

PROCEEDINGS  
IN THE  
SENATE  
AND  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
UPON THE  
RECEPTION AND ACCEPTANCE  
FROM THE  
STATE OF MARYLAND  
OF THE  
STATUES  
OF  
CHARLES CARROLL  
OF CARROLLTON  
AND OF  
JOHN HANSON

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JANUARY 31, 1903

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HALL OF RECORDS

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ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

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Carroll, Charles

# PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

## SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

UPON THE

RECEPTION AND ACCEPTANCE FROM THE  
STATE OF MARYLAND

OF THE

STATUES OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON  
AND OF JOHN HANSON,

ERECTED IN STATUARY HALL OF THE CAPITOL.



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1903.



CHARLES CARROLL  
OF  
CARROLLTON.



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# ACCEPTANCE OF STATUES OF CHARLES CARROLL AND JOHN HANSON.

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## PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

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DECEMBER 20, 1902.

Mr. McCOMAS. I offer a resolution, and ask that the letter which I send to the desk, addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives by the governor of Maryland, may be read before the resolution is read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Maryland asks that the letter of the governor of Maryland referred to by him may be read. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the letter will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
*Annapolis, Md., December 15, 1902.*

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to inform you that, in acceptance of the invitation contained in section 1814 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the general assembly of Maryland, by chapter 311 of the acts of 1898, made an appropriation to procure statues of CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and JOHN HANSON, President of the Continental Congress of 1781 and 1782, to be placed in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, at Washington, D. C.

By authority of the act of the general assembly of Maryland, the governor appointed John Lee Carroll, Douglas H. Thomas, Thomas J. Shryock, Fabian Franklin, and Richard K. Cross to constitute a commission to procure and have the statues erected.

*Acceptance of Statues of*

I am informed by the commissioners that the statues were made by Mr. Richard E. Brooks, of Boston; that they are completed and have been placed in position, and are now ready to be presented to Congress.

As governor of the State of Maryland, therefore, I have the honor to present to the Government of the United States the statues of the distinguished statesmen named.

Very respectfully,

JOHN WALTER SMITH,  
*Governor of Maryland.*

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution submitted by the Senator from Maryland will now be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of Maryland of the statues of CHARLES CARROLL, OF CARROLLTON and of JOHN HANSON, erected in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, be made the special order for Saturday, January 31, 1903, after the conclusion of the morning business.

Mr. McCOMAS. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. ALLISON. I suggest to the Senator from Maryland that he modify the resolution so as to make the time 2 o'clock.

Mr. McCOMAS. I will accept the suggestion of the Senator from Iowa to make the time 2 o'clock p. m. on Saturday, January 31, 1903.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be so modified. The question is on the adoption of the resolution as modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

JANUARY 31, 1903.

ACCEPTANCE OF STATUES OF CHARLES CARROLL AND JOHN  
HANSON.

Mr. McCOMAS. Mr. President, I present the following concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of Maryland for providing the bronze statues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON, citizens of Maryland, illustrious for their historic renown and distinguished civic services.

*Resolved,* That the statues be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions duly authenticated be transmitted to the governor of the State of Maryland.

Mr. McCOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the gentlemen who constitute the Maryland statuary commission for the presentation of the statues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON be admitted to the floor, and I ask that the descendants of the distinguished men who are thus honored and the ladies and others of their party may have the privilege of occupying during these exercises the gallery reserved for the families of Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland asks unanimous consent that the commission of the State of Maryland who have under charge the statues be admitted to the floor of the Senate, and that the ladies and gentlemen accompanying them be admitted to the reserved gallery of the Senate. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Maryland? The Chair hears none, and the request is granted.

## ADDRESS OF MR. MCCOMAS, OF MARYLAND.

Mr. PRESIDENT: The State of Maryland has placed in the National Statuary Hall the bronze statues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON, and the purpose of the resolutions that I have just offered is that now they be presented to Congress for acceptance. The State statuary commission, who appreciate the courtesy of the Senate on this occasion, have well performed their office, for the works of the artist are worthy of their subjects and of a place in yonder hall.

Maryland has nearly three centuries of history wherefrom to choose two citizens illustrious in her annals and worthy of this national commemoration. My State did not accord this high honor to the founder, George Calvert, nor to Cæcilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, the father of the province; nor to the gallant leaders of the Maryland Line, to Howard, Smallwood, Williams, or De Kalb, commanders of that body of soldiers which early won the confidence of Washington, which, at Brooklyn Heights, by its discipline and bravery, saved our army when surrounded, which maintained this honorable distinction for steadiness and gallantry until in the last pitched battle of the Revolution, at Eutaw Springs, that same Maryland Line drove the flower of the English infantry at the point of the bayonet; nor to her orators or jurists or lawyers who, living before Luther Martin and William Pinkney or in their day or after them, emulated their fame and glory.

From among all her renowned sons Maryland chose CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON as most worthy of this national commemoration.

And with reason has my State presented the statues of these illustrious men to join the company of the great and good already gathered together in the old Hall of Representatives. The story of the Revolution grows in dramatic interest as the long perspective grows. As the Revolution recedes, each

succeeding generation finds augmented fascination in the great story, and draws increasing patriotism from this inspiring panorama of our history and this immense event in the history of the English-speaking people.

The most stupid King England ever had was then on the throne. He never long endured a prime minister if his talent rose above that of a gentleman usher.

The American colonists were the least governed and the freest of English subjects. They were prosperous. They loved the Kingdom and the King. They loved the English name and tradition, the literature, the architecture and arts of England, its historic places, its very soil, for England was to them the old home. They were freemen and mostly freeholders, and they loved liberty. The history of English liberty was the history of a struggle for the rights of the individual citizen as respects person, property, and opinion, so that he shall have nothing to fear from the tyranny of an executive or of a Parliament; a struggle which began with Magna Charta and lasted down to the Bill of Rights and to the Declaration of Independence.

The indissoluble connection between taxation and representation was the basis of the English conception of freedom. That no man should be taxed without his own consent was the principle which was the root of the American Revolution.

The glorious wars of the elder Pitt had raised from the dust the standard of Great Britain, had restored her prestige and power, but had also enormously increased her debt. The colonists, under the guidance of the elder Pitt, had cheerfully given men and money. They had followed Braddock to defeat, and Howe and Amherst and Wolfe to victory. As compatriots of English veterans they had helped drive the French from the Great Lakes and from the valley of the Ohio, joined in the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the siege of Quebec, and the conquest of Canada.

The elder Pitt would not have appealed in vain to the Colonies, who loved him, to tax themselves to help pay their

share of debt for these wars. But the great minister had given place to a pliant tool of a dull king.

As the burden had been partly incurred in the defense of the Colonies, George Granville resolved that the Colonies should bear their share of it. They had no representation in Parliament and therefore the Colonies replied that taxation and representation went hand in hand. Blunder followed blunder until loyalty to King and Parliament died out in the Colonies.

The province of Maryland had little cause for a change of government. The proprietary government was mild, and reposed on popular affection. The colonists were a homogeneous people, prosperous and contented, although the bigotry of the age had imposed disabilities on Catholics in the only province whose Catholic founders had dedicated it to civil and religious liberty and to the broadest toleration.

The Colonial governor, Robert Eden, was beloved and respected. The colony was rapidly growing. Maryland was the fourth colony in population and importance when she joined in the Revolution from love of liberty, and from honorable sympathy with the general welfare of her sister colonies. On this broad and generous ground she gave her adhesion to the Revolution, and authorized her delegates in the Continental Congress to concur in the Declaration of Independence.

It is because of their part in the great drama of the Revolution, their unflinching devotion to the cause of liberty, their great power and influence at critical periods of the struggle with Great Britain, their characters and lives, that Maryland has selected JOHN HANSON and CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, to dwell in enduring bronze in yonder American pantheon.

Most of the thirteen original States have contributed statues to our National Gallery. It is unfortunate that so few of the illustrious men of the Revolution have been sent to join the solemn circle there. It is to be regretted that hitherto only three of the signers of the great Declaration face each other there.

American public life in that time of trial and danger was adorned by many striking figures. Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Marshall of that generation belong to the history of the world. Many of their associates will forever live in American history. They stand in the forefront of the nation's life. Therefore I rejoice that Maryland now brings to the old Hall of Representatives for the acceptance of Congress two men of the Revolution, one of them the President of a Congress of the Revolution, the other the last of the survivors of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, that great act with which our nation's history begins.

## JOHN HANSON.

JOHN HANSON was born in 1715 in Charles County, Md., and lived there until in 1773 he removed to Frederick County, then rapidly growing. He had nine times represented Charles County in the provincial assembly. In trying times JOHN HANSON was by nature a leader. The "Boston port bill" roused the peaceful province to make common cause with Massachusetts. We find HANSON a delegate from Frederick to a congress at Annapolis, and as chairman of the committee of observation of his county sending money to John Adams for the poor of Boston, later helping to raise two companies of riflemen in Frederick. Walking all the way, in twenty-two days Capt. Michael Cresap and Capt. Thomas Price marched their Frederick riflemen into Cambridge. The Frederick companies were the first Southern troops to join Washington.

At Annapolis in 1775 HANSON fearlessly joined in the overthrow of the proprietary government and in placing supreme control in the provincial convention. The cautious convention, hoping for reunion with Britain, had precluded our delegates in Congress from declaring for independence of the colonies. HANSON and the Frederick County patriots now assembled and resolved "That what may be recommended by a majority of the Congress equally delegated by the people of the United Colonies we will at the hazard of our lives

and fortunes support and maintain, and that every resolution of the convention tending to separate this province from a majority of the colonies without the consent of the people is destructive to our internal safety." Samuel Chase and CHARLES CARROLL had just returned from their mission to Canada, and had taken their seats in the new convention. CARROLL was mainly instrumental in causing the convention to recall its former instructions and empowering the Maryland delegates in Congress to concur "in declaring the United Colonies free and independent States."

JOHN HANSON, with unflagging spirit, in the legislature and in the Continental Congress supported the great struggle for independence.

During his three successive terms in the Continental Congress JOHN HANSON was engaged in battling for another great cause, whose successful issue changed the whole course of our national life. It is recorded in the journals of Congress that "on March 1, 1781, JOHN HANSON and Daniel Carroll did sign and ratify the Articles of Confederation of the United States."

This action was the crowning historic service in HANSON'S career.

The far-reaching consequences of the struggle which ended when HANSON signed the Articles of Confederation are now better understood. We all recall that in November, 1777, Congress submitted the Articles of Confederation to the State legislatures for ratification. Within fifteen months they were ratified by all the States except Maryland. Our State refused ratification until those States claiming the northwestern back lands, and especially Virginia, should surrender their claims of western territory to the confederation. This action of Maryland led directly to the formation of the Federal Union. In October, 1777, when the Articles of Confederation were about to be presented by Congress to the States for ratification, Maryland alone voted that Congress shall have the sole right

and power to determine the western boundary of such States as claim to the Mississippi and lay out the land beyond this boundary into separate and independent States from time to time, as the number and circumstances of the people may require. This would compel Virginia, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts to surrender their claims to the vast interior and thus create a domain to be owned by the Confederacy until new States grew up and should be admitted into it. Maryland alone voted for this bold centralization. The States protested against the attitude of Maryland. Here and there leading men were heard to threaten to divide the little State on the Chesapeake among her neighbors and then declare the confederation complete.

All other States had ratified the Articles when, in May, 1779, Maryland again communicated to the Congress her unalterable resolve not to concur until she received definite assurances that the Northwest Territory should become the common property of the United States, "subject to be parceled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments." New York first yielded. Daniel Carroll and JOHN HANSON, from Maryland, persistently pressed this demand of their State, and in September, 1780, Congress, yielding, recommended all States claiming Western lands to cede them to the Confederation. A month later Congress advanced further, and adopted the Maryland plan, declaring that from the ceded lands in due season sovereign States, like the thirteen, should be admitted into the Union.

Virginia and Connecticut yielded their claims and long after Massachusetts abandoned her shadowy claims to the Western lands. The area of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio thus became the common property of the Confederation. And so HANSON and Daniel Carroll, after this triumph had been secured largely by their efforts, signed the Articles of Confederation. It was Maryland that during the period of HANSON'S service led the way to acquire a national domain, and

thus laid broad and deep the foundation of our Federal Union. For his share in this pregnant service JOHN HANSON's name will be associated forever with laying the corner stone of our great nation. Out of this first ordinance grew the Ordinance of 1784, and later the great Ordinance of 1787, and later the Constitution and the United States of America. For this act alone JOHN HANSON is worthy of his place in the goodly company gathered in the old Hall of Representatives. The confederation of the States was now complete, and on November 5, 1781, JOHN HANSON was elected the first president of the Congress of the Confederation.

This elevation to the Presidency was a signal compliment and a great honor to Maryland. It has a much larger meaning as we look back now over the stately procession of the great Commonwealths successively entering the Union. The persistent refusal of Maryland to consent to the Confederation until she won from her reluctant associated States consent that the western territory should be dedicated to the Union, made smooth the pathway for Vermont, Kentucky, and Maine to enter the Union as independent States, carved out of the magnificent domain Maryland directly secured to the Union, the great Commonwealths of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and determined for all coming time that the after acquired territory of the United States should in due time by Congress be fashioned and admitted as States, augmenting the power of the Republic and the grandeur of the American Union.

By this election to the Presidency of Congress JOHN HANSON became in a political sense the foremost person in the United States, and represented its dignity. His title was "President of the United States in Congress assembled." After the decisive victory at Yorktown President HANSON had the felicity to welcome General Washington and present him to Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia.

On November 4, 1782, President HANSON's term expired.

The war was ended, the last British soldier was soon to sail away from New York. Peace was in sight. At 68 years of age HANSON was worn out in the public service. His health was broken. He refused to accept further public service. He died November 22, 1783, in the State he loved, and his State, one hundred and twenty years after his death, bestows upon his name the highest honor whereby an American State can commemorate an illustrious citizen.

## CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton was born at Annapolis, September 19, 1737. His grandfather, Charles Carroll, the attorney-general of the province, came over to Maryland in 1688. His father, Charles Carroll, was one of the richest men of his day and country. It was the custom of wealthy colonists to send their sons over the sea for education and travel. So young CARROLL, sent as a boy of eleven years to the Jesuit College at St. Omers, and later to colleges at Rheims and Paris, was a student at the Temple in London at twenty. Eight years of London life to an accomplished young colonist, who at the "Crown and Anchor" more than once met Dr. Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds, now and then dined with Burke, heard Charles Fox expatiate upon liberty, or time and again listened to the eloquence and saw Parliament bow before the greatness of the elder Pitt, inspired young CARROLL with the ideals of the noblest Englishmen. He came home to Annapolis at twenty-eight years of age. The news of the stamp act of 1765 soon stirred with unwonted anger against their King the pleasure-loving colonists of the little capital and of the province.

Young CARROLL had been strongly moved by the words of Pitt, the first English orator whose words were a power over Parliament, over the nation, and over the colonies. Though passionate, Pitt's eloquence was the eloquence of a statesman. Perchance the law student at the Temple had sat in the gallery and heard Pitt's trumpet tongue declare "Taxation is no part

of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and Crown is only necessary to clothe it with the form of law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone."

When the wave of good feeling after the repeal of the stamp act had been rudely checked by Charles Townshend's three-pence tax on tea, young CARROLL must have rejoiced that Pitt had said: "In my opinion this Kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted."

Already one of the wealthiest of the colonists, CARROLL'S religion debarred him from holding office. The Sons of Liberty were organized. CARROLL joined them. He wore homespun. He counseled resistance to tyranny, and in a discussion with Daniel Dulaney, the ablest lawyer in the colony, CARROLL, in a series of letters signed "First Citizen," won a signal victory over his brilliant adversary and a high place in public confidence, ranking as a popular leader alongside Chase, Paca, and Stone.

Annapolis, at the mouth of the beautiful Severn, under sunny skies in a mild climate, had grown to be one of the centers of social life and refinement on the continent. Ships from all lands came to its harbor and brought to the young city the chief trade of the Province. Theaters, race courses, balls, and social assemblies spread the fame of the enjoyable life at the Maryland capital. The wealthy planters wintered there in capacious mansions. The officials of the province, with the popular Governor Eden at their head, extended their hospitality to make life joyous.

The provincial assembly, the assize, and higher courts added features to the life. From other colonies visitors came and lingered, and among them now and then was Col. George Washington. Daniel Dulaney, unrivaled lawyer and scholar, lived here. William Pinkney, the foremost orator and lawyer of his

time and country, was here growing to manhood. Charles Wilson Peale, born here, had returned from England to this wealthy capital of a fruitful land to paint the portraits of Maryland's gentry and the worthies of the Revolution. The wide circles, the narrow streets, with enduring brick mansions of the time of the Georges, still leave Annapolis the most quaint and interesting capital in our country, as it is among the most beautiful. May these historic landmarks survive the perils of its present rapid growth.

On October 19, 1774, when the people of the neighboring counties thronged in Annapolis and denounced "the Boston port bill," the brig *Peggy Stewart*, from London, came into port with 2,000 pounds of tea. In June the provincial assembly had forbidden all importations of "that detestable weed, tea." The irritated populace threatened violence to Anthony Stewart, the owner; Williams, the consignee, and the ship itself. Stewart and Williams confessed to the people's committee "that they had been guilty of a daring insult, an act of the most pernicious tendency, to the leaders of America," and offered to burn the tea. When they sought aid from CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton he promptly advised that Stewart must set fire to both ship and tea. So Stewart reluctantly went on board and set fire to his ship, and with her sails set and colors flying, in the presence of the patriotic multitude, the *Peggy Stewart* burned to the water's edge. In Maryland the 19th of October is a holiday to commemorate the day when pacific Maryland placed herself in line with stubborn Boston and Massachusetts Bay. In December news of the burning of the *Peggy Stewart* reached London, to the great alarm of the merchants of Threadneedle street, and the House of Commons began to take America more seriously.

In January, 1775, CARROLL became a member of the first committee of observation at Annapolis, and was elected a delegate to represent Anne Arundel County in the provincial convention, which soon named him upon the committee of safety.

The provincial convention, to CARROLL's disgust, disavowed any design of colonial independence. Unhappily for the province, CARROLL's character, influence, and patriotic labors had attracted attention in Congress. Early in 1776 Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and CHARLES CARROLL as commissioners to Canada to secure her cooperation with the United Provinces against Great Britain. This plan, once hopeful, had become hopeless by the defeat and death of Montgomery, by the levying of contributions to feed our starving army, by the manifest incapacity of our commanders, and the inferiority of our forces. The Canadians were friendly, then suspicious, then irritated, then hostile. The population, nearly all Catholic, were turned against us by their priests. CHARLES CARROLL and Rev. John Carroll in vain tried to secure the aid of their coreligionists. CARROLL's journal, in his excellent English, vividly tells this story of their inevitable failure. Canada was destined to remain a British dominion until a day in the distant future.

