

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.

IN DEFENCE OF THE UNITY OF ITALY

DELIVERED IN THE SESSION OF THE CORTES ON MARCH 6, 1861

IF THE signatories of the treaty of 1815, instead of conher humiliation, had dismembered her as they did tenting themselves with the subjection of Spain, with Italy, would Spain have rested content therewith? No, a thousand times no! She would have suffered it as a burden until she had acquired the strength to hurl it back upon those that unjustly laid it upon her.

But the government of the Liberal Union, for which, as it would appear, there is no right above the right of kings, for which, as it would appear, there are families chosen by Providence that they may reign forever; for which there is no other sovereignty and no other origin of power than that of divine right; the government of the Liberal Union believed that Spain should remain very well satisfied with certain treaties because they favored the interests of certain families; believed that Spain should resign herself to the humiliation that came from those treaties solely because in their redistribution of territory a portion of that territory concerned the Bourbon family. The government of the Liberal Union believed that Spain would behold with pleasure the reduction of her interests and the lowering of her dignity in consequence of the growth of a certain family's interests, forgetting that the dignity of Spain is very much above a name, a family, however important and traditional it may be.

But not even this personal politics, not even this disastrous

policy, has been conducted with the dignity and decorum that belongs to the government of a state.

It is necessary for me to reproduce part of one of the notes that I have already read. I will repeat what the government said lest the honorable deputies may have forgotten it. In the first despatch from the minister of state to our representative at Turin it said the following among other things: "If, contrary to our expectations, the revolt of Sicily should triumph and it should be decided to concede to the King of Sardinia or to any of the princes of the family, the sovereignty of said island, it will be the duty of your Excellency to manifest verbally to the honorable Count Cavour that her Majesty's government would be obliged to sustain, with suitable firmness, the rights that appertain to her Majesty the Queen," etc.

This is what the government said in its first note when it learned of the invasion of Sicily by Garibaldi. Very well! Not only has that occurred which the government did not even venture to fear, not only has Victor Emmanuel been offered the sovereignty of one of the Sicilies, but the insurrection has extended to the two Sicilies and he has been offered the sovereignty of both; and at last the crown has even been torn from the brow of Francisco II and placed upon Victor Emmanuel's. And what did the government of Spain do after the consequences exceeded its extraordinary provisions, after having sent that strong note, for it was a strong note to send to a friendly government when there was no reason to expect that Piedmont had any influence whatever in the invasion of Sicily? What did the government do after all this? The following: In another note, dated October 24, the minister of state said to our representative at Turin: "After the protest presented by your Excellency,

her Majesty's government does not judge convenient your presence at that court. Thus your Excellency may signify the same in appropriate terms to the minister of foreign affairs, retiring from Turin when you have accredited the secretary of legation as *chargé d'affaires*.

That is to say, in the second note, in the last note, after the consequences had gone much beyond the expectations of the government, it contented itself with saying: "Come back to Madrid; but before you leave put the secretary in charge that your absence from the embassy may not be noted and come exactly as you have come at other times to take part in the debates of the Córtes."

Does this last note respond to that which the government promised in the first? Is there harmony between the strength of the first and the tolerance and suavity of the second? One of the two: either the government exceeded itself in the first and failed in the second, or it promised much and performed little. If in the first event the government was short-sighted, in the second it was weak; the lack of foresight might have brought upon us grave conflicts, disasters uncounted; the weakness might have brought upon us humiliation and ridicule, and humiliation and ridicule in the presence of other nations is our death. And is that the way to conduct the high interests of State? Is that the way to regard the dignity of the Spanish nation? Is that the way to secure the aggrandizement of our position abroad? Unhappy government, which, wherever it has gone with its sympathies, as for example, at Naples or at Rome, has encountered catastrophe; and at the same time, wherever it has gone with its threats and its opposition, fortune has come to favor the menaced with victory! Thus is it in consequence: Piedmont, which was a corner of Europe almost

hidden by the folds spread from the Alps, is to-day a nation of the first rank.

