Memorial Services in Honor of the Late Charles J. Bonaparte

Meeting of the Bench and Bar of Baltimore City.

The Supreme Bench of Baltimore City met yesterday afternoon at 2 o'clock, in the Superior Court room, in honor of the late Charles J. Bonaparte. Judge Rose of the United States District Court and Judge Stockbridge of the Court of Appeals were also in attendance, and occupied seats with the other Judges. Members of the local bar, friends and members of the deceased's family filled the courtroom.

The order of the addresses was as follows:

MR. W. HALL HARRIS

(Chairman of the Committee).

May it please your Honors: When, after the adjournment of the courts for the summer, the Supreme Bench was advised of the death of Mr. Bonaparte, a committee of members of the Bar was appointed to prepare an appropriate minute to be submitted at this time and, if approved, spread upon the permanent records of the Bench.

On behalf of that committee, and by its direction, I offer the following minute, signed by all its members, and move that it be so recorded.

MINUTE.

CHARLES JOSEPH BONAPARTE, the younger of two sons of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, of Baltimore, and Susan May Williams, and grandson of Jerome Bonaparte (afterward King of Westphalia) and Elizabeth, daughter of William Patterson, of Baltimore, was born on June 9th, 1851, in the residence he occupied during his whole life, at the corner of Park avenue and Centre street, in Baltimore City. He died at Bella Vista, his country place in Baltimore County, on June 28th, 1921, having suffered for some months from an affection of the heart.

His early education was at private schools and under the care of tutors, in Baltimore, until 1869, when he entered the Junior Class at Harvard University, being graduated in 1871. He remained at Cambridge as a graduate student for one year, and, attending the Harvard Law School from 1872 to 1874, took his degree in the latter year, in which also he returned to Baltimore and was admitted to the Bar.

He entered at once upon the active practice of his profession, and both the thoroughness of his preparatory study and his peculiar aptitude as a pleader were immediately evidenced.

Although of independent means, he devoted to his practice and to the interest of his clients an unusual degree of painstaking attention, of unremitting study and of unstinted labor, which soon brought him into conspicuous prominence among the younger members of the Bar. As experience was gained, he became a leader in the profession, recognized as an astute pleader, a skillful and remarkably resourceful trial lawyer, convincing in argument with both court and jury, and with a memory for case and precedent which seemed never to be at fault, however unexpectedly it was called upon. His absorption in his profession and his love of justice and right led him to care little for personal professional honors or rewards, but no call of the helpless or of the wronged ever found him deaf to its appeal, and the more desperate the situation, the more forlorn the client, the more strenuous was his effort and the more unsparing his fight to secure the rights he found to be jeopardized or to enforce atonement for injuries inflicted.

To every client, whether of high estate or low, as to every cause, whether great or small, he gave equally of his time, his ability, his learning and his experience, and many were the

seemingly hopless situations from which he rescued those who had confided their misfortunes to his protection.

Mr. Bonaparte was a man of great cultivation, of wide reading, and of unusually retentive memory. He wrote and spoke fluently, using a large vocabulary and driving home his points with cogent reasoning, with apt, often humorous, illustration and appropriate quotation, for which he seemed never to be at a loss.

A somewhat reserved man, modest withal, and in no wise self-seeking, recognition and honors fell to Mr. Bonaparte in no small degree.

Harvard University conferred upon him the degree of LL. B. The Catholic University of America that of LL. D. He was twice elected overseer of Harvard. The University of Notre Dame conferred upon him the Laetare Certificate and Medal. He was trustee of the Catholic University of America and president of the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

He served his city, State and country as supervisor of elections, presidential elector (in 1904 casting Maryland's one vote for President Roosevelt), Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Secretary of the Navy (July 1, 1905, to December 17, 1906), Attorney General of the United States (December 17, 1906, to March 5, 1909).

He took an active part in the work of the National Municipal League, of which he was for nine years chairman of the executive committee, for seven years its president, and since 1910 had filled the office of vice-president. The league has formally recorded its appreciation of him as a "courageous, sound and helpful adviser" and "a devoted friend, a true steward of private wealth, great opportunities and unusual personal gifts."

He was one of the founders of the Baltimore Reform League, for many years its inspiration and always its gallant leader in every fight against political corruption and abuse, his interest having in the first instance been aroused in the campaign of 1875, and when, after the election of that year, some of the legislative candidates (among them his friend, the late William Reynolds) sought redress of their wrongs through the courts.

With George William Curtis, Carl Schurz and others, he took a leading part in the formation of the Civil Service Reform League, and from that time, in season and out, he fought the good fight for the Merit System, and lived to see, not the goal attained, but great progress made toward it, and to realize (if his modesty permitted him to do so) how largely he had been instrumental in lifting the yoke of the politician from the necks of thousands of public servants.

In politics a Republican, and for reasons, because, as he said, "I regard the Republican party as, on the whole, and allowing for many imperfections, a sound, healthy and generally safe party and a good instrument of government." Yet he held himself always independent and "never hesitated to condemn Republican utterances, candidates or public men when I thought such criticism was demanded by my duty as a citizen."

In religion a Roman Catholic, devout and sincere, but broadminded and tolerant; a trustee of the Cathedral and of the Catholic University, a valued friend and counselor of Cardinal Gibbons.

In every relation of life striving earnestly and sincerely to do his whole duty. A gentleman of courtesy and consideration; a scholar of erudition; a lawyer of exceptional ability; a gallant apostle of reform; a valiant champion of the helpless; a really good citizen; a true and steadfast friend; an affectionate and considerate husband.

A man with a vision; serving his day and generation in the station in which it pleased God to place him, recognizing the obligation and the dignity of service to his fellow-men; holding high the standard of righteousness, individual, civic, national, and ever striving to lead his brethren to see it and to serve under it; a true and an uncompromising American citizen.

