

Maryland In National Politics

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HENRY WINTER DAVIS

1817—1865

It is a happy commentary upon our system of government that the nation has found leadership of ample strength to cope with every crisis through which it has passed. The emergency and the relief, the problem and the solution, the hour and the man have never failed to meet.

This has never been more pronounced than in the deadly struggle between the States. That war, which for four long, tragic years threatened the disruption of the American Union, not only developed a longer line of military genius than any civil conflict in all history, but it brought into relief a type of statesmanship as virile as this or any other country has ever given to the world.

The Republic owes an incalculable debt to the martial heroes of the Civil War, but it owes no less an obligation to that body of men who, in the halls of Congress and in the executive departments, battled as honorably and as bravely to save the Union from suicide. Without their determination and their patriotic

support the victories which the armies achieved in the field would have been impossible.

Thousands there were who sacrificed their lives to maintain a principle. Other thousands, removed from the scenes of blood and agony and death, labored with feverish energy to the same end. But from first to last, the cause of the Union had no bolder defender, no more fearless tribune than Henry Winter Davis. He dedicated to that cause an intellect sweeping in its splendor, and a voice as fervidly eloquent as any ever raised in a legislative body.

The career of this Marylander was meteoric in its brilliancy. Eight short years of Congressional service elevated him from a position of obscurity to that of the most dangerous debater and the most gifted orator in the land. Had he been blessed with length of days he would, in the judgment of no less an authority than James G. Blaine, "have left the most splendid name in the parliamentary annals of America."

One of the organizers of the American party, Davis was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1854 upon that ticket. He was re-elected in 1856 and in 1858. He returned to that body for two years in 1863. A Southern man, he faithfully championed the

interests of the South until those interests resolved upon dismemberment. From that hour he became the arch-enemy of secession and secessionists, devoting himself with impassioned zeal to the preservation of the Union.

To Davis, above all other men, was due Maryland's loyalty during this reign of disorder and distraction. His relentless campaign in that State against disunion called forth a vote of bitter censure from the Democratic Legislature. He replied in an address, "which for eloquence, force and conclusiveness of reasoning is entitled to rank in the political classics of America as the Address to the Electors of Bristol ranks in the political classics of England."

Though a Unionist, uncompromising and unconquerable, Davis was, in the House, as passionate an advocate of civil liberty as was his colleague, Reverdy Johnson, in the Senate. He inveighed with a tongue of fire against the tyranny of militarism and the abuse of power by an autocratic regime. Nor did he hesitate, while restoration was in progress, to defy the great Lincoln himself, when, as Chairman of the Committee on Rebellious States, he denounced the President's Reconstruction Proclamation "as a blow at the friends of the

administration, at the rights of humanity, and at the principles of republican government.”

In many respects the early life of Henry Winter Davis was a counterpart of that of another distinguished Southern Marylander, William Wirt. Each of them was left an orphan before the age of maturity; each received his education through the sacrifices of kindly relatives; each began the practice of law in Virginia, and each, by reason of an attractive personality and a certain warmth of good-fellowship, surrounded himself with a group of devoted admirers. Here the parallel ends, however. Wirt remained in Virginia until he had written his name in bold letters across the history of his country. Davis soon returned to Maryland soil to establish himself at the Baltimore bar, and from there to enter the Congress of the United States.

It is a rather remarkable circumstance that Davis held but one political office during his life, and perhaps more remarkable that he was a candidate for but one. His friends urged him for the United States Senate when Reverdy Johnson was elected in 1863, but there is no record that the younger man gave any encouragement to the movement. He was con-

tent to build his monument in the House of Representatives. And the monument he reared is one that will endure as long as men do honor to intellectual prowess or revere patriotic endeavor.

Many able Marylanders have attained high station in the lower house of Congress. Nicholson, Chapman, Samuel Smith, Mercer, Duvall, Kent, Bowie, Pinkney, McLane, Calvert, Creswell, Swann, McComas, Rayner and many others were given conspicuous rank there, yet none of them enjoyed the power wielded in his day by Henry Winter Davis. By the force of his leadership the law of the nation was in a large measure molded, and by the same token his was the only name of a Maryland statesman ever placed in nomination for Speakership of that body.

