200 citizens of Rochester, 60 citizens of Gilford, 50 citizens of Manchester, 31 citizens of Fremont, and 20 citizens of Glencliff, all in the State of New Hampshire, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REILLY of Wisconsin: Petition of 6,930 citizens of the sixth congressional district of Wisconsin, against national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCULLY: Petitions of 160 citizens of Stelton, 40 citizens of Tuckerton, 40 citizens of New Brunswick, 93 citizens of Asbury Park, 110 citizens of Point Pleasant, 38 citizens of Bayhead, and sundry citizens of Monmouth and Ocean Counties, all in the State of New Jersey, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SLOAN: Petition of John Stohl, of Stromsburg, Nebr., protesting against national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petitions of Mrs. S. W. Avery, Mrs. S. M. Cole, Mrs. J. O. De Land, and Mrs. Mary M. Robbins, of Fairmont; Mrs. A. Grace Hamer, of Scottsbluff; J. M. Chapman, W. A. Greenslit, Frank B. Ludden, H. A. Tobey, Mrs. H. A. Tobey, Elizabeth Coleman, Mrs. Ellen Klinger, and J. C. Coleman, of Surprise; and Mrs. R. I. Cross, of Geneva, all in the State of Nebraska, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STAFFORD: Petition of 23,638 citizens of the fourth congressional district of Wisconsin, against national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEENERSON: Petition of E. T. Hughes, secretary of Duluth Typographical Union, No. 136, and others, urging favorable consideration and passage of the bills H. R. 1873 and S. 927, the Bartlett-Bacon anti-injunction bill; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petitions of sundry citizens of Pennington County, Minn., favoring passage of House bill 12928, retaining section 6, to amend the postal and civil-service laws; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petitions of 40 citizens of Angus, Minn., and 25 citizens of Euclid, Minn., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petitions of J. N. Huddleson and others, of Pennington County, Minn., against House bill 7826, to provide for closing barber shops in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. TEN EYCK (by request): Resolutions adopted by the South Presbyterian Church, of Albany, N. Y., representing 255 members, and by the Baraca Class, representing 18 young men, relating to national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), resolutions adopted by the St. Luke's Methodist Episcopal Church, of Albany, N. Y., representing 375 members, relating to national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), resolutions adopted by the First Reformed Sunday School of Albany, N. Y., representing 169 members, relating to national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also (by request), resolutions from the official board of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, of Albany, N. Y., representing 780 members, relating to national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VOLLMER: Petition of Albert Hermann, W. W. Schlichting, Louis Eggert, A. B. Parkhurst, and 78 other citizens of Iowa, against national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WALLIN: Petitions of various churches in the thirtieth New York congressional district, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLIS: Petition of Harry Spilka, of Alger, Ohio, protesting against the adoption of House joint resolution 168, relating to national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of David Hosler and 42 other citizens of Findlay, Ohio, protesting against the adoption of House joint resolution 168, relating to national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WINGO: Petitions of sundry citizens of Sebastian County, Ark., and officers of Local 55 of Bartenders of Arkansas, protesting against national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOODRUFF: Petition of various voters of Alpena, Arenac, Ogemaw, and Bay Counties, all in the State of Michigan, protesting against national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SUNDAY, *April 19, 1914.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Clerk read the following communication:

APRIL 18, 1914.

Hon. SOUTH TRIMBLE,
Clerk of the House.

I hereby designate Mr. DOREMUS, of Michigan, to preside on Sunday, April 19, at the ceremonies in honor of the late Senator CHANDLER, of Michigan.

CHAMP CLARK, *Speaker.*

Mr. DOREMUS assumed the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, we meet here on this peaceful Sabbath day under the dome of our great Capitol in memory of one of Michigan's illustrious sons, whose statue has been presented to the Nation. Long may his memory live, and longer yet his deeds inspire those who shall come after us to patriotism and loyalty to the principles of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all men, of all climes, of all times, that the flag of our Union may be upheld in peace or in war now and forever in the spirit of righteousness, truth, and justice, and Thine be the praise, in His name. Amen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HAMILTON] asks unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

STATUE OF ZACHARIAH CHANDLER.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the special order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 436.

Resolved, That exercises appropriate for the reception and acceptance from the State of Michigan of the statue of Zachariah Chandler, erected in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, be made the special order for Sunday, April 19, 1914.

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the following resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan moves the adoption of the resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House concurrent resolution 36.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress be presented to the governor, and through him to the people of Michigan, for the statue of ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, whose name is so honorably identified with the history of that State, and of the United States.

Resolved, That this work of art is accepted in the name of the Nation and assigned a place in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, already set aside by act of Congress for statues of eminent citizens, and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Michigan.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the resolution.

The question was taken, and the resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, these statues commemorate in stone and bronze the qualities that have made men great in the flesh.

What were the qualities of Zachariah Chandler that single him out from the long roll of Michigan's distinguished dead?

It is not because he was a United States Senator and a successful business man that his statue is here.

Statues are not erected to public office nor to business success. Nobody stops to inquire how much of an estate Cæsar or Shakespeare left.

A public place is only an opportunity. In it a small man looks smaller, just as a small statue on a big pedestal looks smaller by contrast.

Chandler died a rich Senator; but if that summed up Chandler, no statue would be erected to him.

If you pick out a man in an assembly of distinguished men and ask who he is, you are given a name, and the name tells you who he is, because the name carries with it a reputation—that is, the name stands for something.

The name Zach Chandler stands for honesty, sincerity, resolution, courage, convictions, and fighting patriotism.

And it stands for something more than these qualities; it stands for the thing we call personalty.

There are eminent men in public life who keep their emotions in cold storage and arrive at conclusions by a process of cold reasoning accelerated by expediency.

Chandler's intellect was fired by the intensity of his convictions.

Chandler was sincere. It is hard to beat an accomplished, unscrupulous, versatile, and experienced hypocrite; but Chandler had in him a fierce, uncompromising intolerance for shams that made hypocrisy shrivel up.

I have a theory that if a man carries around with him the internal consciousness of being a sham, he will eventually cave in.

Chandler was sound to the core and stood the test of every emergency and of every responsibility.

Chandler was not a genius. He was a common man in an uncommon degree.

Congress goes on forever, and now and then grinds out some reputations, few of which survive; but Chandler stands out against the background of years as one of a group of men of a critical time uncompromisingly devoted to the Union and to freedom.

THE PURITAN STRAIN.

Zachariah Chandler was born at Bedford, N. H., December 10, 1813, of a line of Puritan ancestors.

Maurice Low, in his book, The American People, says:

> The Bible was the Constitution of the Puritan. * * * Whether he worked or played, whether he sat in meeting house or in the general court, whether he tilled his fields, or snatched up his musket at the sound of an Indian alarm, wherever he went or whatever he did, he took his creed with him, for it was the criterion of right living, the benison of Divine grace.

Of the founders of New England Lowell says:

> Faith in God, faith in man, faith in work—this is the short formula in which we may sum up the teachings of the founders of New England, a creed simple enough for this life and the next.

From these people, into the fiber of whose being was woven the Puritan strain—from these people of sinewy frames, iron wills, keen eyes, steady hands and bold hearts; from these people, nurtured by a rough and stubborn soil, fronted by "a stern and rock-bound coast," came Zachariah Chandler, afterwards known as the great war Senator of Michigan.

He worked on a farm summers and went to district school winters.

He had two winters of academic instruction, taught school one term, worked in the store of Kendrick & Foster, of Nashua, N. H., in 1833, and in the fall of that year moved to Detroit and went into the dry goods business.

He was then 20 years old, tall, gaunt, awkward and wiry, of plain manners, plain speech, and great energy.

