

SENATOR HAWLEY

JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY, LL. D., eminent American senator, general, and journalist, was born at Stewartville, N. C., Oct. 31, 1826, and educated at Hamilton College, New York. After studying law, in 1850 he began practice at Hartford, Conn. Early in his career he entered actively into politics, and, being a pronounced opponent of slavery and slavery extension, he was among the founders of the Republican party in Connecticut. Retiring from the law, in 1857, he engaged in journalism, becoming the editor of the Hartford "Evening Press." He was the first man in Connecticut to enroll his name in the volunteer service at the opening of the Civil War, and he remained in the Federal army throughout the war period, being commissioned brigadier-general in 1864 and brevetted major-general in 1865. In 1866, he was elected Governor of Connecticut and served one term, after which he assumed the editorship of the "Hartford Courant," with which the "Press" had been consolidated. He entered Congress in 1872 and sat in the lower House for three terms, though not consecutively, and since 1881 has been a member of the United States Senate. He was president of the Centennial Commission through the entire period of its existence, 1875-76. In 1884, and again in 1888, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency on the Republican ticket.

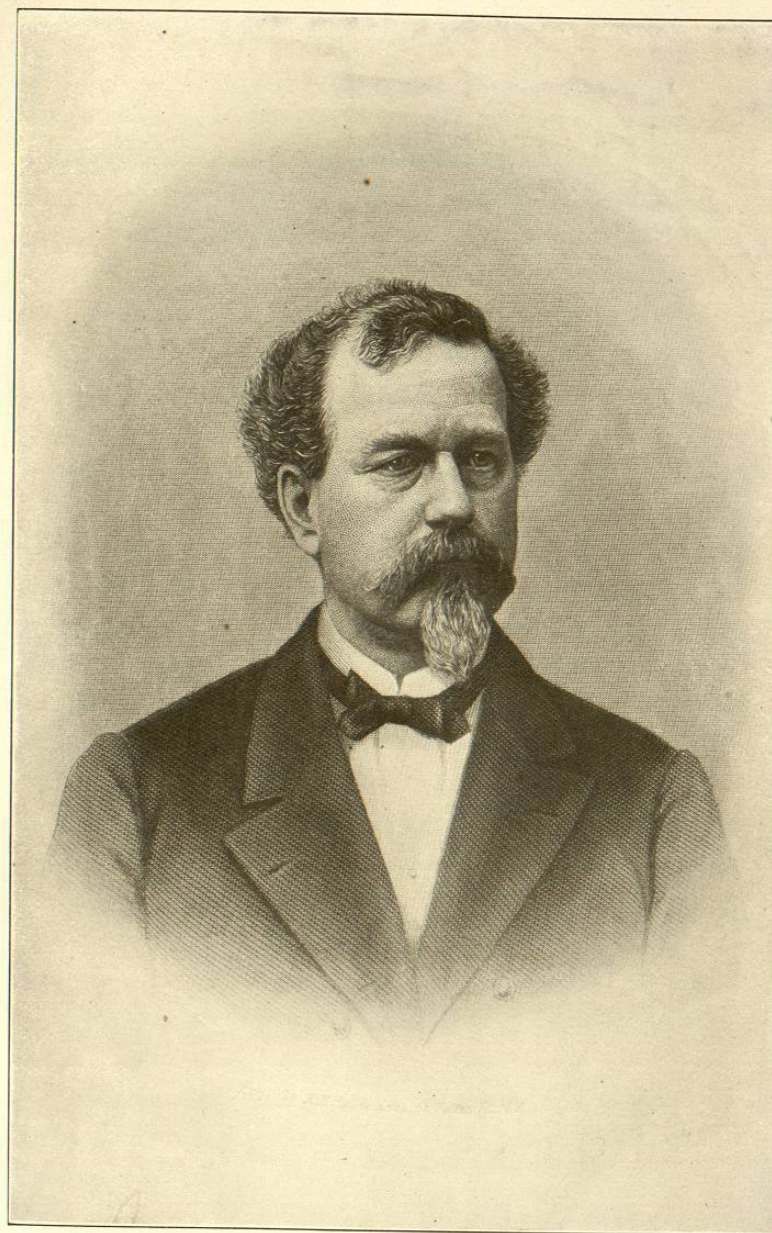
ON THE FLAG AND THE EAGLE

FROM SPEECH ON THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION DELIVERED IN
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 7, 1874

SOME gentlemen tell us that we may have a national celebration but not in connection with an international exhibition; that there is some incongruity between the two; and as the celebration is national, the exhibition must be only and strictly national. I would like to be heard a few moments on that point.