Shortly after Davis removed to Baltimore in 1850 he allied himself with the Whig party and made a series of speeches in the Scott campaign of 1852. This old but ill-fated organization was soon to pass. It had weathered many storms and suffered many defeats. It had failed to keep abreast of the new issues which were forcing themselves upon the attention of the people, and was soon gathered to the fathers.

Upon the ruins of the Whig party there rose a new order. The Native American party, afterward the American, and still later known as the Know-Nothing organization, enjoyed a period of widespread popularity immediately preceding the rise of Republicanism. This movement was sporadic and, like anti-Masonry, "its soap-bubble burst in the effort to blow up to the size of a Presidential factor." During its brief career, however, it served as a refuge for a large fraction of the people who opposed Democracy, who had lost faith in the Whigs and who were not bold enough to unite with the Republicans—people who were, in effect, political orphans.

In the beginning, that is, about 1843, the Native American party had its birth in the municipal contests of New York and Philadelphia. They revived the bitter spirit of intolerance against the Roman Catholic Church and organized themselves into secret bodies to oppose all foreigners who ventured into politics. Outrages were committed against the Catholic church in half a dozen cities; priests were hounded, and even the sanctity of nunneries was violated.

The early plan of the Native Americans was to pick candidates of the older parties for support. As the movement spread and gained

strength, however, a "council" of local lodges was authorized to name regular party tickets. As early as 1845 the Native Americans elected Lewis Charles Levin a member of Congress from Philadelphia. By 1850 the Native Americans were strongly entrenched in such cities as New York, Baltimore, New Orleans and Cincinnati, and were pushing a well-defined propaganda.

Two years later Henry Winter Davis and a few bold spirits went over to the Native Americans, changed the name to the American party, and at once proceeded to nationalize it. By reason of the secrecy of the organization and the refusal of its members to discuss its plans or principles, the party became commonly known as Know-Nothings, a title that pursued it until its end.

Davis' affiliation with the Know-Nothings was undoubtedly influenced by the broader purposes which the party comprehended at this time. The Grand Council at its Cincinnati meeting had resolved that the American followers should be neither pro-slavery nor anti-slavery; that the party should stand irrevocably for the Union; that it should have no geographical limitations, and that it should appeal to the conservatives of the North and South alike. Such a position coincided exact-

ly with the early views of Davis. He was opposed to slavery as an institution, but did not believe it could be abolished in America through the medium of any political party or political revolution. Radicalism, he believed, would divide the States and end in war.

For these reasons Davis plunged with enthusiasm into the reorganization of the Native Americans. In 1854 the new order achieved notable successes, particularly in Massachusetts and Delaware. Henry J. Gardner was elected Governor of the Bay State, the first State-wide fight which the new party had won. A similar victory crowned their campaign in Delaware. Fusion in New York prevented the Know-Nothings from winning there. Pollock was, however, elected on a combination Know-Nothing and Whig ticket in Pennsylvania, and in many other States the Americans triumphed in local fights.

The results of the 1854 campaign fired the ambition of the Know-Nothing organization. The leaders of the party believed that it was one of destiny, and immediately laid their plans to capture the Presidency in 1856. Fillmore, Houston, Clayton and Bell were brought forward as possible candidates. Thousands of old Whigs rushed to its standard. Other thousands of Southerners, who feared the rise of

the new Republican party or distrusted the friendship of the Northern Democrats, went over to Know-Nothingism as a shelter in a national emergency.

The rising tide of the new party continued through the spring elections of 1855. Even New Hampshire, President Pierce's own State, elected an American party candidate Governor. Connecticut did the same thing, as did Rhode Island. The Free Soil party in many sections amalgamated with Americans, while in both Maryland and Virginia the strength of the new party was manifest in the local campaigns.

In February, 1854, the Know-Nothings held their first national convention in Pittsburgh. Millard Fillmore was nominated for the Presidency and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, for the Vice-Presidency. The only platform or public announcement that was made was contained in the slogan, "America for Americans." The Democrats nominated Buchanan, and the Republicans Fremont, in the same year. The failure of the Know-Nothings to take a stand upon the slavery issue proved fatal to the hopes of their leaders. Buchanan was overwhelmingly elected, Maryland alone casting its electoral vote for Fillmore.

The victory in Maryland for the American party was the result in large measure of the brilliant campaign made by Henry Winter Davis. He had been elected to Congress the first time two years before, as a Know-Nothing, and was himself a candidate a second time on the same ticket. He was the party's recognized leader in the State, and his success in capturing it for Fillmore gave him a prominence that was nation-wide. He himself was re-elected by an increased majority, becoming at once the leader of the Know-Nothings in the House and their candidate for the Speakership.