W. HALL HARRIS, *Chairman;*
ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG,
JOSEPH PACKARD,
GEORGE R. GAITHER,
WM. CABELL BRUCE,
CHARLES MORRIS HOWARD,
ROBERT BIGGS.

BALTIMORE, September 30, 1921.

Mr. Harris further said: "There was an aspect of Mr. Bonaparte's life not dwelt upon in this minute and not apparent to the public. He was naturally a modest and a reserved man, with many friends but few intimates. Of his home life there are few competent

to testify, and they cannot bring themselves to speak of the beauty of that which they feel he would himself have regarded as veiled from public concern. They alone know to the uttermost his affectionate consideration, his unfailing sympathy, his intimate interest in the welfare of others, his generous assistance, his wise counsel, his unfailing patience and cheerfulness under adverse conditions. They know their loss to be irretrievable and the expression of their sorrow to be beyond their power."

ATTORNEY GENERAL ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG.

May it please the Court: It was not my privilege to know personally Charles J. Bonaparte. I shall not, therefore, be able to give in the brief remarks which I shall make this afternoon that touch or color which springs alone from intimacy of association or observation. I am glad to feel, however, that I do have some recollections of this gifted and unique figure. In the stirring days of the early nineties, his name, his work and the doctrines which he then championed were frequently discussed in my own home by my own father, who was his earnest admirer and disciple. Mr. Bonaparte was a Republican and my father a Democrat. Nevertheless, they espoused at that time the same principles, and standing shoulder to shoulder, contributed, each according to his respective opportunities and abilities, a share in the movement for reform which culminated in Maryland in the election of 1895. I recall that on one occasion I was brought to Baltimore to attend a meeting which was addressed by Mr. Bonaparte, and although it occurred almost thirty years ago, I still retain impressions of that gathering, and of the vigorous personality which dominated it. I remember Mr. Bonaparte as a man above the average in height and size, with a voice rather highly pitched, and with gestures and mannerisms somewhat peculiar. He spoke rapidly, with fluency and lucidity and with great earnestness and power in advocacy of the principles of civil service reform, for whose extension throughout the nation he was then waging an energetic and brilliant campaign.

Although my personal experiences with Mr. Bonaparte were very limited, it is perhaps appropriate that I should participate briefly in these proceedings in my official capacity as the representative of the State in which he lived, to whose welfare and interests he dedicated so generously his time and talents, and whose fame he enchanced by his illustrious participation in national affairs. Upon the death of his father and the selection by his brother, of a European career, he became the sole representative of this side of the Atlantic of the Bonaparte blood and name, and this fact alone, coupled with his wealth, his education and culture, and his unquestioned social position would have made him a man of distinction in any community. These things, however, were not sufficient to satisfy the cravings of a nature such as his. By reason of his fine intellectual attainments, his lofty character and his splendid ideals, he achieved for himself a fame far greater and more enduring than any that could have been conferred by the accident of birth or wealth.

I have always felt that the secret of Mr. Bonaparte's successful career lay in his intense Americanism. He was the embodiment of the true American spirit, representing our best traditions, finest principles and most exalted aspirations. Although he cherished a deep faith in the structure of the Government as planned by the great fathers, he nevertheless challenged as dangerous and un-American certain developments which manifested themselves about the middle of the last century. The man who believed that "to the victor belongs the spoils," that every political office, high or low, was the legitimate prey of the political henchman, and that every political contest should be won whether by fair means or foul, became the target of his unrelenting attack, and so bitter and persistent was the war waged by him and his associates that the old-fashioned "boss" was finally dethroned and substantially shorn of his power. Mr. Bonaparte was also a potent factor in weaving into the fabric of our governmental life the principle of civil service, recogninzing fitness and fidelity in the performance of official duties, but he also championed the cause of good government in Maryland, and materially aided in the establishment of legal safeguards which guaranteed a free, unbiased and accurate expression of the public will. His record was in no sense the result of accident; it was the product of constant application and

conscious choice. Although possessed of large wealth, he brought to the practice of the law the same earnestness, application and enthusiasm which might have characterised one who depended upon his professional income for his daily bread. Although a Republican by birth and conviction, he did not hestiate upon occasions, to turn away from Republican candidates and platforms which appeared to violate those standards of poltical thought and conduct of which his conscience approved. He desired above all things to be right, to be true to all those conceptions of citizenship which had been fashioned by his mind and heart, and so deep were his convictions, so great his courage, that in order to be right and true he was willing to sever oll ties and abandon for a time long established relationships. Mr. Bonaparte was not only a magnetic and powerful influence in Maryland in that critical epoch of her history when leaders of clear vision, pure motives and fiery zeal were especially needed, but was also called by reason of his widely acknowledged ability to the councils of the nation. He was one of fourteen Marylanders to sit in the Presidential Cabinet and the latest to enjoy that distinction. He was one of six Marylanders to act as Attorney General of the United States, and one of four to serve as Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Bonaparte's long and enviable record justly entitles him to be considered one of Maryland's noblest sons. His active contributions to the public service were substantially ended some years prior to his death, but they dealt with principles so fundamental and so vital to the perpetuation of American institutions that the labors he performed are still bearing bountiful harvests, not only to the people of Maryland, but to all of the vast citizenship of the great nation which he loved so well.

MR. JOSEPH PACKARD.

The late Chief Justice White delivered an address before the American Bar Association about two years ago on "The Public Duties of the Lawyer." In this address, with characteristic practical wisdom, he pointed out that, over and above the duties which our profession owes to clients and litigants, it is its duty to maintain the great principles of free representative government before the public at large which must look to the lawyers for its guides and leaders in such matters.

