very respectfully,

JOHN B. SMITH, *Governor.*

Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER. This communication will lie upon the table until the House determines to act upon it.

DECEMBER 20, 1894.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of New Hampshire of the statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER, to be erected in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, be made the special order for Thursday, the 20th day of December, at two o'clock p. m.

Mr. BAKER, of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the letter of his excellency the governor of New Hampshire, addressed to the honorable Speaker of this House, which has been read and laid upon the table, be taken from the table and again reported.

The letter was read, as follows:

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

Concord, December 5, 1894.

DEAR SIR: In accordance with an act passed at the biennial session of 1893, and in acceptance of an invitation contained in section eighteen hundred and fourteen of the Revised Statutes of the

United States, the State of New Hampshire has placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington two statues in marble—the one of JOHN STARK, the other of DANIEL WEBSTER. These statues were modeled by Carl Conrads after statues in bronze now in the State House Park at Concord. The original of the WEBSTER statue is by Ball, and was presented to the State by Benjamin Pierce Cheney. The original statue of STARK is by Conrads, and was erected by the State.

In behalf of the State of New Hampshire, I have the honor of presenting these statues to the Congress of the United States.

Very respectfully,

JOHN B. SMITH, *Governor.*

HON. CHARLES F. CRISP,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to submit a resolution, for which I ask immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows :

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress are presented to the State of New Hampshire for the statue of DANIEL WEBSTER, a citizen of that State, illustrious for distinguished civic services rendered to his State, his country, and mankind

Resolved, That the statue be accepted and assigned to a place in the National Statuary Hall, and that a copy of these resolutions, duly authenticated, be presented to his excellency the governor of the State of New Hampshire.

ADDRESS OF MR. BLAIR.

MR. SPEAKER: In recognition of the inseparable blending of our National and State Governments, each necessary to the other and together forming one complete organic whole, Congress has set apart the old Hall of the House of Representatives for assembling in everlasting companionship the statues of such of the superior men of the States, not exceeding two in number from each, as they respectively may select.

No great American belongs wholly to his State, nor yet to the nation at large, but equally to both, and the presence of these silent but perpetual reminders of the high examples and illustrious lives of those who have been most conspicuously identified with the creation and growth of our institutions, States, and nationality can not fail to produce an ennobling and far-reaching effect upon our people.

The presence of these monuments will forever educate and instruct their beholders to emulate those actions which constitute the high careers of the great men whom they represent.

In times of peace they will increase our peace; they may help to save us many wars, and to make those successful in which we are compelled to engage. By the influence of these august forms their great originals will hold perpetual session and legislate for the good of their country until the foundations of the Capitol are subverted and the city of Washington is no more.

New Hampshire is one of the old thirteen. Founded in 1623, three years after the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth

Rock, she was for one hundred and fifty years a frontier State, and the Revolution found her with a population of about eighty thousand, when Massachusetts had five times that number of people. But the two colonies always had much in common, far more than either had with any other colony, and in a certain way there was between them a true sisterly affection.

Massachusetts has done many a kindly deed for New Hampshire, and in turn, for the century during which our little State fought the savages and the Frenchmen for the protection of her more flourishing, populous, and wealthy neighbor, as well as for her own existence, Massachusetts, by her enlarged opportunities, has often furnished, as she is still doing, the arena on which the sons of New Hampshire have found a more ample scope for their abilities and replenished the already well-filled records of the old Bay State with achievements of the highest order of ability.

One notable, and the greatest man ever given by one American State to another, is the subject of the present exercises, and if it be suggested, as it has been suggested, that it might have been better if Massachusetts had been left herself to fitly honor the immortal orator, lawyer, and statesman by placing his counterfeit presentment in Statuary Hall, it should be remembered that, besides the facts of birth, education, and of a distinguished career already accomplished when Mr. WEBSTER removed to Massachusetts, she has precluded such action on her part by having already presented statues of two of her own most distinguished sons, whose illustrious lives fully entitle them to that high distinction. The quota of Massachusetts

among these immortals is already full, but the complete galaxy of her sons who will never die would fill the heavens.

Nor is even the great WEBSTER necessary to the fame of New Hampshire, for she has innumerable soldiers, orators, statesmen, and patriots, with their records of eternal honor. But Mr. WEBSTER was essentially a product of New Hampshire, born in the fullness of time, out of her stern conditions, there bred and educated, planted, exercised, and developed in professional life and in national public life, and so prepared for the more fortunate arena which he afterwards found in his adopted State. Therefore it is most appropriate that New Hampshire claim here and now and always that she produced the great North Star, whose steady light shall bid the ship of our liberties, as it navigates the ocean of our national destiny, "forever know its place."

The family of DANIEL WEBSTER is said to be of Scotch origin, although its first American settler came from England and established himself at Hampton, N. H., in the year 1636. The descent is traced through Kingston and Salisbury, where DANIEL was born on the 18th day of January, 1782. His father was born at Kingston in 1739. He fought in the French and Indian war, rising to the rank of captain in the famous regiment of Rodgers's rangers, the most remarkable body of fighting men ever produced by the combination of civilized and savage warfare.

When Canada became an English province by the cession in 1763, Ebenezer Webster removed to Salisbury and settled on the farm said to have then been the nearest the savages and Canada of any resided upon by civilized man in New England. He was a man of great natural

abilities, but without any of the advantages of education in early life. In spite of it all, however, he became a judge and one of the most influential men in that part of the State.

He determined to educate DANIEL, and in due time sent him to Phillips Academy, Exeter, and to Dartmouth College. The tale of the struggles of the family to accomplish this, and also the education of DANIEL'S remarkable older brother Ezekiel, which was not thought of until the opening genius of DANIEL aroused him to the importance of giving to Ezekiel the same advantages he was receiving himself, is pathetic to the last degree, and no man can read it without tears.

In 1805 DANIEL commenced the practice of law at Salisbury, where his father still lived, and where he survived for a short time, and until he listened to the first plea of his son and foresaw the inevitable celebrity which was in store for him.

In the town of Plymouth, where I formerly lived, the old court-house in which he made his first plea in an important case is still preserved in its ancient form, being used for the purpose of a public library. On his last visit to Plymouth, Mr. WEBSTER, with a party of friends, visited this ancient building, then being used for the humble purposes of a wheelwright's repair shop, and pointed out the location of the judges, lawyers, and jury, and described the scenes of the trial which was the real commencement of his professional career. After completing this intensely interesting account, he carelessly took a piece of chalk from the bench before him and wrote his name—DANIEL WEBSTER—on the wooden wall of the room, where it was

for years afterwards pointed out to visitors as DANIEL WEBSTER'S autograph written in chalk, until one cold morning an uncouth apprentice boy daubed it out of sight in softening his brush, which had stiffened with paint the previous night.