But if from notes and documents we pass to deeds, if leaving the diplomatic documents out of account we take into consideration the practical conduct of the government and of its agents in regard to this question, what do we see? We see, or we have seen, a Spanish ambassador, a representative of this nation, choose to act like a faithful and compliant subject of an unfortunate monarch. We see, or we have seen, his pertinacity in keeping at the side of him who seemed to be his lord; with pains that distinguished him from the diplomatic agents of the other nations that were not satellites of Austria he has let it be said that our ships signalled the besieged to let them know the positions occupied by the besiegers; has given occasion to have it said in a circular of the last minister of state of Francisco II that, having counselled the ambassadors of all the powers to stay away from him that they might escape the horrors of the siege, all did so excepting the Spanish minister, who declared that he would remain at the side of Francisco II, whatever might be his fate; and that he gave ground upon which he might be officially accused before Europe that his counsels had probably contributed to the resistance of Francisco II at Gaeta. That is to say, our representative with Francisco II had decided, undoubtedly on his own account, that whatever might be the fate of him who was King of Naples — and I do not believe he will ever be so again — he would continue near his person; that is to say, that he intervened all he actively could in a struggle in which the Spanish government, in the face of Europe, had declared itself completely neutral. If the Spanish agent with that monarch had debts of affection to pay, or extraordinary recompenses

to satisfy, he might have done so without in any way compromising the interests of the Spanish nation. If he had desired to act the part of an attached man he might have done so by disinvesting himself and taking sword or gun in hand, had he been so disposed, to defend in the breach the honor of his lord.

All the rest of it has been venturesome, has been without foresight, has had the possibility of bringing very grave consequences for us, in a way compromising us for the worst of causes, or exposing us to suffer a ridiculous humiliation before the powers that had promised one another not to intervene in the struggle, or to permit anybody to intervene. We have also seen that our agents abroad have acted in a way to convert Spain into an officious mail-bearer for other powers; it has been seen that our war-ships were apparently destined to act the contraband with diplomatic documents, until it was said that nothing but the envelopes were for the Spanish ambassador, and the result was that it looked as if we sought to cause to enter furtively into a blockaded city the correspondence of other powers, thus occasioning our maritime dignity to suffer shameful humiliation and exposing Spain to grave and terrible conflicts.

Lastly we see that our representative has disappeared from the territory of Naples, that we do not know where he is, nor who is to defend the interests of our citizens there. The ambassador at Naples should be present only in the territory of Naples, and it is not to be conceived that, having abandoned the interests confided to him, he can be anywhere else than in Spain, if he has been given license to come back.

But, however this may be, I ask the government: Has the representative of Spain at Naples worked in conformity

with the instructions of the government, or not? Has he worked in conformity with the instructions of the government? Then the Congress may see what has become of neutrality. Has he not worked in conformity with those instructions? Then that diplomatic agent has committed grave faults, the responsibility for which can never disappear from the government, because it sent him thither, because it keeps him there, because it has not removed him, because thus it gives it to be understood that it approves the policy he has followed. Certainly no other than the government can be charged with this responsibility (and if there were other, so much the worse), for the times have gone by in which the ambassadors represented solely and exclusively the persons of the monarchs from whom they were sent.

To-day they do not represent, to-day they must not represent, to-day they cannot represent more than the policy and the interests of the governments that sent them. Lastly — in order that in everything, down to the smallest details, there may be seen the position of the government and the hostility which it shows towards that grand idea, towards that grand movement of Italy — when the vacancy occurred in the embassy at Rome, where is manifest the struggle between the principle of liberty and the principle of absolutism, where is manifest the struggle between the liberal principle and the reactionary principle, it sends to occupy that post as representative of Spain a man of eminently reactionary ideas in politics. And as if it were not sufficient to send a man known for his reactionary ideas it is necessary that the hostility that he bears towards that grand movement be manifest even in the nomination.