It was on this public side of Mr. Bonaparte's career as a lawyer that I knew him best. For many years we were closely associated in the work of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland and of the Baltimore Reform League. The Civil Service Reform Association has done useful work and still has work to do. The Baltimore Reform League has accomplished its main purpose. Under the inspiring leadership of Mr. Wallis it was founded in 1885, after the scandalous election of that year, to secure fair elections in Maryland. It pursued its object to two lines. First, it sought to remove from the registration books some thousands of names of non-existent voters; nonexistent either because of death or because they never had birth, except in the fraudulent imagination of their contrivers. These fraudulent names were sufficient in number, when voted by professional "repeaters," to reverse the decision of the people at any election where those who controlled the "repeaters" thought it desirable. This purging of the lists, which involved great labor, was carried on under the direction of the counsel of the League, who were Mr. John C. Rose and after him Mr. Morris A. Soper.

The second object of the League was to obtain the passage of an election law for Maryland which should secure, as far as possible, the fundamental basis of free government, namely, that the will of the people as expressed at the polls should be honestly recoorded. A committee appointed for the purpose framed such a law, based on the laws of Illinois and New York and on the Australian ballot law. This draft was submitted to several successive sessions of the General Assembly without success. But in 1895, as the result of the purging of the lists and of the cooperation of some twelve hundred members of the League who watched the polls in this city, a Governor and a General Assembly were elected who passed the Reform League election law and thus secured the fruit of ten years of effort.

During all this time, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League, Mr. Bonaparte was untiring in his work and unsparing in the use of all his talents. With abundant opportunity to lead a life of ease and self-indulgence "he scorned delights and lived laborious

days." The whole period required the constant education of the public to the need of this vital reform and his voice and pen were constantly exercised in its behalf. The wrongdoers of his own party, as well as those of the party to which he was opposed, felt the sting of his mordant wit and the lash of his indignant scorn.

For all this unstinted service he sought no reward. But he has achieved the reward, which would have satisfied him, that it may be said of him without qualification that he loved well his city, his state, and his country and served them with the best that he had to give.

MR. W. CABELL BRUCE.

May it please your Honors: It is with unaffected sorrow that I unite in this tribute to the character and career of Charles J. Bonaparte. Almost from the day that I became acquainted with him after my admission to the Bar in the year 1882, until the day of his death, our mutual relations were those of cordial friendliness and good will. I shared many of his political convictions in regard to questions which lie outside of the domain of party allegiance; and I can truly say that I always entertained the sincerest admiration for his professional abilities, his public services, his literary and rhetorical gifts and his private virtues.

To me his figure was one of the most vivid and interesting of our day; not only because of his fearless spirit and shining talents, but even because of his idiosyncrasies of manner and speech,—his restless movements when seated, his swaying gait on the street, his incredulous laugh, his peculiar intonations. In every respect he bore the stamp of originality about him, and differed from most men as widely in his physical as in his intellectual characteristics. Nor could anyone well scan his features, so true to his family descent, without being reminded of the fact that he enjoyed the extraordinary distinction of being the grand-nephew of perhaps the most renowned man in human history, the Great Napoleon, whose progress through the world had shaken it to its very foundations.

As a mere lawyer, Mr. Bonaparte never attained the eminence of more than one of his contemporaries; but this fact was, to no small extent, due to the circumstance that he never felt the spur of necessity as most lawyers do. Sturdy and industrious as he was he was born on a bed of down, and he had no need to form those general social connections which are so productive of professional patronage, but which are often as much the fruit of a sense of mutual pecuniary dependence as of spontaneous social instinct. And the same position of pecuniary independence also enabled Mr. Bonaparte to give up to public life and academic predilections an amount of his time, which, but for that independence, would have been devoted exclusively to the active practice of his profession and to the attainment of the highest measure of professional fame. But no one, I am sure, was ever brought into contact with Mr. Bonaparte as a lawyer without realizing that he was an uncommonly able one, well worthy to become, as he became, an Attorney General of the United States. He was thoroughly conversant with all the learning of his vocation; he always came fully prepared to the trial of his cases; he never drafted a declaration or a bill in chancery, or a brief, except with the most vigilant and painstaking care, and but few of his contemporaries had the same power of presenting their propositions in language as fluent, clear and precise as his. I recall the fact that a few years ago a very intelligent and cultivated member of the Maryland Bar, who had but recently taken up his residence in Baltimore, approached me just after Mr. Bonaparte had concluded an argument in an ordinary election case in the Court of Appeals and asked me who he was, saying that in his opinion this argument was one of the strongest and most striking that he had ever heard in a court of justice.

Of Mr. Bonaparte as a writer and an orator, it is easy to speak in enthusiastic terms. He was uncommonly familiar with the masterpieces of general literature, and this familiarity was happily reflected in both his written and spoken words. Some of his occasional addresses were models of lucid, pointed and sparkling composition; and, strongly marked as his delivery was by abnormal peculiarities of modulation and gesture, he never failed to enchain the attention of his audience. As a rule, he brought the most sedulous degree of verbal preparation to his speeches, but, when he was unexpectedly called upon, he was the readiest impromptu speaker that I at least have

ever heard. On such occasions, nothing could be more delightful than the wit and pleasantry which flowed from his lips as like water gliding over the face of a smooth rock.