In CARROLL's absence, on May 8, 1776, the Maryland Convention had again instructed the Maryland delegates in Congress not to agree to a final separation from Great Britain. Soon afterwards HANSON and the patriots of Frederick had sounded a trumpet call for complete independence.

CARROLL now hastened to Annapolis and resumed his seat to urge the repeal of these instructions. No time was to be lost. This was a crisis in the Revolution. On June 28, 1776, the new instructions advocated by CARROLL were given. On July 2, 1776, our Maryland delegates found themselves authorized to vote for independence.

The zeal and ability of CARROLL in winning his State to take this action he had so early and so steadily urged, led to his immediate appointment as a Delegate from Maryland to the Continental Congress. On July 4, 1776, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton was appointed, along with Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Samuel Chase, and Thomas

Stone, Delegates to that famous Congress. CARROLL hastened to Philadelphia in time to vote on July 19 to engross this great paper. On August 2, Chase, Paca, Stone, and CARROLL affixed their signatures to the Declaration of Independence. CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton with alacrity risked his life and his great fortune by signing this charter of the new Republic, "this document unparalleled in the annals of mankind." The board of war was Adams, Sherman, Harrison, Wilson, and Rutledge, and to those CARROLL was soon added. Chairman John Adams tells us that on July 18 CARROLL was so chosen, and that he was "an excellent member, whose education, manners, and application to business and to study did honor to his fortune, the first in America."

In August CARROLL returned to a seat in the Maryland convention, which adopted the bill of rights and constitution which created Maryland a sovereign State.

It was CARROLL who suggested the mode of choosing the State senate of Maryland, which suggested, as Madison tells us, to the framers of the Federal Constitution the mode of choosing the Senators of this Senate, the method by which we now hold our seats here.

After the fashion of that day, CARROLL went to and from the State assembly and the Continental Congress. He belonged to both.

To his lasting honor, CARROLL unwaveringly supported on the board of war and in Congress the great commander, and helped defeat the Conway cabal, designed to put Gates in Washington's place. We find CARROLL in 1778 with the Maryland delegates urging the cession of the public lands to the Confederation, and steadily struggling to secure this sure foundation for the coming Federal Union, until he resigned from Congress at the close of 1778.

The French treaty gave CARROLL confidence in our ultimate success in the war, and he believed his services in the State senate of Maryland would be his most effective way to help the

army in the field. There he advocated generous support of Washington, and voted troops and financial aid to the war. He steadily opposed confiscation of the property of British subjects, and also all the wild currency schemes to which our countrymen were then prone to turn for relief. He firmly urged the Maryland policy of dedication of the Western territory to the Confederation.

He was in the Maryland senate leading the fight to secure Maryland's ratification of the Constitution of 1789. Long before his fellows, CARROLL had advocated independence, and in advance of his associates he advocated a Federal Union. He had declined election to the Congress of the Confederation because he foresaw its powerlessness.

Washington and Gates, commissioners from Virginia, met CARROLL, Stone, and Samuel Hughes, commissioners from Maryland, to arrange to open and extend the navigation of the Potomac. They met December 22, 1784, at Annapolis, and later at Mount Vernon. The Maryland report asked that Pennsylvania and Delaware should be included, because the scheme of navigation included a canal between Delaware River and the Chesapeake. The outcome was the Annapolis convention of 1786, which led to the Federal Convention which framed our Constitution.

Thus the signer of the Declaration had a part in the beginning of the Constitution.

Under the new Constitution, CARROLL was elected to the First Congress as a Senator from Maryland. His colleague was John Henry. In April, 1789, he appeared in the Senate. Congress had assembled in the old city hall of New York. CARROLL, the friend of Washington, Hamilton, and Franklin, was a determined Federalist. He drew a two years' term in the Senate. He reported the now famous judiciary act. He declared for a standing army. He successfully labored to establish this Federal District, in whose Capitol his statue will hereafter stand. He reported the assumption bill which buttressed the Federal Union. He was reelected to the Senate in

1791, but resigned that he might remain in the Maryland senate, a State statute now forbidding service in both bodies at the same time. In 1801 the party of Jefferson triumphed, and thereby, at sixty-three years of age, ended the public career of CHARLES CARROLL the Federalist. During thirty years of public life he had left his impress upon the times.

At his beautiful home, Doughoregan Manor, or at his town house in Baltimore, he spent the remaining thirty-three years of his long life, devoted to his large estate, to his home and kindred, to the Bible, to the classics, and to polite learning, always mindful of his religion and his country. On July 4, 1822, CARROLL helped lay the corner stone of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which he helped promote. He who, with Washington, forty years before sought by the Potomac navigation scheme to unite the Ohio with the sea, still a farseeing Federalist statesman at eighty-five years of age foresaw that the American Union could not have endured until our day without the railroads. For political and social purposes railroads and steamships, telegraphs and telephones, have made our vast country as compact and intimate as was New England a century ago.

At ninety years of age CARROLL was erect and vigorous, with the vivacity and grace of youth. In person he was small and slight. His face was strong, his eye piercing, his manners easy and winning. About this time he heard the impressive tidings of the death of Adams and Jefferson on the 4th of July, 1826. To him came the address of Daniel Webster upon Adams and Jefferson and that stately apostrophe to the last of the signers:

“Of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence there now remains only one, CHARLES CARROLL. He seems an aged oak, standing alone on the plain, which time has spared a little longer after all of its contemporaries have been leveled with the dust. Venerable object! We delight to gather around its trunk while yet it stands, and to dwell beneath its shadow. Sole survivor of an assembly of as great men as the world has

witnessed, in a transaction one of the most important that history records, what thoughts, what interesting reflections, must fill his elevated and devout soul! If he dwell on the past, how touching its recollections; if he survey the present, how happy, how joyous, how full of the fruition of that hope which his ardent patriotism indulged; if he glance at the future, how does the prospect of his country's advancement almost bewilder his weakened conception! Fortunate distinguished patriot! Interesting relic of the past! Let him know that while we honor the dead we do not forget the living; and that there is not a heart here which does not fervently pray that Heaven may keep him yet back from the society of his companions."

That solemn prayer was granted. CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton lived until his ninety-sixth year, and on November 14, 1832, died with the calmness of a philosopher and with the faith of a holy man of God.

The work of CARROLL and HANSON and their compatriots of the Revolution gave to the world the first true Federal State; and they built it to endure the storms and stress of civil war. They so cemented it that all fears of its disruption have disappeared forever. It is the great Republic of all history. In it the law is supreme. No man is so high as to be above the law. In the very fiber of the people is inbred a regard for law, which is the security of our rights and the basis of our prosperous and happy civil government. Yet under it the people shape their own destiny and unhindered walk in their own paths.

Looking back over the one hundred and twenty-seven years of our existence as a nation, one truth is luminous. The world would not if it could erase the great Republic from the map of the globe.

The future of civilization rests with the Anglo-Saxon race. Not the British Empire but the American Republic will lead that race onward to that future. Traditional, moral, political, and intellectual ties unite in a sense all who speak the English

language, to-day the leading language of the world. Mr. Bryce justly boasts that "England has sent her language, her commerce, her laws, and institutions forth from herself over an even wider and more populous area than that whose races were molded into new forms by the laws and institutions of Rome."

The marvelous achievements of the English-speaking people, reaching forth from their little island world, are sure to be surpassed by several hundred millions of English-speaking people of fifty powerful States in an invincible Republic whose home is the vast center of a continent washed by both oceans.

Lord Rosebery, the foremost statesman and orator of the British Empire in our day, has outlined in historic vision what would have been the future of the English-speaking people had George III listened to reason and had the thirteen colonies sent representatives to the Imperial Parliament. He predicted that at last when the Americans became the majority, the seat of empire would have been moved across the Atlantic, and Britain would have become the historic shrine and European outpost of the world empire, with the English-speaking Federal Parliament sitting in Columbia territory somewhere in the Mississippi Basin.

Simpler and grander far is the historic reality. The great Republic has been worthy of its heritage. It has lifted up humanity and liberty. It has advanced civilization. It leads the commerce of the world. It is the richest nation on the globe. It is now the world's center of finance. It is invincible in war, if war approach its shores. It is fast reaching out to control the seas. Its people are happy, free, homogeneous—the most intelligent, and soon to be the most numerous. It is the greatest self-governing nation and the greatest world power. Its foreign policy is a synonym for justice. Its creed is peace.

The future of the English-speaking peoples depends upon our Republic, and that future, in the vigorous embrace of the younger world, is boundless.

## ADDRESS OF MR. HOAR, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. PRESIDENT: Every man who has visited a great gallery will remember some picture that caught his attention and dwells in his memory because of some single stroke or feature. It will seem of little importance when he comes to tell of it. But that is what caught his eye and led him to pause before it when a hundred more celebrated works of more famous painters were neglected or forgotten. It abides with him for the rest of his life. If it be a landscape, it may be some single rock or tree. If it be a Dutch interior, it may be only a ray of light through a window. If it be a portrait, it is but a glance of the eye, or a curl of the lip, or the pose of the head. But it penetrates the soul, and it abides.

Most of our great popular reputations are made in that way. There are a few men like Washington, or like Marshall, or like Webster, or like Lincoln, whose service is so great that their countrymen know every detail of it by heart. But, in general, our great men are remembered not because of sober and faithful labor, not because of long service in legislation, or in the Executive chair, or even in war. Something has found its way to the people's heart and keeps the name fresh.

Old John Adams, though he was President of the United States, is remembered by nine men out of ten for the immortal argument for the Declaration of Independence, ascribed to him by Webster; for the fact that he was our first representative to Great Britain, and for his sublime death at the height of human fame, with the undying words "Independence forever" on his dying lips. As was said of Lord Nelson, by his biographer, "If the chariot and the horses of fire had been vouchsafed for his translation he could scarcely have departed in a brighter blaze of glory."

John Hancock was a great power in the time of the Revolution, and before. But his countrymen in general only know that he signed his name to the Declaration in letters visible

across the broad Atlantic, and that he told the patriots to burn Boston, though it contained his whole fortune, if it were needful for the cause of liberty; that he was President of the Continental Congress, and that he was excepted, with Sam Adams, in the royal proclamation of amnesty, as a rebel whose offenses were too flagitious for pardon.

Ask even the men of his own State of Massachusetts, and of his own town of Boston, what they know of Sam Adams. They will tell you that they know that he was a man who was excepted with Hancock from the royal pardon; that he was the man who demanded of Hutchinson the removal of the regiments from Boston, and that when Hutchinson told him he would remove one, answered, "If you have power to remove one you have power to remove both," and that when he told the story afterwards he said, "It was then that I observed his knees tremble, and I enjoyed the sight."

There is an admirable memoir of CHARLES CARROLL, which shows a life extending over almost a century. A large part of it is crowded with honorable public service of the first quality. It shows him fully entitled to rank not only as a foremost statesman of a foremost State, but among the great men of his time, from whatever State they may have come. There has been no time since the Revolution ended when the name of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton was not a familiar household word in every home through the length and breadth of the country.

Yet if you had asked, not merely common men, but well-informed men, students of history or graduates of the college or university, men themselves taking an important part in public affairs, they could tell you only that CHARLES CARROLL was a Catholic; that he lived to survive all his companions who signed the Declaration; and that when he signed his name he took care that there should be no doubt of his identity, if the Revolutionary war were a failure and it were in the power of the Royal Government to inflict the death penalty for treason.

CHARLES CARROLL died at 95, in the year 1832. He survived Jefferson and John Adams over six years. Jefferson and John Adams and CARROLL had been the only survivors of the signers of the Declaration for eleven years before. It seemed that as each of that immortal company died the affection his countrymen had felt for him was transferred to the survivors.

I suppose, in spite of the bitter political antagonism of that day, in which Jefferson and Adams not only shared, but in which they were the great leaders of the opposite sides, that there were never figures in the history of any people dearer to the popular heart than Thomas Jefferson, as he comes down in history with the Declaration of Independence in one hand and the title deed of Louisiana in the other, and brave and honest old John Adams, who had argued, with a power given to no other man, the side of the country in the great debate of liberty. When Adams and Jefferson died it seemed that the whole of this sentiment gathered and centered upon CARROLL.

I can remember when he died, though then but a child of 6 years. The schoolboy used to be asked the question in the school to name the only man living of that illustrious band. And I well remember when the solemn tidings went through the country that CHARLES CARROLL was gone.

Before he died men used to make pilgrimages to his dwelling as to a shrine. My honored and accomplished friend Mr. Winthrop has left on record a graphic account of such a visit.

I can not but remember that it was my privilege to see and know that venerable person in my early manhood. Entering his drawing-room nearly five and forty years ago, I found him reposing on a sofa and covered with a shawl, and was not even aware of his presence, so shrunk and shriveled by the lapse of years was his originally feeble frame. *Quot libras in duce summo!* But the little heap on the sofa was soon seen stirring, and, rousing himself from his midday nap, he rose and greeted me with a courtesy and grace which I shall never forget.

In the ninety-fifth year of his age, as he was, and within a few months of his death, it is not surprising that there should be little for me to recall of that interview save his eager inquiries about James Madison, whom I had just visited at Montpelier, and his affectionate allusions to John Adams, who had gone before him; and save, too, the exceeding satisfaction for myself of having seen and pressed the hand of the last surviving signer of the Declaration.

Webster described him as "an aged oak standing alone on the plain, which time has spared a little longer after all its contemporaries have been leveled with the dust." He says that his countrymen delight to gather around its trunk while it yet stands, and to dwell beneath its shadow.

I will not undertake to do what my honorable friend from Maryland has done so much better—draw the lesson of patriotism which is taught us by the life of CHARLES CARROLL. I have no fear that the great Declaration will ever lose its primacy among the political State papers which have been produced since the beginning of time. To find its superior or its equal we must search the inspired pages of our venerable Scriptures. There have been times, and there will be again, when the great truths on which our fathers planted the Republic, as upon a corner stone, will be denied or scorned or scoffed at by men or parties who, in some fancied stress or political necessity, will endeavor to escape their obligations.

That is true, unhappily, of the Ten Commandments and of the Sermon on the Mount. It is true of every moral and legal obligation, whether of divine or human sanction. The generation and the party and the individual who have disobeyed these high commands perish and are forgotten, while the eternal law of rectitude abides forever. The commanding authority of our great Declaration and the pure fame of the men who framed it and who signed it and who pledged to it their life, fortune, and sacred honor will remain so long as the Republic shall endure. Among them there is no purer and there are few more conspicuous reputations than that of CHARLES CARROLL.

But I should like to speak for a moment of one lesson which has been often forgotten, which the life of CHARLES CARROLL teaches alone among his illustrious companions.

CHARLES CARROLL was a devoted Catholic. He belonged to that church which preserved for mankind religion, learning, literature, and law through the gloomy centuries known as the Dark Ages. Yet it is the only denomination of Christians

against which anything of theological bitterness or bigotry seems to have survived amid the liberality of our enlightened day.

Every few years we hear of secret societies, and even political parties, organized with the sole view of excluding the members of a single Christian church from their equal privileges as American citizens. Yet certainly the men of the Catholic faith have never been behind their countrymen, either as patriot citizens or as patriot soldiers. This spirit of bigotry would have denied the ordinary rights of Americans not only to CHARLES CARROLL and his illustrious cousins, the Archbishop, to Daniel Carroll and Thomas Fitzsimmons, who were among the framers of the Constitution, but to Montgomery and Phil. Sheridan.

The Pilgrim and the Puritan of Massachusetts encountered exile and the horrors of the winter voyage and the wilderness and the wild beast and the savage for civil and religious freedom. But even they saw "as through a glass, darkly." They fell short of that conception of freedom which prevails now. Their treatment of the Quakers and the Baptists will not bear the light to-day. Roger Williams, in his turn, made another forward step and founded his State on the principle of complete tolerance of all Christians. But he, in his turn, excluded all men whom he did not deem to be Christians from a share in the government of his Commonwealth.

The Catholic in Maryland was inspired by a like desire to establish principles of perfect religious tolerance. Even in Maryland, if Mr. Bancroft be right, as late as 1770 it was an offense punishable with death to deny the divinity of Christ. This was after the Catholic had been driven from power. Three of the five members of the committee who reported the Declaration of Independence—Mr. Jefferson, Dr. Franklin, and John Adams—were avowed Unitarians. So, if the law of Maryland had been strictly enforced, these men would have suffered death there if they had declared their faith.

Now, Mr. President, I do not speak of these things by way of reproach. The founders of these three States, foremost among mankind, set their faces toward the sunlight. They are not to be reproached because at the time they took the first step they did not take the last. I mention them only to draw the lesson that it is not fair for the American people to remember against the Catholics only the cruelty, or wrong, or blindness of past ages and to forget the cruelty or wrong in which our own ancestors had a share. The American Catholic, in the early days, laid the State which he founded on the eternal principle of religious toleration. The American Catholic did his full and noble share in winning the liberty and in framing the Constitution of the country which he loves as we do, and which we love as he does.

Let the statue of CHARLES CARROLL, the great statesman of the Revolutionary day, the survivor of the most illustrious company of men that ever assembled on the face of the earth since the Apostles, stand in yonder stately chamber, with the statue of Père Marquette, the Discoverer, and with those of their peers of every State and of every faith, until time shall be no more!

The cord of our destiny is made up of many strands. That cord we hope and believe shall never be severed. The great doctrines of the Declaration may be clouded and hidden, only, as we hope, to shine again with a new and brighter luster when the clouds have passed by. The Constitution may be amended or altered or disregarded or may perish. Other forms of rule may take the place of the simple but sublime mechanism our fathers devised. But the nation shall abide. The one principle which holds this nation together, expressed in the brief but comprehensive motto, *E Pluribus Unum*, shall never fail or fade—*E Pluribus Unum*, of many, one—of many States, one nation; of many races, one people; of many creeds, one faith; of many bended knees, one family of God. [Applause in the galleries.]

## ADDRESS OF MR. DOLLIVER, OF IOWA.

Mr. PRESIDENT: The reconstruction of the Capitol by the addition of the superb edifices in which the Congress now sits, left the old Hall of the House of Representatives deserted and silent; the scenes which had been enacted there only a memory; the voices which had been heard there only an echo of the past. There was at least a proper sentiment in the act of 1864, which for all time to come has made that historic chamber sacred by filling it with monuments which recall the great traditions of the national life.

Mr. Emerson has described the art of the sculptor as the crudest and most helpless expression of the higher faculties of the human mind. It has been even more difficult to select the men to be commemorated than to find artists equal to the task of restoring the image of their person in bronze or marble.

In selecting figures to stand in this National Gallery, the older States have an advantage over the new, and most of them have wisely chosen to perpetuate the fame of leaders conspicuous in their colonial life. The State of Maryland, among the most ancient of the American Commonwealths, has picked out two names famous and honored in her annals, both before and after the Revolution, and brings them here to take their place among their equals in this hall of fame.

