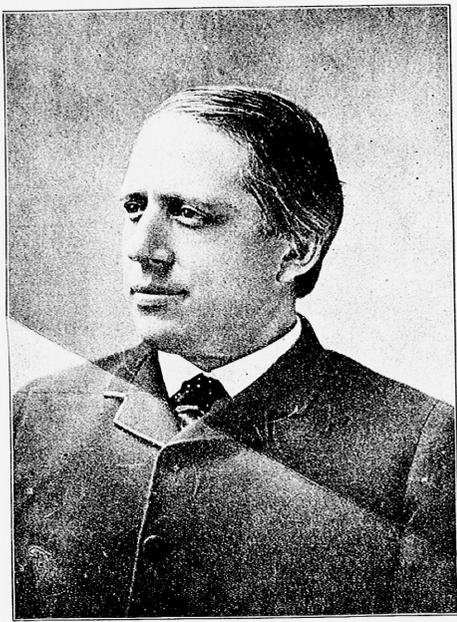


Public Opinion



ARTHUR P. GORMAN

Eighteen Years in the United States Senate.

DISTINGUISHED CAREER OF THE MARYLAND STATESMAN.

A LEADER OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY.

A Brief Review of Some of His Valuable Services to His Country and State.

Mr. Gorman took his seat in the Senate March 4, 1881. He was then not quite 42 years of age and the youngest member of the body at that time, although younger men had previously and have since served as Senators. Upon his retirement, March 3, 1899, after eighteen years of continuous and distinguished service, he had not quite completed his sixtieth year.

COMMITTEE SERVICE.

At the commencement of his service, which was in the Forty-seventh Congress, he was appointed to the Committee on Rules, on Printing, on the District of Columbia, and also to the Special Committee on Patents and Inventions. Mr. Gorman took the chair of the latter committee room that Mr. Gorman first laid the foundation of the great and commanding influence he acquired in the Senate. Every legislative body is controlled by its standing committees, and these, in turn, are each controlled by a few strong, practical men among its membership. Mr. Gorman took up the "working oars," master the details and systematize the work before the committee, and are depended on for progress to the important posts he held in the Senate, and he was by his brother Senators, his colleagues, and the public, as well as by the people, as a man of high ability and high character.

AS A TARIFF REFORMER.

The attitude of the few public men upon a leading question has ever been as thoroughly misrepresented, and in a large measure, misunderstood among their constituents, as that of Mr. Gorman on the tariff question. This is largely due to a deliberate misrepresentation for an ulterior purpose. From the tariff of 1883, which was passed by the first Congress in which he served, and in the discussion of which Mr. Gorman took a conspicuous part, down to the Dingley law of 1897, the Senator has strongly and often effectively, combated the tariff. To his credit, he has had with protection as the primary object. In all his tariff fights, Mr. Gorman has taken that distinctly American interest, and the Secretary of the Treasury, on practical business principles, with revenue as the object, but with the incident of protection carefully guarded and fairly distributed, as his guide in fixing the rates of duty. His position was well stated in the discussion of the tariff bill of 1883, as follows:

ECONOMY IN THE PUBLIC PRINTING.

One of the first impressions made on the practical mind of Mr. Gorman as a member of the Committee on Printing, was the great waste of public money involved in the indiscriminate printing and binding in large numbers and in expensive covers, of many of which were never opened or read. Accordingly, at the first session of the floor of the Senate, a report from the Committee on Printing, made by himself, looking to the inauguration of some reform in this matter, which was adopted after considerable opposition. In the following year, at the close of the last session of the Forty-seventh Congress, Mr. Gorman, from the Committee on Printing, introduced the following resolution, which was adopted March 3, 1883:

Resolved, That the Committee on Printing be and is authorized to sit during the coming session of the Senate, and to examine and report on the following subjects: 1. The public printing and binding, with a view to the reduction of the quantity of the work and to the economy of the Government Printing Office and its cost, including the printing of the Official Gazette of the Patent Office, the number of public documents printed, with suggestions for their reduction, and the distribution of public documents, with suggestions for their more judicious distribution.

As a result of the investigation thus inaugurated, Mr. Gorman had the satisfaction, eleven years later, in the summer of 1894, during the Fifty-third Congress, in the capacity of chairman of the Committee on Printing, to have enacted into law the measure known as the Public Printing Act, which thoroughly reorganized the whole system of public printing. By an official estimate made by the Public Printer it is shown that this measure has saved to the Government of at least a quarter of a million dollars a year, while at the same time giving better wages to many of the laborers.