But it is as a political reformer that Mr. Bonaparte is entitled to be held in the highest respect. He was not a reformer in the much-abused sense in which that word is so often employed at the present time. He was no hysterical uplifter, to use the cant term of our age; no visionary idealist; no reckless agitator; no mere fanatical enthusiast. He was a reformer in the good old sober sense only; that is to say, a statesman just a little ahead of his time. All of his underlying instincts were profoundly conservative; indeed, one of his infirmities was his hostility to certain forms of economic progress. Even his quarrel with the oligarchy of professional politicans, to which he sustained relations of life-long antagonism, was not so much that it obstructed the adoption of new political ideas and methods, as, that it deprived the citizen of existing Constitutional and legal rights which required further legislative protection. All the reforms which he espoused were simply normal and logical extensions of the old immemorial principles of English and American Liberty and Justice. But within the limits of his reformatory creed, never was there a more courageous, a more zealous, a more consistent, reformer. For years he was the leading spirit of the Reform League and the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland—two organizations which exerted a powerful influence in emancipating the politics of this city and State from personal and partisan misrule. Again and again, the causes in which he was interested might have been fitly compared to tones of the human voice thrown back in feeble reverberations from granite walls; but no matter how dark the horizon, like the stern Republican of the English Civil War, he never abated one jot of heart or hope, but steered right onward. Other men might fall by the wayside; other men might be seduced from their political pledges by the solicitations, in one form or another, of selfish ambition or cupidity, but his political course was ever marked by an undeviating adherence to the lofty ideals and noble aims which he formed in his early manhood and unflinchingly asserted until the last day of his life. If ever there was a man who could say truthfully of himself, "Obeyed at eve the voice obeyed at prime," it was he. I for one do not doubt that there was never a moment in his life when, if need were, he would not have been ready cheerfully to give up his existence itself in the maintenance of the convictions, which, I am sure, neither the wealth of Croesus nor the loftiest office in the gift of the American People, nor the heat of the stake could have induced him to desert. For years they were the objects in no small degree of derision, scorn and hatred, and subjected him to the grossest misconceptions and misrepresentations. But how ignoble a thing does intolerance once more appear when we remember that not one solitary political reform that he ever advocated, whether it was the Australian ballot law, the Corrupt Practices Act, the Merit System of appointment, or some other like reform, but has now found its way to the Statute Book of Maryland.

It is to be regretted that exalted as were the two Cabinet offices, to which he was elevated by a kindred spirit, he should not have held higher posts than he did in the service of his native State as well. But this was only the penalty that men in advance of their time always pay in one way or another for their superior foresight and uncalculating disinterestedness. Reformers, Jeremy Bentham tells us, are too often like exploded bombs, lost to sight in the very ruins that they have created.

And it can also be truthfully said of Mr. Bonaparte that his private character was as admirable as his public. Because of the singularly fortunate conditions which surrounded his birth, and made his life from the beginning so different from that of most of us, the idea was not uncommon that he was lacking in Democratic sympathies. But to one who knew him well the imputation was entirely unjust. His wealth sat upon him as naturally as his coat. False pride and arrogance were wholly foreign to his character; and while he lacked the social gift which enables some men to bring themselves readily into personal touch with the mass of men, no public man of his day was truer to those fundamental principles of justice and equality which lie at the base of our American institutions and traditions. I recollect that many years ago a member of the Baltimore Bar made a physical attack upon him,

which was repelled by him with a prompt alacrity that left nothing to be desired. But, when the fight was over, and Mr. Bonaparte was interviewed by the newspaper reporters, the manly good humor with which he parried their inquiries showed that no American could be quicker than he to reconcile himself to all the vicissitudes of American life, rough or smooth.

That he was honorable, truthful and upright, as well as brave, it is hardly necessary for me to say. He despaired cant, humbug, hypocrisy and demagoguery, and at times it was interesting to see how they shrivelled up like paper in the flame of a candle when he brought that searching eye and skeptical laugh of his to bear upon them. No man, not even Napoleon himself, with all his scorn of what he was in the habit of contempetuously terming "ideology," ever had a firmer hold upon the realities of existence. This was most strikingly shown on the eve of the recent war, when, long before some of our public representatives at Washington could be made to recognize the possibility of such a thing as a war between this country and Germany, he had passed from rostrum to rostrum silencing the chatter of the pacifist and the tremulous cry of the craven with his sterm admonition that men, as so often before, were crying peace! peace! when there was no peace, and that nothing but strong arms and dauntless hearts could meet the urgent needs of the hour.

In my intercourse with him, which extended over a period of nearly 40 years, I never observed anything in his disposition of bearing that did not betoken a kind, courteous and considerate gentleman.

Of the dignity and beauty of his family life, I should not speak, even if I had a better right to do so than I have. It is sufficient to say that one needed to be but slightly acquainted with it to realize that the richest measure of human affection has now made it too sacred to be freely spoken of on a public occasion like this.

Strong as his political convictions were, they were not stronger than his religious; yet so tolerant was he of all other creeds than his own, that in one of the last letters that I ever wrote to him I mentioned the fact that among the feelings that I had always shared with him was his aversion to bigotry.

That the God who has preserved for His purposes, through a long succession of ages, the venerable historic Church which Mr. Bonaparte was such a devoted member, now holds him too in His gracious safe-keeping no one who knew the strength and depth of Mr. Bonaparte's religious faith can doubt.

MR. GEORGE R. GAITHER.

It is not my purpose to discuss the many personal characteristics of Charles J. Bonaparte. This will be much better done by the other members of the committee. It was my privilege to be associated with him in some of the political movements with which he was actively identified, and it is with reference to this interest that I wish to speak.

Mr. Bonaparte was born in 1851. At that period the name of Bonaparte had once more attained the position of admiration and affection in France which it had occupied during the marvelous career of the first Napoleon, and the whole world seemed dazzled at the rapid rise and success of Louis Napoleon. The ashes of the great Napoleon were brought back to his beloved France with all the pomp and ceremony which the French people could bestow upon their sainted hero. In the early years of the childhood of Charles J. Bonaparte the French Emperor won his glorious victories of Solferino and Magenta, and was hailed as the deliverer of Italy, whilst the years which brought him to his early manhood resounded with the admiration of Europe and of America for the advancement and rejuvenation of France, and the rebuilding and decoration of Paris under the second Empire. The halo which surrounded the name of Bonaparte might well have filled the mind of the growing youth, who had inherited the right to this illustrious name, with imperialistic fancies and with admiration for institutions and governments founded upon the divine rights of emperors. And yet the subsequent career of Mr. Bonaparte conclusively shows that none of these circumstances influenced in the slightest degree his character or the political ideals which controlled and interested him through life. He had a natural pride in his kinship with one who had so completely dominated the history of his time, but in American schools, in our leading American university, under the influence of a