Knowing of these things and of the historic interest which would always attach to this old court-house, I rescued it from destruction, and it is one of the pleasant memories of my life that I saw it dedicated to a purpose not ignoble in comparison with that for which it was originally erected. Traditions still survive in that community of the tremendous effect produced by this first plea of a then unknown young lawyer, but who has been famous ever since. When I was a boy, an old man with an extraordinary memory was still surviving, who would repeat page after page of it by heart with great verbal accuracy. I may further add that on the occasion of his last visit to Plymouth, which was in 1851, Mr. WEBSTER alluded to his old friend, Dr. Thomas J. Whipple, who was once a member of Congress from that vicinity, as "the greatest reasoner he had ever known." Dr. Thomas J. Whipple was the father of the famous Col. Thomas J. Whipple, who lately died in the city of Laconia.

In the year 1807 Mr. WEBSTER removed to the wealthy and patrician city of Portsmouth, when he at once took his place in the front rank along with Jeremiah Mason, probably the greatest master of the common law that ever lived in this country, and who was, in the deliberately expressed opinion of Mr. WEBSTER, in no wise the inferior of Chief Justice Marshall himself. There is no doubt that the masterly professional struggles between these two giants

did more to make DANIEL WEBSTER the greatest all-around lawyer of his time than anything else. He first took his seat in Congress on the 24th day of May, 1813, serving four years, and achieving national fame during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Congresses as a member of the House from New Hampshire.

In 1816 he removed to Boston, and resided in the State of Massachusetts until his death, which took place at Marshfield on the 24th day of October, 1852.

Before Mr. WEBSTER left New Hampshire he had done some of the best work of his life in the three great departments of culture and intellectual service wherein he afterwards surpassed all contemporaries, as an orator, a lawyer, and a statesman.

New Hampshire gave to Massachusetts and to the world a full-grown giant, with powers drawn from her inexhaustible resources for the production of men preeminent and sufficient for the demands of any arena.

It is not the least of the abounding glories of the first of American States, save only the peerless mother of WEBSTER herself, that Massachusetts took him to her bosom with the pride and affection of a natural mother, and that from her then unapproachable vantage ground of opportunity she enabled the savior of the Constitution and of the Union to perform the tremendous work of the next thirty-six years. But, sir, it was no sapling, but a full-grown oak, which from the mountains of New Hampshire was transplanted to the shores of Massachusetts, there to flourish with increased vigor in the commingling breezes of the land and of the sea.

Mr. WEBSTER once said that New Hampshire was a

good State to emigrate from; and whatever may have been his meaning at the time, not only he but thousands of her sons, who have gone forth to found and fashion the destinies of other States and of the whole Union of all the States, have found out too that New Hampshire is a good State to emigrate from; for to the qualities and powers and training with which she endowed and equipped them the obstacles of nature and of society have helplessly yielded and their home-given superiority has been acknowledged by grateful Commonwealths which trace their own elevation to the influence of our granite hills.

No emigrant from New Hampshire ever yet found it for his interest to conceal the State he came from, and it is her own greatest pride to feel that her sons need no written certificate of excellence as they turn their faces worldward to mingle in the great struggle of the generations of men, for they carry with them in their own sinewy and well-knit and self-reliant natures an endowment which no Spartan or Athenian mother ever gave to her boy, and which, coupled with the resources and opportunities of other States, have placed them in the front rank of every procession wherever they are found, and demonstrated that New Hampshire is indeed a good State to emigrate from. And of us who have remained on our native soil and who know her best, who does not thank God that he is permitted there to live? Who is not ready anywhere at any time to maintain her honor and for her to die?

We are now, sir, approaching the great service of DANIEL WEBSTER to mankind. Upon it depends his fame, because it was as the expounder of the Constitution and the demonstrator of the nature of the government

formed by the union of these States that he placed himself above all the benefactors which his generation gave to his country, and laid the foundation of that intelligent conviction and profound sentiment for patriotic nationality which permeated the heads and hearts of the people, and which, when in after years the grand trial of battle came, preserved the Union and the supremacy of its laws.

The necessary brevity of these remarks will not permit the general discussion of his life and character. I shall, therefore, confine myself mainly to this part of the work of Mr. WEBSTER, trusting, perhaps, to the courtesy of the House, on some future occasion, to place a more adequate estimate of his public services upon the records of the country, when I shall have had the opportunity for proper preparation, which circumstances have now denied. I do this the more willingly because I know that, besides my colleague and other eminent gentlemen who will honor the occasion in what they may have to say, the distinguished member from Massachusetts, himself the worthy son of one of the superior men whose frequent association with Mr. WEBSTER was to the increased honor and benefit of the whole country, and which association in youth he witnessed, will do ampler justice than I possibly can to the subject before us and to his own great Commonwealth.

A real nation is a growth of many people into one sensitive and compact society, capable of united action, both for offense and defense, and in which all individuals and parts composing it, harmoniously blended, are important for its happy and powerful existence. It is not a mere herd or agglomeration of individual men, however numerous or even intelligent they may be.

Nationality is essentially a thing of the mind. It can be produced only by processes which are chiefly mental, and by experiences which, although they may appertain much to the body, are yet incapable of creating a nation except as they produce a mental and moral unity, upon the strength of which, as a force directing and controlling animal existence and material things, the power and happiness and existence of the nation depend.

In most of the great examples of history, states and empires have been the result of ages of slow evolution from families and tribes, gradually increasing, improving, and surpassing and absorbing or destroying their neighbors, hardening and compacting and yet ever enlarging and ascending with the vicissitudes of time, until at last they have become mighty social units, which have already played their parts in or are still in action upon the great drama of human affairs. The progress has always been not only from a given point forward and outward, but upward also. There has been increase not only in numbers, but intellectually and morally, and those only are in the highest and truest sense great nations in which the individual man is most intelligently patriotic.

True it is that the influence of association upon the same soil or the same climate, and the existence of those relations essential to the perpetuation, the support, and the defense of the community, will create a patriotic devotion formidable to those who assail it. But the existence of this tie—the tie of patriotism—which is of the essence of nationality, can only result from a feeling so strong that it has become such an essential part of the affections and of the intellectual structure of the people that their existence

together as a whole, as many in one, is absolutely indispensable to their happiness and that of their children. And this sentiment of patriotic devotion founded upon conviction of the mind must have become so strong and universal and unquestioned and unquestionable that it bursts forth spontaneously whenever the national autonomy is assailed. Thus at last men are for their country because it is their country. Whatever its cause may be, the country must be right. Our country, right or wrong! Then men die for the flag without a question. Individuals are like atoms of the body, and partake of life and motion only as collectively they are the great body politic, living and dying in it and of it and with it. The Frenchman lives and dies for France, the German for Fatherland, the Englishman for Old England and for the Empire of the Seas, and the American for the Union of these States.