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absolutely disregard the fair distribution of the incidental protection resulting therefrom. The middle and conservative friends of the tariff, moved him to a spirited opposition of the McKinley law, which he denounced in several strong speeches, and recorded his vote along with his Democratic brethren against nearly all the schedules of the Mills Bill, but the support of the crude and poorly considered Wilson Bill, as it came from the House in the Fifty-third Congress, which was defeated by the Republican Senate, was cast on those conservative lines which meet Mr. Gorman's approval, and it was at the special request of President Cleveland and as his representative that Mr. Gorman attended the St. Louis convention of 1888, bearing a platform, prepared under the President's supervision, making the Mills Bill the exponent of Cleveland's tariff policy, which he wanted the country to pass upon. The amendments engrafted upon the Wilson Bill, through the influence of Mr. Gorman, were all based on the schedules of the Mills Bill, but the wisdom of Mr. Gorman's course in dealing with the Wilson Bill is now no longer disputed, even by the closest friends of Cleveland. In fact, it has been commended by Cleveland himself in his subsequent messages to Congress.

FRIEND AND ADVISER OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

So conspicuous and valuable was the part taken by Mr. Gorman in the national campaign of 1888, that he was first elected to the presidency, that it is difficult to understand how anything but cordial relations should ever afterwards have existed between the two gentlemen. Mr. Gorman, as Chairman of the National Executive Committee, was the guiding head and hand of that remarkable campaign. So fondly had the Maryland Senator impressed itself upon the leading Democrats of the country during his service in the two preceding Congresses, that when the campaign of 1884 was organized, he was by common consent selected as the active leader. Indeed, it has been said that Mr. Gorman's acceptance of the vice-presidency in a measure conditional upon Mr. Gorman's management of the campaign.

Hon. Daniel Manning, after his retirement from the Treasury portfolio, related an anecdote of Gorman and Cleveland during the latter's campaign, that at the rounds of the press, Mr. Manning spoke of the first meeting between the two at the beginning of the campaign, when Mr. Gorman, as Chairman of the New York State Committee, had brought Chairman Gorman to Albany to talk over the plan of campaign with Cleveland. Cleveland insisted that he knew nothing about management of campaigns and Gorman must take entire responsibility. Gorman accepted the situation. Subsequently, during the progress of the campaign, it came to the knowledge of Mr. Manning that Mr. Gorman had prepared for publication and was about to give to the press an article which Mr. Manning thought might do serious injury to Cleveland. Mr. Manning immediately stated the fact and asking him to come at once and inspect the paper, Mr. Gorman caught the fact and immediately repaired to the Governor's mansion and Cleveland readily assented to have Gorman inspect the paper. Mr. Gorman read the paper through, and then deliberately threw it into the blazing grate, saying, "The Governor's name is not to be mentioned in this paper, Governor." The Governor hopped around for awhile in a tempest of rage at what he considered the great act of insubordination, but after Gorman, with his habitual coolness, had politely reminded him of the undivided responsibility which had been put upon the chairman of the committee, and finally accepted the situation with a loud laugh, and the meeting ended in the best of humor.

The series of orations of which Mr. Gorman has been the recipient, and which he has delivered in Baltimore at the close of that great campaign, and the many highly complimentary things said of him by leading Senators, like Bayard, and other members of the Chamber, who came to the banquet tendered him, are still remembered by the citizens of Baltimore.

With the prestige of his campaign service and with his friends, Manning and Bayard and Garland and Lamar in the Cabinet, it is not surprising that Mr. Gorman was elected during his entire first term, and although the anti-Gorman element in his own party in Maryland were not idle themselves, powerless to impair his influence, Mr. Gorman was consulted by the President in regard to the advisability of sending the naval bill to Congress in December, 1887, and strongly advised against it, on the ground that it was unwise to make any new agitation of the tariff question on the eve of another presidential election. Mr. Cleveland's endorsement of the Mills bill being a sufficient record in the matter, but Gorman's advice was disregarded, and the bill was passed.

When the Harrison Administration took office in the previous Administration, the movement for the upbuilding of the New Navy practically took systematic shape. The first step in the direction of Secretary Whitney, Mr. Gorman was then an influential member of the Committee on Appropriations, and in that capacity he could have had his chairmanship when the Democrats controlled the Senate, had he not preferred the Committee on Printing.