He worked hard, slept in the store, and lived on $300 a year.

His business expanded from a local retail trade to a State-wide wholesale trade and as his business widened he commenced and continued the custom of visiting his customers throughout the State once a year.

In this way he gained an intimate knowledge of the resources of the State and a wide acquaintance with the people, which contributed to his success in business and in politics.

MICHIGAN TERRITORY.

Men are affected by their environment—by the stage on which they play their parts.

The year Chandler came to Detroit it was announced that a stage line would be established by which travelers could go from Detroit to Chicago in five days. We run through now in about six hours.

Michigan Territory, as defined by Congress in 1834, comprehended what is now Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, the east half of South Dakota, and the east two-thirds of North Dakota.

By the census of 1830 the civilized population of this vast domain was less than 33,000.

Then there were only 23 miles of railroad in the United States, and there was not a gas-light, electric-light, telegraph, telephone, or corporate combination in the world.

The Niles Register reported in 1834 that the arrivals in Detroit had reached 960 in one day and that "the streets were full of wagons, loading and departing for the West."

Statues are milestones, which tell us how far and in what direction we have traveled.

The formative period of our political history runs approximately from the Articles of Confederation down to 1820. The rise and fall of the Whig Party covers the years from 1820 to 1856, and the period of Civil War and reconstruction runs from 1856 to 1876.

COMPROMISE AND THE END OF COMPROMISE.

Events do not spring up accidentally. History has its premises and its conclusions.

The Missouri compromise of 1820 forever prohibited slavery north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude in all the Louisiana Territory.

In 1844 Texas became a State, and in all the discussion of Clay's omnibus bill of 1850 there was no suggestion that its compromises were intended to supersede or in any way to change the Missouri compromise line.

The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, gave us Texas, California, and New Mexico, which then included Arizona, and the Rio Grande became part of our southwestern boundary.

In 1849 no policy had been agreed upon concerning slavery in our Territories, and a smoldering excitement possessed the public mind.

The Free Soil spirit was growing stronger in the North, pro-slavery aggressiveness was growing stronger in the South, and the controversy had been inflamed by the finding of gold in California in 1848.

It was under these conditions that Mr. Clay offered his three compromise measures.

The first was the so-called "omnibus bill," which provided for the admission of California as a State, the organization of Utah and New Mexico as Territories without any restriction as to slavery, the adjustment of the Texas boundary line, and the payment of $10,000,000 to Texas for her claims on a part of New Mexico; the second was a fugitive-slave law; and the third prohibited the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

After these compromises, notwithstanding the irritation of the fugitive-slave law, and notwithstanding the appearance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a quiet settled upon the people like a lull before a storm.

In his message of December 5, 1853, Franklin Pierce congratulated the country on the "restored sense of repose in the public mind," and within a month Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the Senate Committee on the Territories, with the approval of the President, reported a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska, which was recommitted and reappeared as a bill to organize two Territories—Kansas and Nebraska.

It provided that all laws of the United States should be extended to the proposed Territories, except the compromise section of "the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri;" which, being inconsistent with the principles of the Clay compromise measures, was declared inoperative and void.

It declared that "the true intent and meaning of the bill" was not to legislate slavery into or exclude it from any State or Territory, but to leave the people free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject to the Constitution of the United States; and finally it provided that the fugitive-slave law should extend to the Territories.

This bill removed what Sumner called "the landmarks of freedom."

In the white heat of intense feeling the people began to divide on the issue of slavery, and the fight for the soil of Kansas and Nebraska hurried the Nation on to civil war.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND CHANDLER.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law May 31, 1854, and 36 days afterwards the Republican Party came into being "under the Oaks" at Jackson, Mich., as the incarnation of an aroused national conscience.

Chandler was among the leading spirits of that meeting.

He had been elected mayor of Detroit in 1851, and had been nominated and defeated for governor of Michigan in 1852. Like Saul, the son of Kish, the spirit of prophecy had come upon him, and he had turned from his own business to the business of his country.

In the campaign of 1854 Democratic newspapers called him in derision "the traveling agent of the new Abolition Party."

The days from fifty-four to fifty-six were radical, robust, resolute days in Michigan, and Chandler was everywhere in the midst of the fight.

The term of Lewis Cass as Senator from Michigan expired March 4, 1857, and Chandler was elected to succeed him.

The Senate met in special session March 4. Senators took the oath of office in groups of four, and Chandler was sworn in with Jefferson Davis.

Twenty-two years afterwards, while the wounds of war were not yet healed, while yet the fierce antagonisms of warring sections were not yet cooled, aroused by fulsome eulogies of Davis in the Senate, Chandler recalled that first oath of office and in one of the most impressive speeches of his lifetime, charged that "with treason in his heart and perjury on his lips" Jefferson Davis "took the oath to sustain the Government that he meant to overthrow."

Chandler entered the Senate with an intense hatred of slavery and without an ounce of compromise in him.

He entered the Senate at a time when the followers of John C. Calhoun saw that the only alternative was extermination of slavery or secession.

His first prepared address was on the Le Compton constitution.

In 1857 the Dred Scott decision further fed the antislavery flame, and a year later the whole country was listening with intense interest for news from the prairies of Illinois, where the Lincoln-Douglas debates were day after day reducing the issues involved in a conflict of ideas within "a house divided against itself" to clearly defined terms beyond the power of peaceful arbitration.

THE QUESTION.

Chandler led the fight for Lincoln in Michigan in 1860, and Michigan gave Lincoln a majority of more than 23,000 over Douglas.

Forty-eight hours after Lincoln was elected President the Legislature of South Carolina called a State convention which voted South Carolina out of the Union, and the newspapers of South Carolina began to publish news from the rest of the country under the head of "Foreign intelligence."

As our Republic had widened westward under the Constitution as it was before the arbitrament of war had been framed into constitutional amendments, it had become more and more apparent that no arbitrary line of latitude could permanently define the frontier between right and wrong within an undivided nation.

No doctrine of the rights of States, no Missouri compromise, no Clay compromise, no Dred Scott decision could quiet in the minds of men the eternal, daily question of human rights.

The spirit that inspired that question was in the air. It sat down at every council board. It entered into and took possession of men, and took unto itself such names as Phillips, Lovejoy, Garrison, and John Brown. It would not down.

It teased men till they invented sophisms to refute it. It set families at variance. It set pulpits at variance. It lighted the camp fires of armies, whose contentions shook the continent.

It mowed men down with "the level hail of death."

It added to the vocabulary of war such names as Donelson, Shiloh, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness.

Long before it had sought out a lonely frontier cabin and presided at the birth of Abraham Lincoln. It made him its instrument; and five days after Appomattox his spirit, liberated by the hand of an assassin from its thrall of tremendous responsibility, took its flight in the golden dawn of a new day, and his fame passed into immortality.

WAR AND THE LAST CHAPTER.

Chandler was a member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War and was one of Lincoln's friends and advisers when he was "carrying the Constitution through the wilderness of fear" without precedent or parallel to govern or direct him.

When the whirlwinds of passion were turned loose and the clouds that lowered over the Republic were red with the flames of war he never thought of compromise.

Compromise had no place in his temperament. He never admitted the possibility of defeat. He denounced every suggestion of peace except the peace of an undivided Nation swept clean of slavery.

He visited the sick and the wounded in the hospitals, and no soldier in trouble ever applied to him in vain.

Chandler was at the meridian of his mental powers when Lincoln died and the war ended. He lived 14 years after that in the constant service of his country.

He helped to pass the reconstruction acts. He voted "guilty" on the impeachment of Johnson.

He believed in protection to American labor and American industry and voted for the Morrill tariff of 1861.

