

MAJOR-GENERAL LOGAN

JOHAN ALEXANDER LOGAN, an American soldier and politician, was born in Jackson Co., Ill., Feb. 9, 1826, and died at Washington, D. C., Dec. 26, 1886. He was educated in the common schools and at Shiloh College. During the Mexican War he served as lieutenant in an Illinois regiment, and at its close studied law and in 1849 was elected clerk of Jackson County, in his native State. Still continuing the study of law, he entered Louisville University and in 1851 was admitted to the Bar. He sat in the State legislature from 1852 to 1857, and in 1858 entered Congress. In 1861, he resigned his seat in order to join the Federal army, where he served with distinction until the close of the Civil War, when he reached the rank of major-general. He returned to Congress in 1866 and was soon after active in the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson. In 1871, he was elected to the United States Senate, and was reelected in 1878 and 1885. In 1884, he was the Republican candidate for the Vice-presidency. He was a brilliant though florid speaker and made a number of important addresses in Congress, including a vindication of President Grant from the attack of Sumner in 1872; on the power of government to enforce the United States laws, in 1879; and in the Fitz John Porter case, in 1880. Logan's personal appearance was striking, and as a soldier he had great and fearless courage. His published works embrace "The Great Conspiracy" (1886), and "The Volunteer Soldier of America" (1887). See Mr. Dawson's biography, entitled "Life and Services of John A. Logan," Chicago (1887).

ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF CUBA

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 15, 1870

CUBA, with its broad acres, its beautiful vales, its rich soil, its countless resources, is expected to pass into the hands of a few men, to whom it will be a mine of wealth.

Let me appeal to this House not to allow this scheme to be carried out. While this brave band of patriots are wrestling for the dearest rights known to man, the right of self-government, should we hesitate to make the simple and single declaration which will save them from being robbed and

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murdered day after day? Can we, with all our boasted principles of liberty, justice, and equality to all men, stand tamely by and witness these people, within sight of our own shores, following the example which we have furnished, hanged, drawn, and quartered, with most atrocious brutality, without the protection of any flag on God's earth, and not raise our voice against the inhumanity so much as to declare that there is a contest — a war? This poor boon is all they ask, and in my judgment it can be denied to them by none but heartless men.

In what I am saying I have no contest with the President. I am his friend as I ever have been. I have no contest with Mr. Fish or with anybody else. I have no warfare with those who differ from me; they have their opinions, and I am entitled to mine. I look upon General Grant as a good man, but I think that on this question he is deceived. I think if he had not been fishing up in Pennsylvania when this message was written he would not have signed it so readily as he did. I do not think it was necessary to go to Pennsylvania for more fish. We have all we need here. I think it is a message not well considered, and I do not believe he examined it well before signing it. It does not state the case correctly; and I am sorry to see him put upon the record as misstating the law.

I entertain the highest respect for the President and his administration, and I do not purpose that any man shall put me in a false position. I do not intend to allow myself to be placed in antagonism with the administration, nor do I intend to allow any man or set of men to howl upon my heels that I do not support the administration and am therefore to be denounced.

No, sir, I am supporting the administration; I am main-

taining the former views of the President, and I think his former views on this question are better than his later ones. Once we held like opinions on this question of Cuban belligerency, and I see no reason on my part to change those opinions. If he has changed his I find no fault with him. But I prefer to stand by his former judgment, formed when he was cool, when he deliberated for himself, when he had not men around him to bother and annoy him with their peculiar and interested notions; when he thought for himself and wrote for himself. I believed then as he believed. I believe now as I believed then, and I do not propose to change.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I think the Republicans on this side of the House owe it to themselves to take the side of the oppressed. I wish to say to the Republican party as the friend of this administration, that the most friendly act toward this present administration is to let this message go before the country, so far as the opinion of the President is concerned. Do not let us make any war upon it. Let it appear to the country that we differ from the President in this matter honestly. Let us as Republicans, notwithstanding the message, declare that we will accord to these people all the rights of civilized warfare. Let us do this, and I have no doubt the country will say, "Well done, good and faithful servants."

If your action be taken in the interest of freedom, if you shall help the oppressed and act on the side of liberty and humanity, if in a contest between despotism and a people struggling bravely for independence you give the preference to the latter, if in doing this you should happen to commit error, and that error should happen to be on the side of humanity and liberty, there is no country in the world which can or ought to find fault with you. In questions tried be-

fore our juries they are always instructed to give the benefit of the doubt in favor of the prisoner.