simple American life, he drank in the glorious inspiration of American institutions, and became in the highest sense of the term an American citizen. From his early manhood he evinced a strong desire to take part in public affairs and to become a factor in the political life of his city, State and nation. We, therefore, found him avtively engaged in all the independent campaigns of the eighties, aiding by his ready pen and earnest addresses every movement to overthrow the corrupt ring which then controlled Baltimore and Maryland, and to restore honest elections to the citizens of this city. It was in the memorable campaign of 1895 that Charles J. Bonaparte accepted the only political office which he ever filled in this State, and this office he only occupied for a few weeks. In the midst of this campaign Mr. Bonaparte accepted the position of Election Supervisor for the City of Baltimore. He only held the position for a few weeks, until after the election in November, but the moral effect of his presence in this position and the service he rendered in assuring minority representation for his party at the polls, were of vital importance in securing the great reform victory of 1895, from which victory was secured the fair election law with which our State has since been favored. In the presidential election of 1904 he was the only Republican elector elected, receiving the highest vote cast for any elector at that election. This election gave him the opportunity of casting his vote in the Electoral College for President for his warm friend, Theodore Roosevelt. It was this friendship between President Roosevelt and himself which gave to Charles J. Bonaparte the crowning honors of his political career. He became a member of the Cabinet of President Roosevelt with the portfolio of Secretary of the Navy, and subsequently was made Attorney General of the United States, serving in this most honorable position of our profession until the end of the Roosevelt administration in March, 1909. This close association with former President Roosevelt was one of the most cherished experiences of Mr. Bonaparte's life, and he naturally became one of the most earnest supporters of Colonel Roosevelt in his memorable contest in the presidential election of 1912. It was my privilege to be actively associated with Mr. Bonaparte in that campaign, and in the four years of active work for the Progressive party which followed after that election. His unswerving loyalty to the leadership of Colonel Roosevelt, his unselfish labors in behalf of the cause, and his courtesy and consideration for every co-worker in the party, made him our unchallenged leader in this State, and commanded our universal friendship and admiration. Like most of the Progressives in the nation, Mr. Bonaparte in 1916 followed Colonel Roosevelt in his return to the Republican party, and, although not taking an active part in politics, he supported the party with which he had been identified in his youth in its subsequent campaigns, including the memorable contest of last November. In his political activities Charles J. Bonaparte was always sufficiently independent to refuse to support his party if he thought it in the wrong, and yet so devoted to its fundamental principles that he could return to its support without the slightest loss of party standing. He was a genuine believer in American institutions, an ardent advocate of the highest ideals of public service, a democrat in his respect for the rights of his fellow-countrymen, and a relentless foe of every corrupt and hypocritical influence in the political life of his city and State. It is a glorious heritage for our profession that one of her sons, without the spur of necessity and against the environment of heredity and association, chose to give of the best of his character, ability and energy to the unselfish service of his fellow-countrymen, and to the betterment of political conditions. With unswerving fidelity to his ideals he fought the battle for civic freedom and righteousness, and "did his bit."

The political life of Baltimore and Maryland is immeasurably purer and better to-day than it was fifty years ago, and that progress is largely due to Charles J. Bonaparte and the men who fought with him.

MR. CHARLES MORRIS HOWARD.

Mr. Bonaparte was the possessor of attributes which can ill be spared in these somewhat vexed and chaotic times. He had energy, clear-sightedness, physical and moral courage and immense zeal for the public welfare. Being in easy circumstances, he might readily have passed his life in idleness or self-indulgence, but he practiced an almost Spartan simplicity and was an

inveterate worker. I think it may fairly be said that the desire for justice, public and private, furnished the motive power of his life and he worked for it unceasingly. Being a man of broad horizon, he was naturally interested in underlying principles, but it would be a mistake to suppose that he merely theorized about public life. When constructive or remedial measures were in preparation, no one could be more painstaking or more thorough in his examination of all details. His capacity for self-imposed drudgery was apparent to all who worked with him.

He was a speaker of pungent utterance and of caustic wit. He was ever a fighter. Some, there were, who regarded him as unnecessarily severe, but it is to be remembered that the ninth and tenth decades of the last century was a time when corruption, both in business and politics, probbaly attained its fullest development. Big business was linked with little politics and little politics invariably exacted its toll from big business, which in turn big business had not the courage to resist. Honied phrases were not suited to those times. Mr. Bonaparte's invective was both necessary and salutary. Without the slighest regard for his personal fortunes, he spoke out with the directness and earnestness of the Hebrew Prophets. His ideals were lofty and he could see no reason either for compromising or concealing them. I do not think he was a man of strong personal animosities. When he blazed with the greatest heat, it was only because he loved truth and hated meanness.

We are tempted, of course, to express the lament that the life of such a man should be frustrated by death, but this thought, though prompted by a natural feeling, does not express the whole truth; for after death there remains one's life work, which can not be undone even if we would undo it. Strong characters do not perish, but merely die.