With the defeat of Fillmore in 1856 the decline of the American party began. The passions of the people had been so aroused over the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska feud that no political organization without convictions upon the slavery question could survive. This issue became paramount to all others, regardless of the pacific attitude of Buchanan and the broad nationalism upon which he projected his administration. The Know-Nothing organization lived through one more campaign, in which Davis was for a third time elected to the House. Then it evaporated.

Davis' work in the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses was important only as it prepared him for bigger and finer service in later years. Almost immediately after his first election he leaped to the forefront of the House membership as an orator. "He boldly presented himself before the most rigorous tribunal in the world, and he proved himself worthy of its favor and its attention." When he addressed the House he filled every gallery and every seat on the floor. He hoped in vain for some peaceful solution for the problems which centered about the slavery issue, and his appeals for moderation in approaching the crisis were worthy of the best days of the Republic.

It was in the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress that Davis became a most important factor. By that time the nation was in a state of acute alarm. The winds of disension had been sown and the whirlwinds were soon to be reaped. The clouds of civil war were lowering, dark with ominous warning. President Buchanan had sent in his famous message, declaring that the national government had no power to coerce a State. The South was daring in its demands for a complete surrender of all opposition to slavery. The North was determined and uncompromis-

ing in its purpose to resist such surrender. In this deadlock, secession once more raised its head.

The strong men of each house of Congress realized that the situation was desperate. They felt that any expedient was justified that would conciliate the South, on the one hand, and placate the North, on the other. And in a last hope of saving the Union, without resort to arms, special committees were raised in both the House and Senate. In the House the Committee of Thirty-three was named, upon which sat the ablest man from each State. Henry Winter Davis represented Maryland. A series of compromises and concessions was proposed by this body. They were, however, as ill-fated as were every other movement designed to appease the wrath of the two sections.

Davis supported the report of this committee in one of the ablest speeches in his career. It was, however, a speech that raised a storm of protest in Maryland and one, because of its audacity and fearlessly proclaimed militancy, cost the orator his seat in Congress and threatened for a time to bring his political life to an untimely end. In the course of this address Davis said:

"I do not wish to say one word which will exasperate the already too much inflamed state of public mind, but I will say that the Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, *must be enforced*; and they who stand across the path of that enforcement must either *destroy the power* of the United States, or it will *destroy them*.

"But, sir, there is one State that I can speak for, and that is the State of Maryland. Confident in the strength of this great government to protect every interest, grateful for almost a century of unalloyed blessings, she has fomented no agitation; she has done no act to disturb the public peace, she has rested in the consciousness that if there be wrong, the Congress of the United States will remedy it, and that none exists which revolution would not aggravate.

"But, Mr. Speaker, I am here this day to speak, and I say that I do speak for the people of Maryland, who are loyal to the United States. When my judgment is contested, I appeal to the people for its accuracy, and I am ready to maintain it before them.

"In Maryland we are dull and cannot comprehend the right of secession. We do not recognize the right to make a revolution by a vote. We do not recognize the right of Maryland to repeal the Constitution of the United States; and if any convention there, called by whatever authority, under whatever auspices, undertakes to inaugurate a revolution in Maryland, its authority will be resisted and defied in arms on the soil of Maryland, in the name and by the authority of the United States."

In this speech Davis had declared that the people of Maryland were loyal and he had given his pledge to maintain that loyalty. And the occasion soon came for him to redeem that

pledge. In January, 1861, the flag of the United States was fired upon. In February Jefferson Davis announced that war was inevitable. On March 4 Lincoln was inaugurated, and in his inaugural address issued his final appeal to the South. On April 14 the President issued a proclamation calling for an extra session of Congress. This rendered a special election in Maryland necessary, and before the end of that day Henry Winter Davis issued the following announcement:

“To the Voters of the Fourth Congressional District of Maryland:

“I hereby announce myself as a candidate for the House of Representatives of the Thirty-Seventh Congress of the United States of America, upon the basis of the *unconditional maintenance of the Union*. Should my fellow-citizens of like views manifest their preference for a different candidate on that basis, it is not my purpose to embarrass them.”