In this case, if there be any doubt, I implore the House let it be in favor of Cuba. By taking the side of Cuba against Spain we are true to the instincts of our organization in sympathizing with a people suffering under oppression. It will show that you do not sympathize with despotism. It will show that now, as heretofore, the Republican party sympathize with struggling humanity seeking freedom and independence.

Your record is clear in the past. We have had too much sympathy of late years for great monarchies. Indeed there seems to be too great a disposition in some quarters to sympathize too much with monarchy, and to sympathize too much with the exercise of arbitrary power in oppression to justice and liberty. And why is this? Because these are great governments and controlled by the great ones. These monarchical governments have mighty fleets floating upon the high seas. They have ministers residing in our midst. They have pleasant men who can afford to give splendid entertainments. They are genial men at the dinner table, and facile in the artful manœuvres of diplomacy. They are what was known in the time of Louis XIV and the "Fronde," as *honnête* men. They have all the appliances for making good their cause when they wish to crush out people who are struggling for independence. They are heard, and they have official access to our government, which is denied to all others.

But never let it be said that the Republican party sympathizes with the oppressors against the oppressed. I warn you that no statesman and no political party ever had a long life in this country which did not love liberty, no matter from

where the cry came, whether from South America, or from Mexico, or from our own slaves when they were held in bondage. When the South American States raised the standard of rebellion against Spain we sympathized with them; when Mexico did the same thing, she also had our sympathy; and gentlemen should not forget that it was the Republican party that gave freedom and franchise to four million slaves in our own midst. Let gentlemen carefully examine the history of this country before they cast these people off and consign them to the merciless horrors of a Spanish inquisition. Read and mark well that no party ever succeeded which refused justice or sympathized with the oppressor against the oppressed.

If the party which abolished slavery; the party which, in the spirit of justice, gave citizenship to those who were freed by it; the party which has always held itself to be the great exponent of free principles and justice to all, of liberty and humanity — if that party shall now turn its back upon its former glorious record and lend moral support and material aid to Spain in its cruel crusade against the revolutionists of Cuba it must inevitably go down under the indignation of the people who now make up its formidable numbers. If, however, we shall give the aid which is asked to encourage and sustain struggling humanity; if we shall help these Cubans fighting for independence; if we shall do that which every dictate of justice demands of us in the emergency; in a word, if we are true to the doctrines and principles we have enunciated, then the Republican party will live to ride safely for many years to come through the boisterous storms of politics, and will override in the future, as it has done in the past, all such theories as secession and rebellion in our government, and all that is antagonistic to the universal liberty

of man. It will overcome every obstacle that stands in the way of the great advance, the great civilization, the great enlightenment, the great Christianity of this age. And whenever you fail to allow it to march onward in the path in which it has started, and undertake to impede it in its efforts to press onward, you strike a blow at your own party, your own interests and safety.

For I tell you that whenever you halt, or shirk the responsibilities of the hour as Republicans the Democrats will overtake you.

The Democrats were once formidable so far as the questions of the day were concerned. They are far behind you now; and I say to you, Republicans, do not let the Democrats beat you to-day as regards the position they take in favor of liberty. If you do, the country will perhaps give you reason to learn after awhile that you have forgotten the trust that was reposed in you, and have failed to perform the duty with which it has honored you, but allowed it to slip from your hands to be discharged by others.

For these things you must answer before the great forum of the people; and if they adjudge you recreant in the support of the principles reposed in you, and false to the requirements of the present, they will not find you worthy of confidence in the future.

VINDICATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT

[Delivered in the Senate of the United States, June 3, 1872, in reply to Senator Sumner's attack on President Grant's administration.]

MR. PRESIDENT,—At the close of the war in 1865, on the 22d day of May, when the armies were marshalled here in the streets of Washington, as we passed by this Senate Chamber and marched down Pennsylvania Avenue, with the officers at the head of their columns, I remember to have read on the outer walls this motto: "There is one debt this country can never repay, and that is the debt of gratitude it owes to the soldiers who have preserved the Union."

Little did I think, then, sir, that within seven years afterward I should hear an assault like this upon the leader of that army within these very walls.

Mr. President, is that debt of gratitude so soon forgotten? Shall the fair fame and reputation of the man who led those armies be trampled in the dust by one man, who claims so egotistically here that he organized the party which made the war against the oligarchy of slavery?

But, sir, that attempt has been witnessed here, to our great sorrow. The eloquence, the power, the education, all that belong to the senator from Massachusetts has been brought to bear, not in consonance with that motto, not in keeping alive in the bosoms of the people of the United States that feeling of gratitude to the men who saved the country, but of ingratitude; and worse, of want of decent respect which should be shown either for the memory of the dead or for the character of the living.