In the case of one of them, JOHN HANSON, she has done a tardy act of justice to a man whose eminence in the public service had been almost lost in the waste of time; a man who in a peculiarly appropriate sense was the representative of the national ideal throughout the Revolutionary struggle. The other, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, had already a definite and secure place among the immortals; not altogether because he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, for many of them have been literally forgotten, but because when he signed it he added his residence for the purpose, so the

fascinating story ran, of enabling the British to find him when they got ready to execute him for treason, along with his wicked associates, according to law; and for the reason that he survived all his contemporaries.

Both were men of commanding talents and irreproachable virtues, and each was in a true sense a distinct embodiment of the spirit of his age. The erection of their statues in the National Capitol is particularly appropriate in these days when the foundations of the national faith are under examination in the light of passing events, and when the American people need more than ever to learn the lessons taught by our fathers.

It is always helpful and refreshing to consider the influences which worked together in the formation of the government under which we live, and it can not be doubted that the people of Maryland acted with wisdom as well as patriotism when their legislature chose from the long list of her orators, her statesmen, her soldiers, her jurists, these two names which appear side by side among the signers of the protest issued by the "Association of the Freemen" of the State, a year before the Declaration of Independence was framed at Philadelphia, and which are associated in honorable prominence throughout the whole Revolutionary period.

In all future times as the restless throngs, passing through the corridors of the Capitol, pause for a moment before these stately figures the story of our heroic age will be told over and over again, as one generation after another is touched by the inspiration of these epoch-making lives. The State of Maryland in thus honoring the men who spoke and acted for her in the great crisis out of which the National Government arose, when with her scant population and her meager resources she devoted her blood and her treasure, without limit and without terms, to the cause of independence, has encouraged the revival of popular interest in those studies which contribute to a rational interpretation of our history as a people, for it can not

be denied that the tendency is strong in the midst of prosperous material surroundings to treat with indifference and neglect the day of small things when the American Republic was taking its first feeble steps toward the arena of the world's great affairs.

The very distance of those memorable years, not to speak of the intervention of tremendous national experiences more recent, has cut off, in a measure at least, the popular view of colonial times, leaving them dim and intangible; making Washington, for example, look more like a marble image than a man, and, with the exception of old Israel Putnam and Col. Ethan Allen, preserving hardly a human likeness of any of the great heroes who surrounded him.

Now, the history of the world, and especially of our part of it, is the most important study that can attract anybody's attention, notwithstanding so much of it is entirely incredible and so much of it obviously false. So far as it has been written down at all, it has been written, so it looks to me, more for the purpose of giving artificial importance to a few generals and a few kings than for the purpose of bringing into view the obscure millions who, after all, make up States and Commonwealths.

I have sometimes wished that some historian, some divinely gifted man or woman, might do for our own country what great creative intellects have done for other lands—what Lord Macaulay, for example, has done for England, or Thomas Carlyle for Scotland—might take us back to the sources of our strength; might show us the people themselves, their speech, their houses, their habit as they lived; might show us the unmistakable beginnings of the nation. For there, we are persuaded, around tables spread with the frugal comforts of life and about family altars made sublime by simple faith in God and man, was begun the mighty work whose outcome is the permanent self-government of this vast continent.

I stood the other day in the museum of the library of the

State Department and read over again the rude manuscript, in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson, of the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, with its curious erasures and interlineations. In the same case, right by the side of it, also in the handwriting of Jefferson, is a clumsy drawing of the monument which he desired to have erected to his memory, together with the inscription which he would have written upon it. He wished to be remembered as the author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and as the father of the University of Virginia. But most of all he desired posterity to know him as the author of the Declaration of Independence—a title surely to an immortality such as belongs to only a few of the great names of history.

It would be an idle thing for anybody to try to take away from Jefferson the renown of that handwriting. It certainly would be a grievous offense against the truth to try to take it away from Jefferson, as a famous orator of our times, now dead and gone, has sought to do, and give it to Thomas Paine or to any other man. Yet there is a grim significance in the fact that time in dealing with the engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence has carefully preserved every letter in every line of the instrument itself, and at the same time with a gentle hand has rubbed out the name of every one of the illustrious group of statesmen whose signatures authenticated the instrument in the archives of the Continental Congress. Even the name of John Hancock, which scrawled across the page so that the King's ministers might not fail to see it, has faded to an indistinct impression upon the parchment, while not even a slender outline is visible of the hardly less noted name of that delegate from the province of Maryland who was supposed, until the higher critics got hold of his biography, to have added to his signature his post-office address, so that the King's hangmen should not get hold of the wrong member of the Carroll family.

It may be an idle fancy, but I have sometimes thought that this strange disappearance of these historic names illustrates in a mysterious sort of way the real origin of the Declaration, not in the signature of a few men, but in the minds and hearts and united purposes of the people of all the colonies. It ought to be remembered that the war for independence was well under way before the Congress which framed the Declaration of Independence had fairly entered upon its work. Many of the colonies, like Maryland, under the leadership of her HANSONS and her CARROLLS, had long before declared their independence. Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill had all been fought; Charlestown and Norfolk had been burned to ashes by the British troops; the startled garrisons of the Canada frontier, whatever their opinions of the Continental Congress, had gracefully acquiesced in the will of the Great Jehovah as interpreted by the Green Mountain Boys; Washington had been appointed commander in chief of all the American forces, and Lord Howe, correctly measuring the genius of the great soldier, had already evacuated Boston. So that the Declaration of Independence was in no sense a declaration of war and hardly even a proclamation of hostilities already begun. It was an instrument which simply put down in writing what for generations had been taking shape and gathering force about quiet firesides throughout the British possessions.

The colonies were one hundred and fifty years old, and while they were English in name and never ashamed of their heritage, there was not in them any deep-seated attachment to the British Crown. Indeed, there never had been any such attachment among those classes of the English people out of which the most of the American immigration had come. The distinguished Senator from Maryland [Mr. McComas] has referred to the speech of the Earl of Rosebery at the time of his inauguration as the lord rector of the University of Glasgow, when he took occasion to say that an enlightened colonial policy in the eighteenth century would have

prevented the dismemberment of the British Empire. There may be possibly a sense in which this is true. It is at least certain that such a colonial policy as prevailed in England in the eighteenth century, and in Spain up to the end of the nineteenth, would have left the British throne without the loyalty of a commonwealth of Englishmen anywhere in the world. If I correctly remember Lord Rosebery's words on that occasion, he suggested that if the elder Pitt had remained in the House of Commons and had kept the counsel of the King, a way would have been found to make a settlement of the problem consistent with the integrity of the Kingdom.

Possibly that would have been so; at any rate, it is certain that our fathers could speak no such words for themselves as were spoken for them in the Parliament of England by Edmund Burke and the Earl of Chatham. I have no lack of appreciation of the enchanting dream, to which the Senator has referred, in which Lord Rosebery relates what might have happened if the King's subjects in America had held fast to their allegiance. In his vision he sees them increasing and multiplying as the United States has increased and multiplied, their representation in the House of Commons gradually outnumbering the membership at home, until at last there would have appeared a strange spectacle—the Queen, led by her ministers and followed by both Houses of Parliament, with pomp and ceremony, transferring the capital of the Empire from London to New York or Chicago, leaving the old capital only a museum of political antiquities, a mere military outpost in a world-wide British Empire.

It may be an ungracious thing to disturb an hallucination so splendid, but for all that it is a vision of the day, for it is impossible to imagine a parliamentary wisdom able to prevent a free English race from taking possession in their own name of the continent they had won from the wilderness; and it is harder still to conceive of a statesmanship equal to the task of turning aside the purpose of God in ordering the destiny of the

New World. I have said that the independence of America originated not with the leaders of the people, but with the people themselves. So that it is literally true that members of the Continental Congress, who, like CHARLES CARROLL, shared in the proceedings only long enough to sign the Declaration, weeks after it had been framed and passed, lose nothing of their claim on the gratitude of mankind from the fact that their participation in the national movement was mainly in the quiet neighborhoods where they lived and among the people with whom they conversed from day to day.

American independence was first of all declared in the churches, in the newspapers, in the courts of law—in the churches in 10,000 sermons based upon texts taken from the militant literature of the old Jews; in the newspapers wherever a free press had been set up, as it had been in Maryland from the first settlement of the province down to the time when CHARLES CARROLL, under an assumed name, leaped into distinction as an advocate of the national cause in a series of controversial letters; in the courts of law wherever the obnoxious acts of Parliament were brought in controversy. Indeed, there is a sense in which the independence of America may be said to have originated in the court-houses of Massachusetts and Virginia and to have been first declared by the attorneys at law in the ordinary practice of their profession. It is interesting if not instructive, in view of the manifold popular prejudices which have beset the learned occupations of the bar in after generations, to recall the beautiful harmony which once existed between the embattled farmers and the lawyers of that day with their quillets, their cases, their tenures, and their tricks.

John Hancock was an important citizen of Boston, possibly the most important, and just after the passage of the stamp act he imported into that town a cargo of Madeira wine, of which, it would appear from the record, our fathers were accustomed to take a little for their stomach's sake and their often infirmities; and owing to the universal feeling which

everywhere prevailed against the stamp act, Mr. Hancock felt at liberty to unload his cargo in the night without going through the formality of paying the duties required by law. But as soon as the revenue officers found it out they brought an action against him to recover the delinquent taxes, and he hired a Boston lawyer by the name of John Adams to defend him. Now, Mr. Adams, according to the custom of the day, was keeping a diary, and his entries in the little book about this time are very entertaining. For example, "Sunday, at home with my family, thinking."

If Mr. Adams, after the manner of the modern practitioner, had charged Mr. Hancock for lying awake at nights thinking about his case, the latter patriot would not have had money enough left to reach the Philadelphia Congress, of which he had already been elected a member, for a similar entry repeatedly appears in the diary. For example: "Christmas; at home; thinking, reading, searching concerning taxation without consent." It was an epoch-making case, and John Adams went into it like Peter the Hermit preaching the first crusade. It was not a question of fact; it was a grim and momentous question of law. What Mr. Adams said is fortunately preserved. "My client, Mr. Hancock," said he "never consented to it. He never voted for it himself and he never voted for any man to make such a law for him." There is the first half of the American Revolution in one sentence. That case never came to trial. They took a good deal of testimony, and it was continued from time to time, but never brought to a final judgment, because the next spring, along about the middle of April, it was settled out of court by the battle of Lexington.

In the meantime some curious litigation was going on in one of the Southern colonies. By the original charter of Virginia the established Church of England was made a part of the civil establishment of the colony, and the salaries of the parsons, as in the case of other public officials, were paid out of the public treasury, in tobacco, which was the standard of

value of the time. In the depression of business which followed the French and Indian war there was a universal demand for the retrenchment of expenditures, which took the form, as it commonly does in such cases, of a reduction of official salaries. They cut them all down, including the salaries of the parsons, which were made payable no longer in tobacco, unless it were reckoned at 2 pence a pound.

As long as that was about the value of tobacco, everybody was satisfied, including the parsons, until tobacco rose considerably, when they began to see the difference and raised a clamor so loud that it finally reached the ears of the Bishop of London, who induced the King to veto that act of the legislative assembly of Virginia. The parsons took the position that the act having been vetoed it became void, and, being duly advised by counsel, they began actions to recover the salaries due them and withheld without authority of law. The judges, who were appointees of the Crown, very promptly and, from a superficial legal standpoint, very properly decided that the King having vetoed the act it was void, and all proceedings taken by virtue of it without legal effect, and that therefore the parsons had the right to recover. But having no jurisdiction at common law to render a verdict sounding in damages, they took a test case and sent it to the jury to determine the amount of the recovery.

At this point there appears upon the scene a strange and now almost fabulous figure, the most marvelous popular orator who ever spoke our tongue, Patrick Henry, a young Virginia lawyer, with his first important case in court. Tradition relates that he was awkward and ungainly in his appearance, and at first halting and lame in his speech, but that as he warmed with his theme he rose to a splendid level of eloquence, and when he had finished had made for his name an immortal place in the legends of patriotism and liberty. What he said also is fortunately preserved. He denied the right of the English Crown to veto an act of the colonial

assembly in a matter in which the colony alone was concerned. "When the King of England," said he, "in the interest of a privileged class, interposes the royal veto against an act of the assembly of Virginia in a matter relating exclusively to the affairs of the colony, he ceases to be a father of his people and degenerates into a tyrant who has forfeited all rights to obedience."

There is the second half of the American Revolution in one sentence; and that Virginia jury, which patiently listened to the instructions of the court, quietly filed out into its retiring room without food or drink, water alone excepted, and immediately came back with a verdict for the plaintiff, assessing his damages at 1 cent, was far gone along the main road to the independence of the United States.

It was in the midst of little occurrences like these that we must seek the original draft of the Declaration of the Fourth of July, and nowhere among the colonies was this spirit of manly resistance more universal than among the people of the province of Maryland, where the CARROLLS and the HANSONS had for years given the weight of their names and the influence of their fortunes to the aspirations of the community toward a larger and a truer national life.

That aspiration found its first expression in an outburst against wrongs no longer tolerable; but if the grievances of the colonies had been the only cause of the Revolution, or even its most important motive, the opportunity was never lacking to settle the dispute on the basis of a full concession of all American claims. In fact, long before the war was over every objectionable act of Parliament had been repealed and every reasonable complaint redressed, so that it may be properly said that underlying all the abuses against which our fathers protested, and deeper than all the blunders of the King's ministers in dealing with men of their own race, lay the profound and intuitive purpose of the people to create a government of their own and to take into their own keeping

the principles of civil liberty, which were already a part of their inheritance.

The ideal which for more than a generation had filled all American hearts was realized in a measure when CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton put his name down on the solemn parchment, in a larger measure when JOHN HANSON, five years later, took his seat as President of the United States in Congress assembled; and in full measure at length when Washington, a deputy from Virginia, assumed the chair as president of the Convention which framed the Constitution.

For unless a government had been organized out of the chaos which followed Yorktown the war for independence would have enslaved the country and not made it free. These three charters, the Declaration, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution, have come to us scarred but not disfigured by the battles of more than a hundred years. The Articles of Confederation, whatever their defects, served their purpose while the war lasted, and though they illustrate the difficulty of founding governments and waging war at the same time, they stand as sufficient witness of that constructive genius which belongs to the English-speaking race.

The Constitution of the United States remains, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," while the Declaration of Independence, interpreted as it ought to be in the light of our national history, is still the most priceless treasure in the political riches of the world. The Revolutionary government fell, under the enlightened criticism of the men who organized it, leaving JOHN HANSON, its first President, so completely covered up in the débris that it required an act of the legislature of Maryland more than a hundred years afterwards to rescue his name from oblivion; while the Constitution which followed it had to lean awkwardly on the Farewell Address of Washington, the unrivaled common sense of Chief Justice Marshall, and the colossal intellect of Daniel Webster, until in the

fullness of time the sword of Ulysses S. Grant gave it a fixed relation to the course of human events. [Applause in the galleries.] For in the last analysis the Army of the Potomac was the convention of 1787 under the head of "unfinished business."

Over every field gathered the patriots of the Revolution, for history must associate with the men who laid the foundations of the Republic in blessed comradeship forever with the unnumbered hosts of the volunteer army which answered the summons of Abraham Lincoln for the defense of the national life.

It can not be more important to be born than it is to live. The Constitution of the United States had hardly been ordained before a school of politics grew up which began to teach that any part of the country, when it so desired, could work the total wreck of our institutions by the simple expedient of withdrawing from any further participation in them. The doctrine, common to all sections, was an heirloom of the colonial period. In such a harness the colonies had gone through a century of Indian warfare and had sealed with their blood the independence of their country. It has sometimes been said that the doctrine of State sovereignty was the last desperate refuge of the slave power in America. On the contrary, it was the original fortress of public liberty in the United States. Our ancestors were only slowly habituated to look for the protection of their rights beyond the State which they could control to the nation which they could not control, and which they were only touched in a distant and unsatisfactory way.

That is exactly what Mr. Jefferson meant, in the days of the embargo, when he said: "I felt the foundations of the Government shaking under my feet by the New England townships." For, indeed, it was possible for an upheaval of local passion, or prejudice, or interest, to shake the foundations of the Government, during that long period when political factions were accustomed to enforce their decrees by secret hostility and even

open conspiracy against the national life. It remained for a later, and I soberly believe a better, generation to measure without despair the chaos of civil strife, to walk into it, to fight the way of the people through it, to lift up a spotless flag above it, and in the midst of the flame and the smoke of battle to renew the covenant of blood made by our fathers, that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

After nearly a century of doubt and uncertainty some things, at least, have been made secure. Not very long ago one of our most honored university presidents was reported to have said that unless certain poorly defined ideas of his own in relation to the industrial life of our times prevail, within twenty-five years an emperor will be seated in the chair of Washington, while even in the Senate of the United States, the anxiety, sometimes real and sometimes pretended, has grown familiar by repetition, that the Government established by our fathers has broken away from its moorings and is now adrift upon high seas, headed toward the rocks, nobody knows where.

We ought to keep company with no such opinions. They belong to the blackness of the darkness of a past generation. From 1865 forward to eternity, whatever else happens, the American Republic shall live—live to answer the accusers of the people, live to vindicate the faith of our fathers, live to send forth the light of civil liberty to races not yet grown to the stature of freedom, and to nations yet unborn.

And not only has the Constitution of the United States had to contend with influences always adverse and sometimes malevolent in their hostility, but the Declaration of Independence has passed through vicissitudes hardly less perilous to its moral integrity. Mr. Jefferson originally wrote, "All men are created equal and independent." He then struck out the words "and independent," leaving our sublime political dogma standing nakedly there, "All men are created equal."

By that he did not mean that everybody comes into this

world with exactly the same equipment of mind or body, or character, or estate. Our fathers, so far as I have been able to find out, were men of immense practical good sense. They knew perfectly well the differences which necessarily exist among men, arising from the nature of things. They had no quarrel with the framework of society. Their quarrel was with the abuses of despotism, the inequalities arising, not from the nature of things, but from the maladministration of governments. It was against these that they uttered the challenge of divine justice, "All men are created equal" in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

But even in that narrower sense the Declaration of Independence has had a hard time of it from first to last. For nearly a century the institution of slavery put the Declaration to an open shame before the world. Mr. Jefferson, though himself a holder of slaves, understood this perfectly, for in his Notes on Virginia, speaking of slavery, he put on record his own conviction on the subject, without ambiguity and without reserve, in these words, as portentous to-day as they ever were before: "I tremble for the safety of my country when I remember that God is just and that his justice can not sleep forever." And Washington evidently had the same view of the matter, for if you will examine his last will and testament hidden yonder in the Library of Congress exactly as he wrote it, you will see that, among the last acts of his life, he manumitted all his slaves, tenderly making provision for those who were too young to work and for the infirmities of those who were too old, and adding a pious expression of hope that the odious institution might speedily pass out of the life of the rising Republic. It was a blot upon the character of the whole country, made respectable by the laws of nearly every colony, North and South alike. It did speedily pass away from most of the States. The climate as well as the conscience of New England was against it, so that gradually its influence narrowed within the territory farther south, where

for generations it remained, cursing the black man and the white man alike, and illustrating in the end the infinite judgment of God upon every form of injustice against the hands that are hardened by toil and the backs of men bent under the burdens of society. I know that while that conflict was in progress there were some who claimed that our fathers meant to say that liberty was suitable for white people only, but when Mr. Lincoln, in the great debates of 1858, drove Stephen A. Douglas from that position, he used only the legitimate weapons of history and reason.

