



J. C. BRECKINRIDGE

## GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE

**J**OHAN CABELL BRECKENRIDGE or BRECKINRIDGE, an American politician and soldier, was born near Lexington, Ky., Jan. 21, 1821; and died there May 17, 1875. He was educated at Centre College, in his own State, and after studying law at Transylvania University established himself in practice at Lexington. During the Mexican War he held a major's commission and at its close entered the lower house of the State legislature. In 1851, he became Democratic representative in Congress, and after serving several terms was elected to the Vice-presidency in 1856. In 1860, he was the presidential candidate of the Anti-Douglas Democrats, receiving seventy-two electoral votes. In the latter year he was elected from Kentucky to the United States Senate, and after advocating there the cause of the South for a time during Lincoln's administration, he resigned his seat and joined the Confederacy in the autumn of 1861, soon receiving an appointment as major-general. From January, 1865, until the fall of the Confederacy, Breckinridge was Confederate secretary of war. After the surrender of Lee, in April, 1865, Breckinridge proceeded to Europe, but returned in 1868 and spent the remainder of his life in his native State. During the years 1862 and 1864, General Breckinridge saw considerable fighting on the Southern side.

### ADDRESS PRECEDING THE REMOVAL OF THE SENATE

**O**N the 6th of December, 1819, the Senate assembled for the first time in this Chamber, which has been the theatre of their deliberations for more than thirty-nine years.

And now the strifes and uncertainties of the past are finished. We see around us on every side the proofs of stability and improvement. The Capitol is worthy of the Republic. Noble public buildings meet the view on every hand. Treasures of science and the arts begin to accumulate. As this flourishing city enlarges it testifies to the wisdom and forecast that dictated the plan of it. Future generations will not be disturbed with questions concerning the centre of population, or of territory, since the steamboat,

the railroad, and the telegraph have made communication almost instantaneous. The spot is sacred by a thousand memories, which are so many pledges that the city of Washington, founded by him and bearing his revered name, with its beautiful site, bounded by picturesque eminences, and the broad Potomac, and lying within view of his home and his tomb, shall remain forever the political capital of the United States.

It would be interesting to note the gradual changes which have occurred in the practical working of the government since the adoption of the constitution; and it may be appropriate to this occasion to remark one of the most striking of them.

At the origin of the government the Senate seemed to be regarded chiefly as an executive council. The President often visited the chamber and conferred personally with this body; most of its business was transacted with closed doors, and it took comparatively little part in the legislative debates. The rising and vigorous intellects of the country sought the arena of the House of Representatives as the appropriate theatre for the display of their powers. Mr. Madison observed, on some occasion, that being a young man and desiring to increase his reputation, he could not afford to enter the Senate; and it will be remembered that so late as 1812 the great debates which preceded the war and aroused the country to the assertion of its rights took place in the other branch of Congress. To such an extent was the idea of seclusion carried that when this chamber was completed no seats were prepared for the accommodation of the public; and it was not until many years afterward that the semi-circular gallery was erected which admits the people to be witnesses of your proceedings. But now, the Senate, be-

sides its peculiar relations to the executive department of the government, assumes its full share of duty as a co-equal branch of the legislature; indeed from the limited number of its members and for other obvious reasons the most important questions, especially of foreign policy, are apt to pass first under discussion in this body,—and to be a member of it is justly regarded as one of the highest honors which can be conferred on an American statesman.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the causes of this change, or to say that it is a concession both to the importance and to the individuality of the States, and to the free and open character of the government.

In connection with this easy but thorough transition, it is worthy of remark that it has been effected without a charge from any quarter that the Senate has transcended its constitutional sphere—a tribute at once to the moderation of the Senate, and another proof to thoughtful men of the comprehensive wisdom with which the framers of the constitution secured essential principles without inconveniently embarrassing the action of the government.

The progress of this popular movement in one aspect of it, has been steady and marked. As the origin of the government, no arrangements in the Senate were made for spectators; in this chamber about one third of the space is allotted to the public; and in the new apartment the galleries cover two thirds of its area. In all free countries the admission of the people to witness legislative proceedings is an essential element of public confidence; and it is not to be anticipated that this wholesome principle will ever be abused by the substitution of partial and interested demonstrations for the expression of a matured and enlightened public opinion. Yet it should never be forgotten that not France,

but the turbulent spectators within the hall, awed and controlled the French assembly. With this lesson and its consequences before us, the time will never come when the deliberations of the Senate shall be swayed by the blandishments or the thunders of the galleries.