I believe in the Fourth of July in the popular acceptance of that term. I believe in the Fourth of July all over, from the crown of my head to the sole of my feet. As a boy and young man I fired my guns and had my good time. I like to see the boys do the same now. You may belong to a city council, and may pass volumes of ordinances against guns

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and fire-crackers; you may send platoons of policemen to arrest the boys who violate your ordinances, but you still have within you a secret sympathy with the young rascals, and you like to be awakened on the morning of the Fourth by great bells and guns, even if you do swear a little about it. I believe in the Fourth of July; I believe in "sentiment;" I believe in the Flag; and I honor the memory of Daniel Webster when I remember how he pointed up through yonder rotunda at the "gorgeous ensign of the Republic," and trampled with magnificent scorn upon the poor, puny, contemptible spirit that dared to ask "How much is all this worth?"

God bless Daniel Webster for that one paragraph.

I was grieved, not angry — grieved in my very soul — when I heard men on this floor, of wealth and culture and honor and ability, sneering at what they called "sentiment," and laughing at "tears," and when I heard a Massachusetts man from the very hills of Berkshire ridiculing the "eagle" and all that "cheap clap-trap." God grant that the day may be far distant when what you call "Fourth of July talk" shall be out of fashion. Let it always be in fashion. Our millions of "Boys in Blue" talked it from the cradle; and while perhaps infidels to free government sneered at them, and ridiculed the "cross-roads talk about the Fourth of July" and "the eagle," those boys believed in it; five hundred thousand graves bear witness to their belief. God help the poor, narrow soul whose eyes never moisten at the sight of the Flag.

Shall this exhibition be national alone, and not international also? First, we are thoroughly committed to the international idea by the act itself, by the proclamation of the President, by the circular of the secretary of state com-

municating it to the diplomatic representatives, by his circular to our ministers abroad, and by the acceptances of many nations. Secondly, it is interwoven with the whole scheme — the classification, the policy, and the pledges.

We are committed to it by personal presentation to foreign exhibitors, commissioners, jurors on the international jury, and others at the Vienna exposition; by the publication of this proclamation and of this scheme in three foreign languages in the pages of the Vienna catalogue. The Vienna people asked us to do it. They offered us pages for advertising our international exhibition. We observed the words of your act, and thus advertised all over Europe. We are committed to the international idea by the acceptance of donations from foreign commissions. Goods that were offered to us at Vienna by commissioners from foreign states are already on the way or in store. We told them we would take the articles gladly. From various foreign citizens we have accepted such contributions. Why, sir, the Marquis of Bute, the descendant of the Bute who was in the famous Lord North ministry that urged on George III to the long seven years' war, proposes to furnish largely a room in that exhibition displaying the wonderful resources of his estate in Wales. Being instructed to conduct an international exhibition we have felt at liberty to accept these offers.

International equity requires that our exhibition should have this character. We have as a nation taken part in three great exhibitions, while our citizens have participated in others. . . .

International exhibitions advance the common sciences, the common arts, the common progress of modern civilization. Common courtesy and good feeling require reciprocity. Reciprocation of effort for the advancement of civili-

zation and human welfare is the graceful adjunct of the national festival, especially as we have drawn benefit from other exhibitions, and are, as a people, made up of all peoples. Their usefulness is in geometrical proportion to their universality. A well-balanced exhibition of the industries of the world commands the attention of the world. It makes exhibitors willing to come and spend money to extend the field of their enterprises. It draws more exhibitors and more visitors. Many important industries — mark this, if you please — many important industries cannot be shown independently of foreign products, the basis of their manufacture. You cannot have a purely national exhibition of really great value. The men who have studied this subject of exhibitions will tell you so. To exhibit industries without bringing in materials produced abroad is impossible. For example, tin-ware, dye-woods, precious stones, coffee, tea, foreign woods, foreign hides, furs, irons, steels, and partly manufactured articles of many kinds.

Are you going to make a "know-nothing" exhibition of it, that you refuse to extend invitations to other peoples — we all the time professing above all other peoples to a generous and cosmopolitan spirit, willing to accept and embrace all peoples? Do you wish to make a little "know-nothing" exhibition of the affair?

An abandonment of the international feature would operate to exclude very large classes of our own people — all who import and deal in articles of foreign production; would exclude all pictures, statues, and works of art, whenever or however they may have come into possession of Americans — all beautiful and useful machinery, furniture, woven goods, etc.; a multitude of articles just such as we wish to learn to produce.