Generally, in the history of the world, the evolution of this idea of nationality has been the work of ages. Not so in America. The circumstances of the origin of the States made it impossible. Yet an intense sentiment of nationality was as necessary here as elsewhere for the existence of the nation and the preservation of the Union upon which it depends, because the laws of human nature are universal. Our continent was unknown to the modern world and to the ancestors of those who now live in it until within the last four hundred years. The United States has been practically settled and developed within the last two hundred and fifty years.

Three warring nations—England, France, and Spain—struggled together in our foundation, to say nothing of the German, the Dutch, the Dane, the Swede and Norwegian,

and many other European elements, the savages, the negro, and all the conflicting forms of creed and rank and of prejudice, and of other distracting and inharmonious conditions which obtained in our early history and during the brief period of settlement and growth in thirteen primal colonies which preceded the organization of the Government in 1789, at which time the whole were actually dissolving in ruin, notwithstanding the great but terrible pressure of the then recent war for independence.

There was then no nation. Notwithstanding the strong reasons, based upon common interest and ties, which resulted from participation in common dangers, and to some extent of kindred blood, there was no general, all-pervading sentiment of patriotism and of nationality when the Government was founded. The best that could be done, the best that even the wisest and greatest attempted to do, was to organize a union which should leave the control of local and domestic conditions to the sovereignty of the States, parting with and conferring upon the General Government nothing except because of absolute necessity, and not from a general and spontaneous love of the whole mass of the people for each other, based upon long and tried association or upon intelligent conviction of what was best for them and their posterity.

It was necessity and not love which led to the Union of these States. The original confederation was but a union of corporations, and there is little evidence that those corporations had souls which were inclined to cement themselves into one grand nationality any further or faster than stern necessity compelled them to unite or die. When the pressure of imminent destruction was relaxed by the peace

of independence in 1783, the true nature of the confederacy was revealed. Each State and section was in it for what could be made out of it, and for no more.

And then ensued, without actual violence, all the essential conditions of absolute separate State sovereignty, but for which there would have been outright civil war. In their legal relations they were thirteen nations inclined to hostilities among themselves, and the interior condition of many of the individual States was hardly better than that which prevailed in the alleged confederacy at large. It is not too much to say that if, when it was adopted, the terms of the Constitution under which we now live had been universally and clearly understood by all the people in all the States precisely as they have turned out to be in the light of the construction given them since that time, this Union would not then have been formed. America would not then have become a nation.

Time had not then welded us together. Intelligent conviction had not done its work. There was no union of the minds and hearts of the people of the several States such as is indispensable to the existence of a nation—a great society which will die to preserve its internal as well as external autonomy. At once the warfare over the contradictory constructions of the Constitution began. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions recorded the anti-national views as early as 1798. A great party, strong in the whole country and soon in control of the Government, and retaining it most of the time until 1840, generally upheld this construction of the Constitution.

Meanwhile domestic slavery became a most powerful institution in one-half of the country, and the development

of the cotton-raising industry identified the existing prosperity as well as the social condition of the great South with the anti-national doctrines ; and during all those forty years, from the foundation of the Government until the debate between Mr. WEBSTER and Mr. Hayne in 1830, the masses of the American people had been taught (so far as they had been taught at all) to believe that our Government was a confederacy of States which might peaceably dissolve at will, and not a nation which had the rightful power to coerce a State and reduce a rebellion within a State by war against the will of the State.

A free people will not fight for that in which they do not believe.

Notwithstanding the decisions of the Supreme Court and the luminous opinions of Marshall and of other great jurists and statesmen, it is probable that when Mr. WEBSTER stood up in the American Senate to reply to the masterly speech of Mr. Hayne upholding the doctrine of nullification and the right of secession, two-thirds of the American people believed with Mr. Hayne and not with Mr. WEBSTER, and nearly, perhaps quite, one-half of the Northern people were of the same belief. The jury was with Mr. Hayne.

Before the sentiment of nationality could become the controlling one in this country, before there could be created a devotion to the Union of the States and to the sovereignty of that Union in all that had been granted to it by the Constitution, even if need be to the shedding of blood, it was necessary that some great spirit should explore the whole ground of the relations between the

States and the Union, should examine every proposition advanced on either side, meet every sophistry, and resolve every doubt that could be raised; weigh all conflicting interests and duly balance them with each other; enlighten all men and all sections with the torch of reason, and enforce the truth by the most formidable powers of eloquence upon the minds and hearts of the whole people.

It was necessary that the people should be aroused to study the nature of their situation as a part of the great system of human affairs, and that they be led profoundly and anxiously to study the great problem of their relations to each other and to mankind then and for all coming time, that whenever in the future the test should come, as come it did, they should give that construction to the Constitution by which a generation afterwards welded the Union of these States into one glorious sovereign whole, a Union national and inseparable and indestructible in its character, consecrated in the holiest blood of a million of her sons, and ordained to last forever.

This was the great task that the God of nations set before DANIEL WEBSTER when he replied to Robert Young Hayne on the 26th day of January, A. D. 1830. Mr. WEBSTER said:

Sir, I understand the honorable gentleman from South Carolina to maintain that it is a right of the State legislatures to interfere whenever in their judgment this Government transcends its constitutional limits, and to arrest the operation of its laws. * * * And that if the exigency of the case, in the opinion of any State government, require it, such State government may by its own sovereign authority annul an act of the General Government which it deems plainly and palpably unconstitutional.

Would anything with such a principle in it, or rather with such a destitution of all principle, be fit to be called a government? No,

sir. It should not be denominated a constitution. It should be called rather a collection of topics for everlasting controversy; heads of debate for a disputatious people. It would not be a government.

This Government, sir, is the independent offspring of the popular will. It is not the creature of State legislatures; nay, more, if the whole truth must be told, the people brought it into existence, established and have hitherto supported it for the very purpose, among others, of imposing certain salutary restraints on State sovereignties.

The people, then, sir, erected this Government, and have wisely provided in the Constitution itself a proper and suitable mode and tribunal for settling questions of constitutional law. The Constitution has itself pointed out, ordained, and established that authority by declaring, sir, that the Constitution and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding, and that the judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

These two provisions, sir, cover the whole ground. They are in truth the keystone of the arch. With these it is a government; without them it is a confederacy.