When in Italy there is hostility to the temporal power of the Pope, who is nominated? A political person who has

ventured to show the bad taste of designating as loathsome the principle of national sovereignty, one of the two principles which are at issue in that country. Gentlemen, what foresight, what prudence, and above all what neutrality!

The Congress, gentlemen, has already seen the reasons that the government had, which were the considerations upon which it founded absolutely its policy relative to the question of Italy, to settle one of the most important of the questions under debate. Therefore I will now leave to the consideration of the Congress, and later to the consideration of the country, the disastrous consequences, the melancholy results, which such a policy may bear. When the question that to-day is debated in Europe absorbs the attention of almost all the powers on earth, when to settle them appeal is made to the highest regions of politics, when from its results is made to depend, and with right, the stable peace of the nations, when everywhere this great movement of public opinion is respected, when for such elevated considerations the family compact is rescinded that has already on the other part been broken and completely destroyed, when for such elevated considerations certain surnames are rescinded and those who up to now have been sovereigns in Italy are abandoned to their fate, can there be anything more inappropriate, anything more dangerous, than to oppose a policy so elevated with a family policy, a personal policy, a mean policy.

Can there be anything more prejudicial than the invocation of antiquated law, than to talk the language of antiquated times? Can there be anything more disastrous than to establish a species of hand community between the fate of the Bourbons there and the fate of the Bourbons here? What is to become of a discredited and selfish government with no incentive other than its own interest, with no other idea, with

no other dogma, with no other system than that of governing one day longer? What is to become of a ministry that keeps its gaze constantly fixed on the governmental bench when it should keep it directed toward the future? What is to become of a ministry that is as changeable as a weathercock? that chooses all forms, that assumes all colors, in order to keep itself in power one day more? What is to become of a ministry, parasitic plant of the throne, upon whose substance it aims to feed itself and from whose life it seeks to live like the clinging plant that feeds itself upon the substance and the life of the tree, without considering that if the clinging plant lives longer the tree lives less and that there will come a day when both the plant and the tree may fall from the same stroke of the axe? What is to become of a ministry that takes no account whatever of the lessons of history?

There will happen that which has always happened, the inevitable will happen.

Not long ago, gentlemen, a powerful dynasty existed in a neighboring nation. At the head of this dynasty stood a monarch endowed with the greatest qualities. Ministers of this monarch, either as a stimulus to conserve power or as a means for not losing it, counselled or consented to a political course which, even though developed by the most elevated means, resembled the political course which the Liberal Union government has adopted for international questions since its advent to power. That monarch and his ministers believed that family interests were the interests of the country and followed an external family policy, a personal policy, a policy that constantly tended to advance the interests of the family. That dynasty, that powerful monarch, disappeared, gentlemen, as phantasms disappear; and at the same time as the splintered throne was pitched from the balconies of the

Tuileries the monarch fled to seek shelter on foreign soil, and Europe, which one day had seen him great and powerful, had not a friendly hand to reach him when the political convulsions of his kingdom drove him from his throne. A person who had figured so highly, a king who had grown to be so beloved, so respected and so great spent his last days, gentlemen, in the silence of indifference, died in the solitude of oblivion.

Unfortunate are the governments for whom these eloquent lessons of history pass unheeded! Time will soon charge itself with the repetition of like terrible lessons for their benefit.

The government of the Liberal Union, therefore, the government of national sovereignty, the government of liberty, the government of modern law, presents itself in opposition to representative institutions in Italy; presents itself not like any ordinary reactionist, but like the chief, like the Quixote, of the reaction; it invokes the antiquated law founded upon the treaties 1758 and 1815 and modified in 1817, under which, should they exist, we should have in Spain neither the shadow of constitutional government that we now have, neither would the ministers be able to seat themselves upon those benches, neither would the minister of state be able to write his notes, neither would I censure, as I am doing, the conduct of the government, neither could you, gentlemen, be here as representatives of the Spanish nation to approve or disapprove that conduct.

