

ciples, then I ask the senator from Massachusetts why this arraignment?

President Grant has a few relatives in office, but I never heard their honesty or ability questioned. I have a personal knowledge of some of these appointments. One is a mail agent on a railroad, at a thousand or twelve hundred dollars a year. One, Captain Ross, is a clerk in the third auditor's office. Captain Ross was the bearer of letters as mail messenger to my headquarters frequently during the war. He is a cousin of President Grant.

I went myself to the third auditor and asked that appointment, and he was appointed on my recommendation. It is charged that he was appointed because he is a relative of President Grant. The President knew nothing of it. I obtained the appointment myself.

Another one of his relatives was appointed to an office in a Territory. That has been paraded, too, all over the country that he was appointed, being a relative of President Grant.

I say to the Senate to-day that that man was appointed on the recommendation of gentlemen in Chicago, unknown to President Grant, and I went myself to the secretary of the interior and obtained the appointment for them. These things I state so far as they go because they are within my own knowledge and I am responsible for a portion of them myself; and the portion that I am responsible for it is my duty to state here and I do so state it.

This is paraded as almost a crime and therefore a man is not qualified to be President if he happens to have a father or relatives of any kind or if he happens to appoint a few of his relatives to office. These are a portion of the disqualifications of a President of the United States as prescribed by the

senator from Massachusetts! On this theory he might stand a better chance for President than on some other for aught I know. But if we only elect those who have no relatives I fear we would all claim to be poor orphans picked up on the street and thereby fitted for the office of President.

The next proposition of the senator is "gift-taking recompensed by official positions." I understand that in slander there is such a thing as innuendo and the senator from Massachusetts, by the innuendoes in his speech, would leave the impression on the country that President Grant has appointed men to office who made him gifts because of the fact that they did make gifts; in other words that the gift was the consideration for the office; therefore it was a corrupt bargain between the President and the office-taker.

So far as this intimation, insinuation, or innuendo is concerned, as any one may please to term it, I say, and take the responsibility, for the President of the United States, of denouncing it as false, and basely false. I do so for the reason that men who have been appointed to office were appointed to the two offices he mentioned because of their friendship to the President and their ability for the duties of the office and their fealty to the Republican party.

Let us see for a moment what this gift-taking is. Is it a crime for a man to receive gifts who has accomplished great deeds for his country? If it is let us examine the history of the country for a moment.

President Grant was a great chieftain. He had achieved great things for this government. He was a great commander of armies and forces. He was victorious in all his battles. When he came home from a victorious war, when States had been joined together that had before been severed and people were united that had been divided by war, the



people of the country felt grateful to him for his achievements and what he had done for them.

There was no way in which some of the wealthy men of this country believed they could show their gratitude to this great chieftain more appropriately, inasmuch as he was a man of small means, than by presenting him with that which would make him a comfortable income the rest of his life. They did it because they were actuated by generous feelings toward him, because they were loyal men, because they loved their country. Their country had been saved, their property had been saved, and they were willing to contribute to the benefit of this man. They did so.

In contributing to him they contributed to many others, as was said by the senator from Wisconsin. General Sherman and other generals that I could mention they contributed to because of their gratefulness to them for the service they had rendered the country. These contributions were made to him when he was a soldier; they were made to him when he was not President; they were given to him and given to him with good feeling, a generous feeling, a feeling of kindness, without any hesitancy on the part of the people who gave them, without the expectation of any remuneration or any reward that would be given to them by the President of the United States.

When General Sherman and General Grant received presents, men, women, and children all over the land thanked God that some persons were able to make them presents, because of the fact that they deserved it, the people being a grateful people.

I might go on and enumerate quite a number of men who have received gifts because of the gratitude of the people of their country for that which they had done. In fact if we

were to search the pages of ancient history for the purpose of finding something objectionable to apply to General Grant we would find that those who came home victorious received triumphs. It has been from time immemorial the case that men who achieved great things in war were received triumphantly by their people, some with gifts and presents, some in one way and some in another; and yet because the custom of the ancient world is followed down to the present day in the instance of President Grant it is brought against him here as a charge to show that he has used it as a consideration by giving office to persons not entitled thereto and therefore should not be again elected. Sir, you must show something more than the acquiescence in customs to turn this country against its greatest preserver among men.

Let me call the attention of the senator from Massachusetts to the fact that on our statute-books to-day we find the law that where naval officers capture prizes they are entitled to a division of the prizes. Why? To encourage the navy to capture prizes and be vigilant. Even here you make presents to naval officers by statute law for doing what? Just for performing their duty and nothing more.

But inasmuch as President Grant performed his duty without prize money, when he came home and the people bestowed upon him that which you bestow by law on naval officers the eloquent senator from Massachusetts arises in his place and charges corruption. How easy it is, sir, for us to find fault with others whom the people honor, lest we may never be placed in a position to be so highly favored ourselves.