It is impossible to disconnect from an occasion like this a crowd of reflections on our past history and of speculations on the future. The most meagre account of the Senate involves a summary of the progress of our country. From year to year you have seen your representation enlarge; again and again you have proudly welcomed a new sister into the confederacy; and the occurrences of this day are a material and impressive proof of the growth and prosperity of the United States. Three periods in the history of the Senate mark in striking contrast three epochs in the history of the Union.

On the 3d of March, 1789, when the government was organized under the constitution, the Senate was composed of the representatives of eleven States containing three millions of people.

On the 6th of December, 1819, when the Senate met for the first time in this room it was composed of the representatives of twenty-one States containing nine millions of people.

To-day it is composed of the representatives of thirty-two States containing more than twenty-eight millions of people, prosperous, happy, and still devoted to constitutional liberty. Let these great facts speak for themselves to all the world.

The career of the United States cannot be measured by that of any other people of whom history gives account; and the mind is almost appalled at the contemplation of the prodigious force which has marked their progress. Sixty-nine years ago thirteen States, containing three millions of in-

habitants, burdened with debt, and exhausted by the long war of independence, established for their common good a free constitution on principles new to mankind, and began their experiment with the good wishes of a few doubting friends and the derision of the world. Look at the result to-day; twenty-eight millions of people, in every way happier than an equal number in any other part of the globe! the centre of population and political power descending the western slopes of the Alleghany Mountains, and the original thirteen States forming but the eastern margin on the map of our vast possessions.

See besides, Christianity, civilization, and the arts given to a continent; the despised colonies grown into a power of the first class, representing and protecting ideas that involve the progress of the human race; a commerce greater than that of any other nation; free interchange between States; every variety of climate, soil, and production, to make a people powerful and happy—in a word, behold present greatness, and in the future an empire to which the ancient mistress of the world in the height of her glory could not be compared. Such is our country; aye, and more—far more than my mind could conceive or my tongue could utter. Is there an American who regrets the past? Is there one who will deride his country's laws, pervert her constitution, or alienate her people? If there be such a man, let his memory descend to prosperity laden with the execrations of all mankind.

So happy is the political and social condition of the United States, and so accustomed are we to the secure enjoyment of a freedom elsewhere unknown, that we are apt to undervalue the treasures we possess, and to lose in some degree the sense of obligation to our forefathers. But when the

strifes of faction shake the government and even threaten it we may pause with advantage long enough to remember that we are reaping the reward of other men's labors. This liberty we inherit; this admirable constitution, which has survived peace and war, prosperity and adversity, this double scheme of government, State and Federal, so peculiar and so little understood by other powers, yet which protects the earnings of industry and makes the largest personal freedom compatible with public order; these great results were not achieved without wisdom and toil and blood—the touching and heroic record is before the world. But to all this we were born, and, like heirs upon whom has been cast a great inheritance, have only the high duty to preserve, to extend, and to adorn it. The grand productions of the era in which the foundations of this government were laid, reveal the deep sense its founders had of their obligations to the whole family of man. Let us never forget that the responsibilities imposed on this generation are by so much the greater than those which rested on our revolutionary ancestors, as the population, extent, and power of our country surpass the dawning promise of its origin.

It would be a pleasing task to pursue many trains of thought, not wholly foreign to this occasion, but the temptation to enter the wide field must be rigorously curbed; yet I may be pardoned, perhaps, for one or two additional reflections.

The Senate is assembled for the last time in this chamber. Henceforth it will be converted to other uses; yet it must remain forever connected with great events, and sacred to the memories of the departed orators and statesmen who here engaged in high debates and shaped the policy of their country. Hereafter the American and the stranger, as they

wander through the Capitol, will turn with instinctive reverence to view the spot on which so many and great materials have accumulated for history. They will recall the images of the great and the good, whose renown is the common property of the Union; and, chiefly, perhaps, they will linger around the seats once occupied by the mighty three, whose names and fame, associated in life, death has not been able to sever; illustrious men, who in their generation sometimes divided, sometimes led, and sometimes resisted public opinion—for they were of that higher class of statesmen who seek the right and follow their convictions.