The next division of the speech of the senator from Massachusetts is in reference to "presidential pretension," and in discussing presidential pretensions he draws himself to his full height and exclaims, "Upon what meat doth our Cæsar feed that he assumes so much?" That is the language of the senator from Massachusetts. I might reply to the Senator and ask:

"Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed,
That he is grown so great?"

Where did he acquire the charter or the right to stand in this Senate Chamber and perpetrate slander upon slander, vile and malignant, against the best men of our land? I ask the senator from Massachusetts, where does he acquire that title; where does he obtain that right belonging to himself alone? A right, however, that no one will covet.

The senator says the President of the United States violates the constitution, violates law, violates every principle that ought to govern the chief magistrate of a great nation. I should like to ask a question of the senator if he were here, and I am sorry that he is not. "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." It certainly is not that he is in terror of anything that may be said; but why is it? Is he afraid that the ghost of his own slanders will come back to haunt him even here as well as in his chamber at night? Will it haunt him as the ghost of San Domingo haunts him every day? And this seems to follow him like the ghost of Banquo, making its appearance when he least expects it.

Now, sir, in what has the President of the United States violated the constitution? If the President has violated the constitution, it is the duty of the House of Representatives to prefer charges against him, and of the Senate to try him

for that offense. In what has the President violated the law? I ask the senator from Massachusetts to tell this country in what has he violated the constitution, in what particular? It may be that all of us have not construed the law alike. It is possible to construe the constitution differently in certain respects. The President may have differed from us at times in reference to a construction of the law or of the constitution, but if he has I have no knowledge of it. But even if that were the case it would be no violation of the constitution or of the law in the sense in which the word "violation" is used by the senator.

But the senator says the presidency is made "a plaything and a perquisite." I read from his printed speech:

"To appreciate his peculiar character as a civilian it is important to know his triumphs as a soldier, for the one is the natural complement of the other. The successful soldier is rarely changed to the successful civilian. There seems an incompatibility between the two, modified by the extent to which one has been allowed to exclude the other. One always a soldier cannot late in life become a statesman; one always a civilian cannot late in life become a soldier. Education and experience are needed for each."

This I read from page 6 of the pamphlet which was published prior to the publication of the speech in the "Globe." The senator says that the camp is not the training school for a statesman, that a different training must be given a man for the purpose of making him a statesman from that which is required to make him a soldier. I shall not appeal to the senator from Massachusetts on that point; but I do appeal to the people of this country. I appeal to the million and a half of soldiers who are living, and if I could reach the ears of the dead I would appeal to the three hundred thousand

that lie beneath the sod who fell fighting, that their country might live, to know why a soldier cannot be a statesman and why a statesman cannot be a soldier.

I am in favor of education; but I am in favor of that education which is compatible with common sense, which gives judgment to deal with men and things.

Now I want to compare the statesman of Massachusetts with the poor little dwarfed soldier of Illinois who is now President of the United States. According to the senator from Massachusetts he is ignorant; according to the senator from Massachusetts he is a mere soldier. Before the war he followed the occupation of a tanner and received but a small pittance for his labor, and during the war he served his country in the camp and in the field and did not have the opportunity to fit himself for President of the United States. That was the language of the senator. In other words no man who has ever worked at the tanner's trade should be President; no man who was ever a shoemaker should be a senator; no man who was ever a carpenter should be a legislator; no man who was ever a farmer should aspire to position or honors from the people.

In other words, the laboring classes are, according to his theory, the "mudsills of society," but if those like the senator himself are permitted to occupy positions in this land, or can be President or Vice-President, how will it be with the poor tanners, the poor carpenters, the poor farmers, the poor printers, the poor everybodies? None of these are fit to be President or Vice-President, or senators, or members of Congress, or governors; but they are, according to the theory of the senator from Massachusetts, only fit to make food for gunpowder as mere soldiers.

Now let us see what has been accomplished by this edu-
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cated, crammed senator from Massachusetts, who has been in the Senate Chamber I believe for nearly twenty-four years.

I believe I state a fact when I say that the records of Congress will not show a measure that was ever originated by himself which passed without amendment. I believe I state a fact when I say that the records and the history of this country show fewer acts of Congress on the statute-book today originated by him than by any other man who ever claimed to be a statesman.