He believed in the dignity of labor and defended it.

He stood for sound money and national honesty and considered the public debt a sacred obligation.

He voted to redeem our paper money and pay our bonds in gold.

He voted for the resumption of specie payments against a powerful public sentiment for inflation, saying, "We need one thing besides more money, and that is better money."

He was defeated in 1875, succeeded by Christiancy, and appointed Secretary of the Interior.

The Interior Department had fallen into disrepute as sheltering fraud, corruption, and incompetency. Chandler brought to bear the resources of a trained business experience and cleaned it out.

Nature keeps books and makes her marks on human faces. Chandler's face was a face of resolution.

He was a leader of men. He was without cant and without hypocrisy. He had no patience with the cheap and sterile kind of politics which is willing to ignore the truth to gain political advantage.

He went straight to the point without equivocation.

His vocabulary knew no refinement of casuistry.

As an orator he was plain, direct, blunt, powerful.

He was not the kind of statesman, too common now, to whom noise and headlines mean distinction.

He was big in every way. He had his faults, but the prowlers and the scavengers, the searchers of the garbage heaps of history for soiled and tainted scraps with which to discredit the dead, have never dragged to light an unwholesome thing about Chandler.

He died at Chicago the night of October 31, 1879, in the midst of a hot campaign.

He came to the Senate of a Nation with slavery embedded in its Constitution and he left it a Nation of free workers.

He came to the Senate of a Nation divided by sectional interests; he left it a united Nation.

He came to the Senate of a Nation which doubted the strength of its own Constitution; he left it with a Constitution established as the fundamental law of an indestructible Union symbolized by one flag, whose stripes are red with the blood of patriots shed that its stars might shine together. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY].

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, in 1864 the old hall of the House of Representatives was opened for the reception of the statues of two citizens of each State "illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services." Since then 43 great Americans have been selected for remembrance, and every time I go through Statuary Hall and look at the heroic figures of Lewis Cass and Zachariah Chandler I am more proud than ever that I am a citizen of Michigan. Among the millions of her people, living and dead, these two tremendous characters stand preeminent.

Cass was enough older than Chandler so that he was governor of the Territory of Michigan the year Chandler was born in New Hampshire. Cass went to Michigan in the days of the Indians, whose flint arrow heads the farmers around Detroit still pick from the furrows in the fall and spring plowing. His masterful dealings with those woodland warriors, in connection with Gov. Clark, of the Missouri Territory, ended the record of Indian supremacy.

Like Chandler after him, Cass was long a Senator of the United States; like him also a Cabinet officer; and in 1844 came within six votes of receiving a majority of the Democratic national convention for the presidential nomination, which finally went to James K. Polk. Cass was succeeded in the United States Senate by the most illustrious figure in the political history of Michigan, whose statue we proudly accept to-day and to whose career we may now give a brief glance.

The record of this day's proceedings will fully set forth the many steps of Chandler's progress and the incidents of his life, beginning on a New England farm, where comfort rewarded cheerful toil; where there were no slavish repinings against the cold snow of winter or the hardness of the soil, but a winning battle with ax and plow that wrested from the rocky New Hampshire hills a plenty of warmth and food and shelter and money in the bank.

And then the sturdy boy, with a thousand dollars in his pocket, went West to the Territory that was so soon to knock successfully for the opening door of statehood.

When young Chandler landed in Detroit, in 1833, the fur trader had scarcely departed. On the long river-front street the white palings of the picket fences still stood in front of the half doors of the old French habitants. The general store which was opened by the pink-cheeked young giant was a trade innovation. And so he started on his prosperous way, first as retailer, then as a wholesaler with a State-wide list of customers, and every customer a friend. In hard times he gave longer credits than any rival would or could, and afterwards

boasted that he never lost a dollar by it. As he said near the end of his life, in a public speech:

I think I know the people of Michigan as well as any man in it, and I know they are honest people.

His steady commercial success was the more remarkable, because in the early part of his career the State of Michigan, then the home of the "wildcat" bank, passed through a cyclone of financial disaster which left its mark on nearly every man who had anything to lose. In the Greenback craze of 1876 and 1878 Chandler recalled with telling effect in some of the most effective political speeches ever delivered in the State the memory of those times.

Detroit was one of the principal termini of the "underground railroad" for the landing of escaping slaves into Canada, and Chandler's New England sympathies made him an active supporter of that cause. The Republican Party was born in 1854 under the oaks at Jackson, and Chandler was there. For the next 25 years, until his death, no name on the bright pages of our party's great history shed more continuous luster than that of Zachariah Chandler.

On March 4, 1857, Mr. Chandler took his seat in the Senate, where, with an intermission of four years—during part of which he was Grant's Secretary of the Interior and chairman of the Republican national committee—he remained until the day of his death.

Those who heard Chandler's public speaking will never forget it. He had a tall, commanding figure, a resonant voice. Abraham Lincoln himself could not surpass him in clearness of expression, and he had a power of statement that was remarkable. In his first speech in the Senate he said:

The old women of the north who have been in the habit of crying out "the Union is in danger" have passed off the stage. They are dead. Their places will never be supplied; but in their stead we have a race of men who are devoted to this Union and devoted to it as Jefferson and the fathers made it and bequeathed it to us. Every aggression has been submitted to by the race who have gone off the stage. They are ready to compromise any principle, anything. The men of the present day are a different race. They will compromise nothing. They are Union-loving men; they love all portions of the Union; they will sacrifice anything but principle to save it. They will, however, make no sacrifice of principle. Never; never! No more compromises will ever be submitted to to save the Union. If it is worth saving, it will be saved. The only way that we shall save it and make it permanent as the everlasting hills will be by restoring it to the original foundations upon which the fathers placed it. I trust in God civil war will never come; but if it should come, upon their heads, and theirs alone, will rest the responsibility for every drop of blood that may flow.

The idea foreshadowed in this brief extract was the guiding thought in Mr. Chandler's mind through all the years that followed. Cato was no more fixed in his idea that Carthage must be destroyed than Chandler was rock-bedded in the determination that the Union must be preserved. In 1862 in a Senate speech he denounced Gen. McClellan for inefficiency, and it was probably this speech which resulted in Grant's transfer. Chandler made the motion that created the Senate Committee on the Conduct of the War. He was long the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, and the St. Clair Flats Canal, the first great improvement of the navigation of the Great Lakes, is as truly a monument to him for his help to the water transportation of this country as are the jetties of the Mississippi a monument to Eads.

But it was his overwhelming love of country, his unbounded Americanism, that made him great and that has finally placed him on yonder pedestal to stand there as long as this Government endures. There was a wideness to his patriotism like the wideness of the sea. His pride in the State of Michigan was pride in it as a part of the United States of America. He was a bitter partisan, as bitter in his defiance of the foes of national unity as a frontiersman defending his family against an Indian attack. The last speech he ever made in the Senate was so characteristic that, as a part of these proceedings and as a reminder of the spirit of those times, I quote it entire. It was on a bill relating to Mexican War pensions. There is as much war history in it as in any equal number of words ever uttered. He said:

Mr. President, 22 years ago to-morrow, in the old Hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States, I, in company with Mr. Jefferson Davis, stood up and swore before Almighty God that I would support the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Jefferson Davis came from the Cabinet of Franklin Pierce into the Senate of the United States and took the oath with me to be faithful to this Government. During four years I sat in this body with Mr. Jefferson Davis and saw the preparations going on from day to day for the overthrow of this Government. With treason in his heart and perjury upon his lips he took the oath to sustain the Government that he meant to overthrow.