This government defends a dynasty that has always been our constant enemy, that has fomented our civil discords, that has procured our misfortune by all possible means, guided ever by its blind despotism; and invoking all this as law and as right — how absurd! — the same as would be the con-

demnation of our existence, forgetting our history, running contrary to our institutions, protesting against our future.

Hence let Spain know, let Europe know, let all the world know, that a government that thus forgets the highest interests of the nation does not represent, nor can it represent, the will, the aspirations, the desires, of the Spanish people; the Spanish people can by no means make itself responsible for the gross mistakes committed by this government contrary to its opinion; for the gross mistakes which it has committed upon this great question of the unity of Italy. For if you protest against the nationality of Italy you protest against our history, which from Sagunto to Saragossa represents the cause of the nationality and of the independence of peoples. To be recreant to the action of the Italians is to be recreant to the action of our fathers; you will be recreant to the blood that has flowed since from Cavadonga to Granada we saved our independence from the African yoke.

In condemning the sentiment of Italy you will condemn the sentiment of Daoiz and Velarde; you will condemn the sentiment that animated the Spanish people with a heroism unequalled in history, that it might recover its independence. If you condemn that which the Italian people does, you will condemn those who with their heroism raised the altar of country and nourished with their blood the tree of liberty. Then you may efface from those marbles the names of Padilla, of Daoiz, of Torrijos, to replace them with those of the Flemings of Carlos V, those of Napoleon's generals, those of Torquemada and Calomarde.

In this epoch, in which opinion has for some time been falsifying itself; in this epoch, in which, thanks to moral influence, popular assemblies cannot, according to my conception, faithfully represent the desires and opinions of the

people, and in which for this reason these bodies are losing much of their importance even to the point that the governments in power may not be their legitimate expression, I do not know what will happen; but happen whatever may, I conclude these words satisfied in having spoken the truth, in having spoken it with loyalty, with noble intent, even though this truth may be heard with scorn on one hand and with displeasure on the other; on one hand and on the other there will come an occasion when this same truth will accredit itself; and come what will, I sit down, but partially satisfied, because while I firmly believe that I have complied with my duty, I cannot persuade myself that I have performed it with the effectiveness demanded by a matter so important.

DANIEL W. VOORHEES

DANIEL WOLSEY VOORHEES, American Democratic politician and lawyer, was born at Liberty, O., Sept. 26, 1827, and died at Washington, D. C., April 10, 1897. Educated at Indiana Asbury (now De Pauw) University, he studied law and after his admittance to the Bar in 1851 began practice at Covington, Ind. In 1856, he was an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress, and in the following year removed to Terre Haute in the same State. From 1858 to 1861 he was United States district attorney, within that period defending John E. Cook, one of the associates of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, indicted for treason, murder, and inciting slaves to rebellion. His address to the court on the occasion gave him considerable reputation as an orator. He was a Democratic representative in Congress, 1861-65, and again, 1869-71. In 1877, he entered the national Senate and was reelected in 1885 and 1891. Soon after his appearance in the Senate he made an eloquent plea for the free coinage of silver and for the acceptance of greenbacks as full legal tender money. In 1893, however, he voted for the repeal of the silver purchase clause of "The Sherman Act." From 1880 to 1897 he was chairman of the joint select committee to provide additional accommodation for the library of Congress, and to his untiring efforts is due, in great measure, the erection of the present congressional library building. He was a strong partisan in his political views, and in allusion to his stature was sometimes styled "The tall Sycamore of the Wabash." His "Speeches" were issued in 1875; and "Forty Years of Oratory," published in 1898, contains his "Lectures, Addresses, and Speeches," with a brief sketch of his life and career.

DEFENCE OF JOHN E. COOK

DELIVERED AT CHARLESTOWN, VIRGINIA, NOVEMBER 8, 1859

WHO is John E. Cook?
 He has the right himself to be heard before you;
 but I will answer for him. Sprung from an ancestry of loyal attachment to the American government, he inherits no blood of tainted impurity. His grandfather an officer of the Revolution, by which your liberty, as well as mine was achieved, and his gray-haired father, who lived to