The contest then inaugurated was one of the most memorable in the history of the State. Henry May, upon a Conservative Union platform, opposed him. “In the face of an opposition,” said Senator Creswell a few years afterward, “which few men have dared to encounter, he carried on, unremittingly from that time until the election on the 13th of June, the most brilliant campaign against open traitors, doubters and dodgers, that unrivaled elo-

quence, courage and activity could achieve. Everywhere, day and night, in sunshine and storm, in the market-house, at the street corners and in the public halls his voice rang out clear, loud and defiant for the 'unconditional maintenance of the Union.' He was defeated, but he sanctified the name of unconditional Union in the vocabulary of every true Marylander." He gathered 6,000 votes out of 14,000, and exclaimed to a friend that "with 6,000 of the workingmen of Baltimore on my side, won in such a contest, I defy them to take the State out of the Union."

Though defeated, Davis was not deterred in his efforts to keep his State in the loyal column. He prosecuted his fight month by month, county by county, in season and out. In a speech delivered at this time in Brooklyn, New York, he said: "You see the conflagration from a distance; it blisters me at my side. You can survive the integrity of the nation; we in Maryland would live on the side of a gulf, perpetually tending to plunge into its depths. It is for us life and liberty; it is for you greatness, strength and prosperity." In answer to taunts from the Southern sympathizers over the battle of Bull Run, Davis, in one of his speeches, said: "The War Department has been taught much by misfortune at

Bull Run, a misfortune which has broken no power nor any spirit, which has bowed no State nor made any heart falter, which was felt as a humiliation that has brought forth wisdom." Referring to the rebels in the State and foretelling his own fate, if they won the day, he said: "They have inaugurated an era of confiscation, proscriptions and exiles. Read their acts of greedy confiscation, their law of proscriptions by the thousands. Behold the flying exiles from the unfriendly soil of Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri!"

During the two years Davis was out of public office he successfully waged the fight to hold his State in the Union, and the even harder fight for the emancipation of slavery. He made a second series of ringing speeches all over the State, and headed the Unconditional Union-emancipation forces through the Legislature which had previously denounced him because of his speech in Congress, through the contest for delegates to the Constitutional Convention, through the fight for the adoption of the Constitution proposed by the convention, and lastly through the Court of Appeals, before which tribunal the whole proceeding was contested. In every move he was triumphant, and in 1863 his State, without serious

opposition, sent him back to the federal House of Representatives.

The two years following this election were crowned with Davis' most conspicuous work as a legislator. He allied himself with the Republican majority, and as head of the Committee on Rebellious States dealt with the most important problems of the time. He fathered the "one-tenth" plan of reconstruction, also an amnesty proposal which mitigated the severity of the test-oath. And though he stood stanchly with the majority in many of the fiercest contests in Congress, he ranged himself squarely against the administration when he found the dominant element in the wrong. This independent attitude was shown with great force in the fight against the military incarceration of loyal citizens. This was the most dramatic situation in which Davis figured as a leader of the House.

The question of incarceration came up in the second session of this Congress upon a resolution directing the Committee on Military Affairs to find out why hundreds of peaceful citizens were held in the Old Capitol and in the Carroll prisons upon the mere order of the Solicitor of the Treasury. The resolution passed. Taken by surprise, Thaddeus Stevens moved to reconsider. A violent debate there-

upon followed. Henry Winter Davis then took the floor. "He placed the matter on the highest ground," says "Sunset" Cox in his "Three Decades of Federal Legislation." Continuing, Cox says of Davis :

"He demanded that the committee examine the facts and spread them before the American people and let them say whether there exists any law that authorizes the confinement of any American citizen not in the military service, in a loyal State, upon the judgment of a military commission, or, without judicial sanction, at the pleasure of subordinate officers of the government, or even by order of the President himself.

"This was bold ground," continues Cox. "It is worthy of the parliamentary heroism in the time of the Stuarts and their prerogative. It was audacious, especially for a member of the dominant and arrogant party. General Garfield raised his voice in indignant protest. He, too, was hailed as a friend of civil liberty. The debate had taken even more significant form at the beginning of the session. Henry Winter Davis rose then to the height of a grand argument in favor 'of the right of every citizen to his personal liberty.' It was he who had offered the section cited by General Garfield in the Milligan case as an amendment declaratory of our Bill of Rights. He held that on it depended the very endurance of republican institutions. When the bill came back from the Senate without that section, Davis said that no money should be appropriated with his consent, at the expense of so grave a reflection upon the fundamental principles of the government. This was the climax of a long debate and came not a half-hour before the death of that

Congress. The wildest passions were rife. The bill failed. Henry Winter Davis scorned to yield even for the passage of some charities in it. Amidst the wildest applause the three years of arbitrary arrogance and flagrant violation of our Magna Charta was buried beneath the reprobation of the American House of Representatives. What a triumph an earnest, liberty-loving minority may achieve, if bravely led and inspired with a profound and intelligent love of liberty!"