Sir, there was method in that madness. He, in cooperation with other men from his section and in the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan, made careful preparation for the event that was to follow. Your armies were scattered all over this broad land, where they could not be used in an emergency; your fleets were scattered wherever the winds blew and water was found to float them, where they could not be used to put down rebellion; your Treasury was depleted until your bonds, bearing 6 per cent, principal and interest payable in coin, were sold for 88 cents on the dollar for current expenses, and no buyers. Preparations were carefully made. Your arms were sold under an apparently innocent clause in an Army bill providing that the Secretary of War might, at his discretion, sell such arms as he deemed it for the interest of the Government to sell.

Sir, 18 years ago last month I sat in these Halls and listened to Jefferson Davis delivering his farewell address, informing us what our constitutional duties to this Government were, and then he left and entered into the rebellion to overthrow the Government that he had sworn to support. I remained here, sir, during the whole of that terrible rebellion. I saw our brave soldiers by thousands and hundreds of thousands, aye, I might say, millions, pass through to the theater of war, and I saw their shattered ranks return; I saw steamboat after steamboat and railroad train after railroad train arrive with the maimed and the wounded; I was with my friend from Rhode Island, Mr. Burnside, when he commanded the Army of the Potomac, and saw piles of legs and arms that made humanity shudder; I saw the widow and the orphan in their homes, and heard the weeping and wailing of those who had lost their dearest and their best. Mr. President, I little thought at that time that I should live to hear in the Senate of the United States eulogies upon Jefferson Davis, living—a living rebel eulogized on the floor of the Senate of the United States. Sir, I am amazed to hear it; and I can tell the gentlemen on the other side that they little know the spirit of the North when they come here at this day and with bravado on their lips utter eulogies upon a man whom every man, woman, and child in the North believes to have been a double-dyed traitor to his Government.

In the fall of 1879 there was a State campaign in Ohio, in which Senator Chandler took an active part. He made a speech at Sandusky on Thursday before the election, and then took a flying trip to Chicago, where on Saturday night, October 31, he delivered an address in closing the local campaign there—an address which contained one passage that was prophetic, though he could not know that it was his dying declaration. In full vigor and with a ringing voice he said:

It has become the custom of late to restrict the lines of citizenship, and in the Senate and Congress of the United States it is denied that there is such a thing as national citizenship. To-night I address you, fellow citizens of Chicago, in a broad sense, as fellow citizens of the United States of America. * * * We have a matter under consideration to-night vastly more important than all the financial questions that can be presented to you, and that is, Are you or are you not a Nation? We had supposed for generations that we were a Nation. In 1857 treason raised its head upon the floors of Congress. They said, "Do this or we will destroy your Government. Fail to do that and we will destroy your Government." One of them repeated this threat to old Ben Wade, and he straightened himself up and said, "Don't delay it on my account."

When Abraham Lincoln took the oath of office there was nothing to protect the national life. Yet with all these discouragements staring us in the face, the Republican Party undertook to save your Government. We revived your credit; we created navies, raised armies, fought battles, carried the war to a successful issue, and, finally, when the rebellion surrendered at Appomattox, they surrendered to a Government. They admitted that they had submitted their heresy to the arbitrament of arms, and they surrendered to the Government of the United States of America. * * *

They had forfeited all their property; we gave it back to them. We found them naked, and we clothed them. They were without the rights of citizenship, and we restored to them those rights. We took them to our arms as brethren, believing that they had repented of their sins. * * *

The Republican Party is the only party that ever existed that has not one solitary unfulfilled pledge left. I defy its worst enemies to name a single pledge it ever gave to the people who created it which is not to-day a fulfilled and established fact. If we should die to-day or to-morrow, our children's children to the twentieth generation would boast that their ancestors belonged to the old Republican Party that saved the Nation and wiped slavery from its escutcheon. * * *

Take the smallest ship that floats, mark her "U. S. A.," raise to her peak the Stars and Stripes, the flag of this glorious Union, and start her around the world, and there is not a fort or ship of war of any nation on God's footstool that would not receive her with a national salute. We took your Government when despised and raised it to this high position among the nations of the earth. And yet we are told that we ought to die. I tell you that the mission of the Republican Party is not ended; furthermore, that it has just begun; and, furthermore, that it will never end until you and I, Mr. Chairman, can start from the Canadian border and travel to the Gulf of Mexico, making black Republican speeches wherever we please and vote a black Republican ticket wherever we gain a residence, and do it with exactly the same safety that a rebel can travel throughout the North, stopping wherever he has a mind to, and running for judge in any city.

An ex-Confederate officer was a candidate for a city judgeship at the election to be held in Chicago on the following Tuesday, and the newspaper report of the speech states that this local reference was received with such applause and laughter that it was three or four minutes before Mr. Chandler could proceed. He spoke for more than an hour, and then went to his hotel. The next morning he was dead.

Mr. Speaker, Michigan Republicans idolize the memory of Zachariah Chandler. They love to think that he and men like him founded the Republican Party. They glory in his dying words: If we die to-day or to-morrow, our children's children to the twentieth generation will boast that their ancestors belonged to the party that saved the Nation and wiped slavery from its escutcheon.

And let those whom it may concern give heed to his other words: Take the smallest ship that floats, mark her "U. S. A.," raise to her peak the Stars and Stripes, and let not a nation on God's footstool dare refuse to receive her with a national salute.

Chandler stood for the protection of Americans, not only at home but on the farthest shore of the most savage country where government is the least. He believed the United States should always and everywhere be the bravest, the foremost, and the best. In the Senate with him were Blaine and Conkling and Edmunds, and a galaxy of names that will shine forever like the blazing stars of a Michigan winter night; and he was in the very foremost rank. His star will never set.

The history of my State is replete with illustrious names. Where in the traditions of any forest race was there ever a more admirable barbarian than Pontiac, whose home was long on the beautiful island opposite Detroit? Where in the history of armed conflict is there a more gallant name than that of Custer? Where in the annals of the law have there been more just or learned judges than Cooley and Campbell and Christiancy? Any one of these, or a score of others, might have graced yonder Hall, and any son of Michigan would have pointed to the statue with pride. But this selection has been wisely made. We love the memory of Chandler, a citizen of the whole United States, and we intrust his enduring marble to a nation's perpetual care. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. J. M. C. SMITH].

Mr. J. M. C. SMITH. Mr. Speaker—

> The stars shall fade away, the sun himself
> Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years;
> But thou shall flourish in immortal youth,
> Unhurt amid the mass of elements,
> The wreck of matter and the crush of worlds.
> (Addison in Cato; Irish.)

I am in complete accord with the spirit and sentiment that prompted the good people of the State of Michigan to have constructed a life-sized marble statue of Zachariah Chandler and give it a permanent resting place in the Capitol of the Nation. The States do well to thus give public recognition to the worth and services of their great men; and there can be no more fitting monument to honor the memory of our illustrious deceased citizen, Zachariah Chandler, than the marble statue so dedicated and placed in the Capitol of his country.

Mr. Speaker, I fully realize that no words of mine can add to the fame or name of Chandler. His life work and character far exceeds any eulogy which I can hope to pronounce on this distinguished and eminent former citizen of the State of Michigan, whose memory we this day commemorate. He was illustrious in life, and his deeds are so interwoven with the progress and material welfare of our State and Nation that to recall the one is but to relate the other. He lived at a time when the foundation of our Republic was shaken by internal strife and war; but he also lived to see the shrine of freedom restored and the bond of unity established between the States which never shall be broken while brother shall greet brother. In the work of preserving and restoring the Union he stood in the front rank and never faltered, fully believing that—

> He who fights for his country fights for all things and all things living bless him.