I can not believe that our fathers, after they had been commissioned of heaven to write, in the face of the kingdoms and monarchies of this world, our manuscript of equal rights—I can not believe that they deliberately put out of their calculations any men or any race of men. To believe it would be to impeach not only the integrity of their minds, but the sincerity of their hearts. I refuse to do either. On the contrary, the longer I live the more perfect my conviction becomes that there is in this world, after all, only one question of politics, and that is the question of equal chances for men and women to win in the race of life. [Applause in the galleries.]

Questions of war and of diplomacy, of peace and education become significant only as they are bound up together with the rights and welfare of the weary and heavy-laden millions of the earth. Toward the consummation of popular freedom human society has steadily approached. That universal conclusion will surely be obtained. Kings and royal families can not stop the course of history. The end is inevitable, because it is right, that this world of ours, so long the theater of ambition and the prejudices of rank and caste, of race and creed; of blood and privilege and wealth, shall one day in the coming era throw off the tyranny of all these and in their place raise up unto honor the enduring aristocracy of upright manhood. [Applause in the galleries.]

That is the message which comes from one century across another to us and to our children; and long as this stately building stands here on the eminence which Washington chose for its foundations these favorite sons of colonial Maryland, his friends and counselors, whose statues we unveil to-day, shall repeat the message in the ears of all nations and of all ages. [Applause in the galleries.]

## ADDRESS OF MR. DEPEW, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. PRESIDENT: Materialism is ever crowding with increasing force upon sentiment. It is destructive of ideals. As wealth increases and competition grows and larger opportunities intensify the struggle for existence or for great accumulations, unselfish sentiment becomes more distant and difficult. The war of the Revolution was, in its best and highest sense, inspired by sentiment and for a principle. Actual oppression had not reached that acute form which had precipitated other revolts. As Burke said:

In other countries the people, more simple and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance; here they anticipate the evil and judge of the pressure of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.

The Continental Congress differed from all other bodies which have overthrown and created governments. All of its members were men of substance, who had nothing to gain, beyond the establishment of those principles of government in which they believed, and everything to lose in the contest. CARROLL was the richest of the signers and the second richest man in the United Colonies. Washington was the wealthiest, his fortune being reckoned at \$750,000, while CARROLL assessed himself at a half million dollars. Hancock was the wealthiest man in Massachusetts, Morris in New York, and in each delegation was some one similarly situated in his colony. It was mostly an American convention. Forty-nine of the signers were born in this country, two in England, two in Scotland, two in Ireland, and one in Wales. They were all thoroughly versed in the principles of English liberty and in the rights of British subjects. They knew what they were entitled to under the great Charter and the Bill of Rights. Their average age was 45 years. The oldest were Franklin and Hopkins, who were 70;

and the youngest were Rutledge and Lynch, who were 27. Hancock was 40 and Jefferson 33 years.

The proportion of lawyers to the whole number was numerically less and the doctors were greater than in any subsequent Congress of the United States. Sixteen were lawyers, 9 merchants, 5 doctors, 5 planters, 3 farmers, and 1 clergyman. The other 17 were, like Franklin, men of letters and of science, who had made their mark in various careers. Eighteen were graduates of American universities, 3 of Cambridge, England, and 1 of Edinburgh University. Twenty-one were liberally educated in institutions of learning in this country and abroad and by private tutors and travel. Eleven were self-taught, but they were by no means the least learned of their associates. Roger Sherman, who began life as a shoemaker, was a man of such transcendent ability that he was regarded in the Convention as its ablest lawyer and possessing a judgment to which universal deference was paid. None of them had any title, nor were they statesmen, as that term was then understood. They were the products of a self-governing people, who had developed, in the course of a century and a quarter, a habit of independence.

The colonial forces had learned the art of war and been the most efficient soldiers of Great Britain in the struggle on this continent with France. The signers were not seeking fame by speeches which would command listening senates, for they sat with closed doors and without reporters. We know that the discussions were upon a lofty plane and carried on with universal ability and power. Jefferson bears witness that John Adams on the side of independence was a Colossus in debate. These fifty-six statesmen represented accurately the constituency which elected them. They voiced the sentiment of the vast majority of the American people. They were so conspicuous and influential that the British Government would gladly have rewarded them with the titles which are now so much coveted by the residents of the British colonies all over the world and granted to them as personal favor or distinction.

They not only spurned these honors, but were conscious that if they failed in their revolt their lives were forfeited for treason and their estates confiscated. Two of them were already proscribed by proclamation as beyond all possibility of pardon if the colonies were subdued—Samuel Adams and John Hancock.

In other revolutions the violent men, the demagogues, those who had everything to gain by disorder, were in the main thrown to the front. With success came the struggle for power, and bloody proscriptions were as merciless and as general by those who succeeded in capturing the State against their associates in the Revolution as against the tyrants who had been expelled. This happened in the French Revolution, and has been the ordinary course of history in the South American Republics. But the signers of the Declaration of Independence never claimed for themselves any rewards of their countrymen for what they had done. None of them made any effort to seize the Government or to secure special individual favors. They knew what they were doing and that it was for posterity. Two of them became Presidents of the United States and one Vice-President, but the succession after Washington of John Adams and after Adams of Jefferson in the cleavage which came and lasted until the civil war between State rights and the nation were the natural choice of the free will of a free people.

Most of them were selected at different times during their lives for the diplomatic service, for Congress or the Senate, for the judiciary or the executive office in their several States, but they performed their duties as conscientiously and retired to private life as willingly as if they had never had any connection with the creation of the institutions which they served. Although their education had been local and their public life in colonial affairs, they commanded as diplomats the admiration of the oldest cabinets of Europe. The securing of the consent of monarchical France to an alliance, with the assistance of her fleet and armies, was a marvel of diplomacy, while the judicial

decisions, acts of Congress, reports of Cabinet ministers, and state papers of the fathers has guided the course of Government from their day to ours and remain an unequalled monument of creative wisdom.

The course of Rome for many centuries was controlled by the mysterious revelation of the Sibylline leaves, but there was no mystery about the Declaration of Independence, no mystery about the Constitution of the United States, no mystery about the Farewell Address of Washington, and no mystery in the writings which have come to us from the fathers of the Revolution.

Forty-seven lived to see the independence which they had declared seven years before recognized by Great Britain. Forty-three hailed the new Constitution which was adopted in 1787, and which is our guide and government to-day, practically unchanged. Happily for the country, three of them lived for more than fifty years after that eventful epoch-making Fourth of July. The influence not only of the teachings, but of the example, of these surviving signers during the first half of our existence can not be calculated. The death of Jefferson and of Adams, occurring on the same day, on the Fourth of July, on the fiftieth anniversary of the hours during which the Declaration of Independence was adopted, brought vividly before the people the sentiment and the principles for which the signers stood. Their political antagonism had been forgotten in the last two decades of their lives, and in their union in death there appeared, as it were, on that memorable day spread upon the heavens in view of all the people the immortal Declaration of Independence; and on the one side Jefferson, the author, and on the other side Adams, the Colossus in debate, by whose eloquence it was unanimously agreed to.

CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton lived six years longer. He spent twelve years abroad, studying in the best institutions of England and of the Continent. His wealth and social position at home brought him in contact with the leading minds of those countries. He was four years in the Temple at London

studying law. At the age of 27 he returned to his home equipped with every appliance of opportunity and of learning that the times afforded him. This was in 1764. The colonies were aflame with the discussion of taxation without representation. CARROLL instantly jumped into the arena. His pamphlets commanded universal attention. To the royal governor of Maryland, who had endeavored to impose a tax not sanctioned by the legislature, he wrote this revolutionary sentiment and dangerous expression for a colonial subject twelve years before the Declaration of Independence: "In a land of freedom this arbitrary exercise of prerogative must not and will not be endured."

Ten years later and two years before the final act, conferring with some members of Parliament, one of them said: "If you revolt, we will send 6,000 veteran English soldiers to your country, who will march from one end of it to the other, for there is nothing with you which could resist them." CARROLL'S answer was: "So they may, but they will be masters only on the spot on which they encamp. If we are beaten on the plains we will retreat to the mountains." CARROLL was not present when the Declaration of Independence was passed. Maryland had suffered little and was not feeling seriously the effects of the extraordinary exercise of the royal prerogative, so the Maryland legislature was reluctant to take the extreme step of separation. CARROLL made it his mission as a member of that legislature to bring his State into line. Nothing could resist his impetuous patriotism and sound reason. He had more at stake than any of them, and he brought his State finally to withdraw its opposition and to authorize its Delegates to sign the Declaration. Then with this mission, won mainly by his efforts, he went to Philadelphia and took his place as a Delegate in Congress.

When the time for signing came, and in bantering each other as to whether in case of failure they would hang singly or hang together, the remark was made to CARROLL, "You

can escape, because there are so many CHARLES CARROLLS." His answer, immediately emphasized by the inscription following his pen, was, "CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton." It is the only title in our Revolution. There have been many men of distinction in different ages and countries whose proud boast was that they had and could transmit to their descendants their name as of the duchy, the earldom, or the barony which had been bestowed upon them by royal grant for distinguished services or as favors of the Crown. But here was a distinction not bestowed, not granted, but assumed by the writer, not as a title of nobility, not as a claim, like the lands at Blenheim, to a great estate conveyed by a grateful country, but as the location and description by which the executioner could find him if the cause of liberty failed. The members of revolutionary conventions, as a rule, when the revolution was successful, have met with bloody deaths or been driven into exile. But the signers of the Declaration of Independence experienced all their lives that sweetest incense to a patriot and a statesman—the love and reverence and admiration of a grateful people.

A writer records a visit made to CARROLL at his home when he was the only survivor of that immortal band. He was at that time 95 years of age. The visitor says that as he entered the parlor from a bundle of shawls on the sofa came a figure so slight and emaciated that it seemed scarcely human. But Mr. CARROLL began at once to question him about the Virginia statesman from whom he had come and then to discuss the old days in the light of the new. That visitor, a man of imagination, cared little for what was said. He was grasping a hand which had signed the Declaration of Independence. He stood in the presence of the last of the immortals. There must have appeared to him the Congress in session on that great day. He could see Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, seize John Hancock, who had just been elected President, and carry and place him in the chair, saying, "We will show

mother Britain how little we care for her by making the Massachusetts man our President whom she has excluded from pardon by public proclamation."

He would see Benjamin Franklin calling attention to the fact that upon the back of the President's chair was a picture which represented the rising sun, the same chair which Washington occupied eleven years afterwards as President of the Constitutional Convention, when the sun of American liberty had risen, never to set. He would recall that then and there was the dawn of a new era in the affairs of the world. Constitutional liberty, self-government, the equality of all before the law, absolute religious freedom, and freedom of the press. These were new forces, which, if successful, must permeate all countries and affect the institutions of every land. CHARLES CARROLL at 95, fifty-six years after he had signed the Declaration of Independence, could look back triumphantly at the results. He could see three generations of his own descendants enjoying its blessings. He had witnessed the perils of the Confederation, the cementing of the bond of union, and the creation of an imperishable nation by the Constitution of 1787.

As a friend and adviser of Washington he had taken part in that formative period of the first two Presidential terms, when the fabric was so feeble and tottering daily to a fall, and when it was held together mainly by the character and confidence of that foremost man of all the world, "The Father of his Country." He had witnessed the perils of a French alliance, which had been avoided, and seen the successful issue of a second war with Great Britain. His country was strong and prosperous. Every nation had its representatives at its capital. It possessed a powerful navy and mercantile marine, which carried its commerce all around the globe, its flag was on every sea and in every port, and the prosperity and happiness of its people were unexampled. There was but one danger, and that was acute in 1832—the danger of disunion. When

the Declaration was signed, in 1776, the perils of the country were wholly from without. In 1832 they were entirely from within.

“One people” was the term used in reference to the citizens of the Thirteen United States of America in the Declaration of Independence. “We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, declare that these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States,” was the closing of that document. “That the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union,” are the words under which our Constitution was written. Washington received his sword from the Congress of the United Colonies, and returned it when triumphant to the Congress of the United States. All who were born and all who accepted citizenship under that Declaration and that Constitution came into the inalienable inheritance of all the rights, the powers, and the liberties of the Union of the States. The danger to the Union from the conflicting ideas of State rights and nationality, which clouded the last days of CHARLES CARROLL, culminated in 1861 into the bloodiest civil war of modern times.

That struggle it is now clearly seen was a providential interposition in our affairs, not only to extirpate slavery, but to perpetuate the Union. We witness the unprecedented spectacle of the victors and of those who failed, both fighting as our blood only can fight for an ideal, now sitting side by side in this Congress, equally loyal to the flag and to the Union. The passions of civil war have died while the generation which fought it is living. With this question settled the progress and development of the country in all that constitutes the wealth and power of a nation has been five times greater in the thirty-seven years since the civil war than in the preceding eighty-nine years.

We can place among the immortals JOHN HANSON, who has also been selected by the Commonwealth of Maryland as her

representative in the gallery of State patriots in this Capitol, as President of the Congress of the Confederation during the later years of the struggle, and he had appended to his name the unique title of "President of the United States in Congress Assembled." As the signers, from above, note the honor this day conferred upon the one of their number who lingered longest on this side they recognize that, great as were their aspirations, fond as were their hopes, mighty as were their dreams of the future of their country, yet in every element which makes a happy people enjoying the blessings of the largest liberty and a nation foremost in the affairs of the world, the Republic which they created has surpassed all they hoped or dreamed or prayed for. [Applause in the galleries]

ADDRESS OF MR. BACON, OF GEORGIA.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I am unwilling that the exercises of this most interesting occasion shall close without any word being spoken from either of the four original States lying south of the Potomac. In the arrangements made for these exercises it was not designed that this should be so. Of these four States, if not of the entire thirteen, in Revolutionary times, Virginia will be recognized as easily the first.

And thus it was that it was deemed proper that a Senator from Virginia should be heard upon this occasion. It seemed to be peculiarly fitting that this should be so on the presentation of these two statues.

JOHN HANSON was the first President of the United States in Congress assembled, and a Virginian was the first President of the United States under the Constitution.

CHARLES CARROLL was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the framer of the Declaration of Independence was a Virginian, while the soldier who made that Declaration good was also a Virginian.

Recognizing all this, the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. Daniel] had been selected to speak as the representative, in a sense, of these four original States. All will agree that no more happy selection could have been made. Unhappily, since these exercises have begun and within a few minutes just past, the information has been brought to us that the illness of the Senator from Virginia will prevent his being heard to-day, and, at this last moment, the duty has been unexpectedly devolved upon me.

Mr. President, I would not undertake at any time to supply the place of this eloquent Virginian, and in any event extemporaneous speech would not be fitting here to-day. But without attempting more than a word, I will be pardoned for saying that the failure of Virginia, or of North

Carolina, or of South Carolina, or of Georgia, to be heard to-day would be misconstrued, if from such failure it was understood that the fact that statues to JOHN HANSON and CHARLES CARROLL were to be presented here to-day had been passed over by them as a matter not worthy of attention or of speech from them; for it can be confidently said that not only now but at all times since the date of the signing of the Declaration of Independence the people of those four States have been loyal and true to every utterance of that great instrument. They are not only loyal to its great principles, but they revere the memory of its great authors.

Mr. President, not only in sentiment, but so far as might be expressed in acts, the devotion of the people of these States to the principles of that instrument has been manifested, and they have united in the effort to do honor to those who framed that immortal instrument, and plighted their lives and fortunes to its maintenance.

Among other things, it may be mentioned that in my own State of Georgia there are a number of counties which have been named for framers and signers of the Declaration of Independence. I can not enumerate all of them, but I will mention as pertinent to this occasion that not only are there in Georgia the counties of Jefferson and Hancock and Franklin and Gwinnett and Hall and Walton, and others bearing the names of these illustrious signers, and named in their honor, but there is also in the State the county of Carroll, named in honor of the renowned Marylander.

Mr. President, if I may be pardoned the suggestion, as I have sat here and listened to these eloquent speeches I have noticed in the niches of this Chamber the busts of all the Vice-Presidents of the United States, and the thought has occurred to me that it would be fitting if at some time the Government of the United States would erect a hall for the immortals—the consecrated band who proclaimed the great Declaration which

challenged the political dogmas of a thousand years and defied the greatest military power of all the earth.

We have the Chamber of the old House of Representatives, in which each State is authorized to place the statues of two of its most illustrious citizens. But, sir, this work of thus commemorating these founders of the Republic should not be left to the States alone. The time may come when the old Senate Chamber will be vacated by the Supreme Court when a fitting building may be erected for the judicial department of the Government.

When that time comes, Mr. President, it will be fitting that that historic chamber shall be chosen for the hall of these immortals, and that therein shall be placed, to be forever preserved, the effigies in marble and bronze of the deathless framers and signers of the Declaration of Independence.

## ADDRESS OF MR. WELLINGTON, OF MARYLAND.

Mr. PRESIDENT: Maryland, one of the original thirteen States, to-day sends greeting to her sister Commonwealths, and, as a token of her steadfast faith in the principles advocated by the immortal Declaration of Independence, places in the American Pantheon the statues of two of her most illustrious citizens of the Revolutionary period—CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, to whose untiring energy and aggressive policy the adoption of the Declaration of Independence is in a great measure due, and JOHN HANSON, who was the first "President of the United States in Congress assembled" under the government of the Articles of Confederation. The pages of her history are illumined by many names which shall live as long as the American nation survives or the records of its history are remembered. In peace and war, in the period of settlement, during all the mutations of fortune in the Revolution, in the adoption of the Constitution, in the progress of the nation, in the great civil struggle, and in the years subsequent thereunto unto the present, she hath wrought her part through and by the heroic efforts of her sons. From among them all have been selected these two as being most worthy to represent her in the Temple of Statues at the National Capitol.

When the adventurous spirits—heroic mariners and commanders of Europe—in the sixteenth century sought, discovered, and explored the New World, in which they fondly imagined the fabled treasures of El Dorado might be hidden,

They found not what they sought,  
But Fame with her bay wreath dowers  
The hardy band, for they found the land,  
And the land that they found is ours.

But, sir, in the century following, the North American continent became the trysting place and haven of refuge of the oppressed of all European nationalities, who pledged themselves to liberty, religious toleration, and self-government.

