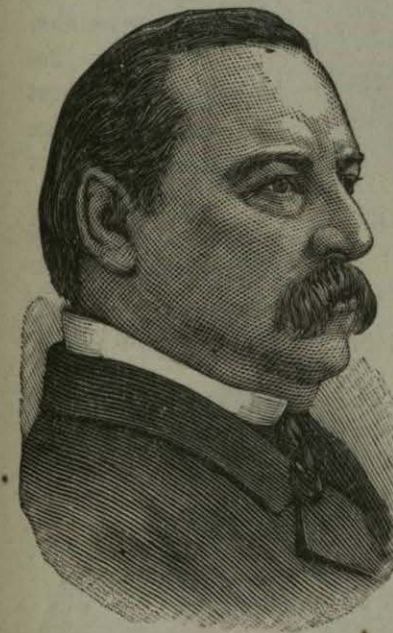


CHAPTER LXXI.

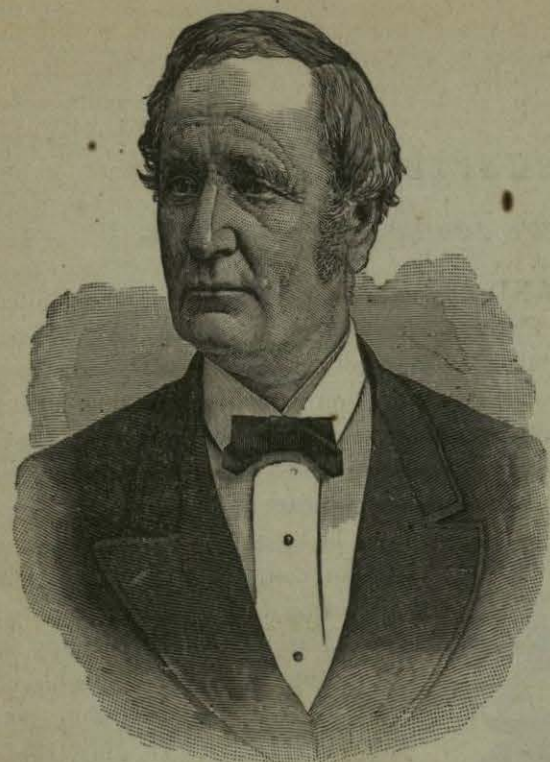
CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION, 1885-1889.

GROVER CLEVELAND, twenty-second President of the United States, was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. Three years afterward he was taken by his parents to Fayetteville, near Syracuse, where he received sufficient education to enable him to become a teacher. As this pursuit, however, was uncongenial, he went to Buffalo, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1859. Four years later he began his public career as assistant district attorney. In 1869 he became sheriff of Erie County; in 1881 mayor of Buffalo; and in 1882 elected to the governorship of New York by the astounding majority of 192,854. In July, 1884, he became the standard-bearer of the Democratic party, and was duly elected. His cabinet advisers, afterward confirmed by the Senate, were as follows: secretary of the treasury, Daniel Manning, of New York; secretary of the interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; secretary of war, Wm. C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; secretary of the navy, Wm. C. Whitney, of New York; postmaster-general, Wm. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; attorney-general, Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas.



GROVER CLEVELAND.

The most serious question which confronted the new President was the distribution of official patronage. The Democratic party had come into power on a platform distinctly enunciating the doctrine of reform in the civil service. From almost the beginning of the government it had been the custom of the party in power to distribute to its own partisans all the appointive offices. This usage, well estab-



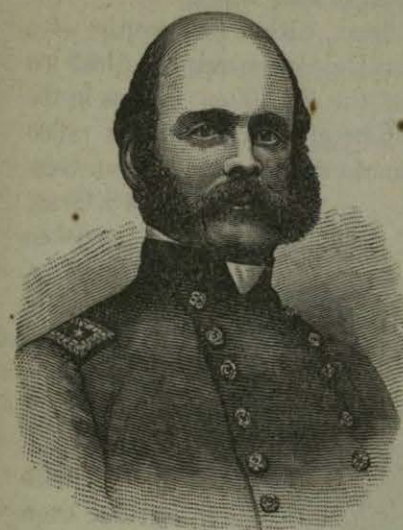
THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