No man was better known in Michigan than Mr. Chandler in his lifetime. He was prominent in public and private life. He was an upright, honorable citizen and a constructive statesman. He lived at a time when our country needed strong men. He was of commanding presence, strong, firm, and resolute. He was, above all, extremely patriotic, and his whole soul was blended with the upbuilding and prosperity of his country. He chose Michigan for his home and was a central figure in its material development. Were he living to-day, he would be much pleased with its great progress.

In exalting the deeds of our departed friends we often overlook the transactions that go to make up the details of their everyday life and give prominence only to those which connect themselves with greater events.

Zachariah Chandler was born in the city of Bedford, N. H., December 10, 1813. His ancestry was of that list of New England's earliest and best citizens which aided so much in preparing the way for the form of government which we enjoy to-day. His father's family lived on a part of a grant of land made by the General Court of Massachusetts to the soldiers who served in the Narragansett War. In early life he worked upon his father's farm. His education was completed in the little red brick schoolhouse in Bedford and neighboring academies of Pembroke and Derry. In 1833, at the age of 20 years, with that great foresight and great judgment exercised by him in after life, he became a resident of Detroit, Mich., where he lived until the time of his sudden demise in the city of Chicago on the evening of November 1, 1879, at the age of 66 years.

When he first came to Michigan it was a Territory of 250,000 inhabitants; now it has a population of more than 3,000,000. Detroit at the time of his arrival had a population of 2,500; now it is a city of 600,000. At that time Michigan was a wilderness, but had played a prominent part in the early life of the Nation. It was the home of the earliest settlers of the great Northwest who suffered from innumerable raids and conflicts. It was the scene of conflict between great European nations. Historians tell us that in 1781 the Spanish standard was hoisted at Fort St. Joseph near the present site of Niles, and the flags of France and England alternated and were followed by ours. The sturdy pioneers passing through the Great Lakes, stretching like vast seas along the State border, found the forest swarming with wild life and the waters teeming with fish of choicest kind. The land was clothed with magnificent verdure. Indian trails and beaten paths interlaced the forest, and large tracts of open space were covered with flowers of variegated hue. The timid deer, the sluggish bruin, and plumed fowl found ready and safe retreat among the tall bushes and flowers. The wild pigeon filled the air like clouds above the trees. With the coming of the white settlers the Indians abandoned their hunting grounds, but not without much resistance and encounters which filled the early history of our State with constant conflict. Slowly at first, and little by little, the savage customs of the red man yielded to the onward progress of ennobling civilization, until to-day Michigan, the adopted home of Chandler, has taken an advanced position among the great States of our Republic and is surpassed by none, with its boundary of peaceful and safe harbors, rapid streams, fine soil, great agriculture, delicious fruit, healthful climate, varied industries, and diverse products.

Abounding in timber, iron, copper, coal, lime and quarries, salt, gypsum, and marl; only second in its sugar industry; known the world over for its fine type of rich and ornamental furniture; excelling in fruit, potatoes, and beans; luxuriant in wheat, corn, hay, barley, rye, oats, flax; and unexcelled by any State in diversified farming. Live stock is a potent industry. Michigan to-day builds nearly one-half of the automobiles and vehicles of the country, and manufactures woolen cloth, silk, and paper extensively. Its health-giving resorts are being patronized by the people of the continent. The fame of its great university and agricultural college is world-wide, and its many colleges and institutions of learning are accessible to all. Nature has well fitted it for commerce and trade, and its vast water powers and network of railways give cheap transportation for the distribution of its mineral, agricultural, and manufactured products.

Michigan is proud of its great benevolent, charitable, and public institutions, its fine churches, its splendid hospitals, sanitariums, and industrial schools, and homes for all classes of aged or infirm. A dignified, prosperous, and progressive people are placing Michigan in the front ranks of the great galaxy of States.

Here are magnificent opportunities to all. Manufacturing industries are mingled with prolific farming, both abound with opportunity and reward. And could he whose memory we reverse momentarily return he would find us to-day all coworkers, relying the one upon the other, but without class or distinction to an extent never before known, the successors and the beneficiaries of his life work and endeavor.

On the night of his death he had spoken at a large political gathering. Before retiring he was met by the beckoning angel of death and the world was closed to his visage forever. And it was stated:

> Death passed into the chamber of the sleeper,
> The dark and silent room,
> And as he entered darker grew and deeper
> The silence and the gloom.

His sudden death was lamented by State and Nation. He spent many years in public life. He had been mayor of Detroit. In 1852 he was defeated on the Whig ticket for governor of his State. He was a stanch Republican, and in 1854 stumped the State and was active in the formation of the Republican Party. He served 22 years in the Senate of the United States, and was recognized everywhere as a man of great power and influence. It is stated that he was much disliked by his enemies, but adored by his friends. He was a strong partisan and party man. He belonged to those—

> Men who their duties know,
> But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain.

He had the confidence of Lincoln, and vigorously supported him in the conduct of the war. He took a leading part in the reconstruction of the States. He was defeated for the Senate by Judge Christiency in 1875. He was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Grant, and served with distinction during the two terms of his incumbency. As a political leader and a forceful and convincing speaker he was in the front rank, especially among the people of his State where he was always in great demand.

It is not complete justice to say of Chandler that he acquired distinction only in public life. He was a successful business man and blended himself freely with the commercial life of his city. His activities in public life were associated with the dry-goods trade. It was related of him that he was retiring and devoted to his business, and when he began for himself he lived on $300 a year and slept in his store. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and elsewhere scarcely spent an hour of his time except to facilitate his trade. He won friends by his personal kindness and strict integrity in business. His prosperity and success in private enterprises gave him opportunities for which he was well qualified to enter upon a public career. In the Senate and before the people he always stood firmly for the integrity and honor of his country and for the rights of the humblest citizen. His honesty in public and private life was never assailed. He always kept his word and fulfilled his pledges. As Secretary of the Interior he introduced many commendable reforms and showed great executive ability.

And so we prize and praise the memory of this distinguished citizen. He performed well his part to give to his State a high place of honor and glory in the Republic. As a tribute to his splendid service to his State and Nation, a statue of marble attesting at once the great skill and perfect workmanship of the artist has been erected to his memory, so that for all time we can look upon him as he was; for in the execution of his work the sculptor blended the soul and countenance of his subject, and it is said that only breath is wanting to hear him speak.

In the Hall of Fame with other honored and illustrious dead of our great Republic, side by side with Lewis Cass, whom he succeeded, and surrounded by Hannibal Hamlin, Charles Sumner, Benjamin Franklin, and others who were his compatriots and colleagues in the Senate, his likeness stands in the Hall of Fame in the Capitol of his country, so beloved by him, and where he spent the best years of his sterling manhood. There in lifelike form he stands to speak silently of the glories of our grand Republic, and to encourage that patriotism and loyalty which he always so fully vindicated and which we may emulate. He died with the love of country on his lips, offering a prayer for its future welfare. Like him, may all who follow be faithful mariners and safe pilots of our country through every storm, watchfully, devotedly, and prayerfully.

"Thou, too, sail on, O ship of state!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee!"

[Applause.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BURKE of South Dakota). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAMTON].

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Speaker, the name of Chandler lives not because of his great political sagacity or his wonderful executive ability or his strong and vigorous mental powers, although he was gifted with all of these. His name is still a living force a generation after his death by reason of his unswerving loyalty to his convictions of right and truth and to his country's cause. Personal sacrifice or danger or fear of defeat never served to withhold him from the performance of his fullest public duty.