While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned for the last time to behold the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, with fraternal blood!

Let my last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards;" but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land and in every wind

under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.

Sir, to us upon whose vision that curtain did rise, and who saw and suffered what lay behind, these words seem like the utterances of inspiration; and with the added emphasis of four years of bloody debate on a thousand battlefields, and with the shrieks and prayers of a million of our countrymen still ringing in our ears, let us of the North, and us of the South, and all of us from every part of our chastened, reunited, and glorified country, commend them to ourselves and to our posterity generation after generation, until the Union shall dissolve and blend in millennial peace and governments among men shall be no more.

When Mr. WEBSTER sat down at the close of that tremendous oration the work was done.

A nation had been born in a day. That day was the real turning point in American history since the Declaration of Independence. It, too, should be celebrated with bonfires and illuminations, the ringing of bells, and the acclaim of rescued and happy millions forever. It insured the existence of the nation, because it furnished the argument which convinced the reason and stormed and overwhelmed the hearts of the people. For the first time they saw and felt that they must be a nation, that nationality and the perpetual union of these States are inseparable and indispensable to their existence, and that the patriot must die to maintain the supremacy of the flag of the Union against domestic revolt as well as against the foreign foe.

During the next thirty years the sentiments of this great

argument were repeated everywhere throughout the populous and ever-increasing North.

Its magnificent diction made it a classic at once to live forever by the side of the oration of Demosthenes on the Crown, while the occasion and the consequences of its delivery were infinitely more important. Every schoolboy declaimed it, every student studied it, every professional man sought culture and inspiration from its grand and impressive sentences, its logic, its sarcasm, its majesty, and almost supernatural power.

The people read it and reread it and read it again, and ever afterwards they called him the "godlike." That speech was the platform of the Union armies throughout the war for the Union, and if its sentiments had not been growing in the hearts and minds of the people of the North for thirty years the war would have been a failure and the nation would have been lost. Even as it was, at its outbreak a Northern President declared that he could not coerce a State. But if he could not, the American people had so studied the Constitution under Mr. WEBSTER that they could and they did. But they never would have made war for the Union if they had not first been welded into a real nation by the logic and power of Mr. WEBSTER's reply to Mr. Hayne.

Mr. WEBSTER performed twenty-two years of very important public service after the reply to Hayne, which was his greatest work, and the greatest work ever performed by any man in speech.

But I rest his fame and the tributes we bring him now upon the reply to Hayne. All else he ever did, and it would be enough to immortalize a hundred men, is as

nothing in comparison to the argument which made us a nation, and will preserve us a nation forevermore.

In the autumn of 1852, at Marshfield, on the shore of his beloved adopted State, his majestic form gave up his mighty spirit, and, as though the mortal was conscious of the transition to immortality, exclaiming, "I still live!"—he died.

Sir, his excellency Governor John B. Smith, with his honorable council, have made it one of the important measures of his wise, beneficent, and distinguished administration of the affairs of New Hampshire, in accordance with the action of her legislature, to place in Statuary Hall the figure of this extraordinary man, and thus to commemorate the great actions of her illustrious son.

JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER represent New Hampshire in yonder Hall filled with the immortal men whom their respective States do most delight to honor.

STARK in war, WEBSTER in peace and in that preparation for war which in time of peace his labors made in the minds of the people, and without which the greatest of all wars would have failed. Who shall say that the selection of New Hampshire is not well made? Yet she had many other worthy sons, and among her Langdons and Whipples and Bartletts and Thorntons and Weares and Livermores and Sullivans and Cilleys, and hundreds of others of Revolutionary and later days, the choice of preeminence was not an easy task. These, I may proudly say, sir, are specimens of her equal rather than of her greatest work.

As I linger in thought over her noble history; as I dwell upon the enchantment of her scenery, her mountains, her vales, and her waters; her soil, stubborn but producing

the choicest growths of her latitude; her forests, which defy the storm and the thunderbolt, so that it scarcely rends the stalwart trunk which conducts it to the earth; her waters, which surpass the 'nectar of the gods in ambrosial purity, and which move more wealth-producing machinery than any equal power anywhere else on earth; her beauty of form and feature; her sweet breath, that heals the sick and inspires the exhausted sons and daughters of toil from other States and lands still more remote with life and hope and resolution; of her institutions of civil and religious liberty and of her rich contributions to all that is great and good and glorious in this world, and of the deeds of the great dead whom she has given to the eternal and the unseen, but whose examples survive forever to instruct and ennoble mankind, I feel the eulogium spontaneously springing to my lips, which I suppress only because I know that the modesty of New Hampshire will leave to the Genius of Columbia to utter it in this high presence and among her generous sister States:

Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.

ADDRESS OF MR. EVERETT.

MR. SPEAKER: When the State of New Hampshire presents to the nation statues of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts feels that she has no doubtful part to take in the appropriate exercises. It was on her soil that JOHN STARK hastened to join the gathering armies of American liberty; and his courage, his persistency, and his prudence exhibited themselves in their fullest luster at Bunker Hill, close to the spot which Winthrop chose for his plantation. Without JOHN STARK that glorious defeat might have been a real as well as a nominal victory for the oppressors of Massachusetts.

But when DANIEL WEBSTER is the theme of our addresses, Massachusetts claims something more than a mere appreciative or sympathetic share in his renown. He came to Boston in early manhood, and, with no recommendation but what appeared in his face and conversation, studied law with our honored governor, Christopher Gore, one of the most learned, patriotic, and high-minded of our earlier jurists and statesmen. He was admitted to the bar of our Suffolk County before he entered that of his own Hillsboro. When his Congressional service from New Hampshire was over, he transferred his home and his practice to Boston, after hesitating between that and Albany, as offering the wider field. He served in the convention of 1820, which recast our ancient constitution so well

that it has needed no general remodelling in the lapse of seventy-four years.

In that year, 1820, he electrified the nation by a mighty strain of eloquence at the anniversary of the landing at Plymouth; and again in 1825 by his oration on laying the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument in the presence of Lafayette. For a few days he was a member of the Massachusetts legislature. Thrice he was elected to this House by the votes of the city of Boston, and as many times to the United States Senate by the legislature of Massachusetts. At our bar were won some of his most distinguished forensic triumphs, notably that amazing argument in the case of the murder of Captain White, where his description of the workings of a guilty conscience makes everyone with the slightest stain on his soul feel as if the great pleader's hand was inserted in his breast and the fingers working among the very fibres of his heart. As the representative of Massachusetts, the walls of yonder venerable halls rang with the thunders of his voice, and statesmen from every part of our common country drew in his messages of profound wisdom, of burning eloquence, of exalted patriotism; pilgrims from afar flocked to gaze on the man of whom it is hard to say whether the admiration of strangers or the love of his own was most conspicuous.