The struggles of settlement, the battles for British supremacy, are an important page in the annals of our country. The Puritan of New England, the adherent of Roger Williams who founded the Providence Plantations, the Quaker followers of Penn, the Cavaliers of Virginia, the Catholic adherents of Leonard Calvert in Maryland, the Huguenots of the Carolinas, were unlike in many things, but the mainspring of their action was freedom, independence, self-government.

The province of Maryland was granted by Charles the First to Cæcilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, bounded with much greater dimensions than now constitute the territory of the State. A number of counties in West Virginia, Delaware, and a portion of Pennsylvania were included. But, with Lord Fairfax upon the one hand and the eminent Quaker, William Penn, on the other, the boundaries were circumscribed and narrowed after many bloody encounters and valiant fights. Lord Baltimore held the colony as a feudal principality, but never viewed it personally, having delegated to his brother, Leonard Calvert, the rights of government. He was a noble, righteous, and liberal man, and under his leadership the colonists of Maryland "laid the foundation broad and deep of civil and religious liberty."

As it was in Maryland, so it gradually became in her sister colonies. The same aspiration was felt, the same environment sought, the same object contemplated in each and every one of the colonies finally dominated by Great Britain. New Amsterdam became New York; the Spaniards returned to the southland; the French, after a desperate struggle, were forced to abandon the mainland entirely; and thus in the passage of time all elements were consolidated under English influence and the British spirit of liberty pervaded the conglomerate mass.

The founders of the colonies sacrificed the civilization of Europe to avoid coercion, and their descendants were deeply imbued with the spirit of liberty. With the ax in one hand and the rifle in the other, they penetrated the wilderness, subdued nature, and conquered the aboriginal inhabitants. As

they grew and prospered the English Government withdrew its protection and they stood alone. The American pioneer was forced to do battle for himself against a savage foe, and also to combat the enemies of Great Britain. This taught him self-reliance, to seek his own and his fellow-colonists' counsel, and gradually to form a bond of union in which mutual friendship and reciprocal aid were the component parts. There was no recognized right to form alliances among themselves, but in consequence of the similarity of their interests, laws, and at times precarious situations, they frequently united to advance the common welfare and for defense against the Indians. Finally in 1754 a Colonial Congress was held in Albany, at which delegates from seven colonies were present. It was resolved "that a union of the colonies is necessary for their preservation, and Parliament should establish it." It was not, however, until the mother country began its tyrannies and oppressions that such a union was consummated. The bold stand taken by the people of Massachusetts was approved and applauded by the other colonial legislatures, and a national feeling was manifested.

When, in 1775, the first clash of arms came in Massachusetts, a Continental Congress had already assembled, of which Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was made the President. A year later the second Congress, having passed beyond petitions and bills of right, advanced to the supreme step of severing relations with the mother country, and announcing to the world a doctrine in governmental affairs as different to that which had preceded it as the new dispensation of the Nazarene had been in comparison with the Mosaic law. During the Middle Ages and even in modern times the feudal tenure had prevailed in Europe. There was mastership and service. The common people were serfs, the nobles held power by force, the monarchs of the kingdoms and empires ruled by right of descent and the grace of God.

The Declaration of Independence reversed these ancient

methods, denied the usurped powers, and proclaimed the right of men to govern themselves by their own consent. Kingship was abolished, nobility and its titles discarded, and a simple government of the people, through representatives chosen by themselves, assumed control in their stead.

The colony of Maryland had been in sympathy with the opposition to the encroachment of Great Britain upon what the colonists considered their "inalienable rights" and had participated in the first Continental Congress, had answered the call of Massachusetts for assistance, and the riflemen of Allegany, with other component parts of the Maryland line which was afterwards to become famous as the army of salvation upon at least two occasions, when desperate battles were fought, had been sent forward to aid the colonists of New England.

They were, however, a conservative people; they were a proprietary colony in contradistinction with those of a provincial character or charter government. Men of great landed estates, always careful, were not willing to advance in rapid strides, and they deemed in the Maryland convention, which appointed its delegates to the Continental Congress in 1776, that the time for separation from the mother country had not yet come. Therefore Samuel Chase and his colleagues sent by Maryland as delegates to the Continental Congress were restricted in their powers and instructed to vote against the adoption of the Declaration of Independence upon the part of the Maryland colonists.

It was at this point that the eloquence, ability, patriotism, and aggressive nature of CHARLES CARROLL and the conservative but steadfast character of JOHN HANSON united and intervened and threw the weight of the influence of their native colony upon the side of those who sought for separation from Great Britain and the establishment of the Republic.

CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton was born September 8, 1737, at Annapolis, in the colony of Maryland, which city was

then not only the capital of the colony, but the center of wealth, power, culture, and social influence of the colonies of the South. His family was the richest in Maryland and potent in fashioning the course of events in that domain. They were of the Catholic faith and Jacobite in their tendencies. CHARLES CARROLL was, at the age of 8 years, sent to France to be educated in the religious colleges of that country. At the age of 20 he departed from France and became a student of law at the Temple, in the city of London, England, where he remained for eight years, and at the end of that period was probably one of the most highly educated and cultivated men born in the colonies, for, in addition to the advantages that had been given him, he added a strong character and splendid intellect. At the age of 27, after an absence of twenty years from his native land, he returned to Maryland, and by reason of his powerful family ties, his great wealth, but, above all, on account of superior ability and a mental equipment exceeded by none of his countrymen, he at once took high station among them and began his career in the practice of the law and the management of his estates.

In the year succeeding his return to Maryland the odious "stamp act" was passed. It touched every fiber in his nature and at once ignited into a bright flame the latent fire of his patriotism. He was in the front rank of those who boldly and courageously protested at this iniquitous legislation of the mother country and pledged himself to resist the execution of the infamous law.

In 1774 the delegates to the Maryland assembly passed a resolution declaring that no more tea should be imported into that territory. In contravention of this resolution, in the year of its adoption, a brig load of this article arrived in the port of Annapolis. Intense excitement at once manifested itself. The *Peggy Stewart* was ready to discharge her cargo, but the noble woman in whose honor the vessel had been named, herself an ardent patriot, by an appeal to CHARLES CARROLL prevented the consummation of the project. When his advice was sought

as to what it was proper to do under the circumstances, he replied with promptitude and decision, "If you would allay the rage of the people, burn the vessel together with its contents." It was not many hours afterwards when a great concourse of people assembled upon the water front saw the bright light of a conflagration, which burned the vessel to the water's edge, and there went up a great shout of patriotic satisfaction.

In 1776 CHARLES CARROLL was appointed a commissioner, with Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and John Carroll, to induce the inhabitants of Canada to join with the thirteen colonies in their antagonism to British tyranny. This mission was unsuccessful. Influences which it would be futile to mention in the present caused the Canadians to refrain from uniting with the American revolutionists in their great struggle for liberty.

On his return to Philadelphia, CARROLL found that the Continental Congress was engaged in debate and discussion upon the proposition that not only should there be resistance to the unjust taxation of the British Parliament, but that the colonists had now reached a vantage ground upon which they should assert their independence of English rule. CARROLL found that Chase and his colleagues, who had been chosen to represent Maryland, would be unable to vote for this Declaration, by reason of instructions which had been placed as a restriction upon them by the assembly which gave them their credentials.

In a moment his mind, which was quick of perception, saw the danger of this opposition, for the action of the Maryland delegates in refusing to sign the instrument might have a fatal effect upon its intent and frustrate its purpose. The national sentiment had reached its height. The moment for decisive action had arrived. In order to make the action of the Congress effective it must be unanimous, and therefore CARROLL, with a celerity in those days unprecedented, journeyed to

Annapolis. In haste he proceeded to the convention, and with resolute demeanor, while it was yet in session, entered the chamber, procured recognition, and at once began the delivery of an address which seems an inspiration; so forceful in its nature was it that he procured a repeal of the instructions, and on that day, the 28th of June, prevailed upon the convention to send new instructions to the delegates at Philadelphia, abrogating those formerly issued and directing them to vote for the Declaration.

In the first days of July he was appointed a Delegate to Congress, and notwithstanding his strenuous effort to reach Philadelphia in time for the passage of the Declaration, he was too late to cast his vote in its favor; but when the Delegates were called upon to sign their names to the immortal document John Hancock, the President of the Continental Congress, asked him if he would sign it. "Most willingly," rang out the clear voice of CARROLL, and he stepped forward and affixed his name; but as he did so some one suggested that it was an act for which possibly His Majesty the King of England might at some future time urgently require his presence, and that there were other Carrolls in Maryland. Therefore he again took the pen and added, "of Carrollton." "That the British King might know where to find him to answer for his treason." Thus we find that while CHARLES CARROLL was not of the committee which drew that great state paper, while he could not claim authorship or inspiration as did Jefferson and Franklin, yet upon his action depended its acceptance and success.

During the great struggle which followed, which, indeed, had already begun, until its final consummation, CHARLES CARROLL labored without ceasing. The friend and confidential adviser of Washington, serving in many capacities; in Congress, in the State legislature, ever faithful and loyal, ready and willing to give freely of his services and his means, that the Declaration for which he had pledged "his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor" should triumph.

The Declaration of Independence is, in my humble opinion, the most important act of the American people. Its adoption was hailed with patriotic exultation by the colonists. Amid the peals of old Liberty Bell from the tower of the hall in which Congress deliberated freedom was proclaimed. It was the beginning of a new era in government. It not only gave notice to the world that the American colonies were, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, but it went further and beyond that. It declared that all men were born free and equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which should be mentioned "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Aye, it went beyond that, and it laid down resolutely and firmly the doctrine that all just government must derive its authority from the governed. The world was astonished; Britain was stunned by the blow; Metternich, the statesman of the old school, who was guiding the fortunes and diplomacy of continental Europe, laughed and said that "a government so founded must be ephemeral in its nature and would soon pass away by reason of internal dissensions." But his prophecy was vain; his judgment was clouded; for upon that Declaration was founded a new nation, conceived and born in liberty, fraternity, and equality, and it was the intention of the fathers, the framers, the patriots; it was the intention of CHARLES CARROLL and JOHN HANSON, as evidenced in many of their utterances, that America should not only have freedom for herself, but should inculcate liberty and advance, protect, and defend freedom for all the nations and peoples of the earth.

The Declaration of Independence is the grandest exposition of the noble heritage which of right belongs to a patriotic, liberty-loving people that has ever been penned, spoken, proclaimed, or sung by man. It is splendid in conception, magnificent in its dignified statement, majestic in its ever-increasing power, as it names, condemns, lifts up to scorn the encroachments, oppressions, and tyrannies of the English Government,

and becomes sublime as it hurls its maledictions upon wrong, breaks the bonds that bound the colonists, and proclaims liberty to the world. It is not organic law, it has not the force of the Constitution in courts of law, but, sir, in the day the Declaration of Independence is not the supreme law in the hearts and minds of the American people, the Constitution will be no longer respected and the national life will be endangered. Therefore it should stand first, sacred, inviolate.

During the same time that the Continental Congress was employed in fashioning and adopting the Declaration of Independence there was also appointed a committee to formulate a plan of government for the union of the thirteen colonies into a league for the mutual protection and defense, that they might in union wage war upon Britain and achieve a common independence. These articles do not evidence the same high spirit that was manifested in the Declaration. Rival interests, sectional differences, various contentions which had been forgotten in the lofty and noble patriotic enthusiasm of the Declaration were plainly seen in the twenty articles which were reported to the convention. After the adoption of the Declaration a long struggle took place upon these Articles of Confederation. They were finally adopted by the convention on the 15th day of November, 1777.

The Declaration had dealt with the people of the United States. The Articles of Confederation dealt with sovereign Commonwealths, and here we find the beginning of the two ideas which fought for supremacy from the first hour of our appearance in the arena of nations until the end of the great civil war—the one for Federal supremacy, the other for State sovereignty.

These Articles of Confederation were ratified in July, 1778, by delegates from all the States in the Union save three. They were subsequently signed by New Jersey on November 25, 1778, by Delaware February 22, 1779, and Maryland March 1, 1781. It will be seen that the State of Maryland was the last to give

adhesion to the plan of the Confederacy. The reason for her long and strenuous opposition was that JOHN HANSON and Daniel Carroll, of her Delegates in Congress, assumed a position upon the question of the Western domain which was at length successful and which time has demonstrated to have been supremely wise.

Beyond the confines of the original States lay the great "Northwest Territory." Several of the Commonwealths claimed extravagant area because of the ill, or rather undefined, boundary. Maryland refused to ratify unless these claims were surrendered, for she contended that the vast tracts of land rescued from the common enemy by mutual effort should be common property and inure to the benefit of the National Government. This position was maintained for five years. HANSON and CARROLL labored assiduously to remove the impediments existing, and at length succeeded in arousing the other States to a sense of the importance of the question and effected a compromise. Thereupon they were empowered to sign the ratification for Maryland.

After these years of struggle we find Maryland, though the last of the States to accede to the proposition, gave her assent to the ratification of the Articles of Confederation graciously and gladly on March 1, 1781, and made plain the way for the beginning of government under the Confederacy. The Revolutionary or Provisional Congress passed away. In its stead the new Congress, under the government of the Confederacy, was convened on March 2, 1781, under the title of "United States of America."

Under this plan of government there is what may appear to us now a strange condition. There is absent every particle of executive power in this Confederacy; the Congress is the legislative power, and in truth the only governing power recognized in the Republic. The reason for this is to the student of history very plain. The patriots of the Revolution had so long suffered from executive power as imposed by Parliament

and practiced by royal governors that they detested and despised it, and would have none of it in the General Government. The States themselves had their governors and legislative bodies, but the Federal Government was devoid of executive power, except so far as the Federal Legislature by its own acts assumed them under the articles and executed them through its President.

Upon the assembling of Congress, under the new Articles of Confederation, on the 2d of March, 1781, JOHN HANSON was present as a Delegate from Maryland. He was born in Charles County, southern Maryland, in the year 1715, and was therefore at this period fast approaching the time which is allotted to men by the patriarch—three score and ten—yet he was as active as ever in the great struggle for independence. Years had not diminished his ardor nor lessened his devotion to the cause. He was descended from a family who originally dwelt upon the Eastern Shore of the State, in the good old county of Kent. His was one of the most influential families in the province. His personality stands in direct contrast with that of CHARLES CARROLL. His education was obtained in the land of his nativity, not in foreign countries. His occupation was that of a Maryland landowner, a tiller of the soil, dwelling amidst his large plantation; a Protestant in faith, and, naturally, an adherent of the house of Hanover.

In early manhood he began, by reason of his position, to take great interest in the affairs of the colony. He represented Charles County in the lower house of the assembly in numerous sessions, and in the exciting times when the oppressions of Great Britain upon the colonies augmented from year to year he participated with thoughtful conservatism, which gradually developed—not by passion, but by reason and principle—into a determined opposition to the mother country. His fame spread throughout the province, and he ranked high among the accepted leaders of the movement for resistance. He was among the strongest and stanchest advocates of the “Maryland

associations," and was among the first to sign the agreement obligating himself, "by the sacred ties of honor and reputation, not to import nor purchase any article thus taxed or which should thereafter be taxed by Parliament for the purpose of revenue," and he was the first in Charles County to openly compel the reshipment of goods sought to be imported.

In 1773 the march to the westward had already begun, and Frederick County, which has proven to be one of the richest agricultural districts in the United States, began to attract prominent settlers. JOHN HANSON was in the vanguard of the march of the new pioneers, and settled in Frederick County in 1773. Already well known as a leader in the State, his activity was transferred from Charles to Frederick County. In 1774 he was appointed a Delegate to the General Congress at Annapolis and also elected a member of the committee of observation for the colony. He was active in organizing the Maryland Line, and contributed freely from his means, not only to his own State government, but it is recorded of him at this time that he sent £200 sterling for the relief of the poor of Boston, then suffering by reason of British invasion. Thenceforward we may trace his history, ever in the forefront, serving in various capacities upon committees and in assemblies.

In 1775 the Maryland convention issued its declaration of independence, known as the "Association of freemen of Maryland." This meant the downfall of the proprietary government and the assumption of power by the provisional government of the people themselves. Matthew Tilghman was the president of this convention, and JOHN HANSON one of its most distinguished and forceful members. During his chairmanship of committee of observation in Maryland, which practically governed the colony, the attempt of Lord Dunmore and his fellow-conspirators to destroy Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania by fire and sword was discovered and frustrated. When Maryland had ceased to be a province and became a State under its own constitution, JOHN HANSON was again

a member of the general assembly, and in 1779 was elected a Delegate to the Continental Congress. In November, 1780, he was reelected to the general assembly of Maryland, but declined the honor and resigned his office, he being at the same time a member of the Continental Congress from his State.

Here it may be remarked that when he resigned his office he said to the people of Frederick County that the best man they could send in his place was Thomas Johnson, the famous first governor of Maryland when she was free.

On November 28, 1781, JOHN HANSON was reelected to Congress for his third term, and with Daniel Carroll subscribed to the ratification of the Articles of Confederation for his State.

The organization of the new Congress began, and JOHN HANSON, of Maryland, was chosen as President, and thus became "President of the United States in Congress assembled," occupying that exalted position until 1782, during the eventful period when the American armies, in conjunction with their French allies, finally triumphed, when beneath the rays of an October sun George Washington received the sword of his captive, Cornwallis. The great labor accomplished, independence won, and the nation in its formative period, with every indication of advancement and success, JOHN HANSON, now a man old in years as well as high in honors, retired from public life, seeking seclusion and rest.

He was the first "President of the United States in Congress assembled," and his hand guided the fortunes of the new nation in the year which brought the final success of American arms, after a long period of vicissitude and changeful fortune. He was not a man of selfish ambition, but became active in the affairs of his native colony by reason of his love of country and steadfast purpose to stand by and for the right. That he loved home better than the arena of political life is evidenced by his correspondence with his

nearest and dearest of kin. As we read some of these epistles written to his wife and to his son-in-law, Dr. Philip Thomas, of Frederick, we are impressed with the fact that only a high sense of duty kept him for five and twenty years constantly engaged in public service, and allowed him to retire only when his fondest hopes had been realized in the consummation of freedom and self-government for his native land. I trust I may be pardoned for presenting to public view an extract from a letter which was evidently intended for his family, dated at Philadelphia, September 4, 1782. He wrote as follows:

As to my serving as a delegate in our assembly next year, I hope my friends will excuse me. I think the public can have no further claim to my services. I have performed my term of duty and they must give me a discharge. Retirement to people of my age must be most desirable, and I hope I shall enjoy it in the future without being censured for withdrawing from the public service.

But the effect of the arduous labors of a lifetime of constant effort in the great cause soon called him to a more lasting rest than that afforded by the seclusion of his estate, for on the 22d day of November, 1783, he passed out of this life into the future, where it is said, "just men are made perfect."

CHARLES CARROLL lived long beyond JOHN HANSON. To him was vouchsafed a life filled with honors even in his declining years. The services which he rendered to his State and to the Union can not be too highly appreciated. The Articles of Confederation had been well denominated "a rope of sand," and the formation of a strong, lasting Union was necessary as between the sovereign States. Common oppression and mutual disasters had united them in a desperate endeavor to obtain freedom.