After discussing the question of gift-taking he says that Mr. Stewart of New York was appointed secretary of the treasury, and he uses that for the purpose of showing the



ignorance of President Grant. He says that President Grant appointed Mr. Stewart; he does not say it was because Mr. Stewart had made him a present but that is the inference from his language, and at the same time he intimates the ignorance of the President to be so great that he did not know that an importing merchant could not be collector of the port of New York or secretary of the treasury. Now, I venture the assertion, and I think I can prove it from the record, that the senator's ignorance was so great at the same time that he did not know it was the law.

Mr. Lincoln, without a knowledge of the law, once tendered to an importing merchant an appointment to the office of collector of New York, and the merchant declined. It was an old statute, unknown to any one almost, unthought of for years. Mr. Stewart's name was sent to the Senate Chamber; in the message withdrawing the name of Mr. Stewart the President said, after mentioning the statute:

"In view of these provisions and the fact that Mr. Stewart has been unanimously confirmed by the Senate, I withdraw his name."

In view of what? In view of the fact that this statute exists and what other fact? The fact that he has been unanimously confirmed! Tell me how could he be unanimously confirmed in this Senate if there was a man in the Senate who knew that law existed at that time. It was not ignorance on the part of President Grant any more than it was on the part of the senator from Massachusetts, who voted for his confirmation with that statute on our books.

Yet he brings this forward as a fact to prove the ignorance of President Grant that he did not know that the law existed. We are all very wise after finding out something. If we only

find out that which others did not know before we are very anxious to tell the world of our great discovery and when it was ascertained. The senator did not tell the Senate that he found and discovered this statute. It is a wonder he did not say, "I arose and objected at the time, because it was in violation of law." He did not say that; but the statute was discovered by a clerk in the treasury department and not by the senator from Massachusetts or any other senator. Yet the senator from Massachusetts has achieved a great victory over President Grant in proving him to be ignorant of a statute that he knew nothing about himself.

The next suggestion of the senator is that President Grant quarrels with every one.

I know that President Grant is not a quarrelsome man. If he dislikes you he has nothing to do with you, but he does not quarrel.

In the army if an officer did not perform his duty he merely sent him a little order relieving him from duty and you have never heard General Grant lisp the reason up to this day why he relieved an officer in the army, and if you will go and ask him now why he relieved many officers during the war he will not tell you. He did it because he thought they had failed to perform their duty, but the reason he did not give, because perhaps he thought others might not see the fault as he did, and if he was mistaken he would let it work itself out without trying to injure the party any worse than by simply relieving him.

This was his mode of doing business in the army. I believe it is his manner to-day. If you dislike him and let him know it, that is enough; you hear nothing from him. If he dislikes you it is the same thing precisely, but he quarrels with no one.



Mr. President, the speech of the senator from Massachusetts, presented to the country at this particular time, is a very significant fact. I wish to call his attention to one point in it, but this suggestion I wish to make in order to show him how fatal to himself this speech may be.

He says that at the time he approached Secretary Stanton on his dying bed and the secretary repeated to him the reasons why he had no faith in General Grant's ability to administer the government, he said to the secretary, "It is too late; why did you not say this sooner?"

I repeat the same thing to Senator Sumner. Your speech, to perform the office you intended it, came too late. Hence I am led to the conclusion that it was not intended to perform the office which he says it was intended but it was to perform a very different office from that which he intimates he intended it should perform; that is to say, to advise the American people that President Grant was not qualified to exercise the functions of that office, and hence ought to be supplanted by some one else at Philadelphia. No, sir; if that was the object it comes too late. That being so, I have come to the conclusion that a man of so much wisdom and of so many pretensions as the senator from Massachusetts had a very different intention.

Sir, his intention was to strangle and destroy the Republican party, that party which he says he created. If he did, I say to him he performed a great work. If he was the architect and builder of the Republican party he is a great master-workman—its dome so beautifully rounded, its columns so admirably chiselled, and all its parts so admirably prepared and builded together so smoothly and so perfectly that the mechanism charms the eye of every one who has ever seen it. Since the senator has performed such a great work, I appeal to him

to know why it is that he attempts to destroy the workmanship of his own hands.

But let me give him one word of advice. While he may think, Samson-like, that he has the strength to carry off the gates and the pillars of the temple, let me tell him when he stretches forth his arm to cause the pillars to reel and totter beneath this fabric, there are thousands and thousands of true-hearted Republicans who will come up to the work and stretching forth their strong right arms, say, "Stay thou there; these pillars stand beneath this mighty fabric of ours, within which we all dwell; it is the ark of our safety and shall not be destroyed." . . .

The history of the world would write the American people down as a people not worthy of trust, as a people without gratitude, as a people who had seen a man hew his way to fame by his own strong arm, and then allowed an ambitious politician to strike him down with a merciless blow and no one to stand by and to say, "The blow is too severe;" and I say to the senator from Massachusetts that while he has struck this blow, as he believes a heavy one, on the head of the political prospects of General Grant he has made him friends by the thousand, strong ones, too, that were merely lukewarm yesterday.