In a brilliant book by Maurice Maeterlinck, called "The Wrack of the Storm," there is a chapter entitled "The Dead Do Not Die." In this paper the author develops in a most poetic way the idea that no vitality can really be lost from the world. He is speaking with special reference to the myriads of heroic and gifted men, who at first sight have been utterly obliterated and lost. His idea is that their genius is somehow transmitted to those who survive. Let me quote one or two passages:

"There is no irreparable loss. Everything is transformed, nothing perishes and that which seems to be hurled into destruction is not destroyed at all. Our moral world, even as our physical world, is a vast but hermetically sealed sphere, whence naught can issue, whence naught can fall, to be dissolved in space. All that exists, all that comes into being upon this earth remains there and bears fruit; and the most appalling wastage is but material or spiritual riches flung away for an instant, to fall to the ground again in a new form. There is no escape or leakage, no filtering through cracks, no missing the mark, not even waste or neglect. All this heroism poured out on every side does not leave our planet; and the reason why the courage of our fighters seems so general and yet so extraordinary is that all the might of the dead has passed into the survivors. All those forces of wisdom, patience, honour and self-sacrifice which increase day by day and which, we ourselves, who are far from the field of danger, feel rising within us without knowing whence they come are nothing but the souls of th heroes gathered and absorbed by our own souls."

And he closes with these words:

"Death does not injure life; it is powerless against it. Life's aggregate never changes. What death takes from those who fall enters into those who are left standing. The number of lamps grows less, but the flame rises higher. Death is in no wise the gainer so long as there are living men. The more it exercises its ravages, the more it increases the intensity of that which it cannot touch; the more it pursues its phantom victories, the better does it prove to us that man will end by conquering death."

This is the very quintessence of spiritual optimism. It is indeed comforting if we can believe with Maeterlinck that the work of a man such as we are commemorating today, which he was prevented from completing, will go on through the coming years, that his ideas will continue, that his example will remain and that his spirit itself will hover over us and help us to transmit to the next generation traditions of which this community is justly proud.

MR. ROBERT BIGGS.

Your Honors: In moving the adoption of the resolutions read by our chairman, I recall a story peculiarly fitting for this occasion.

It is the story of a man who for years dwelt on a high mountain alone. His house was so built that in the morning he saw the first tints of the coming dawn and could see the sun rise in glory and majesty; at noon he could look out over the plains and see the men and the women who toiled; in the evening he saw the sun drop behind the mountain, saw the sky glow in colors of crimson and gold; in the night he looked up at the stars and gazed long into the infinite depth of the heavens, and as the years passed he thought much on the power, the majesty and the mercy of Him who fashioned all these mighty, mysterious and beneficent things; and as the days passed into years he meditated long upon these things, and God gave wisdom to him to know many things which were hidden from those who dwelt in the plains and who toiled beneath the noonday sun.

In time the people of the plains learned of his wisdom, and in their troubles climbed the mountain to consult him, and he advised with them and helped them, and they revered him as a sage and venerated him for his helpful wisdom. But one day he became ill and death drew near. Weeping, the poor and humble whom he had helped gathered round him, and he spoke kindly to them and said: "Do not grieve that my course is run. Consider the sun—in the morning it rises slowly above the horizon, it sweeps on toward its zenith, lending its light and warmth to the earth and its children, and in the evening it sinks to rest, and the world is better because it has run its course; so should it be with the life of man," and they who looked upon his dead face learned the lesson of his life, went slowly down the mountain and said: "Truly the world is better because he lived."

To-day we are gathered here to pay tribute to the memory of a departed friend. Mr. Bonaparte was a student who had delved deeply into the storehouse of knowledge and had enriched himself with wide and varied learning. He was a great lawyer who had mastered the fundamental principles upon which our jurisprudence rests. He was a patriot and statesman who put the weal of his State and country above the claims of self and party. He was a man of invincible courage who fought for that which he regarded as right with untiring energy and matchless ability. But of all these things others have spoken, or will speak, more eloquently than I could hope to do. With your Honors' permission, therefore, I shall dwell upon that side of Mr. Bonaparte's life with which I came into more intimate contact.

Mr. Bonaparte was a devout and consistent member of the Catholic Church, but was entirely free from every trace of sectarianism; his outlook on life was unobstructed by any prejudices and he cordially despised that class of pseudo-Americans who, to advance their own selfish ends, play upon the ignorance and fanaticism of the ignorant. For many years he was the close personal friend and trusted adviser of that great citizen and churchman, James Cardinal Gibbons, and during all those years priests and religious looked to him to guide and counsel them in every important business matter; but it was his work in another field that earned for him the admiration and warm regard of thousands of his fellow-citizens, irrespective of race or creed. For years Mr. Bonaparte was one of the few Catholic laymen who heard the call of his church to render personal service in those great civic, philanthropic and charitable movements designed by wise constructive legislation and earnest community effort to help those who have fallen in the battle of life.

Quietly and unostentatiously he gave of his learning, his experience in life, his ability and his courage to all these movements. To him all those in trouble could go, sure of his kindly sympathy and his wise counsel. To all these and to this community in which he lived he gave years of patient service and its tribute will be found graven in the lives of men who became wiser and better men because they knew him and had learned from him something of the eternal truths of life.

And so to-day we who are gathered here may, with truth, say of him as those in the eastern story said of their dead friend, "Truly the world is better because he lived."

CHIEF JUDGE MORRIS A. SOPER.

Gentlemen of the Bar: The members of the court feel that it is most fitting that these ceremonies, so simple and yet so sincere, should be held in honor of a citizen so distinguished, a lawyer so eminent and a man so good as Mr. Bonaparte. It is appropriate that prominent members of the bar should speak, as you gentlemen have spoken, of Mr. Bonaparte's character and achievements. What you have said calls for an adequate response on the part of the Bench. We are fortunate in that we have sitting with us to-day the Presiding Judge of the United States Court in Maryland, who for many years was Mr. Bonaparte's associate and follower in many public movements of great importance and merit. We have asked Judge Rose to make the response on behalf of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City.

JUDGE JOHN C. ROSE.

To my judicial brethren I am much a debtor for the unique courtesy which suffers me to join in this tribute to one with whom for nearly forty years I was kept in touch by a common interest in the causes to which he gave so much of himself. We were engaged together in a number of cases, both in private practice and when he was special counsel for the Government and I a district attorney, a post I continued to hold during his incumbency of the Attorney Generalship. In his later, as in his earlier, years he occasionally appeared in the District Court. Nevertheless, there is little I can profitably add to what has already been said of him on his strictly professional side.