lished since the days of President Jackson, had been the origin and cause of the greater part of the abuses which had existed in the various departments of the government. Extreme party men had claimed always that "to the victors belong the spoils" of office. Of late years, however, the best political opinion of the country has turned with disgust from the gross practice of rewarding men for mere party services; and in the evenly balanced presidential contests of 1880 and 1884 it became all important that both the dominant parties should conciliate, at least by professions of sympathy, the growing phalanx of civil service reformers. They it was who, in the late election, believing in the sincerity of Mr. Cleveland, had thrown their influence in his favor and thereby secured his elevation to the presidency. He went into office pledged to carry out the views of those by whose suffrages he had been raised to power. These views, moreover, were his own, and it thus happened that the new administration was launched with "Civil Service Reform" inscribed on its pennon. It was



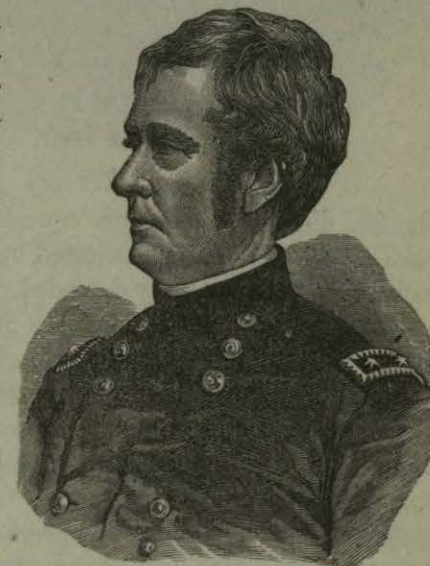
GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

soon seen, however, that the President would have serious difficulty in carrying out his purpose. From the day of the inauguration, a great crowd of office-seekers thronged the capital, and the chief magistrate was besieged by hundreds and thousands of those whose principal claims to preferment were that they had served the party. During the first year of the new administration it was a grave question whether or not the President would be able to stand by the flag of reform, or whether he would be driven to re-adopt the cast-off policy of satisfying with official appointments the hungry horde that surged around the presidential mansion.



AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE.

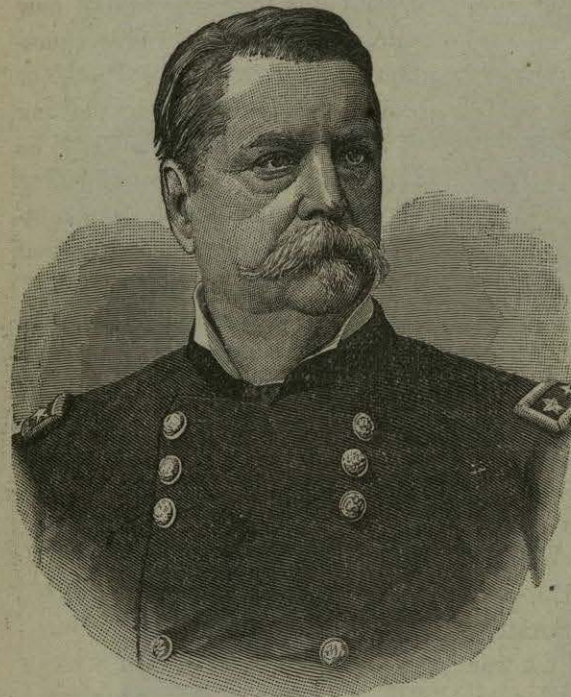
The last years of the Republic have been noted for two circumstances, both of historical interest, and both relating to the Civil War. The first of these is the revival of the memory of that conflict, in authoritative publications, by some of the leading participants. This work, so important to the right understanding of the great struggle for and against the Union, was begun by General William T. Sherman, who, in 1875, published his *Memoirs*, narrating the story of that part of the war in which he had been a leader. This had been preceded by the history of the WAR BETWEEN THE STATES, by Alexander H. Stephens, late Vice-President of the Confederacy. In 1884 General Grant began the publication of a series of war articles in the *Century Magazine*, which attracted universal attention, and which led to the preparation and publication of his *Memoirs* in 1885-86. Similar contributions



JOSEPH HOOKER.

by other eminent commanders of the Union and Confederate armies followed in succession, until a large amount of able and impartial literature was left on record for the instruction of after times.