Retaining the possession and the love of his paternal acres along the Merrimac, he made a seaside home on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, which was consecrated by the tombs of the Winslow family, the descendants of Edward Winslow, second to none among those Pilgrim Fathers whose services he had so nobly commemorated; and there,

when his long work of devotion and honor was done, the stalwart frame which first drew breath in the fields of New Hampshire was laid to rest in the soil of his adopted State, among the saints and heroes of Massachusetts.

You gave him to us as your most precious treasure; we accepted, we honored, we loved, we kept him as our own. For through all these years of his adoption Mr. WEBSTER retained the confidence and love of our Commonwealth. There was no one who so completely felt with her feelings and spoke with her voice. Like every public man, he had his opponents, and their opposition at times was deep and bitter, their tones rude and harsh. At certain periods of his life it seemed as if the ancient ties must be severed and the ancient love wax cold, but before the sad day of his death the clouds had parted, and few indeed there were within the borders of the Bay State who did not feel that that hour had removed the man who stood before the nation as our one true representative. When his statue holds its place by yonder entrance we feel no jealousy of New Hampshire that the visitor to the Hall finds her son as the doorkeeper to the representatives of the nation; there is no feeling but generous rivalry that the entrance lies under the overshadowing presence of him who is ours as he is yours.

I shall not be guilty of the impropriety of detailing Mr. WEBSTER'S career at this hour; but shall speak in commemoration of two things only which I conceive place him upon a pinnacle of exalted honor where there are very few at his side. He was an American patriot; he lived for the Union. He loved New Hampshire, he loved Massachusetts with all his heart; but he never thought of either except

as belonging to one glorious, indissoluble, perpetual whole. He knew well that his own State, the first colony to form a State constitution, did not do so till she had asked the advice of the Continental Congress delegates from the whole thirteen. The Union as the only protection, nay, as the inseparable adjunct of our liberty, the Constitution as the embodiment alike of our national and our State existence, were all in all to him. He would not admit, he could not conceive, of the States, his own or any other, separated from the Union, any more than he could fancy one star in the belt of Orion separate from the gorgeous sisterhood which it joins to form those names of splendor.

In weal and in woe, in cloud or in sunshine, each State looking each other in the face or presenting a serried front to the other nations, he poured in the ears of his people one message for encouragement or warning, that, united, we are all that our wildest imagination or ambition can claim; divided, we are worse than nothing. On every spot of American soil he saw his equal home. The Buckeye and the Palmetto were as dear to him as the Pine and the Oak. In the paradise of our Western land, this garden planted by the hand of God, he conceived that every State must send up her own growth, by the blending of their sturdy stocks, their verdant shades, their grateful fruits of every stature and type and hue, to cast over this broad continent that mingled fragrance which should breathe forever of liberty, of order, of progress, and of hope for man.

As the champion of the Union, he was dear to every section of the country. When others saw parts only, he saw, he cheered, he inspired the whole. He was as dear to Kentucky as to New Hampshire; to Georgia as to

Massachusetts. He died as he wished to die, before his eyes might gaze "on a land rent with civil feuds and drenched in fraternal blood, on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent;" and in that terrible time, Mr. Speaker, which racked the hearts of all, how many were there not, in your State as in mine, who turned a wistful glance to the likeness of those dark features so familiar in every American household and breathed with a sigh, "If thou hadst been here, our brothers had not died."

This devotion to the Union was the spring whence flowed all Mr. WEBSTER'S Senatorial and many of his forensic utterances. He impressed it upon his countrymen by oratory, whereof he was an unquestioned master. There is this characteristic of Mr. WEBSTER'S eloquence, wherein it differs from the speech of many of his most admired contemporaries, that it is of permanent value. It stands the test of reading and rehearsal. You may take the speeches of many illustrious men which thrilled their audiences to shouts and tears, and try to reproduce their effect now; the printed word is cold and dead without the magic of the circumstances which evoked them and the voices which uttered them. But the crudest schoolboy can elicit from the most hackneyed periods of WEBSTER, as he can from those of Chatham and of Gladstone, strains of conviction and of pathos which shall penetrate and stir strong men and tender women now as they did sixty years ago.

At home his name was the symbol of union. Of what was it abroad? I desire to recall a single episode in his career, when the dispute on the Maine boundary threatened to plunge us into a war with England. President Tyler's Administration had inherited from President Van

Buren's the seeds of strife with Great Britain. The oldest States were chafing in the Northeast; the newest Territories in the Northwest. The people of Maine believed—their descendants believe to-day—that the Northeastern claims of Great Britain had no warrant in the treaty of 1783. The line proposed by the King of Holland had been indignantly rejected. The pioneers of the Columbia were equally incensed. Throughout the country and all along the frontier fiery spirits were eager to rush to arms. Suppose Mr. WEBSTER had caught up that sentiment; suppose that when Sir Robert Peel suggested the hope of a compromise line and sent a spécial envoy, Mr. WEBSTER had refused the proposal; had defied Sir Robert Peel and Lord Ashburton; had appealed to the war spirit of the country from Maine to Louisiana; had launched the yeomanry and chivalry of the Union simultaneously across the St. Croix, the St. Lawrence, the Columbia, and the Sabine; had sent the Princeton on her first cruise to open against the English that deep-mouthed ordnance which was to prove so fatal to his own successor. Why, at the end of Mr. Tyler's Administration he might have floated into the White House, triumphantly borne on waves of blood, as the great war Secretary! A more brilliant prospect of glory rarely offers itself to republican statesmen. Mr. WEBSTER knew better. He knew that the torch of war as it sweeps over kindred nations, however it may dazzle or may warm at the moment, leaves behind it a terrible train of woe—not merely the wounds and deaths of thousands who can ill be spared to their country; not merely blasted fields and ruined families; not merely the cost of millions, which a peace of tenfold duration can hardly repair, but the

rankling passions and unsatiated vengeance of mighty nations, which God made to live together in unity, peace, and concord.

Mr. WEBSTER'S acceptance of a boundary line brought upon him the malignant reproaches of all that is ignorant and base on both sides of the water, both for what he kept and what he gave. All that he renounced would have been a trifling price to pay for the first extradition treaty, which he achieved at the same time; but it was repaid tenfold by the glorious victory of peace between sister nations, who never ought to be at war.