We all knew him. For not so many years short of half a century he was a distinguished Baltimore lawyer. He is as yet the last Marylander to become the official leader of the American Bar, as Robert Smith, the brother-in-law of his great grand aunt, was the first. It is a curious coincidence that each of them was also Secretary of the Navy. The five citizens of this State who became Attorney Generals of the United States were notable men. In addition to Smith and Bonaparte, there were Pinckney, Taney and Johnson. I do not include Wirt, although he was born in Maryland and returned there four years before his death, because he spent the larger part of his active career in Virginia, and it was from that State he was called to the cabinets of Monroe and the younger Adams.

Bonaparte's industry; his persistency, be the case big or little; his courage; his thoroughness; his learning and his wit, are fresh in the memories of all of us. Dull moments were so rare with him that I suspect his reputation as a great trial combatant would have been wider than it was had he practiced in those days when a brilliant lawyer could crowd the courtroom benches as nothing short of a controversy with a salacious aspect does now. It is also highly probable that had he come to the Attorney Generalship some decades earlier he would have won a higher place in national appreciation than he did or than any of his successors have done, or is likely to do. In the twentieth century an Attorney General of the United States is a minister of justice, after the continental type, rather than the chief law officer of the Government, as was and is the English official from whom his title came. He is still the legal adviser of the administration, but he is no longer in fact its leading barrister as well. With the growth of a centralized bureaucracy, his time and strength are taken up in seeing that the department's work is done by his numerous subordinates. He has little left for the laborious personal study of the law and of the facts of particular cases.

The first essential of a modern Attorney General is that he shall be a capable administrator. It is still desirable that he shall be an able lawyer as well, but no matter how brilliant he may be at the trial table, he will fail if he has not those qualities of a business man, in which some of the most eminent advocates of bygone generations were conspicuously lacking. In our day there is little opportunity for any one to make in the Attorney Generalship a legal reputation, or to add materially to one previously acquired. A century ago Bonaparte would have had a chance to say in the Supreme Court many sparkling things which would have been repeated throughout the land, and which would long have lingered in legal tradition. His opinion as to what might legally be branded whisky shows what he could have done in that way. When he went into office he had practically no experience in administration in any large sense. He had managed his house, his farm and

his office, and that was about all. The last was never overcrowded with associates, juniors, clerks, stenographers and other assistants, and yet the conduct of the business side of his department was successful. There was no criticism of it, and only smooth-running machinery is noiseless. He successfully resisted the temptation to meddle with the district attorneys in their management of individual cases, as some other Attorney Generals have not always been able to do.

To those of us who knew him, it was quite a matter of course that many influential people, lawyers as well as laymen, were dissatisfied with his handling of the relations of the Sherman Act to big business. The highly respected millionaires who controlled the so-called trusts wished to be law-abiding, and they, like the young man in the Scriptures, had persuaded themselves that they had kept the commandments from their youth up. They did not want, by a prosecution, to be held out as lawbreakers. On the other hand, they ever so intensely disliked what they called "cut-throat competition." They were convinced that they had the right to manage their own business in their own way. They felt that the proper sort of an Attorney General would tell them how they could, at the possible expense of a little camouflage, continue as they had been, and yet be immune from legal attack. They sent their lawyers to see Bonaparte. They had a reception which was courtesy itself, but of sympathy they received not overmuch. The particular problems which vexed the souls of corporation managers were to him of intellectual interest only. It is doubtful whether there was another man in the country at all comparable to him in wealth and position who had so little to do as he with corporations, or with their stocks, their bonds, or their other securities.

He went out of office 26 months before the Supreme Court declared that in the light of reason the Sherman Act was not quite so rigid and unyielding as it had seemed to be under the different optical conditions prevailing 14 years before. He was by nature something of a literalist. When he was told that this corporation or that wanted to obey the law, he replied: "Well, do so; there is the Act, and in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association and the Joint Traffic Association cases the Supreme Court has in effect said that reason cannot be resorted to in determining whether a particular case is within the prohibition of the anti-trust statutes. Do not try to buy up your competitors; enter into no agreements or understandings with any of them by which prices will be directly or indirectly fixed; abandon all efforts to control or monopolize the markets, and you will be safe." More, or other, it was impossible to get from him, and, like the young man of nineteen centuries ago, they went away sorrowful.

In his dealings with these representatives of great business interests, he exhibited the same traits of character so prominently displayed in his long fight for better things in city, State and nation. He knew his visitors wanted him to point out some way by which they could safely do what the statutes intended they should not do at all, and Bonaparte persistently kept that fact ever before them, just as he always said that the gift of a purely administrative public post to some one as a reward for party service was a breach of trust; the manipulation of election machinery a treasonable fraud; the protection of those who lived off the vices of the community a participation in their misdeeds. Those who had an interest in any of these practices, and at the same time liked to feel themselves respectable, found exceeding bitter the apples from this particular branch of the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

In body and largely in mind, one may think his Italian ancestry manifested itself, and to that, perhaps, may be traced his looks, his manner, his courtesy, his wit, his capacity for cold, accurate, pitiless analysis, and a certain dash of cynicism with which his talk was flavored; but, after all, he was only one-fourth Corsican. His mother was of New England stock; the Pattersons were Scotch-Irish, and through the Spears and the Copelands the blood of Maryland and the South ran in his veins. There was from New England and Ulster a large element of the Puritan in him, and, although his theological views were polls away from Puritanism, he was at one with the best of the Puritans in his conception of the relation of moral to all other values. It was that conception which moulded his character and constrained him to put all his gifts of mind to the

real work of his life, which, after all said and done, was not at the Bar, distinguished and creditable as what he there did was. His great service to his fellow-citizens was his fearless, untiring and uncompromising battle for higher standards of public life.