There sat Calhoun, the senator, inflexible, austere, oppressed, but not overwhelmed by his deep sense of the importance of his public functions; seeking the truth, then fearlessly following it—a man whose unsparing intellect compelled all his emotions to harmonize with the deductions of his rigorous logic, and whose noble countenance habitually wore the expression of one engaged in the performance of high public duties.

This was Webster's seat. He, too, was every inch a senator. Conscious of his own vast powers, he reposed with confidence on himself; and scorning the contrivances of smaller men, he stood among his peers all the greater for the simple dignity of his senatorial demeanor. Type of his northern home, he rises before the imagination, in the grand and granite outline of his form and intellect, like a great New England rock, repelling a New England wave. As a writer, his productions will be cherished by statesmen and scholars while the English tongue is spoken. As a senatorial orator, his great efforts are historically associated with this chamber, whose very air seems to vibrate beneath the strokes of his deep tones and his weighty words.

On the outer circle sat Henry Clay, with his impetuous and ardent nature untamed by age, and exhibiting in the Senate the same vehement patriotism and passionate eloquence that of yore electrified the House of Representatives and the country. His extraordinary personal endowments, his courage, all his noble qualities, invested him with an individuality and a charm of character which in any age would have made him a favorite of history. He loved his country above all earthly objects. He loved liberty in all countries. Illustrious man!—orator, patriot, philanthropist—whose light, at its meridian, was seen and felt in the remotest parts of the civilized world; and whose declining sun as it hastened down the west threw back its level beams in hues of mellowed splendor, to illuminate and to cheer the land he loved and served so well. . . .

And now, senators, we leave this memorable chamber, bearing with us unimpaired the constitution we received from our forefathers. Let us cherish it with grateful acknowledgments to the Divine Power who controls the destinies of empires and whose goodness we adore. The structures reared by men yield to the corroding tooth of time. These marble walls must molder into ruin; but the principles of constitutional liberty, guarded by wisdom and virtue, unlike material elements, do not decay. Let us devoutly trust that another Senate, in another age, shall bear to a new and larger chamber this constitution vigorous and inviolate, and that the last generation of posterity shall witness the deliberations of the representatives of American States still united, prosperous, and free.

## REV. DR. STORRS

**R**ICHARD SALTER STORRS, eminent American clergyman and notable pulpit orator, was born at Braintree, Mass., Aug. 21, 1821, and died at Brooklyn, N. Y., June 5, 1900. He was the son of a Congregationalist minister, for sixty-two years pastor at Braintree. Educated at Amherst College, and after studying law for a short time with Rufus Choate relinquished it for the study of theology, which he pursued at Andover Theological Seminary, receiving his degree in 1845. After a year's pastorate at Brookline, Mass., he accepted a call to the newly organized Church of the Pilgrims at Brooklyn, N. Y., of which he was pastor for over fifty years. As a pulpit orator he was known far beyond the limits of his own denomination, and as a speaker on public occasions attained great popularity, his influence, both as clergyman and layman, having been of the most salutary and inspiring character. His sermons and addresses, which are noted for their thought and finish, were delivered without notes. His writings include: "The Constitution of the Human Soul" (1856); "Conditions of Success in Preaching without Notes" (1875); "Early American Spirit and the Genesis of It" (1875); "John Wycliffe and the First English Bible" (1880); "Recognition of the Supernatural in Letters and Life" (1881); "Manliness in the Scholar" (1883); "Divine Origin of Christianity Indicated by Its Historical Effects" (1884); "The Prospective Advance of Christian Missions" (1885); "Bernard of Clairvaux" (1892); "Forty Years of Pastoral Life"; and "Foundation Truths of American Missions" (1897). Dr. Storrs was one of the founders of the N. Y. "Independent."

### THE RISE OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY

CENTENNIAL ORATION DELIVERED AT THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC,  
NEW YORK, JULY 4, 1876

**M**R. PRESIDENT, FELLOW CITIZENS,—The long-expected day has come, and passing peacefully the impalpable line which separates ages, the Republic completes its hundredth year. The predictions in which affectionate hope gave inspiration to political prudence are fulfilled. The fears of the timid, and the hopes of those to whom our national existence is a menace, are alike disappointed. The fable of the physical world becomes the fact of the political; and after alternate sunshine and storm, after heavings of the earth which only