You say that it is a Fourth of July celebration. While I tell you I believe in cannon and trumpets, thunder and glory, orations, bonfires, and bell-ringing, still I wish something more, further and higher — an exhibition which will mark our progress for one hundred years and exhibit the modern spirit of advancement and civilization characterizing the nineteenth century. Are not gentlemen aware that this exhibition is a bazaar at which for six months all the nations will assemble to shake hands as brethren and as friends? You say they will not feel at home here. I tell you, men of Massachusetts, and Ohio, and Maine, who tell us to-day the people of other nations would not be welcomed here, that strangers would not feel at home here during this exhibition; you may learn a lesson from that "old tyrant," as boys were taught to style him, George III. He had the manhood and the kingly courtesy, despot as he was, to rise before his Parliament and acknowledge our independence and say what I will read:

"I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect whatever I collect to be the sense of my Parliament and my people, I have pointed all my views and measures in Europe, as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the colonies. Finding it indispensable to the attainment of the object, I did not hesitate to go to the full length of the powers vested in me, and offer to declare them"—[here he paused, and was in evident agitation; either embarrassed in reading his speech by the darkness of the room or affected by a very natural emotion. In a moment he resumed]—"and offer to declare them free and independent States. In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and ardent

prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire, and that America may be free from the calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, and affections may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries."

And whenever the English flag and American flag meet in foreign waters, there the Englishman salutes the Stars and Stripes on the Fourth of July. And when the Queen's birthday comes around, the American salutes the Cross of Saint George. They exchange the salutes of guns and dipping of colors, as becomes gentlemen among the nations of the earth. And while I would fight John Bull to-morrow, and so would you, John Bull and we are friends to-day; we are blood relations, welcome here and welcome there.

And in the great struggle which makes the glory of the nineteenth century, for pre-eminence in the application of science, to lift up the weak and lowly and lighten the sorrows of labor, we are generous rivals, standing on a common platform. We welcome here the Englishman, the German, the Frenchman — all of them! While the kings of those European monarchies may not love the Declaration of Independence their people love it, and we want to invite their people here. We want their people to know the character and boundless magnitude of our resources, that they may come here in still greater numbers. Human ingenuity cannot devise a fairer way — to use the commercial expression — to advertise the American continent than by this exhibition. . . .

I have a right to be proud of American industry, of American art and science. In nine tenths of the fields embraced in these exhibitions we may boldly challenge the competition

of the world. I say that deliberately, and thereon put my all at stake. You will have no reason to be ashamed of this exhibition. True, we cannot produce a Titian, or a Raphael, or a Rubens, or a Praxiteles; but it took thousands of years to produce them, and we have done very well in one hundred.

But that is not all. We have had a people to make in a hundred years; and, the Lord be praised, we have made a people. Bitterly as we fought among ourselves, I think we have got to be one nation now and shall remain so. We have done a great work in one hundred years. Why should we not let the world see what it is? Why should not we stop to examine it ourselves? You do not know your country. You do not know what an exhibition we can make. Let us put in one hall the progress of education and its present condition; in another the progress of religious denominations — and several of them are already making their arrangements. In another, the varied and innumerable soils and their capacity; elsewhere the treasures of the mine. Why, the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. White] told you last night that you could ride in his State, which we think of as a "cotton State," one hundred miles over the very best iron ore, the bed fifteen feet deep and forty wide, and with the mountains full of it besides; and engineers say that there is coal enough in that State to supply the world for two thousand years. How many of you knew the resources of Alabama? We can beat Great Britain in coal and iron in that one State. We can produce iron there at fourteen dollars per ton, the gentleman says; and others have told me the same. And my friend before me from Chattanooga [Mr. Crutchfield] can give a similar account of the region around him.

Look at your wheatfields. We can furnish bread to the whole world and not miss it. Look at the wheat growth on

the Pacific coast. Ten years ago we did not know that wheat could be produced there, and now California is feeding nations. There are fields ready for wheat over which you cannot ride in a week; where not only no plow has ever passed, but where the white man's foot has hardly yet trod, in the boundless Saskatchewan Valley, yet to be brought under cultivation.

You have not tickled the surface of the great Mississippi Valley. You have gold and silver enough to keep your miners at work for centuries; your coal, your iron; your soil, black and rich, fifteen feet deep, the deposit of centuries. Spread this information on maps, charts, and tabulated statements, on the walls of your exposition building. You wish the world to know it.