At the conclusion of the struggle the army was disbanded, Washington resigned his commission and lived quietly at Mount Vernon; but notwithstanding his private station, he stood first in the hearts of his countrymen, and he was worthy of their high esteem. His patient endurance more than any other

quality had brought final success to the American arms. It was reserved for him to do as great a service for his country in civil life as he had rendered upon the field. He it was who appealed to his countrymen to form a more lasting Union by the adoption of a Constitution creating a Federal Government. His influence was necessary, he alone had the power of leading the various and conflicting interests of the colonies to this conclusion. Among the very first of the leaders in the various States with whom he had consultation was CHARLES CARROLL, and through CHARLES CARROLL Maryland was induced to favor a convention and assist in the formation of a Constitution and finally aid in its adoption. Thus he rendered to the State and to the Union service of supreme value. He served in the Senate of the United States under the new Constitution, for the adoption of which he labored valiantly and faithfully. Then in the senate of his State for a decade, and after that came retirement from public life, receiving in private station from his fellow-citizens the honors which were due to him as the first and greatest citizen of his State. The end of his glorious life came on the 14th of November, 1832, he having reached an age almost unprecedented among the men of his time—almost 96 years. He was the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Such was the character, such were the services of the two Marylanders whom our statues typify as the best product of the manhood of our soil. They have passed away, but they shall be ever remembered, and their fame will extend into the distant future. Their influence has not ceased. True it is, the principles which they evolved and for which they struggled seem at present to be obscured by an eclipse. If it be so, would it not be well upon this occasion to call a halt in the fateful march, would it not be well to look backward, and, if necessary, retrace our steps until we may stand again in that altitude where our vision will become bright and clear, where the flash light of an indiscreet ambition, of a desire for "world

power," for territorial expansion and colonial aggrandizement shall forever pass away, and in its stead we shall see again that light which led us for a century and a quarter in honorable history and glorious achievement as a nation? We shall march to the music of the song of the great Declaration for which CHARLES CARROLL and JOHN HANSON lived and labored throughout many years, and realize, as did they, that our strength as a nation depends upon the exemplification of the grandest doctrine ever promulgated to men—that they shall be free and govern themselves, under God, according to their own consent and pleasure. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I ask that an order be made that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] be permitted to put into the Record and into the account of the proceedings of this day, when published otherwise, the remarks he had intended to make.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] may be permitted to publish in the RECORD and make part of the record of this day's proceedings the speech which he had prepared and had intended to have made, but which he has been prevented from doing by sickness. Is there objection to the request? The Chair hears none, and that order is made.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Mr. President, I ask that the concurrent resolution offered by my colleague be adopted.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the adoption of the concurrent resolution offered by the Senator from Maryland [Mr. MCCOMAS].

The concurrent resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. WELLINGTON. I now move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 17 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, February 2, 1903, at 12 o'clock meridian.



# ACCEPTANCE OF STATUES OF CHARLES CARROLL AND JOHN HANSON.

## PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE.

DECEMBER 17, 1902.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Chair will lay before the House a communication from the governor of the State of Maryland, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
*Annapolis, Md., December 15, 1902.*  
*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to inform you that in acceptance of the invitation contained in section 1814 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the general assembly of Maryland, by chapter 311 of the Acts of 1898, made an appropriation to procure statues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and JOHN HANSON, President of the Continental Congress of 1781 and 1782, to be placed in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, at Washington, D. C.

By authority of the act of the general assembly of Maryland, the governor appointed John Lee Carroll, Douglas H. Thomas, Thomas J. Shryock, Fabian Franklin, and Richard K. Cross to constitute a commission to procure and have the statues erected.

I am informed by the commissioners that the statues were made by Mr. Richard E. Brooks, of Boston; that they are completed and have been placed in position, and are now ready to be presented to Congress.

As governor of the State of Maryland, therefore, I have the honor to present to the Government of the United States the statues of the distinguished statesmen named.

Very respectfully,

JOHN WALTER SMITH,  
*Governor of Maryland.*

Mr. PEARRE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the communication just read, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved,* That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of Maryland of the statues of CHARLES CARROLL of

Carrollton and JOHN HANSON, erected in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, be made the special order for Saturday, January 31, 1903, at 3 o'clock p. m.

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and adopted.

On motion of Mr. Pearre, a resolution to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted was laid on the table.

JANUARY 29, 1903.

STATUES OF CHARLES CARROLL AND JOHN HANSON.

Mr. PEARRE. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives,* That the members of the Maryland statuary commission be admitted to the floor of the House of Representatives, in seats to be provided for them, during the ceremonies incident to the acceptance of the statues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON, presented by the State of Maryland to the Government of the United States, on Saturday, January 31, at 3 p.m.; and

*Resolved further,* That the southeast and southwest ladies' galleries be reserved for the relatives of the said CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON and for such citizens of Maryland as may attend these ceremonies.

There being no objection, the resolution was considered, and agreed to.

The SPEAKER. This resolution having been adopted, the Doorkeeper will be governed by this action of the House.

JANUARY 31, 1903.

STATUES OF CHARLES CARROLL AND JOHN HANSON.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The House is in session pursuant to the special order of the House, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Pearre, by unanimous consent,

*Resolved,* That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of Maryland of the statues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON, erected in the Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, be made the special order for Saturday, January 31, 1903, at 3 o'clock p. m.—*Order made in the House Wednesday, December 17, 1902.*

Mr. PEARRE. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the letter of the governor of Maryland, which has been read heretofore in this House and laid upon the table, be taken from the table and read again.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection the Clerk will report the letter.

The Clerk read as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
Annapolis, Md., December 15, 1902.  
To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to inform you that in acceptance of the invitation contained in section 1814 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, the general assembly of Maryland, by chapter 311 of the Acts of 1898, made an appropriation to procure statues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and JOHN HANSON, president of the Continental Congress of 1781 and 1782, to be placed in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, at Washington, D. C.

By authority of the act of the general assembly of Maryland, the governor appointed John Lee Carroll, Douglas H. Thomas, Thomas J. Shryock, Fabian Franklin, and Richard K. Cross to constitute a commission to procure and have the statues erected.

I am informed by the commissioners that the statues were made by Mr. Richard E. Brooks, of Boston; that they are completed and have been placed in position, and are now ready to be presented to Congress.

As governor of the State of Maryland, therefore, I have the honor to present to the Government of the United States the statues of the distinguished statesmen named.

Very respectfully,

JOHN WALTER SMITH,  
Governor of Maryland.

Mr. PEARRE. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following resolution, which I will send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),* That the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of Maryland for providing the bronze statues of CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON, citizens of Maryland, illustrious for their historic renown and distinguished civic services.

*Resolved,* That the statues be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions, duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Maryland.

## ADDRESS OF MR. PEARRE, OF MARYLAND.

Mr. SPEAKER: On the 2d day of July, 1864, the President approved an act of Congress inviting each of the States to present statues, not more than two in number, of deceased persons who had rendered such military or civic service as entitled them to commemoration as national figures in Statuary Hall in the National Capitol.

Maryland, hesitating lovingly among the multitude of her distinguished sons, Thomas Johnson, William Pinkney, William Smallwood, John Eager Howard, Samuel Chase, Otho Holland Williams, Luther Martin, Roger B. Taney, Reverdy Johnson, Henry Winter Davis, Francis Scott Key, and a score of others, has at last made her selection and has presented the two handsome bronze statues which have been added to the brilliant galaxy of statesmen and soldiers which surround the nation's Hall of Fame.

By an act of the general assembly of Maryland, approved in 1898, an appropriation was made and a commission appointed, consisting of Ex-Governor John Lee Carroll, Douglas H. Thomas, Thomas J. Shryock, Dr. Fabian Franklin, and Richard K. Cross, who were instructed to have designed and cast statues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and JOHN HANSON, President of the United States in Congress assembled from 1781 to 1782.

The marked ability and artistic taste with which that commission has discharged its duty are attested by the excellence of these two statues, executed in bronze by Mr. Richard E. Brooks, of Boston, Mass.

To accept this gift of the old Commonwealth of Maryland to the Government and people of the United States, are we gathered here to-day under authority of a resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted on the 17th day of January, 1903.

The pleasant duty devolves upon me to speak to the exalted virtues of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton. To form an adequate estimate of the character of a man who has gone before us, Mr. Speaker, we must try to view him in the light of his time and to measure him by the standard then existing. To secure the true likeness, we must paint the picture on the background of his environment while living, with the side lights and full lights of his surroundings, inquire how far he followed or disregarded precedents, and learn the extent to which his course, in crises, conformed to or violated the rules and tendencies of his education and station.

When America was discovered, it was said that the new land concealed a fountain whose perpetual waters had power to reanimate age and restore the strength of youth. The tradition was true, but the youth to be renewed was the youth of society; the life to bloom afresh was the life of the race; and this was to be accomplished by the revolution of the colonies, which was the consummation of freedom's struggle for nearly two centuries. The forces working toward it had their origin in the great mental revival of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Man, after groping through the darkness of feudalism, had at last faintly seen the light. Free inquiry, freedom of thought in spiritual affairs, was soon followed by the desire for freedom of thought and action in the temporal order. The dignity of man's individuality had been clouded by his subserviency to superior power. In the old civilization of Europe, authority and power moved from the superior to the inferior. The government esteemed itself invested by divine right with the power to furnish protection and demand submission.

But a new principle had taken possession of the heart of man. The right to apply the powers of his mind to any question, and to assert his individual judgment began to creep upon his intelligence.

Successive ages of struggle, successive lives, and deaths of heroes in the world of thought, had brought man to the idea

of the freedom of the individual, and it was then but the work of time to carry him to the comprehension of the power that lies in the collective reason of the whole—to teach him to substitute the natural equality of man for the hereditary privilege of monarchs, to replace the irresponsible authority of a sovereign with a dependent government emanating from the harmonized opinions of equal individuals.

The spark of liberty that first glimmered in the breasts of the Anglos and Saxons in the forests of Germany kept smoldering through the centuries, now fanned into a flame by the tyranny of kings, until the Magna Charta is secured, again but a dying ember under the Tudors; now flashing fitfully in the petition and declaration of rights, and again lost sight of in foreign wars, often faint, but never dead; often hidden, but always glowing in the Anglo-Saxon breast until it burst into a blaze of beauteous glory in the Declaration of Independence, and its full effulgence rested on a free and united land.

The seventeenth century found Charles the First on the throne of England; headstrong but vacillating, arbitrary but weak; tyrannical and false, this monarch was little fitted to control the English people at a time when the leaven of liberty was working in the souls of his subjects. The divine right of kings was the political doctrine of the Stuarts; the divine right of the people was the political truth of the century.

Prerogative took the field in its stubborn contest with the popular will and never left it until the Declaration of Independence rang the death knell as well to the tyranny of kings as the tyranny of Parliaments.

In 1760 George the Third ascended the throne of England, and the tyranny of the seventeenth century, which was supposed to have died with Charles the First and the deposition of James the Second, was revived. The hand on the clock of time is turned back; civilization halts in its progress. His whole policy was bent upon the subjugation of the colonies to

raise revenue, as Charles the First had done. He undertook to tax the colonies without their consent, and the stamp act was passed through Parliament with scarcely a division.

Then began the great struggle for representative government against the arbitrary power of one man.

Two great waves broke in fury over Great Britain and her colonies in America. The one ancient, the power of monarchy, rolling with all the accumulated strength of centuries; the other modern, the united will of the people, agitated by the tumultuous swellings of a popular spirit, increased by the coming flood of a newer and more modern enlightenment, rolled on in its overwhelming and resistless course.

The nobility of England had forgotten the revolution of 1688 and the lessons it had taught. The King had forgotten the lesson of the death of Charles the First, and the power to tax the colonies internally without their consent in the face of the Magna Charta, the declaration of rights, the charters of the colonies, and the determined will of the people was not only asserted as a financial necessity, but maintained as a political right.

This was the England to which CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton went in 1757, when he entered the Temple at London to study law at the age of 20, after having spent the prior period of his life from 8 years of age at St. Omers, Rheims, and Paris, in France, the home of absolute monarchy.

Such was the situation of the province of Maryland and its relation to the mother country when, in 1764, a refined and cultured aristocrat, the pampered son of a father who was the protégé of Cæcilius Calvert, and bound to the Stuarts by every tie of social contact and royal beneficence, he landed at Annapolis on the 14th of February, at the age of 27, a disfranchised citizen by reason of his faith. CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton was of almost royal ancestry, being descended from the princely family of the Carrolls of Ely O'Carroll, Kings County, Ireland.

He was an aristocrat by birth, breeding, education, and association. His every hereditary connection and tendency was monarchical. He did not spring from the free gentry of Great Britain, nor from the masses who, during the century of his birth, were struggling for the recognition of the inherent rights of free manhood, but from the ruling classes, who, attached to the absolute monarchy of their time, were fighting to delay, aye, to prevent, this recognition. His paternal grandfather, Charles Carroll, after his admission to the bar, became the secretary of Lord Powis, one of the ministers of James the Second, who bespoke for him the favor of Cæcilius Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, with whose commission of attorney-general of the province he came to Maryland in 1688.

By Lord Baltimore he was endowed with large landed estates, which made him and his descendants the wealthiest residents of the province, and he was ever attached to the service of the proprietary, the grant of the King.

His father, Charles Carroll the second, if I may so call him, was also connected with the proprietary by every tie, and had that pride of ancestry characteristic of caste and class, invariably binding such men to the existing order and opposing them to changes in government.

In 1761 we find him writing to his son; CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, then a student abroad, to trace back his Irish ancestry to the year 1500, in these words:

I find by history as well as by genealogy that the country of Ely O'Carroll and Dirguill, which comprehended most of King's and Queen's counties, were the territories of the O'Carrolls, and that they were princes thereof. You may, as things are now circumstanced, and considering the low estate to which all the branches of our family are reduced by the struggles the ancient Irish maintained for the support of their religion, rights, and properties, and which received their finishing stroke at the Revolution, think my inquiry an idle one, but I do not think so. If I am not right, the folly may be excused by its being a general one, and I hope for your own and my sake you will gratify me by making as careful an inquiry as possible and giving me what light you can on the subject. As soon as there is peace I will send you the genealogy, in Irish and English, and I desire you will get our family, in particular, traced to its origin.

Thus descended, thus reared, thus associated, every factor of his environment should have molded the youthful mind of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton in the rut of the past and ordained him as a defender of the tyranny of kings against the rights of the people.

Notwithstanding a previous effort of his father to have him sell his estates in Maryland and expatriate himself, he returned to America in 1765 a finished scholar and an accomplished gentleman and took possession of his large estates in Maryland, part of which was called "Carrollton," by which he afterwards distinguished himself from his relative, Charles Carroll, barrister, of Annapolis. With wealth to indulge every whim, with refined literary taste and ability to engage his thought, with friends to amuse him, and barred from public life and politics by his religion, there was nothing to draw him into the vortex of the controversy over human rights by which he soon found himself surrounded save the inherent sense of justice and of right which shaped his whole life. The profits of his profession offered no temptation; the emoluments of office could not allure the richest man in the province. He could hope to gain no concessions from the Provincial Government in espousing its cause; no place of prominence and power at the hands of the people for defending their rights, for both were Protestant. He was a Catholic, disqualified by reason of his faith from voting or holding office in the "Land of the Sanctuary."

The loss of his fixed and substantial wealth stood as a constant warning to him not to be active in any of the many controversies arising in this new country and age, and pointed to indifference and neutrality as the course which an enlightened selfishness should pursue.

Association, friendship, love of home and neighbor, did not combine to turn him to the cause of his countrymen, for he had spent his whole life from childhood to mature manhood in the schools of absolutism in France, and had formed his friendships

among those classes in both England and France which were not only wedded to the forms and practices of tyranny, but were in many instances a part of the government which oppressed.

No man in all the colonies was more encircled by conditions that would have predisposed him to the royal cause, or at least to diplomatic inactivity, than CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Reason, experience, and indeed posterity would have condoned such a course, and nothing but an enlightened mind, a loyal and a brave heart, could have so completely divorced him from all the precedents of his life. The ordinary man is largely the creature of circumstances. He usually follows the crowd.

To accept the conditions in which a man finds himself, to agree with his neighbor, make no great draft on either moral or physical courage. To break the bond of one's surroundings, to sever old friendships and associations, to disagree with one's neighbor, aye, to fight and kill him, to risk life, property, all, in crises which involve all, demands that lofty moral courage, that intelligent self-containment, that complete unselfishness, that has in all ages distinguished the great man from the small.

What did this young Irishman find when in 1764, at 27 years of age, he set foot upon the soil of Maryland and took possession of his large estate? He found a fair land, dedicated to religious freedom, welcoming him as a citizen, but for his faith depriving him of a citizen's dearest rights; a province whose royal charter guaranteed its citizens all the ancient rights of Englishmen and protected them, in terms, from taxation by any but their own representative; a colony sacred to man's most modern rights trembling with the prospect of the stamp act, finally imposed on the 22d day of March, 1765.

He found the proprietary government, the government of which his fathers had been a part, the government of the benefactors of his family, bent upon imposing taxes upon the people in the shape of fees of public officers and tithes to the Episcopal

clergy by proclamation of the governor without the consent of the people through their representatives. The stamp act would have cost him but little, the fees to public officers and tithes to the clergy would not have embarrassed him seriously in his great wealth. He could have paid them, but in each of these controversies he saw a principle embodied, the sacred principle that the people alone have the right to tax themselves. He saw that this question must be settled then, there, for him, for his fellow-citizens, for humanity, for posterity.

No hesitation marked his course. Throwing aside every association of his early life, risking his vast property, manfully overcoming every predilection arising from his ancestry, birth, and education, he cast his lot with the people. No public act or utterance marks his attitude toward this historic piece of tyranny, for he could not vote or hold office; but that his heart was the patriot's heart appears in a letter to his friend Edmund Jennings, of London, in which he says:

Should the stamp act be enforced by tyrannical soldiery, our property, our liberty, our very existence is at an end. And you may be persuaded that nothing but an armed force can execute this worst of laws. Can England, surrounded with powerful enemies, distracted with intestine factions, encumbered and almost staggering under the immense load of debt, little short of £150,000,000, send out such a powerful army to deprive their fellow-subjects of their rights and liberties?

If ministerial influence and parliamentary corruption should not blush at such a detestable sheme; if Parliament, blind to their own interest and forgetting that they are the guardians of sacred liberty and of our happy constitution, should have the impudence to avow this open infraction of both, will England, her commerce annihilated by the oppression of America, be able to maintain these troops? Reflect on the immense ocean that divides this fruitful country from the island whose power, as its territory is circumscribed, has already arrived at its zenith, while the power of this continent is growing daily and in time will be as unbounded as our dominions are extensive. The rapid increase in manufactures surpasses the expectation of the most sanguine American. Even the arts and sciences commence to flourish, and in these, as in arms, the day, I hope, will come when America will be superior to all the world.