The honors to which Mr. WEBSTER rose, as the just rewards of his exertions, were not all that his generous and well-founded ambition expected; they were not all that his State deemed he deserved. Massachusetts had not been afraid to cast her electoral vote for him when no other State stood by her side. It was under a burden of disappointment, a sense of ingratitude, that he lay down to rest at last, where his requiem is chanted by the waves of that ocean to which he resorted so eagerly for sport and recreation, on which he gazed not as the barrier which Providence has raised to sever hostile lands, but as the great field for friendly intercourse, opening for peaceful traffic, as the road where the white-winged squadrons of trade and amity can pass to and fro between united and trusting peoples.

No; he did not gain the highest reward of an American statesman. And what if he did not gain it? The crown of honor as an orator, a statesman, a patriot, can afford to lack a single jewel when starred with gems of such varied lustre; and when his native State sets his statue in yonder sacred Hall, we may repeat of him, with scarcely an alteration, the

lines which welcome to Westminster Abbey the dust of an earlier secretary of state:

Along the walls where speaking marbles show
What worthies form the hallowed mold below;
Proud names, who once the reins of empire held,
In arms who triumphed, or in arts excelled;
Chiefs, graced with scars, and prodigal of blood;
Stern patriots, who for sacred freedom stood;
Just men, by whom impartial laws were given,
And saints who taught and led the way to heaven—
Ne'er to these chambers where the mighty rest
Since their foundation came a nobler guest.

Mr. Speaker, I have discharged, most imperfectly I know, a debt resting on me as a Representative of Massachusetts, a lover of his country, and an admirer of whatever is grand in public life. But I have tried to do more; I have tried to pay a debt of hereditary gratitude, of friendship, of love. I am old enough to have sat by his side and gazed into his face—old enough to have received from his lips the seal of hereditary affection, the renewal of one that lasted unbroken for long over forty years. I am old enough to remember how the silence of a New England Sunday morning was broken by the deep-toned bell which told that he had passed away, and chilled the hearts of the boys and girls as well as of the men and women of Massachusetts.

It is a distinguished honor to respond for Massachusetts when she welcomes the statue of that mighty son whom she shares with New Hampshire. It is a delight to awaken the passing echoes of that man's renown, who, besides the admiration he won from all his countrymen and the respect he extorted from every nation, bound to him his friends, now, alas! a few and feeble band, by a chain of undying love whose lustre memory only makes brighter as time withdraws its links farther and farther into the unseen world.

ADDRESS OF MR. CURTIS, OF NEW YORK.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not my purpose to ask the indulgence of the House to give an extended review of the services of JOHN STARK and DANIEL WEBSTER. The Representatives of New Hampshire have done that in fitting words and in ample form.

JOHN STARK was a striking personality. He had the genius of a military leader, uniting clear conception of purpose to prompt action, consummate skill to intrepid boldness, and the power of imparting to others when in battle his own personal characteristics, and to impel them to the most heroic action. This magnetic power he had in an extraordinary degree. It comes as a birthright, and is a gift which it is not the province of technical schools to create nor experience to teach.

He conducted campaigns against the skulking Indian and the disciplined soldier of the British army with conspicuous and unvarying success. When called by the exigencies of the service to strategic points, he marched with the force at his disposal, calling for volunteers from the section through which he passed, and organized raw recruits into battalions, which he fought with such courage and impetuosity that they overwhelmed veteran troops. His presence multiplied their efficiency as though their numbers had been doubled, and Colonel Baum, whose command (as well as his reserves, under Colonel Breyman) was captured by STARK at Bennington, acknowledged that in his report, saying: "They fought more like hell-hounds than soldiers."

His important victory at Bennington contributed very materially to the success of our arms in the decisive battle of Saratoga, in which the Continental army won against the generalship of the most accomplished soldier England sent to America during the Revolutionary war. JOHN STARK was, throughout his long years of public service, true, valiant, and eminently successful, a conspicuous representative of the martial spirit and the patriotic devotion which won our independence.

DANIEL WEBSTER was born in the early days of the nation's independence. If the Muses attend at the birth of poets and "feed them on thoughts that voluntary move harmonious numbers," so may DANIEL WEBSTER'S have been attended by the guardian angel of the Republic, for his life was one of devotion to the Federal Union. He gave a forecast of his future in his first public address, delivered when a college student at eighteen years of age, in which he commended "love of country," praised the "grandeur of the American nationality, fidelity to the Constitution, and the nobility of the Union of the States."

One of the first important cases in which he was retained related to the charter of his alma mater, and involved a construction of the Federal Constitution. His argument in support of the principles he maintained was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in a decision which was the first to define the scope and supremacy of the Federal Constitution, and which has since stood as a correct interpretation of its sovereign authority. Later, in the United States Senate, preceding, pending, and following nullification, he again asserted its principles, then vigorously disputed; and a generation

afterwards, at the close of a fratricidal war, his interpretation was accepted by all. He saw with prophetic vision what dire results a different construction would produce, and prayed that "his eyes should never behold discordant, dismembered States, a land drenched in fraternal blood." The strife came after his glorious career was ended, and "the error, the heresy of opinion" he so eloquently combated could never have been overcome except by the appeal and the sacrifices which were made; but the end of the civil war brought a full acceptance of the principles he had contended for as essentially requisite to the preservation of the Union.

Lamartine has said: "There are certain men whom nature has endowed with distinct privileges. Their ambition, instead of being the offspring of passion, is the emanation of mental power. They do not aspire, but they mount by an irresistible force, as the aerostatic globe rises above an element heavier than itself, by the sole superiority of specific ascendancy." Among the favored few thus richly endowed, whose intellect and devotion have been a benefaction to the people of this country, DANIEL WEBSTER stands preeminently at the head.

When Congress, on the 2d of July, 1864, "authorized the President to invite each and all the States to furnish statues in marble or bronze, not exceeding two for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof and illustrious for historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services," the country was at the crisis of the mighty contest for its preservation. Men of stout hearts and unswerving patriotism directed public affairs, and, with confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Union

cause, Congress dedicated the old Hall of the House of Representatives as a National Statuary Hall, thus formally declaring that the Capitol at Washington was, and should forever be, the Capitol of an undivided country.