The State of Michigan has performed a great public service when she has placed here in the Capital of this Nation, where the citizens from every section may come to look upon his visage, the statue of Zachariah Chandler. In this day when a real democracy is constantly becoming more and more a reality, and when the responsibility upon the individual citizen is every day becoming more and more direct, it is well that here, before the citizens of our Nation, should be placed this statue of one who was chiefly distinguished by his courage in his convictions and by his loyalty to his country and its institutions.

Progress is not a matter which takes care of itself. In the remarks to-day of my distinguished colleagues there has been frequent and eloquent reference to the wonderful progress of this country in the recent century. But let me remind you progress, industrially, politically, ethically, and in all lines, has only been possible because there have been at frequent stages in the journey of time men who have been willing to sacrifice self, who have been willing to face the greatest of problems with unflinching courage, without regard to what it might mean to self. The path of progress has always been lighted by beacon lights where self was burned by the individual as a sacrifice that the many might benefit. In all our political history there has never been a man who has manifested in greater degree that willingness, who has been more characterized by such courage of conviction and loyalty to truth than was Zachariah Chandler. [Applause.]

Modern development of methods of transportation and distribution of property, persons, and thought consequent upon the development of that great dynamic trinity—steam, electricity, gasoline—counts preeminent among its weapons the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the printing press, and a myriad of other triumphs of industrial progress. These have all tended to make possible a genuine government by the people. Even in a nation of 100,000,000 souls, scattered over areas greater in extent than even the dreams of the Alexanders and Napoleons of old, we are now working out this problem of a direct government of the people by the people.

In the earlier days of this Nation, with its slow methods of intercommunication, the representatives of the people exercised the rights of rulers. To-day the individual citizen can be, and on the average is, better informed as to current political problems and public crises than was the governor of an outlying State in other days. Hence has followed much of our recent political development, placing the power more fully in the hands of the individual voter, making it possible for him to exercise his will more directly and more positively than before. In these days of the Australian ballot, of the direct nomination of candidates, of the initiative, of the referendum, and of the recall, the final authority of government rests in the hands of the individual voter.

This fact is a grave responsibility as well as an opportunity. The final triumphant justification of this splendid experiment in popular government must depend upon the manner in which the individual citizen discharges this grave responsibility.

The average citizen will not be dishonest, unpatriotic, or intentionally lacking in the performance of his public duty; but if he fails to give study to the public questions which come before him for determination, and, further, if he fails to vote his own judgment upon such questions with a view to the general good rather than his personal benefit; and further, if he fails, whatever may be his station of life, to defend and promote that which he believes to be right through fear of personal danger or cost, then will the wail of the reactionary be justified and the demonstrated failure of popular government be accomplished. If, on the other hand, the brave spirit of Chandler actuates the average citizen and he forms his judgment with impartiality, defends it with courage, clings to it without regard to personal consequences, promotes it to the utmost of his ability, and fears not the outcome, then this splendid experiment will be glorified by the complete demonstration of the righteousness of the dreams of the founders of our Republic—that true liberty and self-government and true progress must go hand in hand.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, in the half light of history the character and works of public men are often seen dimly and obscurely; and the great men of all times stand out only by reason of having impressed themselves upon their contemporaries by strong, dominant characteristics that served strikingly to differentiate them from their fellows, and to leave a mark thereby that tradition carries down to succeeding generations.

In Zachariah Chandler Michigan contributed to the Nation a figure of towering strength. At a time in the history of the Nation when issues were at stake that truly tried men's souls he was found not only unvaryingly to have the courage of his convictions, but the power and strength to dominate his

fellows by the very force and passion by which these convictions imbued him. He never stopped to consider what public opinion might be in shaping his course, nor was he ever deterred by any fear of consequences upon his personal fortunes. Webster says that when aroused he put forth his opinion and convictions "like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth or the bursting forth of volcanic fires with spontaneous original native force."

I think that there is no higher tribute can be paid on this occasion, when we are about to commemorate the placing of his figure in the Nation's Hall of Fame, than to say that it keeps in remembrance one who was a man. [Applause.]

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, we are assembled here to-day to perform the final act, representing the legislature and the people of the State of Michigan, of transferring to the care of the Nation, to be permanently placed in the National Hall of Fame, this effigy in marble of one of its most eminent public men, the Hon. Zachariah Chandler.

In this place, alongside of its companion statue, that of Gen. Lewis Cass, the first donation from our Commonwealth to be presented to the Nation, but the first only in point of time and service, we ardently hope to thus preserve the names and fame of the two distinguished men who so long honored the State whose commission they bore. As long as this grand Capitol stands their memory will endure.

The name of Lewis Cass has been a familiar one to me from my early childhood. My father was a great admirer and staunch supporter of Gen. Cass. A large portrait of the General adorned the front of the old clock in the home of my parents for many years.

It is a fact worthy of notice that for 60 years the political opinions of Michigan as a Territory and State were represented and largely formed by two men of New Hampshire birth.

From 1819 to 1854 Gen. Cass was the accepted political leader of Michigan, and only once in all that long period of 35 years did her people fail to follow him. That was in 1840, when the old pioneers and the soldiers of 1812—generally the friends of Cass—refused his leadership and voted for the older pioneer and the more illustrious chieftain, William Henry Harrison. From 1854 till Mr. Chandler's death the dominant opinion of Michigan was with him; and her people followed him, trusted him, believed in him. During that quarter of a century the population of the State more than trebled in number, but the strength of Chandler with the newcomers seemed as great as with the older population with whom he had begun the struggle of life in the Territory of Michigan. The old men stood firmly by him in the faith and confidence of an ancient friendship, and the young men followed with an enthusiasm which grew into affection, and with an affection which ripened into reverence.

Zachariah Chandler was a remarkable man, a great leader of men, and possessed of a strong character, both in his private and public life. He was a great American. He was far more than an ordinary, everyday politician. His public services covered a period a little short of 23 years, but they were rendered in an era of the greatest stress in the life of the Republic.

He entered the Senate on March 4, 1857, and with the exception of a few weeks in private life in 1875, he remained continuously in the service of his State and the Nation until his death on November 1, 1879. Soon after his retirement from the Senate he became Secretary of the Interior in President Grant's second administration, and it is a matter of history that the multifarious affairs of that great department were never more efficiently or honestly administered than during the incumbency of Secretary Chandler. Thoroughly honest himself, he was the relentless foe of all jobbers and corruptionists, and he stood like a lion in the path of all schemers in their attempts to swindle the Government.

Zachariah Chandler was born at Bedford, N. H., December 10, 1813, and died at Chicago, Ill., November 1, 1879, 40 days short of 66 years of age. He was of mixed English and Scotch-Irish ancestry, received an academic education, and early in life engaged in mercantile pursuits. When 20 years of age he removed to Michigan, settling in Detroit, where for a year or two he clerked in a store. Tradition has it that when Chandler, still a minor, decided to join the current of western immigration his father offered him $1,000 or a collegiate education. He chose the money and settled in Detroit, becoming a merchant with his brother-in-law, Franklin Moore, under the firm name of Moore & Chandler. This business was prosperous from the beginning, and by the middle forties Mr. Chandler was at the head of the largest wholesale dry goods establishment in the State.

Merchants in the young and rapidly growing cities and villages within a wide area became his regular customers, instead of going farther east for their supplies, and his liberal and courteous treatment of these dealers made them fast friends when, later on, he entered State and National politics.

In the late forties he served the city of Detroit as an alderman, and in 1851 was elected mayor as a Whig. He had an early and active share in the organization of the Republican Party, and was present at the mass convention "Under the Oaks" at Jackson in the summer of 1854, when the new party had its birth. He was the Whig candidate for governor of Michigan in 1852, but was defeated.