Prophetic hope, uttered at the dawn of the nation's darkest day, resplendently realized at the dawn of a new century, on a day when we commemorate the virtues of the patriot whom it inspired!

In his opposition to the next step of government, to assume the rights of the people CHARLES CARROLL left his retirement and stepped into public gaze as the avowed champion of the people. Public officers in Maryland had always been paid by fees fixed by the assembly. The law fixing those fees and the tithes which the Episcopal clergy of the Established Church were allowed to collect had expired by its own limitation. The house of burgesses and the council failed to agree on a new law, and Governor Eden prorogued the assembly and by executive proclamation fixed the fees and tithes himself.

This action of the governor aroused more indignation in the province, if possible, than the stamp act, which was soon repealed. In his opposition to this proclamation he perhaps shone brightest in all his long advocacy of the people's rights against the aggressions of arbitrary power.

In a series of published letters, replete with erudition, in classic style and poignant satire, CHARLES CARROLL again espoused the people's cause, and, on the broad ground that these fees and tithes were nothing short of taxes on the people, and as such could only be imposed upon them by their consent, through their duly elected representatives, he arraigned the governor and his secretary of state, the gifted Daniel Dulaney, in dialogues between the First and Second Citizen, and which were the philippics of the age.

During this written debate he was taunted as "Jesuit," "anti-Christ," a "man without a country;" and yet his devotion to the people's cause rose supreme over every insult, over all injustice, and inspired him with an eloquence of diction and a forcefulness of statement which put to rout the great Daniel Dulaney, the peer of any lawyer of his time in England or America.

The broad liberality of his mind and soul, his devotion to civil and religious freedom, appear in this controversy, when, in referring to the English Revolution, he says:

That the national religion was in danger under James the Second from his bigotry and despotic temper, the dispensing power assumed by him

and every other part of his conduct clearly evince. The nation had a right to resist and so secure its civil and religious liberties. I am as averse to having a religion crammed down people's throats as a proclamation.

This was the reply of a Catholic in a time of intense feeling between religious sects, which had gone to the length of bloody wars, in a controversy in which the deprivation of his rights by reason of his religion furnished the taunt to this adversary, and characterizes a mind as broad and a soul as lofty as the spirit of religious toleration in which Maryland alone of all the colonies first reared an altar.

Meanwhile events hurried on in rapid succession. England, bent upon the subjugation of the colonies, deprived them of one ancient right after another—the duty on tea, the Boston port bill, the appointment of the judiciary by the Crown, the navigation acts, were all laid with ruthless hand upon the weak but determined colonists. The people remonstrated, petitioned, prayed. At last when petition availed not, when remonstrance seemed vain, when patience had ceased to be a virtue, and moderation had failed, the people of the colonies, characterized as well by their loyalty and obedience as by their love of law and hatred of tyranny, rebelled against the systematic oppressions of George the Third.

The immortal Otis inspired Massachusetts by his magnificent patriotism and proposed a congress of the colonies. "Join or die" echoed from the green hills of New Hampshire to the shores of the Savannah. Virginia, under Patrick Henry; South Carolina, under Christopher Gadsden; and Maryland, with a spontaneous outburst of patriotism led by CHARLES CARROLL and Thomas Johnson, approved the suggestion; and each of the colonies, catching up the music of union, joined with heavenly harmony in the glorious anthem of a new nation. In all this struggle the province of Maryland was foremost, most unselfish.

To prove this must we be reminded that the Frederick County court first had the courage, eleven years before the Declaration of Independence, to declare the stamp act unconstitutional; that before a hostile foot had pressed her soil the sons

of Maryland flew to arms at the trumpet call of Massachusetts' oppressions; not to defend their own homes, not to protect their own families, but to assist a sister colony in maintaining with their blood the principles of free government.

Must we again be told that the old Maryland Line was first to drive the serried ranks of England from the heights of Harlem at the point of the bayonet, and that they bore the brunt of almost every fight thenceforth to Valley Forge? Must the generous haste with which her sons responded to the call of the conquered Carolinas be recounted, and how, from Camden to Eutaw Springs, through Guilford Court-House, Hobkirk's Hill, and Cowpens, with a determined courage born of patriotic conviction, with an impetuous valor inspired by its responsibility to the future of mankind, the Maryland Line, the tenth legion of Green's army, the old guard of the Continental forces, dashed with Morgan through the veterans of the daring Tarleton and with Howard through the Irish Buffs of the gallant Webster, and drove them, at the point of the bayonet, in panic from the field?

No hated stamp ever polluted the soil of Maryland. Her citizens in daylight, not disguised as Indians, met the ship *The Good Intent*, laden with dutiable articles, at the harbor of Annapolis four years before the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor, of which our infant lips are taught to prattle, and compelled her to put back to England with her unwelcome cargo, and within six months after the destruction of the tea at Boston Harbor assembled without disguise and compelled the owner of the *Peggy Stewart*, with a cargo of tea, to set fire to and burn her to the water's edge.

Out of a population of about 250,000 souls she furnished to the Continental armies 5,000 militia and 15,000 regulars, 400 of whom, at the battle of Long Island, withstood six attacks of a full brigade of English veterans, covered the retreat of the Continental army, saved it from destruction and the Revolution from collapse, leaving 260 of their number on the field.

Mr. Speaker, in paying tribute to one of Maryland's greatest sons I may be pardoned for this partial digression, which so naturally thrusts itself upon one's attention in reviewing the history of the time written by Northern men, who by some inadvertence seem to have overlooked the leading part the colony played in the war for human rights. In all of this, of all of this, was CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, not as a soldier, but as an organizer and maturer of provisional and permanent government in the province and the nation.

While I am aware, sir, that military deeds and fame are more dazzling and lasting in men's minds than the less dramatic life of a civil officer during war, yet it is apparent that as great ability, heroism, and patriotism is needed and may be displayed in civil office in such crises as on the tented field. The army is the executive arm of a people in such a time, while behind the glamour, the martial pomp and glory of all successful wars lies the patient, painstaking, plodding statesman, reconciling differences, quieting passion, abating jealousies, re-forming government out of the broken pieces of a former structure, recruiting armies, providing financial system, guarding foreign relations, and raising revenue, without all of which wars are impossible and their results fruitless of good to the people.

CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton chose the less showy part. He formulated policy, inspired patriotism, collected troops and provided for their maintenance, guided public sentiment toward liberty, yet retained it short of license, embodied into laws rules of action for the people to fit the time, meet their aspirations, and safeguard the liberties which they won by blood and battle, not only from foreign but domestic attack.

The convention of Maryland assembled July 26, 1775, and at once adopted resolutions throwing off the proprietary power and assuming a provisional government. This convention issued its declaration of independence, known as the

“Association of the Freemen of Maryland,” in which they approved the resistance of British aggression by force, pledged themselves to sustain this opposition, and gave as their principal reason for such a course not their own wrongs, but the oppression of the province of Massachusetts Bay by the British. CARROLL was a member of this convention and a signer of the articles of the association.

This association vested all the power of government in a provincial convention, and CARROLL became a member of this convention. The executive power of the new government was conferred by this convention upon a committee of safety, consisting of sixteen members, and CARROLL became a member of this committee, which had full charge of military and naval affairs. The glorious record of Maryland troops, which I have just faintly and partially reviewed, therefore was attributable in a large measure to his care and executive ability.

As a member of this committee and of the committee of observation of his county, as a commissioner with Samuel Chase, of Maryland, and Dr. Franklin to Canada to persuade her to join the colonies, as a member of Congress, as a member of the board of war and the committee on foreign applications, as a member of the senate of Maryland and of the United States Senate for many years, he did industrious, laborious, and distinguished service in conducting the war to a successful conclusion, securing the independence of the colonies and reorganizing society in the province and nation into well-regulated governments.

To follow him through the various public functions he performed would be to write the civic history of the State and nation during their struggles, and I shall but revert to some of his most distinguished services to both as a constructive statesman.

To him perhaps more than to any other single man was due the honor for securing official action by the colony in favor of casting her lot with her sister colonies. The people of the

province met in convention on May 8, 1776, to select Delegates to Congress, which was to decide whether the colonies should declare their independence, and agreed in this convention by resolution that the interests of the colonies would be best subserved by a reunion with Great Britain. CHARLES CARROLL was absent, but at a subsequent session, June 21, he was present, and, prevailing upon the delegates to reverse their former action, prepared and succeeded in having adopted a resolution instructing Maryland's Delegates in Congress "to join her sister colonies in declaring the United Colonies free and independent States," with the proviso (which showed his zealous care of the autonomy of the State), that "the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government of the colony be reserved to the people thereof."

The recent tendency to elect Senators by the popular vote gives peculiar interest to the fact that CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, as a member of the first constitutional convention of Maryland, was the author of the method of electing the Senators of that State by electors chosen by the people and not by the people directly. This method, which obtained in Maryland until 1837, six years after his death, differed from that of every other colony that had up to that time framed a constitution, made the Maryland senate a famous body for many years, and furnished the model for the method afterwards prescribed in the Constitution of the United States for electing Senators thereof. It had the approval of Madison, Taney, and many others, and in the formative period of the State's early history secured the best ability of the State for the Senate and saved the people much hasty, ill-digested, and reckless legislation.

The necessity of perfect freedom of commerce between the States and the absence of any provision for it in the Articles of Confederation had perhaps as much to do with the framing of the Constitution of the United States, which made this country "one and inseparable, now and forever," as any other

one thing. This necessity created the interstate-commerce clause in the Constitution, the shortest and perhaps the most benign and comprehensive provision in that great instrument; the clause through which alone it is conceded effective legislation may be enacted to regulate and control the so-called trusts. It is not, I apprehend, generally known that this necessity was first and most prominently developed in a controversy between Virginia and Maryland, which became acute in 1777. Virginia claimed the right to collect tolls on all vessels going through the capes into Chesapeake Bay, which right, if conceded, placed the trade of Maryland's principal port at the mercy of the State of Virginia.

Maryland resisted it, and in this year the two houses of the legislature appointed commissioners to meet those from Virginia to settle the jurisdiction of the rivers and the bay dividing the two States. CHARLES CARROLL, Thomas Stone, and Brice Thomas Beale Worthington were selected with others from the house to prepare instructions for the guidance of the Maryland commissioners. This dispute convinced the States that all navigable interstate waters as well as all other means of interstate commerce must be within the regulation of a central and superior government, which was afterwards accomplished by the interstate-commerce clause.

Credit may be fairly claimed for Maryland, through CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, and her other representatives, for the promotion and accomplishment of another great national benefit, which has redounded richly to the welfare of the people—the surrender by the States to the General Government of all their western lands, which afterwards comprised the great Northwest Territory. Maryland first brought this matter to the attention of Congress, and persisted in her demand by refusing to sign the Articles of Confederation until this concession was made.

Maryland had been twice shorn of her territory—once by Pennsylvania and again by Virginia—and she was unwilling that these immense and unknown tracts, extending, as was

thought in that day, to the Southern Sea, and subjugated by the blood of all the colonists, should be the sole estate of the several States which claimed them by vague titles.

This vast expanse, since divided into States and furnishing homes for thousands of prosperous American citizens, teeming with industry and rich in possessions of all kinds, owes in a large measure its present condition to the attitude of Maryland and the statesmanship of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, and the nation finds a better balance in the territorial area of its States.

CHARLES CARROLL did not remain long in Congress, and, indeed, his career there does not seem to have been as brilliant in the two terms he served as his service in the State senate was. He resigned, after having been elected the third time, because, as he said:

The great deal of time which was idly wasted in frivolous debates disgusted me so much that I thought I might spend mine better than by remaining a silent hearer of such speeches as neither edified, entertained, or instructed me.

Comment upon the wisdom of his reason is, perhaps, unnecessary here.

Elected to the first Senate of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, still holding his seat in the Maryland senate, he was an active and influential—nay, a leading figure in both. The roll of almost every important committee in the Maryland senate during his long service there, and that of almost every committee of importance in the Senate of the United States, until he resigned therefrom to avoid losing his seat in the senate of his State, contains the name of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

His legislative career, sir, seems to have been distinguished rather by real, unattractive, effective work in preparing bills, reports, and public papers than in the discussion of questions on the floor. Scarcely a communication passed between the two houses of the Maryland assembly during his service in its senate that he did not prepare and present that communication. Fearless independence characterized his attitude toward

and vote upon public questions in both the Maryland legislature and in both Houses of Congress. The records of both contain many votes on which he stood alone, or nearly so. If he were alone it was the loneliness of righteousness—his solitude was the solitude of conscientious conviction. Secure in the confidence of his own rectitude, he did not fear to stand alone, but always, whether in reports or debate, gave reasons for his positions that inspired the confidence of his associates in his integrity and intelligence.

Devoted to human freedom, although a large owner of slaves, he introduced a bill into the United States Senate for the gradual abolishment of slavery. Honest in every instinct, he resolutely and invariably resisted the issuance by State or nation of a depreciated or depreciating paper currency, and maintained his position by some of the strongest papers ever written upon that subject.

His fertile mind grasped with equal ease all public subjects, from the bestowal of titles on public officers in the United States, which he opposed, to intricate questions of revenue, finance, and diplomacy.

His skillful management of Maryland's fight for the national capital, which resulted in its location on Maryland soil on the banks of the Potomac; stamped him as an astute leader of men and conspires with many other evidences of his greatness to make the erection of a statue to him on this spot most fitting.

Nor was great capacity for public affairs the only talent of this many-sided man. There are few great business enterprises of his time and section with the promotion and active management of which his name is not connected. As one of the incorporators of and a stockholder in the Baltimore Iron Works, as an incorporator of the company then known as "The Proprietors of the Susquehanna Canal" (to make that river navigable from the border of Maryland to tidewater), as one of the commissioners of the State of Maryland to confer with those of Virginia for the opening and extension of navigation on the Potomac, which resulted in the renewal

of the Potomac Company, the parent of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and, finally, as the first of the American directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, he proved that his capabilities were not confined to abstract discussion of theories of government, but extended to the successful advancement of the material interests of the State.

Tall, straight, slender, graceful, and imposing in figure and mien, polished and courtly in manner and address, refined and cultivated in mind and spirit, pure of purpose and of lofty ideals and aspirations, he was the paragon of the gentleman, the patriot, and the statesman of his time.

Leading by ability, not pretense; persuading by reason, not sophistry; commanding by affection, not fear, he was a distinct and effective factor in all the great work of his generation until, with honors thick upon him and the consciousness of work well done, he retired from public life with the love of those who knew him best, the lofty esteem of those with whom he served his country, and the confidence, respect, and gratitude of all his fellow-citizens, and died lamented by every man who cherished honor and loved virtue.

In the heart of the older Maryland where he located the capital of the United States, at the left hand of the great Samuel Adams, who fired the citizenship of Massachusetts, as he that of Maryland, into open resistance to oppression, looking toward Allen and Garfield, of Ohio, formed from the trackless Northwest, which he saved to the nation for the construction of free States, and in company with Benton and Blair, of Missouri, who, in a later crisis led their State to adhere to the Union, as he, in the first great crisis, led his to adhere to her sister colonies to throw off the tyranny of England, he, and they, and all their associates will stand as silent and continual monuments to the immortal truth they labored and fought to establish, that the collective will of individual freemen is the truth and only source of the power and authority of all the governments of man. [Loud applause.]

## ADDRESS OF MR. DALZELL, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

\* Mr. SPEAKER: Nearly forty years ago the President of the United States was authorized by law to extend an invitation to each State of the Union to contribute to the Chamber of the old House of Representatives, now known as Statuary Hall, the figures in imperishable marble or bronze of not exceeding two of her deceased citizens, illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civil or military service such as might be deemed worthy of national commemoration.

It is matter of historic interest that the author of the proposition was that distinguished son of Vermont to whom the people of this country in largest part owe their splendid Congressional Library, and who for a period of more than forty years in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, rendered to his country illustrious public service—the late Senator Justin Morrill.

What he said in speaking to the passage of the bill in the House on April 19, 1864, is worthy of reproduction here at this time. With reference to the Hall of the old House, he said:

Congress is the guardian of this fine old Hall, surpassing in beauty all the rooms of this vast pile, and should protect it from desecration. Its noble columns from a quarry exhausted and incapable of reproduction—

“Nature formed but one,  
And broke the die in molding.”

Its democratic simplicity and grandeur of style and its wealth of association, with many earnest and eloquent chapters in the history of our country, deserve perpetuity at the hands of an American Congress. It was here that many of our most distinguished men, whose fame “the world will not willingly let die,” began or ended their career.

It appears to me eminently proper, therefore, that this House should take the initiative in setting apart with reverent affection the Hall, so charged with precious memories, to some purpose of usefulness and dignity. To what end more useful or grand, and at the same time simple and inexpensive, can we devote it than to ordain that it shall be set apart for the reception of such statuary as each State shall elect to be deserving

of this lasting commemoration? Will not all the States with generous emulation proudly respond, and thus furnish a new evidence that the Union will clasp and hold forever all its jewels—the glories of the past, civil, military, and judicial—in one hallowed spot where those who will be here to aid in carrying on the Government may daily receive fresh inspiration and new incentives.

“To scorn delights and live laborious days?” and where pilgrims from all parts of the Union, as well as from foreign lands, may come and behold a gallery filled with such American manhood as succeeding generations will delight to honor, and see also the actual form and mold of those who have inerasably fixed their names on the pages of history.

Whether the conception was original with Mr. Morrill or not, I do not know. It may be that it had been his fortune to visit St. Stephen's Hall in the new palace of Westminster and to behold on either hand “the statues of Parliamentary statesmen who rose to eminence by the eloquence and abilities they displayed in the House of Commons;” of Hampden, the apostle of liberty, in an age of royal arrogance; of Falkland, Clarendon, Selden, Somers, and Mansfield, immortal in the annals of English law; of Sir Robert Walpole, Fox, Burke, and Grattan, unsurpassed in the logical and thrilling eloquence of English speech; of the Earl of Chatham, America's friend in her time of need, and of his brilliant son, incomparable statesman even in his early manhood, and, equally with his father, dear to us in his devotion to our cause, William Pitt.

It may be that, thrilled with the emotions of his sight, he contemplated an array of American statesmen, orators, and public men who in our American capital should challenge comparison with this array of the mother country in her historic hall. However that may be, it is nevertheless true that while “the actual form and mold of Justin Morrill, who has inerasably fixed his name on the pages of our history, does not appear in our Hall of Statues, it is also true that column and arch and the artistic whole bear testimony to his memory and are suggestive of his patriotic foresight.

Maryland to-day asserts her right to a place in the gallery of our heroes and presents to the nation the statues of two of her citizens illustrious for their historic renown, distinguished

for civic service, and worthy of national commemoration, and prays judgment upon her choice.