There are men now making ready specimens of the root, the bark, the wood, the leaf, flower, and fruit of every tree from Maine to California — a collection such as no other country in the world can make. There will be an exhibition of the fishes to be gathered from Maine to Galveston, on the Pacific coast, and in our inland seas, such as will be of interest to all the naturalists of the world. Then there are our firearms, in which we beat the world; our clocks which we export everywhere; our edge tools, in which we now beat Sheffield in her own markets, because the Yankee brain works through the machine that makes the tool, and we are quicker in that than John Bull. We have been building locomotives and passenger cars for Europe. John Bull did not know how to go comfortably from London to Edinburgh till we sent him the other day some trains of Pullman cars. Then there are the cold fields of Maine, where they raise two hundred bushels of potatoes to the acre; and all the various soils and climates between that State and the sunny fields of San Diego, in

California, rich in oranges, limes, lemons, almonds, all fruits of all climates, the sugar cane of Louisiana, the matchless cotton of the Sea Islands, the grape culture, destined to an infinite development—everywhere productive capability immeasurable.

Let us devote a few weeks to arranging all these things in rooms and cases, and then ask the world to come and see them. In both aspects, that of fraternity and that of profit also, I believe this enterprise is legitimate and lawful. We will have scientific men and commissioners, who will come here and make their reports, published at home, and read and talked over by their people. The press of the world will sketch in words and pictures the wonders and uses we shall have, and the year after your immigration will be increased by thousands upon thousands. Your trade will be increased. New ships and flags will come to sell and buy.

How grand the opportunity to promote fraternity among the nations, whose representatives will there meet in the friendly competitions of a Christian civilization!

One consideration more that lies near my heart. In that summer of 1876 we of these States will meet under one flag and one name, avowing one purpose and one destiny, looking back far beyond the fierce and bloody quarrels that have tortured our hearts and reddened our fields. Pass our amnesty bills, secure the civil rights of all, clear the ground, and shake hands. I look around and see men who would have shot each other at sight a few years ago. I have learned something in this hall, gained somewhat, I hope, of a kindlier feeling, just through these daily friendly greetings. We need such opportunity for all, as you, Mississippi [looking at Mr. Lamar] have said, that we may "know one another better, and love one another better."

PREMIER SAGASTA



PRAXETES MATEO SAGASTA, Spanish Liberal statesman and premier, was born at Torrecilla de Cameros, July 21, 1827. He studied physics and mathematics, and in 1843 entered the school of engineering at Madrid. After he had practiced engineering in the provinces, he was elected in 1854 to the Constituent Cortes by the provinces of Zamora. After taking part in the Madrid insurrection of July, 1856, he had to seek refuge in France. He was amnestied and became professor in the school of engineering. As a member of the Cortes he belonged to the progressive minority and edited their organ, "La Imperia." After the unsuccessful insurrection of July 22, 1866, he again fled to France, but when the revolution of 1868 broke out he returned to Spain and became minister of the interior in the provisional government. He was a zealous supporter of General Prim and an opponent of Zorilla. In October, 1871, he was elected president of the Cortes; two months later he became minister of the interior, and in the February following was entrusted with the formation of the cabinet. Under Serrano, early in 1874, he became minister of the exterior, in May, of the interior, and in August, president of the ministry, resigning in December, in consequence of the coming to the throne of Alfonso XII. He was later elected to the Cortes and joined the Liberals. Thenceforward he was head of the Constitutional party opposed to the Conservative party led by Cánovas, whom he succeeded as minister-president when his party came into power. Just after the death of Alfonso XII, Nov. 25, 1885, he again succeeded Cánovas as prime minister. Later in the same year, he sought to reconcile all parties by a general amnesty and to restore tranquillity by vigorous military regulations. He was successful in resisting the republican element after the introduction of universal suffrage. His ministry was condemned in consequence of the military conspiracies at Madrid, in 1886, but he organized a new cabinet which was pledged to various important reforms. In 1887, he put down a minor conspiracy among the Republicans, and in 1890, he introduced universal suffrage to a certain extent in order to meet the rivalry of Cánovas. In the same year he had to deal with the insubordination of certain generals and in consequence retired from the premiership. He again came into power in December, 1892, but in consequence of similar disturbances retired in March, 1895; only, however, to come into office again in March, 1901, when, Cánovas being dead, his administration had to face the embarrassing situation presented by the Cuban insurrection and war with this country.