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CHAIRMAN MINORITY CONFERENCE.

The position of chairman of the Minority Conference in the Senate is one of high honor and responsibility. It is the strong testimony furnished by Chairman Harrity of the valuable service rendered by the Maryland Senator in Cleveland's last campaign, that sturdy statesman declined to

take his old time adviser back into his present position, he persisted in believing was Gorman's antagonistic attitude toward his nomination at the Chicago convention in 1892, although Mr. Wasieleski, who is credited to remove that erroneous impression. When visited by the Senator at his home in New York before his inauguration, Mr. Cleveland lightly remarked, "I have not forgotten your extra session of Congress in March to rejoin the McKinley law and readjust the tariff, and issued his fiat that an extra session would be called in August to be exclusively with the silver question. After his inauguration, he was strongly inclined to give his chair exclusively to the anti-Gorman movement, but he gave them the full influence of his patronage, and would have pursued this course from the start had he not been admonished by certain friends, and in the amount of folly of making an open rupture with so influential a Senator as Mr. Gorman. As it was, nearly the whole grand influence of the Administration was thrown against Mr. Gorman in his own State and the result is known. This was regarded by impartial observers as a remarkable instance of ingratitude.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

At the beginning of Cleveland's first Administration in March, 1885, at the extra session of the Senate called by the President to confirm his Cabinet and other early appointments, Mr. Gorman was the author of the Interstate Commerce bill, which was passed by the Senate and the House. The bill was introduced by Mr. Gorman, and was the result of a long and arduous struggle. It was the first of its kind, and it was a landmark in the history of the United States. It provided for the regulation of the rates of freight and passenger fares, and it was a great benefit to the people.

Mr. Gorman being thus placed at the head of the Democratic minority of the special committee, devoted himself to the study of the bill, and in the summer, in which a vast amount of testimony bearing on the subject of interstate transportation was taken by the committee, Mr. Gorman, accompanied by the bill, reported to the Senate. The bill was passed by the Senate, and it was a landmark in the history of the United States.

Section 4. That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier by rail to charge or receive greater compensation in the aggregate for the transportation of passengers or property subject to the provisions of this act, over shorter or longer routes, over the same line, in the same direction, and from the same original point of departure. Mr. Gorman had opposed the bill, which was introduced by Mr. Harris, his Democratic colleague on the committee, but they were overruled by the Republican majority reported as given to the President.

The question arose on an amendment to strike out the objectionable classes, and Mr. Gorman made a forcible and eloquent speech in support of the bill. He carried his point, and the Democrats joined the solid vote of the Democrats to adopt the amendment, and thus the bill was passed. It was a landmark in the history of the United States.

He has ever since remained a rank-and-file member of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, which is a position of high honor and responsibility. It is the strong testimony furnished by Chairman Harrity of the valuable service rendered by the Maryland Senator in Cleveland's last campaign, that sturdy statesman declined to

Upon the death of Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, in 1889, Mr. Gorman was promptly and unanimously chosen for the position by his Democratic colleagues. The accession of Mr. Gorman to the active minority leadership was the more gladly hailed by Democratic Senators, for the reason that, in the very time of his accession, the "Force Bill," which was a source of so much anxiety and fearful apprehension on the part of the Southern Democrats, had passed the House and was hanging like a cloud over the deliberations of the Senate, in which the Republicans had a clear majority. Mr. Gorman was recognized on both sides of the Chamber.

DEFEAT OF THE FORCE BILL.

The Republicans introduced two distinct party measures into the Fifty-first Congress—the McKinley Tariff Bill and the Lodge Election Law, commonly known as the Force Bill. Both bills were introduced in support of their party organization and both were put through the House under the "Reed Rules," at the session of 1890, without the formality of a deliberative consideration. The McKinley Bill also passed the Senate under the "Reed Rules," at the end of the first session, and on September 12, 1890, after a protracted and active and strongly antagonistic position. It passed by a strict party vote, having eleven yeas and five nays. The Force Bill was allowed to go over to the second session, because the Democrats threatened to fight it to the bitter end, and their old-time leader, Mr. Gorman, took an active and strongly antagonistic position. It passed by a strict party vote, having eleven yeas and five nays.

When the second session came together, in December, 1890, the Republicans, without the formality of a deliberative consideration, introduced the Force Bill, which was a source of so much anxiety and fearful apprehension on the part of the Southern Democrats, and was hanging like a cloud over the deliberations of the Senate, in which the Republicans had a clear majority. Mr. Gorman was recognized on both sides of the Chamber.