In this ceremony Pennsylvania is no intruder. She claims a right to a part in the imposing exercises. William Penn and George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) were twin pioneers in an adventure upon a new continent. Quaker and Roman Catholic, they each sought a virgin soil on which to plant and nourish the principles of civil and religious liberty. Knight-errants were they in the search for that of which England in her decadence under the rule of the Stuarts knew nothing. But more than that, Pennsylvania and Maryland have an intimate place in history, because of the fact that the royal grants to Penn and Calvert gave rise to a question of title that has a marked place in our national history. Parts of the same territory were included in each royal concession. Hence arose a controversy which was ultimately determined by the definition of Mason and Dixon's line—a line which for years was looked upon not only as dividing territory, but as the boundary between human liberty and the system of human slavery. Such line of demarcation, thank God, is now a thing of the forgotten and buried past. Pennsylvania and Maryland are now, as they were in the beginning, twin champions of the institutions which mean liberty to all men, and but recently the valor of their sons fighting in a common cause testifies their common interest in humanity, even to the shedding of blood on foreign soils—theirs a common flag and a common creed of freedom.

Maryland asks the nation to accept as her contribution to its gallery of heroes JOHN HANSON and CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton. JOHN HANSON was a distinguished patriot of the times that tried men's souls, and fills a large place in the Maryland history of those times. Others will speak at length of his virtues and his title to our regard. I prefer to speak of that other distinguished man whose statue in bronze we face to-day in the company of the immortals whom the various

States of this Union have set up with pride in our Capitol—CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton. As much as any man of his generation anywhere, and more than any other man of his generation in Maryland—and there were giants in those days—he stands for that generation's grand conception and heroic acts.

Born in 1737, he long outlived the contemporaries of his birth. Dying in 1832, at the age of 95 years, he is conspicuously known as the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. But that is by no means his only title to an honorable fame. His life's history is unique. Thirty years he was a student, preparatory to a life of patriotic action equally long, and that was followed by another like period of rest and scholarly recreation in the practice of the virtues of citizenship which furnished to his contemporaries and to posterity an illustrious example for their guide and instruction. This triple career has no parallel in American history or, so far as I know, in any other. His first thirty years were spent partly in a home school, but mainly abroad in institutions of learning on the Continent, in a study of languages, of the arts, of philosophy, of all that conspires to make the accomplished and scholarly gentleman. He was a student of the civil law in France and of the common law in England.

Endowed by inheritance with great wealth, he might have surrendered himself to the enjoyment of ease and the comforts of life, without regard to the great questions that the period in which he lived presented. His life covered the period preceding the Revolution, the Revolutionary period, and that which succeeded it. In each and all of these he was a prominent and commanding figure. He was during his whole life conspicuously Maryland's champion of the cause of civil and religious liberty.

His sojourn and education abroad had no influence upon his Americanism. He returned to his home in Maryland an ardent patriot, imbued with the spirit of independence and

prepared to give his life, his energies, and his talents to its service. He returned at a time when the storm clouds were already gathering that presaged the Revolution, and he enrolled himself actively upon the side of the colonies and against the mother country. His scholarly and energetic pen was devoted to the task of creating and encouraging a patriotic and aggressive public opinion.

At one time a question arose in the house of delegates relative to the fees of civil officers of the colonial government. This the governor undertook to settle by a proclamation, and a question as to his right to do so became the subject of discussion in the public press. In a series of letters notable for their classic style, their convincing logic, and the spirit of freedom that pervaded them, under the nom de plume of First Citizen, Mr. CARROLL assailed the governor's right. "In a land of freedom," said he, "this arbitrary exertion of the prerogative will not, must not, be endured." Although opposed by Mr. Daniel Dulaney, the provincial secretary, a man of great power as a writer and distinguished reputation as a lawyer, Mr. CARROLL succeeded in securing the indorsement of public opinion, and the governor's proclamation was burnt by the common hangman. He early foresaw that the continued encroachment of England upon the rights of the colonies must inevitably result in war.

When Mr. Graves, a member of Parliament, asserted that 6,000 soldiers would easily march from one end of the colonies to the other, he replied:

So they may, but they will be masters of the spot only on which they encamp. They will find naught but enemies before and around them. If we are beaten in the plains we will retreat to our mountains and defy them. Our resources will increase with our difficulties. Necessity will force us to exertion, until, tired of combating in vain against a spirit which victory after victory can not subdue, your armies will evacuate our soil, and your country retire a great loser by the contest.

In June, 1774, the delegates of Maryland as a protest against British aggression declared the importation of tea to be unlawful. A certain Mr. Stewart, a friend of Mr. CARROLL'S, was a

consignee of a cargo of the forbidden merchandise in his brig *Peggy Stewart*.

Indignant people rose up to prevent the unloading. Mr. CARROLL was appealed to by the owner for protection. Setting aside, however, his personal esteem for his friend, he declared the importation to be in defiance of the law, and said, "My advice is that he (the owner) set fire to the vessel and burn her, together with the tea that she contains, to the water's edge," and this was done. In the Revolutionary period, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton filled many conspicuous and important as well as laborious offices in which his services proved of great advantage to the cause of the struggling colonists. He was a member of the first committee of observation in Maryland and a delegate in the provincial convention.

That convention at one time instructed the Maryland Representatives in the General Congress "To disavow in the most solemn manner all design in the colonies of independence."

He secured a repeal of these instructions and a substitution in their stead of a direction to the Representatives "To concur with the other United Colonies, or a majority of them, in declaring the United Colonies free and independent States."

He was one of the three commissioners—Samuel Chase and Dr. Franklin being the others—appointed to effect if possible a coalition between Canada and the colonies against the mother country.

Had the attempt, which failed, been successful and had Canada joined forces in the cause of independence, how different might now have been the complexion of the American Union! He was a member of the Congress that gave to the world the Declaration of Independence and one of the signers of that great instrument. He was a member of the board of war and continued while on that board and in Congress to be a member also of the Maryland convention. He was one of the committee appointed to draft the constitution of his State. After the adoption of the constitution, he was twice United States Senator from the State of Maryland. He was one of

the commissioners for settling the boundary line between Maryland and Virginia.

I do not regard this as a proper occasion on which to attempt a lengthy or detailed review of the life of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton. What I have said is sufficient to indicate that in the choice of his statue for Statuary Hall, Maryland has complied with the strict letter of the law and contributed one of her citizens illustrious for historic renown and distinguished for civil service worthy of national commemoration.

CHARLES CARROLL was an ardent Federalist, and with the downfall of that party in 1801 laid down the burdens of public and retired to private life. He was then 64 years of age. There yet remained to him, as the sequel showed, thirty-two years more of life, all of which were spent in the enjoyment of a dignified leisure, in scholarly pursuits, and in the practice of his religion, to which he was ardently devoted. He was an enthusiastic Roman Catholic, faithful to the teachings of his church and observant of its customs and obligations.

A scholar, a statesman, a man of affairs, a Christian gentleman, he was idolized by his fellow-citizens, not only for what he had done, but for what he was in himself and by way of example to others.

Since I came into this Hall this afternoon I find that so honored and conspicuous a figure was CHARLES CARROLL in his old age that he received express recognition from Congress. I find the following letter, written to him by Andrew Stevenson, the Speaker of the House:

WASHINGTON, *May 22, 1828.*

SIR: I have the honor to communicate to you, by direction of the House of Representatives, the inclosed joint resolution of both Houses of Congress, extending to you, as the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, the privilege of franking. You will be pleased, sir, to receive it as a token of the distinguished respect and veneration which Congress entertains toward an early and devoted friend to liberty, and one who stood preeminently forward in the purest and noblest band of patriots that this world has ever seen.

I can not resist the gratification which this opportunity affords of publicly testifying the strong sentiments of esteem and veneration which, individually, I entertain for your character and services, and expressing an earnest hope that the evening of your long life may be as peaceful and happy as it has been active and useful.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient and faithful servant,

ANDREW STEVENSON,

*Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.*

It was his happy lot to see the Government that he had helped to found grow in strength and influence; to see his country expand in territory and wealth, and to be inspired with the faith that the future held in store for it only continued and progressive advances.

CHARLES CARROLL's title to enduring fame rests upon the fact that he was a lover of and a successful worker in the cause of human liberty.

A great American orator once said, in speaking about statues:

The honors we grant mark how high we stand, and they educate the future. The men we honor and the maxims we lay down in measuring our favorites show the level and morals of the time.

Mr. Speaker, we may safely abide admeasurement by this standard when we introduce into our American Pantheon CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

Could some miracle for the time being breathe the breath of life into the figures that adorn our Statuary Hall, CARROLL would need no introduction to that company, nor would that company need introduction to him. The one touch of nature that makes the whole world kin would be found in the common love of liberty, in the common devotion to its principles, and in the common life service in its cause. It would be a goodly company, in which there could be no rivalry as between its members, except rivalry as to extreme devotion to country and to fellow-man; a company that includes soldiers and statesmen, diplomats, and men who have been potent factors in the advancement of civilization; such a soldier as the chivalric and knightly Kearny; such a diplomat

as Livingston, who gave to us our empire west of the Mississippi; such an agent of civilization as Robert Fulton, creator of commerce; such a statesman as Webster, expounder of the Constitution; and, peerless in the world's history among the champions of liberty, the immortal Washington. [Loud applause.]

## ADDRESS OF MR. SCHIRM, OF MARYLAND.

Mr. SPEAKER: To commemorate her great men and to perpetuate the glory of their deeds by public ceremonies and in lasting works of art are the fitting acts of a great nation. They inspire veneration for the past and infuse hope for the future. Love of country is thereby stimulated in the bosoms of both young and old, and the spirit of sacrifice wins the devotion of the heart for future crises. A country without monuments is a living death—she throws no beam of light upon the untrodden path of the future. To her humanity looks in vain for a guiding star, but a country that molds in bronze and stone her tributes to greatness ever lives, and tells the story of her achievements to the recurring centuries with charming eloquence. Sensible of these facts, the law of our land has provided that each State might send the effigies of two of her chosen sons to be placed permanently in the National Statuary Hall.

It pleases the fancy to reflect that in that Hall the House of Representatives held its meetings until the completion of this magnificent Chamber, and the imagination, Pygmalion-like, conjures into living form the statues of those patriots who, by their oratory in the forum of the House or by their heroism upon the fields of battle, won laurels for themselves and shed luster upon the pages of American history.

The State of Maryland has now availed itself of its privilege and erected among those silent witnesses of great events and the doers of great deeds the effigies of two of her illustrious sons, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton and JOHN HANSON.

My worthy and eloquent colleague has already portrayed the character and achievements of CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton, and the pleasant duty has been assigned me of performing a similar office in honor of JOHN HANSON.

The little colony of Maryland played an important part in

the gigantic drama which closed with the independence of the United States; and it is from this period that Maryland has made both of her selections. So many able and brilliant men have graced the history of our State that much embarrassment was encountered in choosing but two upon whom to confer this distinction, for fear that thereby injustice might seem to have been intentionally done to others. Had we been privileged we could easily have filled all available space with effigies of renowned Marylanders and yet have felt dissatisfied that others equally worthy could not be added.

Among jurists, the name of Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Bench of the United States, suggests itself; among statesmen, Samuel Chase; among orators, William Pinkney and Henry Winter Davis; among soldiers, Col. John Eager Howard, who with the Maryland Line saved the day at Cowpens; Gen. Otho H. Williams, whose genius was displayed on many fields, and Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman, who was an aid on the staff of General Washington; as a promoter of religious freedom, Cæcilius Calvert; as a writer of national anthems, Francis Scott Key, who gave to our country the Star Spangled Banner, when he saw by the dawn's early light that our flag was still floating over the ramparts of Fort McHenry.

To JOHN HANSON, however, belongs the distinction of having held the highest Federal office ever conferred upon a Marylander, that of President of the United States in Congress assembled, and of having done more than any other one man in the colony to destroy the supremacy of Great Britain. JOHN HANSON was born at Mulberry Grove, Charles County, Md., on April 3, 1721. The Hanson family was a large one, and many of them found their way into the public service. His grandfather, Colonel Hanson, fell at Lützen for the cause of religious liberty; his oldest brother, Judge Walter Hanson, was commissary for Charles County; his brother Samuel was a patriot, and presented to General Washington £800 sterling to provide shoes for his barefoot soldiers; William, his youngest

brother, was examiner-general of Maryland; his son, Alexander Contee, was a patriot and intimate with Washington. He was one of the first judges of the general court and chancellor of the State; he was an elector for Washington, and compiled the laws of Maryland; his son, Samuel, was a surgeon in the Life Guards of Washington, and his son, Peter Contee, of the Maryland Line, was wounded at Fort Washington.

The first mention of JOHN HANSON in public life is as a delegate from Charles County to the lower house of assembly, in which he served nine terms. The disputes which arose between the two houses of assembly upon the burning questions of the day brought to the lower house, composed of the representatives of the people in the province, the ablest men in Maryland. He carried to that body a matured mind, which was there trained for the higher and more important responsibilities that awaited him in a broader field. At the close of the French and Indian war the tide of immigration turned to the fertile regions of Frederick County, and thither, in 1773, JOHN HANSON followed the long train of sturdy home builders. In his new environment his personal magnetism was soon felt; his sound judgment and honesty of character won for him the respect and confidence of the people. His advice was eagerly sought in those times of growing dissatisfaction, and, through his efforts, the citizens of Frederick County became devoted to the principles of the Revolution and firm in their resistance to the oppressions of the mother country.

His influence constantly increased and he was the leading spirit among a band of determined patriots during the transition of Maryland from a dependent, proprietary province into a sovereign State. During this period of transition there gradually grew up side by side with the proprietary government another government—a government of the people. The latter was an outgrowth of the restless desire for freedom, and its formidable character was not suspected until it became too

powerful to be checked. This new government consisted of a general convention of the province and its council of safety, while in the counties there were mass meetings and committees of observation, with an embryo department of state called a committee of correspondence. HANSON was a member of the convention and served as chairman of both the committee of observation and the committee of correspondence in Frederick County. To these honors was added that of treasurer of the county, and to him were intrusted all the funds to pay the soldiers and the Delegates to Congress.

JOHN HANSON was a silent, but no less effective, power. His activity was of that character as to require secrecy to make his plans effective. When, however, the crisis had been reached, when bold and fearless words were needed to arouse the resolution and strengthen the purpose of his compatriots, he arose in the convention in July, 1775, and with the unflinching determination of Patrick Henry declared that they would "repel force by force," and pledged himself to support the "present opposition." These were timely words. Enthusiasm was rekindled; other colonies heard them and rejoiced. From that day the colonists in Maryland were bound in closer union. Upon JOHN HANSON primarily devolved the task of organizing and equipping the army. Money was scarce, arms and ammunition were scarcer, but his resourceful mind knew no obstacles.

Under his direction two companies of riflemen were sent to join the army at Boston, and these were the first troops that came from the South to Washington's assistance. Forty companies of minutemen were organized, and the whole of Maryland was put upon the defensive. Arms were manufactured, powder mills erected, and money provided through voluntary contributions. So thorough was his work that when 13,800 militia were required to reenforce the army, Maryland furnished much more than her full quota. That he had the confidence of the Government is evidenced from the fact that President

Hancock made him one of a committee of two to transmit \$300,000 to General Washington for the maintenance of the army in Canada, and by the further fact that he was one of the committee of four deputed to reorganize the Maryland troops, for which purpose Congress furnished the committee with blank commissions to be issued, under the advice of General Washington, to officers who reenlisted after the term of their enlistment had expired.

JOHN HANSON rendered one service to his country that can not be too greatly extolled. Lord Dunmore, the proprietary governor of Virginia, conceived the plan of arming the Indians on the frontier and to make a simultaneous attack upon the colonies from the back country and from the coast. It was planned first to fall upon Fort Pitt, in Pennsylvania, and thence to work their way eastward to Alexandria, Va., in which vicinity there was a fleet of 90 British ships prepared to continue the onslaught along the waterways. The designs of Lord Dunmore were soon detected by HANSON and by his vigilance frustrated. Dr. John Connolly, one of the chief conspirators, who had been carrying dispatches from General Gage to Lord Dunmore, and who had been operating with the Cherokee, Swanee, Mingo, and Delaware tribes, with several of his comrades, fell into the hands of the minutemen of Maryland, near Hagerstown, while they were on their way to Detroit. The arrest of these allies of the King and Parliament, of General Gage and Lord Dunmore, was followed by their imprisonment, and the conspiracy died.

About four years later, in 1779, in another sphere of action, JOHN HANSON again proved himself the man of the hour. Maryland had persistently refused to agree to the Articles of Confederation until some provision had been made for settling the question of the Western domain. That Maryland was right in her contention subsequent events have established; but a crisis had been reached upon which may have devolved the very existence of the Union. JOHN HANSON, believing that

the failure to effect a union would probably mean the loss of everything that had been achieved and that through union alone the perplexing questions could be solved, set to work to have the bar to a complete union removed. His attitude at this time was not unlike that of President Lincoln at a later period of our national history. HANSON'S efforts were rewarded by the passage of an act to empower the Delegates of this State in Congress to subscribe and ratify the Articles of Confederation, and accordingly, on the 1st day of March, 1781, JOHN HANSON and Daniel Carroll, as Delegates of the State of Maryland, put their signatures to the document which was the beginning of the indissoluble Union of the United States. This having been accomplished, he threw his entire force into the debate on the Western land question. That question was settled according to the judgment of Maryland, and out of that vast territory which became the common property of all the States were carved the newer States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and a part of Wisconsin.

JOHN HANSON was three times elected to the Continental Congress, and after his third election was elevated to the position of President of that body. During his first and second terms in Congress he was shown the distinction of being elected also to the lower house of the State. After twenty-five years of public service, rich with the honors that become the man with a clear mind and an incorruptible heart, he retired to private life, and spent his last days at Oxon Hill, Prince George County, Md., where he died November 22, 1783.

JOHN HANSON was one of those modest, unassuming great men who seek no glory for themselves, but find their highest reward in the good that accrues from their efforts to the great body of the people. He was essentially a thinker, a contriver, an unraveler of knotty points, a man to whom the people looked when other leaders said, "What shall we do now?" In those days, when there was great diversity of opinion among

men of equal ability and patriotism, JOHN HANSON proved himself a master in bringing to the front the central idea and enlisting the support of all men who in their adherence to the chief thought lost sight of minor differences. He was of a reflective temperament, weighing well each proposition, and standing firm by his decisions. Too little tribute has heretofore been paid to those quiet, thoughtful men who have furnished the basic ideas upon which governments have been founded and for which armies have contended. Behind the man behind the gun is the idea, the principle, the conviction, which justifies his use of arms, and without which an army becomes an irresponsible mob. It has been said that it is sweet and beautiful to die for one's country, but it is no less sublime to give to one's country sound doctrine and imperishable tenets. The statue of JOHN HANSON, representing him in a reflective attitude, I now formally present to our country, whose Government he so grandly helped to establish. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the resolution offered by my colleague.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Grosvenor). The question is on agreeing to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Pearre].

The resolution was agreed to.