It was about this time that Davis delivered what is regarded by many of his contemporaries as the greatest speech of his life. The Union armies had failed time and again to take Richmond or to maneuver successfully against Lee's strategy. Hundreds of thousands of lives had been sacrificed in a vain attempt to crush the rebellion. It was evident that this end could only be accomplished at the cost of another ocean of human blood. As a consequence, a call was made on the floor of the American Congress for a recognition of the Southern Confederacy, a surrender. Davis' vibrant answer to this proposal was, in part, as follows:

"But if it be said that a time may come when the question of recognizing the Southern Confederacy will have to be answered, I admit it. When the people, exhausted by taxation, weary of sacrifices, drained of blood, betrayed by their rulers, deluded by demagogues into believing that peace is the way to union, and submission the path to victory, shall

throw down their arms before the advancing foe; when vast chasms across every State shall make it apparent to every eye, when too late to remedy it, that division from the South is anarchy at the North, and that peace without Union is the end of the republic, then the independence of the South will be an accomplished fact, and gentlemen may, without treason to the dead republic, rise in this migratory House, wherever it may then be in America, and declare themselves for recognizing their masters at the South rather than exterminating them. Until that day, in the name of the American nation, in the name of every house in the land where there is one dead for the holy cause, in the name of those who stand before us in the ranks of battle, in the name of the liberty our ancestors have confided to us, I devote to eternal execration the name of him who shall propose to destroy this blessed land rather than its enemies.

“But, until that time arrive, it is the judgment of the American people there shall be no compromise; that ruin to ourselves or ruin to the Southern rebels are the only alternatives. It is only by resolutions of this kind that nations can rise above great dangers and overcome them in crises like this. It was only by turning France into a camp, resolved that Europe might exterminate, but should not subjugate her, that France is the leading empire of Europe today. It is by such a resolve that the American people, coercing a reluctant government to draw the sword and stake the national existence on the integrity of the republic, are now anything but the fragments of a nation before the world, the scorn and hiss of every petty tyrant. It is because the people of the United States, rising to the height of the occasion, dedicated this generation to the sword and pouring out the blood of their children as of no ac-

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count, and vowing before high heaven that there should be no end to this conflict but ruin absolute or absolute triumph, that we now are what we are; that the banner of the republic, still pointing onward, floats proudly in the face of the enemy; that vast regions are reduced to obedience to the laws, and that a great host in armed array now press with steady step into the dark regions of the rebellion.

“It is only by earnest and abiding resolution of the people that, whatever shall be our fate, it shall be grand as the American nation, worthy of that republic which first trod the path of empire and made no peace but under the banners of victory, that the American people will survive in history. And that will save us. We shall succeed, and not fail. I have an abiding confidence in the firmness, the patience, the endurance of the American people; and, having vowed to stand in history on the great resolve to accept nothing but victory or ruin, victory is ours. And if with such heroic resolve we fail, we fail with honor, and transmit the name of liberty, committed to our keeping, untarnished, to future generations.

“The historian of our decline and fall, contemplating the ruins of the last great republic and drawing from its fate lessons of wisdom on the waywardness of men, shall drop a tear as he records with sorrow the vain heroism of that people who dedicated and sacrificed themselves to the cause of freedom, and by their example will keep alive her worship in the hearts of men till happier generations shall learn to walk in her paths. Yes, sir, if we must fall, let our last hours be stained by no weakness. If we must fall, let us stand amid the crash of the falling republic and be buried in its ruins, so that history may take note that men lived in the middle of the nineteenth century worthy of a better fate, but chastised

by God for the sins of their forefathers. Let the ruins of the republic remain to testify to the latest generations our greatness and our heroism. And let liberty, crownless and childless, sit upon these ruins, crying aloud in a sad wail to the nations of the earth, 'I nursed and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.'"