Throughout the world to-day, the dominant note is one of pessimism. So far as political conditions are concerned, there is, I suspect, little cause for it anywhere in this country, and I know that it is without justification in Baltimore or in Maryland. Measured by what we would have, there is abundant room for dissatisfaction. Much is base and sordid. Vulgar, uneducated, self-seeking men have an influence in politics that no one would think of according them in any other walk of life. Stupidity and waste are everywhere. All true enough, but when we compare present conditions with those which existed say from 1870 to 1895, the advance has been enormous, in spite of the fact that it is probable that there were then in politics and in office quite as many respectable and cultured men as there are now. That such people could work in measurable comfort hand and glove with the influences then dominant is the most convincing evidence of how great had been the demoralization of public opinion.

That we are now in far better case is due principally to three great men of widely differing political traditions. Severn Teackle Wallis had been the eloquent spokesman of the old Whig gentry of Maryland, until Abolitionism and Know-Nothingism drove them and him into the rank of their old adversaries; John K. Cowen was the son of a Cecil County blacksmith, a devoted follower of Andrew Jackson, who had moved from Maryland to Holmes County, Ohio, the innermost citadel of Buckeye Democracy; Charles J. Bonaparte was a Republican, although connected through his maternal great-grandmother with families who had been Jefferson's warm supporters. Perhaps in this gathering it will not be out of place to recall that every one of the three was a lawyer, and a distinguished one at that.

Wallis and Cowen had each a devoted personal following, far more numerous than Bonaparte ever possessed. The attitude that either one of the older men took was always of far more practical importance than anything he could do, so far as concerned the result of any particular campaign. What he, perhaps more than they, kept always prominent were the proper standards of public conduct, and how far those in power had fallen short of them. He had no pity for those who wished to think themselves decent and respectable, but who were longing overmuch for the honors and emoluments which were in the gift of the corrupt and corrupting bosses of the day. He had no mercy with those who wanted to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. What he said and what he wrote cut many to the quick. They felt that he had done them an injustice. In a sense they were sometimes right in that his portraits of them were not fully rounded and did not take account of the positions in which they found themselves, and still less of their political convictions or prejudices which led them to suppose that in what they were doing they were choosing the least of two evils. He did not claim to be writing balanced biographies which accurately appraised not only their weak but their strong qualities. He was busy with something else. He took a particular thing that they had done or defended and he described it as it was. It was in the very accuracy of these characterizations that their mercilessness lay. To pass laws to make ballot-box stuffing or repeating easy, or to refuse to vote for measures which would make them difficult; to devise forms of ballots for the purpose of making it impossible for constitutionally qualified voters to exercise their franchise; to put efficient servants out of non-political offices for the sake of rewarding political workers; to continue in the teeth of the law a peculiar demoralizing and inefficient system by which porstitution was virtually licensed, were all bad things, and Bonaparte was unsurpassed in his ability to bring their vileness home to every intelligent man. His logic was uncompromising. If the practice he was discussing was stealing votes or breaking trusts, he insisted that every man who aided or abetted it, or who was willing to take the benefit of it, was a thief or a defaulter. It almost seemed as if he subjected character to a spectroscopic test, and called public attention to the lines which demonstrated the presence of base elements. He was not concerned with whatever else the spectroscope might reveal. The men he was attacking might be of many

and divers virtues. That was not his affair. He kept his finger pointing to the black lines, not because he wanted to do those men any harm, for I do not think he had a touch of malice about him, but because he had persuaded himself that it was only in that way that he could teach many of his fellow-citizens that they were paying too high a price for what they were getting out of corrupt politics. How angry he made those he assailed, and yet always down at the bottom of their hearts they had an uncanny feeling that he was at least partially right. In the end many of them made up their minds that they could no longer stand for those things which he had charged against them, and then reform came.

It was a difficult and unpopular role he took for himself, but yet for decades he followed it with unflinching courage and never-flagging persistence. I imagine that with his keen interest in public affairs he would have liked to have held some of those offices which can be obtained only by election, but the work he had undertaken to do made him unavailable as a candidate for any of them. He knew it well, but he kept on just the same. The sacrifice of all chances of gratifying worthy ambition was one of the many he deliberately made. He was absolutely disinterested. He never had any kind of axe to grind. Everybody knew it. The only kind of attack that anybody could think of making on him was to call him the "Imperial Peacock of Park Avenue," or something of that sort, the insinuation of course being that he held himself above most of his fellow-citizens. To the best of my apprehension that charge was false, but that it was the only one ever made is convincing evidence how spotless were his life and his actions.

He gave himself and all that he was and had to making better his city, his State and his country, and in so doing he honored greatly the profession of which he was a member, and which is here gathered to pay tribute to his memory.

CHIEF JUDGE MORRIS A. SOPER.

The court is grateful to you, gentlemen of the bar, for the minute which you have prepared and offered for record, and for the sincere and eloquent words of appreciation that you have spoken, and to Judge Rose, also, for his admirable summary of the character and achievements of this great man. It has been suggested here to-day that there were heights in the legal profession to which Mr. Bonaparte did not care to attain because they involved some surrender of his independence of action; and that the very vehemence of his attack from time to time, in support of public causes, may have deprived him of the rewards of high office. Some folks might say, and some have said, perhaps, that he was not altogether a practical man; and yet, now that he is gone and we can study this figure of great political power and moral dignity, we can realize in part how great has been his influence for good and how permanent have been his accomplishments. And we wonder if it may not be said that the life of Mr. Bonaparte was the most practical, the most useful, that any in our time has lived. We are grateful to you, gentlemen, for the presentation of this matter. The record will be received gladly and the minute of his life will be spread, with your speeches, upon the permanent record of the court. And now, in honor of Charles J. Bonaparte, this meeting of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City stands adjourned.