His statesmanship has consisted for twenty-four years in high-sounding phrases, in long-drawn-out sentences, in paragraphs taken from books of an ancient character, as an instance of which we find in his speech pages on "nepotism" taken almost bodily from a biographical dictionary of the popes and rulers of Rome. There is wherein his greatness consists. It consists in paragraphing, in plagiarism, in declamation, and in egotism.

He has accomplished much in his own estimation. He is writing a history, or some one is for him, of himself. I have been reading it latterly. I find in it many of his speeches. If he were here now I would, as one who has been his steadfast friend, beg of him to exclude from that history of himself this last speech. It is a pleasant history to read so far as it has been written, but I say to him its pages will be marred by this malignant philippic against President Grant, filled as it is with venom and gall from one end to the other.

Let us compare the tanner President with the magnificently educated senator from Massachusetts, who has accomplished so much, and see how he will stand the comparison. The senator from Massachusetts has lived his life without putting upon the records of his country a solitary act of his own origi-

nation without amendment by other men having more understanding than himself in reference to men and things.

General Grant, the President of the United States, a tanner from Galena, has done what? He has written his history in deeds which will live. So long as pens are dipped in ink, so long as men read, and so long as history is written, the history of that man is worth something. It is valuable; it is not a history of glittering generalities and declamation in speeches, but it is a history of great deeds and great things accomplished for his country.

In 1861, soon after the breaking out of the war, we found this President of the United States the commander of a small force on the banks of the Mississippi River. On the banks of the Potomac was a large and well-organized army and the sounds were heard throughout the land of battle from day to day. When the battle was over there was but one thing that trembled along the wires and that was the army of the United States had again been defeated. Defeat upon defeat followed; and never did you find your armies successful until the fame of this little man was heralded from one end of the land to the other. Every battle that he engaged in he won.

I was with him in his first battle on the banks of the Mississippi River, the battle of Belmont, and travelled through with the western armies in the western campaign. If you will allow me—and I refer to myself only to show the facts within my knowledge—I hesitate not to say that the man who says he is ungenerous does not know him. The man who says he is not a man of ability does not know him. The man who says he ever depreciated the character or reputation of another does not know him. In all his acts he was generous to a fault with his comrades and no report did he ever make

in which he did not give full credit to every man in the army who had done his duty, as can be testified to by every man who served under him.

I have seen him time and again in the hottest and thickest of battle, sitting coolly and calmly, without parting his lips or lisping a word, watching the different manœuvres of the troops and the management on either side to see how the battle was going. He was not a man of many words. He gave his orders quietly and saw that they were executed.

He was brought to the Army of the Potomac. He made a success; he won the battle; victory perched upon our banners; we succeeded; slavery was abolished and our country saved. After four years passed the people of the United States made him President. He is now assaulted because of his ignorance, because he was a soldier, and charged with having done nothing during his life to be remembered. Look at his administration and see if he shows no ability. How does it compare with others? I have not indorsed everything he has done nor do I believe a friend is required to indorse everything that another does in order to be his friend; but take his administration generally so far as the material part is concerned and so far as that which does substantial good to the country and I say it has been a great success.

[After submitting a tabular statement of the expenses of this administration, as compared with preceding ones, the senator continued:]

Now, Mr. President, I desire to draw the attention of the Senate but a short time to some of the specific charges that have been made by the senator from Massachusetts. He says the President is guilty of nepotism, and, as I said, several pages of his speech are copied for the purpose of showing first the origin of the word. It is necessary for a learned man

when he discourses upon a word to show its origin. We then find the origin of the word "nepotism." He shows that it is of Italian origin and then goes on through the history of the popes, the history of those who once ruled Rome, to show how many nephews and kinsfolk they appointed to office.

Then he comes down to President Grant and he charges the President of the United States with having usurped the power of the presidential office and made it a mere perquisite and appointed to office his kinsfolk and for that reason he ought not to be recognized as a suitable candidate for President again.

Now, I want to put this question to the country. I admit that he has appointed some of his relatives to office; but I want the senator from Massachusetts to point his finger to the law that forbids that being done. If it is not in violation of law is there anything that shows that it is in violation of good morals? It seems to me for a man to take care of his own household is not in violation of good morals. It certainly is in violation of no law; and I believe we are told that "he who provideth not for his own household hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

The senator does not believe there is anything like wit or genius or common sense in the President. I will repeat a remark that I heard that he had made once, that perhaps has aroused the anger of the senator to some extent. A gentleman once said to the President that the senator from Massachusetts did not altogether believe the Bible. The President quietly said there was a reason for that, and that was that he did not write it himself.

Now, if it is not any violation of the law to appoint your relatives to office, if it is not in violation of any moral prin-