In the spring of 1854 the United States and the Earl of Elgin, then Governor General of Canada, acting for Great Britain, negotiated a reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada. This treaty included nearly all natural products, and the list of articles to be admitted free were identical for both countries. The arrangement went into effect July 1, 1854, and continued until December 31, 1866, when it was abrogated by the United States. During its entire existence Mr. Chandler was intensely and consistently hostile to this treaty, claiming that Great Britain and her Canadian possessions had gotten altogether the best of the bargain, and he rarely let pass an opportunity to bitterly assail and denounce it.

Never in the broad sense of the term an orator, he was an earnest and forceful speaker, and his homely phraseology and apt illustrations often brought conviction to the minds of many of his hearers who were ordinarily opposed to his economic views. Long before his first election to the Senate he had acquired quite an international reputation for his intense Americanism, and was generally recognized as the chief of the "twisters of the British lion's tail."

The year 1857 was a bad one for the United States. Commercial and industrial depression was widespread. The "hard times" began to appear soon after the close of the presidential campaign of the previous fall. In that hotly contested political struggle the newly organized Republican Party made its first appeal to the American electorate and henceforth became a vital political quantity.

Mr. Chandler gave liberally of his time and means in support of the principles of the infant party. He stumped Michigan and other neighboring States, and his services were in constant demand as a campaign speaker. The battle ended in the election of the Democratic ticket, headed by James Buchanan.

During the hard winter of 1856–7, sound currency was exceedingly scarce in Michigan. There was plenty of the red-dog and wild-cat variety in evidence, but only those who could not help themselves ever took it or circulated it. By this time Mr. Chandler's big dry-goods establishment was on such a firm basis that it was but slightly affected by the almost universal depression. He freely supplied his country customers with all the goods they required on long-time credits, and thus scores of rural merchants were saved from impending and certain bankruptcy. Years afterwards Mr. Chandler declared that he had not lost a dollar by this accommodation, but he had made fast friends and supporters of many when, a little later, he aspired to political honors.

In the National election of 1856 the young Republican Party swept Michigan and elected large majorities in both houses of the State legislature. When the time came for choosing a Senator in succession to Gen. Cass, whose term was about to expire, but who subsequently became Secretary of State in President Buchanan's Cabinet, a majority of the Republican members supported the candidacy of Mr. Isaac P. Christiancy, a successful and prominent lawyer of Monroe. A large and active minority, however, doggedly opposed Mr. Christiancy, and this minority succeeded in effecting a combination with the Democrats by which a sufficient number of votes of the latter were secured to make Mr. Chandler's election a certainty. Mr. Chandler's business friends, many of whom were country merchants affiliated with both political parties, had taken this means of proving their loyalty and gratitude, and thus was brought about the first election of Zachariah Chandler to the Senate of the United States, in which position he remained for 18 years, until he was defeated by a combination not unlike the one by which he had first succeeded in favor of Mr. Christiancy, his early opponent, and who the same year—1857—was nominated and elected a member of the State Supreme Court, that great tribunal with its three famous "C's"—Campbell, Christiancy, and Cooley—whose fame and ability as jurists were and still are of world-wide recognition.

Senator Chandler took his seat in the Senate March 4, 1857, with the advent of the Buchanan administration. From that moment his was a commanding personality, both physically

and intellectually, in all national affairs. He now belonged to the entire Nation. His first assignments were to the Committee on the District of Columbia and the Committee on Commerce. Early in his first term he succeeded to the chairmanship of the latter powerful and influential committee, so important to the interests of Michigan, with its vast expanse of navigable water front, the largest in mileage of any State in the Union. This commanding post was retained by Mr. Chandler until his senatorial career was broken in 1875. The pages of the Congressional Globe and its successor, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, bear testimony to the valuable work accomplished by the Committee on Commerce during the years of Senator Chandler's leadership.

Senator Chandler was hardly warm in his seat when he began an active onslaught on his pet aversion, the Canadian reciprocity treaty. He hammered away on this line in season and out of season for nearly 10 years, when, as has been already mentioned, the treaty was abrogated. He was never popular with the press of Great Britain or Canada.

When early in 1861 eleven of the Southern States seceded, and the Civil War was near at hand, Mr. Chandler became a vigorous supporter of the cause of the Union, which position he maintained throughout the four years of sanguinary strife. There was no uncertainty about his attitude. At all times he had the courage of his convictions. And his speeches reveal the intensity of his innermost thoughts and feelings.

In February, 1861, Senator Chandler wrote his famous "blood letter" to Gov. Austin Blair, who was afterwards known as the "War Governor of Michigan." In that letter the Senator declared "Without a little bloodletting this Union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush." In some way this letter was made public and for a time it caused a great sensation. The writer was savagely assailed by a considerable section of the press of the country and by not a few of the politicians of his own party. The Senator stood firm, however, and let his adversaries harp and howl until they were tired. His only known utterance on the subject is:

> In that letter I wrote my honest belief at the time, and I have no further explanation or apology to make.

It is now a matter of history that before the four years of most sanguinary warfare of modern times were ended "a little bloodletting" actually occurred—but the Union was saved.

Throughout the war the Senator's services on the Committee on the Conduct of the War were invaluable. Probably no other member of that committee gave so much of his time and energy to the great work performed by it, and this labor was not ended until long after the close of hostilities.

Soon after Gen. Grant became commander of all the Federal Armies a deep attachment grew up between the great soldier and the great Senator, notwithstanding the fact that they had a somewhat serious personal difficulty, which was more amusing than otherwise to nonparticipants, while the Senator was mayor of Detroit and Grant a young lieutenant of the Regular Army, stationed at Fort Wayne, near Detroit. This attachment remained unbroken until the Senator's death, which preceded the General's by nearly seven years.

As a party man Senator Chandler was a stalwart, and he vigorously supported all the war measures of his party, including the impeachment of Andrew Johnson and the reconstruction acts which followed.

Senator Chandler was elected for a second term in 1863 and to a third in 1869, with practically no opposition in his party and with very little from the Democrats.

He had now held the Senatorship longer than any of his distinguished predecessors. Toward the middle of his term, however, murmurs of discontent began to be heard against Mr. Chandler's long tenure of office, and the dissatisfaction found ready and willing disseminators among that section of the press and people who opposed the election of Gen. Grant to a second term in the Presidency in 1872. "Chandlerism" became a term of reproach just as other "isms," with the names of other prominent party leaders prefixed, have become more or less unpopular in these latter days.

The most violent opposition to the Senator's desire for a fourth term came from a small, but noisy, faction in the party who in 1872 had broken away from their bearings and styled themselves "Liberal Republicans." In the national field the movement was a dismal failure; but, aided by a few able papers, whose editors and owners had conceived a violent antipathy to Senator Chandler, the sentiment against "Chandlerism" was making headway.

In 1874, for the first time since the Civil War, the Democratic Party elected a good working majority in the House of Representatives, and this change in public sentiment also resulted in a considerable increase in the representation of that party in the Michigan Legislature.

The campaign against "Chandlerism" was soon on in a most virulent form. Just what was meant by "Chandlerism" was never very clearly defined. In the popular mind at the time it meant "loyalty of the Senator to his friends and their loyalty to him." But he had held one of the greatest offices in the gift of the people for a long time—for 18 years—in which were included four years of the greatest war in modern history, during which the Republic had to fight desperately to maintain its existence—and there were a number of eager and patriotic gentlemen, from their own viewpoint, eager and anxious to supplant him.

No charges of personal or political corruption had ever been successfully laid at his door. All his public acts were well known and open and aboveboard. Both his friends and his enemies always knew exactly how he stood on the vital issues of the day. He had never trimmed a sail to catch the passing breeze, and he cared very little for personal popularity or the applause of the multitude.