The States responding to the invitation have sent, with rare discrimination, life-sized images in imperishable marble of men most conspicuous for services in establishing and maintaining the Federal Government. New Hampshire sends a faithful image of her citizen soldier, who was the embodiment of civic virtue and martial genius, and of him whose loving heart, massive intellect, and eloquent tongue were ever exerted for humanity, liberty, and progress; the expounder and defender of the Constitution. They will stand in silent companionship with the statues of eminent Americans conspicuous in the struggle for independence and the preservation of the Union; with Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and their compatriots, who achieved our independence; with Lincoln and his associates in the cause of preserving the Union—men who preeminently excelled in the value of their patriotic labors in the cause of humanity and constitutional government the achievements of the historic characters of any previous age.

In accepting these statues, let all, and especially those who took part, on whichever side, in the great conflict in which these disturbing questions were finally and, as we all believe, wisely and justly settled, make grateful acknowledgment to Almighty God for His blessings on their beneficent services to us as a nation, and ever declare, in the words of the American statesman's prayer, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

ADDRESS OF MR. MORSE.

MR. SPEAKER: I can hardly hope to add anything to the eloquent words which have been spoken on this occasion by my colleague and the distinguished gentlemen who have preceded me, and my speech will be brief.

At Marshfield, in my district, was the Massachusetts home of DANIEL WEBSTER, and at Marshfield lie buried the mortal remains of the great expounder and defender of the Constitution; and the waters of Massachusetts Bay have washed the shores of that ancient town and sung a lullaby to the sleeper there for nearly half a century.

Mr. Speaker, New Hampshire, the birthplace of the godlike DANIEL, honors the State and her illustrious son by this act in the presence of her distinguished governor to-day, and honors Massachusetts as well by this tribute to her illustrious and adopted son.

Yes, at Marshfield, in my district, hard by old Plymouth, where sleep the Pilgrims, and where the gigantic statue of Faith surmounts the monument to their memory; hard by old Duxbury, where the monument to Miles Standish casts its shadow on the sea; hard by old Hingham, where stands the statue of Massachusetts' great war governor, John A. Andrew, whose finger points to the bar of God, whose evenhanded justice he invoked for all men without regard to race, color, or condition; hard by old Quincy, where rest the mortal remains of two Presidents—John Adams, the second President of the United States, and John Quincy Adams, the Old Man Eloquent, who, after he had been President, for sixteen years stood in this Capitol as

the representative of substantially the same district which I have the honor to represent, and who died at the post of duty in yonder hall, February 23, 1848, saying, "This is the last of earth; I am content"—in that part of the old Commonwealth, rich in history, big with great men, renowned in all our history; I say, in the old God-fearing town of Marshfield DANIEL WEBSTER lived and died. Here he looked out on the scenes of earth for the last time, and uttered his last words, "I still live."

Surrounded by his friends and those he loved, he bade adieu to the scenes of earth, and, as all must do, great and small, sooner or later, he crossed the great divide; he entered on the awful and untried realities of the eternal world. From the windows of his chamber he took his last long look at the waters of Massachusetts Bay and the old ocean he loved so well—the old ocean whose farthermost waters washed the shores of sunny Spain, but to his eye as boundless and shoreless as eternity, upon which he was soon to enter. And the men of Massachusetts clasped each others' hands and looked in each others' faces, and said, "Our pilot has dropped from the helm; who now shall guide our ship of state?" And Massachusetts and the country were stilled in mourning and sorrow for the great man who had fallen, for the patriot who lay dead on his shield, for the orator and statesman who had died at the post of duty, and forty-two years later we have met on this solemn occasion to do honor to his memory.

Mr. Speaker, as I looked up in the face of the marble statue after it was unveiled to-day, I said to myself, could the stone heart beat, could the marble lips move, could the tongue of marble speak, what would he say to his

countrymen here now assembled? Methinks he would repeat over the prayer contained in his immortal reply to Hayne, of South Carolina:

When these eyes shall behold the sun in heaven for the last time, may they not behold it shining upon the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union.

Mr. Speaker, how can we close the services of this solemn and interesting occasion better than by repeating over the watchword of this great son of Massachusetts in the speech to which I have referred? How can we close these historical and memorial services better than by repeating his immortal words, the watchword of this great expounder and defender of the Constitution; this man of giant mind and masterly intellect and overmastering genius, the great DANIEL WEBSTER, made immortal on the canvas in Faneuil Hall:

Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.

ADDRESS OF MR. BAKER, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

MR. SPEAKER: DANIEL WEBSTER was born in the best room of the small frame house which had succeeded the log cabin of early days, on a rocky upland farm, that, nestling among the New Hampshire hills, gently sloped toward the east and south. Near by was his father's saw-mill, which furnished employment when the farm work was done and supplemented the scanty returns of the soil. He was the son of Ebenezer and Abigail Eastman Webster. Ebenezer Webster had served with STARK in "Rodgers's Rangers," was with him on Dorchester Heights and at Bennington. He was a brave, honest, hardy, patriotic, and progressive pioneer, a leader among his neighbors, who held their personal esteem and full confidence, so that he was elected to many offices of honor, responsibility, and trust. He was a prominent member of the New Hampshire convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, and was very influential in securing the favorable action which made that State the ninth to approve the Constitution and thus establish our Government.

Mrs. Webster was the worthy wife of such a husband, patiently and lovingly bearing her full share of the cares and privations incident to their country life and poverty. Their family was large, and they labored incessantly to support and educate them. Their entire property was heavily mortgaged to give their sons Ezekiel and DANIEL a collegiate education. Mrs. Webster did not hesitate to approve the loan which might have left her homeless, but

which was necessary to educate her sons. While the children were small Mr. Webster sold the old farm where DANIEL was born, and moved to a better one on the Merrimack River. There much of DANIEL'S childhood was passed. In later life he owned this farm, and occasionally retired to it to rest from the cares of public life and escape from the crowds which frequently followed him to Marshfield.

The time at my disposal will not permit a detailed narrative of young WEBSTER'S boyhood or education. When fifteen years old he entered Dartmouth College, and graduated four years later with high honors. While in college he delivered several public addresses and for a time edited a weekly paper. After graduation he read law in his native county and in the office of Christopher Gore, in Boston. Upon admission to the bar he practiced for a few years in the courts of central New Hampshire with great success, impressing court and jury with his wonderful personality and persuasive oratory.

Soon he outgrew this country practice and moved to Portsmouth, where he encountered Jeremiah Mason, the leader of the bar and one of the soundest lawyers New England ever produced. This was very fortunate for WEBSTER. He had an opponent worthy of his great powers, and was compelled to exert them to the utmost. At no period of his life did he work harder or his reputation increase more rapidly.