Davis' fearlessness in denouncing Lincoln's Reconstruction Proclamation created a most profound sensation. The Marylander had proposed the one-tenth policy of suffrage in the returning States, a policy of permitting one-tenth of the population in the South to reorganize their Commonwealths and again place them in their proper relation to the Union. This he later abandoned, urging that only a majority vote should control. He gave his support to a bill which the President had vetoed, providing for such a plan. As soon as Congress adjourned Lincoln issued a proclamation based upon the one-tenth proposal and otherwise operating counter to the expressed will of Congress. This action by the Executive resulted in a vehement protest written by Davis and signed by him and Senator Wade, the Chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Rebellious States. This protest was a powerful arraignment of the administration. It said in part:

“The bill requires a majority of voters to establish a State government, the proclamation is satisfied with one-tenth; the bill requires one oath, the proclamation another; the bill ascertains voters by registering, the proclamation by guess; the bill exacts adherence to existing territorial limits, the proclamation admits of others; the bill governs the rebellious States by law equalizing all before it; the proclamation commits them to the lawless discretion of military governors and provost marshals; the bill forbids electors for President (in the rebel States), the proclamation with the defeat of the bill threatens us with civil war for the exclusion of such votes. This proclamation is rash and fatal, a blow at the friends of the administration, at the rights of humanity, and the principles of republican government. The support of the Republican party is committed to a cause and not to a man. The authority of Congress is paramount and must be respected, and the whole body of Union men in Congress will not submit to be impeached by the President of rash and unconstitutional legislation. He must confine himself to his executive duties—to obey and execute, not make laws. He must suppress armed rebellion by arms and leave political reorganization to Congress.”

But few men have ever lived who were able to make history long years after their death, yet Henry Winter Davis was so privileged. His name, by an odd circumstance, was brought into the Blaine-Conkling controversy, the most savage personal conflict in the annals of Congress. Blaine's violent assault upon Conkling rankled in the heart of the New

Yorker to the end of his days. His revenge came in 1883, when he boldly aided in delivering the Empire State to Grover Cleveland, forever blasting the Presidential hopes of the great statesman from Maine. The innocent and posthumous part played by the Marylander in this drama of politics may be indicated by the following extract from Blaine's famous rejoinder:

"As to Mr. Conkling's sarcasm, I hope that he will not be too severe. The contempt of that large-minded gentleman is so wilting; his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic, super-eminent, overpowering turkey-gobbler strut has been so crushing to myself and all the members of this House that I know it was an act of greatest temerity for me to venture upon a controversy with him. But, sir, I know who is responsible for all this. I know that within the past five weeks, as members of the House will recollect, an extra strut has characterized the gentleman's bearing. It was not his fault. It was the fault of another. That gifted and satirical writer, Theodore Tilton, of the New York Independent, spent some weeks recently in this city. His letters published in that paper embraced, with many serious statements, a little satire, a part of which was the statement that the mantle of the late Henry Winter Davis had fallen upon the member from New York. This gentleman took it seriously, and it has given his strut additional pomposity. The resemblance is great. It is striking. Hyperion to a satyr; Thersitis to Hercules; mud to marble; dunghill to diamond; a singed cat to a Bengal tiger; a whining puppy to a roaring lion. Shade of the

mighty Davis, forgive the profanation of that jocose satire!"

The death of Davis in 1865, nine months after he had retired from the House, was a stunning shock to the whole nation. He had just reached his prime and was looked upon by leaders of all parties as the most promising man developed by the legislative problems of the Civil War. As a measure of expression of this national bereavement, the two houses of Congress united in a memorial service to the dead statesman, a service never before nor since accorded to a private citizen. The House on February 22 adopted resolutions of grief and invited the Senate to join in the tribute. At twelve o'clock on that day the Senate in a body entered the chamber of the House, followed by the Judges of the Supreme Court, headed by Chief Justice Chase. Members of the Cabinet and the Diplomatic Corps occupied the reserved galleries. The public galleries were thronged with people. The flags above the Speaker's chair were draped in black and other insignia of mourning were exhibited. A portrait of Davis was visible through the folds of the national banner. The Marine Band occupied the press gallery and discoursed dirges during the proceedings. After the reading of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House, pronounced a brief eulogy, then introduced Senator J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, who delivered an oration upon the life and public services of the deceased.