When the time came for the nomination of a Senator at the session of 1875, a small number of Republican members refused to enter the caucus.

Mr. Chandler, however, was regularly nominated. Much maneuvering and scheming followed this action, and many combinations were suggested and some of them given a trial. The combination that eventually succeeded was the offer of the recalcitrant Republicans to put forward Judge Christiancy of the supreme bench, the same man who was defeated by Senator Chandler 18 years before, as their candidate and for whom they solicited the solid Democratic vote. After a few days of dickering the compact was agreed to, and Judge Christiancy was elected Senator by a bare majority vote. "Old Zack," as he was then popularly called, after long, arduous, and faithful service, was thus retired to private life. But the retirement was only for a little while.

When the news of Chandler's defeat was received at a well-known Democratic resort near the city hall in Detroit there was great jubilation, as might be expected, over the "victory." When the enthusiasm and the felicitations were at their height, one old Democrat, who had taken an active and conspicuous part in Chandler's first election, put a damper on the proceedings by a little impromptu speech. "Of course," said he, "it is all right that we, as good party men, should rejoice over Chandler's defeat. But there is another way to look at the matter. What does Michigan gain by the change? We have simply traded the chairmanship of the great Senate Committee on Commerce, with our large water front and numerous ports, and large and rapidly growing marine interests, for, possibly, the tail end of the Judiciary Committee. To my mind, this 'victory' seems more like a State calamity." Having thus relieved his mind, the old Democrat stalked gloomily out of the room, and the felicitations were at an end.

Mr. Chandler was idle only a few weeks. President Grant invited him to join his Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior, and he accepted.

The next year the memorable Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876 came on, and Mr. Chandler was chosen chairman of the Republican national committee, with his namesake and distant relative, William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, as secretary.

It would be out of place here, besides being entirely unnecessary, to enter into the details of that now historic political struggle. One incident of the battle must suffice. The morning after election, when the result of the balloting as regards a number of States was very much in doubt, the country was electrified by a dispatch from Republican headquarters in New York, and which was published in the daily papers all over the country, which read: "Hayes has 185 votes and is elected." This was signed "Chandler." For a good while the authorship of this laconic dispatch was credited to "Old Zack," who neither affirmed nor denied at the time. Later investigation, however, seems to fix the responsibility on the secretary of the committee, William E. Chandler, who subsequently became Secretary of the Navy in President Arthur's Cabinet, besides serving two terms as Senator from his native State, and who is still living in Washington.

Judge Christiancy during his brief service never seemed entirely at home in the Senate. The judicial habit had become so strong with him that he acted as if he felt out of place. Besides, he had numerous troubles of a domestic nature which caused him great uneasiness. When, therefore, after a little less than two years' service, President Hayes offered him the post of minister to Peru, he gladly accepted, and resigned the senatorship. As was predicted, he had drawn the tail end of the Judiciary Committee and some other minor assignments. The Legislature of Michigan—the one elected in the great cam-

paign of 1876—promptly elected Mr. Chandler to fill the vacancy, and "Old Zack" was again in the saddle.

But he was not destined to enjoy his new honors long. The same senatorial term of six years, for which he was first defeated and afterwards triumphantly elected, was also fated to see the end of his earthly career.

During the short session of 1879 he filled his old seat in the Senate and appeared to be in fine form. He delivered a few speeches and made friends with many of the men who had entered the Senate during his absence.

In the last months of his life Senator Chandler ardently believed that he would be the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1880.

Only a few weeks before his death he discussed the conditions then prevailing in his party with an old friend, and gave his reasons for the belief that he would prove an acceptable dark-horse candidate, one on whom the warring factions could unite. The friend agreed that his reasoning and conclusions were sound.

Late in October, 1879, he visited Chicago to attend to some business and delivered his last memorable speech, prior to the meeting of Congress in December. He had completed his business and expected to return to his home in Detroit next day. On the morning of November 1 he was found dead in his bed in a hotel, having died sometime during the night from heart failure, brought on by an attack of acute indigestion, from which affliction he suffered at times.

His body lay in state in the city hall in Detroit and thousands of his neighbors and his friends joined the long line to take a last look at his honest and rugged face.

I did not enjoy the personal acquaintance of Mr. Chandler, but I liked him, believed in him and the principles for which he stood, and never lost an opportunity to hear him speak. When the sudden and unexpected news of his death came I, with thousands of others, was shocked and made sad, for the Nation had lost a great man, and the Republican Party one of its strongest and foremost leaders.

Such, in brief, is a most inadequate sketch of the career of Zachariah Chandler, whom we are assembled here to-day to commemorate, and whose statue we now consign to the keeping of the Government which he loved so well, and which we earnestly pray may endure for all time. [Applause.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. FORDNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all gentlemen who have spoken, or those who may wish to speak, on this subject may have the privilege of extending their remarks in the RECORD.

THE SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORDNEY] asks unanimous consent that all those who have spoken, or who may wish to speak, on this subject may have permission to extend their remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until Monday, April 20, 1914, at 12 o'clock noon.

SENATE.

MONDAY, *April 20, 1914.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, grant unto us this day an especial measure of Thy blessing. We can not shut our eyes to the stern facts of life that call for more than human wisdom and demand the guidance and blessing of the Almighty. To interpret into terms of life and force the teachings of our Divine Lord is indeed a holy office. Thou dost put into the hands of Thy servants vast treasures of Christian civilization. We pray that Thou wilt give grace and wisdom in the discharge of these duties. Unborn generations depend upon the issues that arise from day to day in the conduct of a great nation. O Lord, our God, do Thou lend Thy aid and Thy blessing, that without mistake, with firmness in the right as Thou dost give us to see the right, and with charity, which is the fulfilling of the law, Thy servants may discharge the sacred duties of their office. Grant us peace with honor and brotherhood with universal justice. For Christ's sake. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday last was read and approved.

DISPOSITION OF USELESS PAPERS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a schedule of papers and documents on the files of the Interior Department which are not needed nor useful in the transaction of the current business of the department and have no permanent value or historical interest. The communication will be referred to the Joint Committee on the Disposition of Useless Papers in the Executive Departments, and the Chair appoints the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PAGE] and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. LANE] the committee on the part of the Senate. The Secretary will notify the House of Representatives of the appointment thereof.

FORTIFICATIONS APPROPRIATION BILL—CONFERENCE REPORT (S. DOC. NO. 468).

Mr. BRYAN. I submit the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12235) making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes. I will not move to take up the report at this time, inasmuch as the Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] desires that it may go over until to-morrow.

Mr. SMOOT. I should like to have the conference report printed so that we can take it up to-morrow morning.

The report was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12235) making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 1, 3, and 5.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13; and agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$1,200,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 4, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed insert "$1,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

N. P. BRYAN,
GEORGE C. PERKINS,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

SWAGAR SHERLEY,
GEORGE WHITE,
WILLIAM M. CALDER,
Managers on the part of the House.

ARMY APPROPRIATIONS—CONFERENCE REPORT (S. DOC. NO. 469).

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I submit the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 13453) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915. It is a partial report and I request that the reading of it may be dispensed with, and that it may be printed for the use of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to agreeing to the conference report as far as the conferees have agreed?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I think we ought to know what are the points of agreement. I think the report should be read, or a statement should be made by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. OVERMAN. I will say that it is very unusual to agree to a conference report where there is only a partial agreement, but the conferees should consider all the questions in disagreement between the two Houses and make a full report on the whole matter.

Mr. GALLINGER. I think the Senator from North Carolina is wrong in that contention. It is the usual custom to agree to the portion of a report that has been agreed to by the conferees of the two Houses unless an objection is raised. I think the motion of the Senator from Oregon is quite in order, and