Thus far he had devoted himself to the law, and had accepted no office. The people now called him to public duty. He was elected to the Thirteenth Congress, and took his seat in May, 1813. He opposed some of the ultra

war measures, and was particularly bitter against the embargo and non-importation acts. He as earnestly favored the establishment of a sound national bank.

He was reelected to the Fourteenth Congress, and again advocated a sound currency based upon specie payment, and favored liberal internal improvements. He believed them authorized by the Constitution.

At the close of this Congress he retired for a time from public life, and, leaving his native State, opened an office in Boston. His practice at once became extensive and lucrative, for his reputation had been established and he was well known at the Suffolk bar. While in Congress he had become one of the leaders of his party. Everywhere he was in honor, and was beginning himself to realize his tremendous power before the courts and in the nation. The next year he argued the famous "Dartmouth College case" in the Supreme Court, and established the doctrine of vested rights on so firm a basis that even now it overshadows the land. Seldom, if ever, did WEBSTER surpass in dramatic power his speech in this case. When at the close of the argument his heart found expression in the words, "It is, sir, as I have said, a small college; and yet there are those who love it," he broke down under the intensity of his feelings, his voice faltered, and his eyes filled with tears. This departure from the usual course of legal argument was unpremeditated and genuine. It won the sympathy of the court, and possibly the case. In no instance in his long professional career did he show greater power or better management than in this defense of his alma mater.

Clients now thronged his office, and probably more cases

were declined than accepted. He argued many causes in the Supreme Court each one of which would have become an era in the life of most lawyers. This occasion will not justify an enumeration of them, much less an attempt to state the important points involved or an abstract of WEBSTER'S arguments. They were of wide range, and frequently turned upon some constitutional right or prohibition. His argument in the famous White murder case, tried at Salem, Mass., is one of the most noted of his renowned pleas. It is complete in every detail, but especially remarkable for its wonderful analysis of the influence of conscience and fear upon human action. Through the ages it will be known as a classic in forensic speech, and will lose nothing by comparison with the best examples of ancient and modern oratory.

It is probable that WEBSTER preferred not to return to Congress; that his legal and oratorical duties were congenial, and vastly more remunerative than any public service; but the people of Boston in 1822 insisted that he should become their Representative, and from that time until 1841 his service in House and Senate was continuous. During all these years his life was so crowded with private and public affairs that little time seems to have been reserved for recreation. No one without his wonderful physical and mental organization could have performed such continuous and arduous duties.

No year of his Congressional life was without distinguished service, but his highest reputation as an orator and a statesman was secured by his reply to Hayne. It was the greatest speech ever delivered in the Senate, and upon it MR. WEBSTER'S fame as a public man will rest.

Its power will be recognized wherever constitutional government shall exist. Its influence was and is unbounded. Every schoolboy has declaimed selections from it, and each year it is taught to the children of the land and lives anew in the hearts of his countrymen. No one can estimate its effect when, thirty years later, the theories of Hayne culminated in open rebellion and the issues of the old debate were settled by an appeal to arms. Throughout the loyal North, WEBSTER'S defense of the Constitution and appeal for national life were universally cherished. The people had enshrined the Union in their hearts, and they freely gave their treasure and lives that "Liberty and Union" should ever be "one and inseparable."

In 1841 Mr. WEBSTER resigned his seat in the Senate and became Secretary of State under President Harrison, and after the latter's death retained the office under President Tyler until May, 1843. During these two years he proved himself a successful diplomatist. By the Ashburton treaty, and the negotiations attending it, he established the northern and eastern boundaries of the United States, secured the extradition of criminals, and enforced his denial of the "right of search" by an argument so unanswerable that the British claim has ever since been abandoned and every ship finds its protection in its national flag.

Upon his retirement from the Department of State he returned to his home at Marshfield, attended to his private affairs, which had been too long neglected, and renewed the practice of his profession.

But his State and party would not permit him to retire

from public life, and in 1845 he was reelected to the Senate. At once he became prominent in its deliberations, defended the Ashburton treaty in an elaborate argument, opposed the annexation of Texas, deprecated the war with Mexico, and delivered his famous "7th of March speech," which disappointed his constituents, alienated many friends, and brought upon him the condemnation of the North. The opposition to him steadily increased, and embittered his life; it may have hastened his death. It could not obliterate his patriotic public service or destroy the glory of the past. That was secure, and brightens with the years.

In 1850 he again resigned his seat in the Senate to become Secretary of State. He was the leader of Mr. Fillmore's Administration. No great international questions required his attention, but the honor and dignity of our country were fully maintained.

Mr. WEBSTER was no longer a young man. His health and strength were impaired, but he continued to discharge his duties as Secretary of State until the 8th of September, when he returned home, and died October 24, 1852. His last words, "I still live," are emblematic of the loving memory in which his life and services are held by his countrymen.

No American life is comparable with his. The poor New Hampshire boy had struggled through school and college into his profession, had won a place in its front rank, had represented his native and adopted States in Congress, had become a Senator and won an imperishable name as the "Defender of the Constitution," had managed the foreign affairs of his country with discretion and credit, securing recognition of the inviolability of American citi-

zenship and the sanctity of his country's flag, and had five times been presented to his party by prominent and enthusiastic admirers for nomination to the Presidency. Such, in brief, is the life which we commemorate to-day by the statue presented to the nation.

WEBSTER needs no monuments or statues; but the world is enriched by every testimonial to great talents, to high resolve, to noble endeavor, and to patriotic service, which stimulates the people to right thought and earnest action, teaching them not only to understand public affairs, but wisely to discharge their share of a government for and by themselves.

Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the pending resolutions.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Blair were again read, and were unanimously adopted.

DECEMBER 21, 1894.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Platt, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of New Hampshire for the statue of DANIEL WEBSTER, a citizen of that State, illustrious for historic renown and for distinguished civic service.

Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions, duly authenticated, be transmitted to his excellency the governor of New Hampshire.

THE SPEAKER. The Chair will call the attention of the gentleman from New Hampshire. On yesterday afternoon the House passed a concurrent resolution and sent it to the Senate. The Senate has passed a concurrent resolution and sent it to the House. The Chair would suggest to the gentleman from New Hampshire that the House had better concur in the Senate resolution.

MR. BAKER, of New Hampshire. Will it not become necessary to reconsider our vote?

THE SPEAKER. Not at all.

MR. BAKER, of New Hampshire. Then I move that the House concur in the Senate resolution.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of New Hampshire for the statue of DANIEL WEBSTER, a citizen of that State, illustrious for historic renown and for distinguished civic service.

Resolved, That the statue be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions, duly authenticated, be transmitted to his excellency the governor of New Hampshire.

The concurrent resolution was adopted.