Mr. Gorman always exercised a nice discrimination and unflinching firmness in dealing with national affairs, he seemed almost to forget what party was in power, so broad and patriotic was his course. It was this characteristic breadth of statesmanship and patriotism, joined to his great store of practical information, upon which both sides depended, and his pleasing personality, that constituted the secret of his commanding influence. The Republican Senators easily distinguished between the narrow partisan and obstructionist and the broad statesman, whose partisanship was so frequently merged in his patriotism.

A NOTED MAN.

Mr. Gorman was one of the noted men of the Senate. His unique career, starting from a page on the floor and passing by the force of his own energy and talents to the position of acknowledged leadership of one of the great political parties of the body, and a statesman whose ability is recognized on both sides of the chamber, and through whose country is regarded as a forcible illustration of the possibilities of American citizenship. He was among the first Senators asked to be present at the banquet given to him by the public men who regard Mr. Gorman's career as ended with his retirement from the Senate. He is still full of mental and physical vigor, and it is hardly likely that talents such as he possesses will permit him to rest on the laurels of his past achievements, although that would probably be more agreeable to him.

THE VALUE OF HIS SERVICES TO MARYLAND.

The value of Mr. Gorman's services to his own State during the eighteen years of his career in the Senate would be difficult to estimate in dollars and cents. It goes without saying that any State which has had the commanding influence of Senator Gorman necessarily reaps a large benefit in the advancement of its material interests. Besides his large influence, Mr. Gorman has been remarkably punctual in his attendance, thereby always keeping fully advised of the status of pending public and private business. As Benton said of himself, he has been during his entire term of service an "attending and attentive member." Mr. Gorman's period put in as many days of actual attendance.

Some idea of the money value to the State of his services may be formed from the figures shown by the public records of the amounts expended by the Government for public improvements, such as harbors, canals, and railroads, since the commencement of the Government to the present time. Dividing the aggregate expenditures into the period of Mr. Gorman's service, the result is as follows:

MR. GORMAN AS A DEBATER.

On the floor of the Senate Mr. Gorman was always an attractive figure. He always spoke from the standpoint of full information. He never asserted unless he had something to say pertinent to the matter at hand, and always said down as soon as he had finished saying it. The result was he never spoke to "empty benches." A further idea of some of the details of Mr. Gorman's services to his State may be obtained from the following summary:

From 1789 to 1881—ninety-two years—the United States Government expended for the improvement of rivers and harbors of Maryland \$978,269.

From 1881 to 1899—eighteen years—Mr. Gorman and his colleagues have secured for the same purpose \$3,867,702.

The large number of private claims of citizens of Maryland against the Government, which through Mr. Gorman's influence have been added many thousands to the above showing, while the amounts expended for public buildings, lighthouses and other public improvements, will increase the aggregate by many more millions, and probably show quite as remarkable a disparity during the two periods above noted.

At the time of his entrance into the Senate in 1881, the width of the channel of Baltimore harbor was only 250 feet, and the depth 24 feet. At the first Congress of the Chamber, a member he secured an appropriation of \$450,000 for the harbor, and a provision to increase its depth to 27 feet; in 1892 he secured an appropriation to increase the width of the channel to 400 feet in the following year a provision to increase the width to 600 feet, and the work was placed under contract, so that the improvement should proceed without interruption; in 1894 he obtained authority to widen the channel to 1,500 feet, and in 1896 secured an additional appropriation of \$400,000 to deepen the channel to 30 feet. These extensive improvements thus mapped out will, according to the estimate of the Chief Engineer of the Army, cost an ultimate expenditure of \$2,500,000.

At the last session of the Fifty-fifth Congress just closed a further appropriation of \$200,000 for the Baltimore harbor was added to the River and Harbor bill by Mr. Gorman in the Senate, and contracts entered into involving the expenditure of an additional \$1,000,000 to complete the improvement of the harbor. In 1881 the large vessels of foreign commerce could not with safety enter the harbor of Baltimore; to-day it is the equal in its capacity for the trade of the heaviest ships with any port on the Atlantic.

HIS PATRIOTISM.

A distinguished Senator, when once asked to what cause he attributed the great influence of a partisan leader like Mr. Gorman on the Republican side of the Chamber, replied, that his intense patriotism more than any other cause it was due. Although a vigilant and aggressive partisan, when a partisan record was really involved, the floor for the purpose of adopting

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