He has aroused the spirit of this land that cannot be quelled. He has in fact inflamed the old war spirit in the soldiery of the country. He has aroused the feeling of indignation in every man that warmed his feet by a campfire during the war. He has sent through this land a thrill which will return to him in such a manner and with such force as will make him feel it.

For myself I will say that I have sat quietly here for months and had not intended to say anything; I had no argu-



ment to make, intending to await the nomination of the Philadelphia convention, be it Grant or be it whom it might, believing, however, it would be Grant; but when I heard these vile slanders hurled like javelins against the President of the United States it aroused a feeling in my breast which has been aroused many times before. I am now ready to buckle on my armor and am ready for the fray and from now until November next to fight this battle in behalf of an honest man, a good soldier, and a faithful servant.

You will hear a response to this everywhere. As I said the other day it will be heard from one end of this land to the other. The lines of blue coats that were arrayed upon the hill-tops and along the valleys, with burnished bayonets, ready for the fight, the same men, although they have divested themselves of their battle array, yet retain their warlike spirit burning in their bosoms.

They will respond to this challenge; they will say to the eloquent senator from Massachusetts, "You have thrown down the glove and we will take it up."

I tell the senator he will find a response in his own State that will not give his slumberings much quiet. He will find a response everywhere. The people of this country will not see a man sacrificed to vile calumny. I would be willing, and I believe every one else would, to allow the contest to be settled fairly and justly.

Let the people select whom they desire to have for their President or for any other position. And when the senator from Massachusetts, with his thundering voice echoing in this chamber, proposes to exclude every man who fought for his country, every man that has been a soldier, from civil office, and claiming that the right to hold office belongs alone to men like himself, I say he will find even poor but honest, hard-

working men saying to him the time has not come in this free republic of America for such doctrine to be tolerated on the floor of the Senate or on the floor of the lower House of Congress, and if so, it will not be taken and relished as a sweet morsel by the people of this land.

No, Mr. President, when we are challenged to the contest and when we are told that soldiers are only made to be soldiers and educated civilians only should hold high positions of trust in this country, I am sorry to say to the senator: Unfortunate man, you were never born to be President of the United States; you will never be the President of that grand party which you claim to have originated and organized. No man with such aspirations and such views and such feelings for the common people of this country can ever succeed as a politician or statesman in the midst of a people devoted to republican institutions.

President Grant has made an honest President. He has been faithful. The affairs of the nation are in good condition. We are at peace with the civilized world. Notwithstanding the senator said we were in a muddle with every nation, we are at war with none.

Every State in this Union is quiet; the laws have been faithfully executed and administered; we have quiet and peace throughout our land. Such blessings we have not had since the war until recently. But the senator from Massachusetts would turn the government of the United States over to the hands of our enemies.

That is what we do not desire. If he desires not to accomplish that let him be faithful and stand by the old Republican ship in which there is life and outside of which there is death. But whether he does or not success will be ours; this government will be peaceful, the people happy and prosperous, har-



mony and unity will prevail, to the great advancement of the material interests of this great nation.

Mr. President, let me ask senators here who stood anxiously waiting at the close of this war to see the very state of things brought about that we see to-day, peace, comfort, quiet, and prosperity, as they looked out upon the boisterous ocean of secession and saw the raging and fierce billows of angry strife, if it was not the prayer then of every patriotic man, woman, and child in this land that the angry billows should cease and that we should once more have placid seas; and as we looked out upon these angry waves of rebellion and strife and saw the old ship of state struggling to make her way to a harbor of safety and saw this man, now President, then guiding and commanding the crew that managed this craft, when at his command our guns ceased their thunder and everything was still and quiet, the old ship, manned by her devoted crew, came safely into the harbor of safety, freighted with the hopes of mankind, where she is moored quiet and peaceful to-day? Who is there that can describe the outbreak of overjoyous hearts in strains of praise for the safety of our republic that went forth on that day of triumph? Sir, that feeling still is in the bosom of patriots and though slumbering will break forth again, having been aroused by the blast of the enemy's bugle.

Who is there among the Republicans that desires to set the old craft adrift again into the boisterous seas of tumult and confusion? I presume there is not one. Then let us as quiet, law-abiding, peaceable citizens, desirous of doing the best we can for our country, go straight forward in the execution of the proper plans and designs for the accomplishment of the objects for which republican institutions are established and are maintained.

Let us, then, proceed with our business; let us go home and present to the people of this country the indictment with its malignant charges, and ask them if they will submit to have a man so worthy as the President of the United States receive such calumny at the hands of any one without a proper rebuke, and I pledge you that you will have a response indicating no uncertain sound coming from the lips and heart of every true patriot in the land.

Mr. President, I have detained the Senate much longer than I intended, but I deemed it just to myself and to my constituents that that document should not go before them without my raising my voice at least in protest against it. I have done so in my feeble manner, not ably, but the best that I could do; having done that, I have performed what I consider my duty and will now give way for the business of the Senate to proceed.