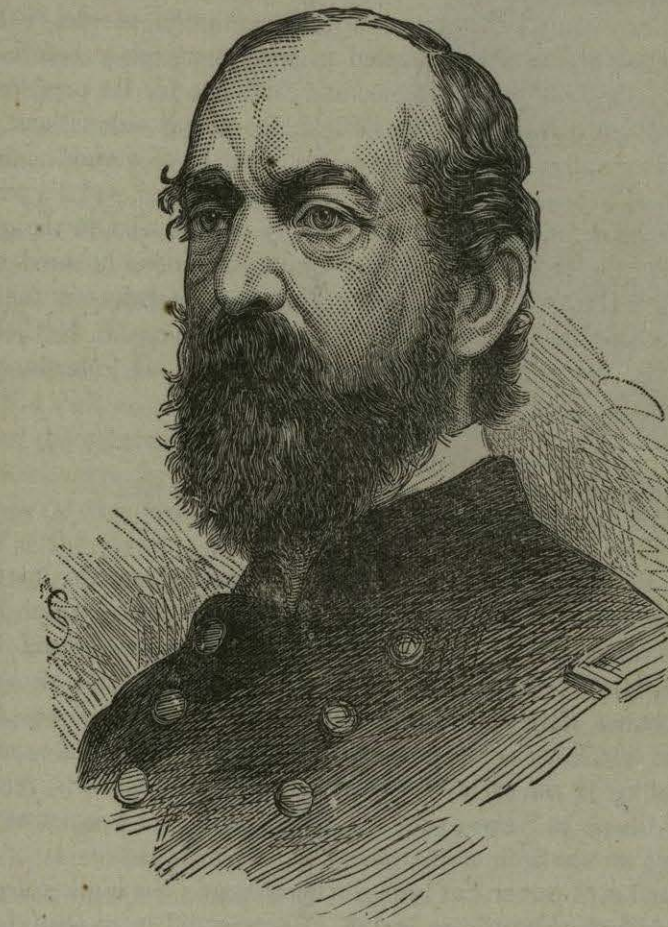
The second fact referred to is the death, within the compass of a single year, of a number of the great Union generals who had led their armies to victory in the War of the Rebellion. It was in the early summer of 1885 that the attention of the people was called away from public affairs by the announcement that the veteran General Ulysses S. Grant



WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

had been stricken with a fatal malady, and that his days would be but few among the living. The heart of the Nation was greatly saddened by the intelligence; but not even the sympathy of a great people could prevail against or even postpone the approaching hour of fate. The hero of Vicksburg and Appomattox sank under the ravages of a malignant cancer, which had fixed itself in his throat, and, on July 23, died at a summer cottage on Mount McGregor, New York. His last days were hallowed by the sympathies of the Nation which he had so gloriously defended. The news of his death passed over the land like the shadow of a great cloud. Almost every city and hamlet showed, in some appropriate way, its emblems of grief. The funeral ceremonies equaled, if they did not surpass, any which had ever been witnessed. The procession in New York city was, perhaps, the most solemn and imposing pageant ever exhibited in honor of the dead. On August 8, the body of General Grant was laid to rest in Riverside Park, overlooking the Hudson. There, on a summit, from which may be seen the great river and the metropolis

of the Nation, is the tomb of him whose courage and magnanimity in war will forever give him rank with the few master spirits who, by their heroic deeds, have honored the human race and changed the course of history.



GEORGE G. MEADE.

Within less than three months from the funeral of Grant another distinguished Union general fell. On the 29th of October, General George B. McClellan, first commander of the Army of the Potomac, at one time general-in-chief, subsequently Democratic candidate for the presidency, and at a later period governor of New Jersey, died at his home at St. Cloud, in that State. The conspicuous part which he had borne during the first two years of the Civil War, his eminent abilities as a soldier and civilian, and his unblemished character as a

man and citizen, combined to heighten the estimate of his life and services, and to evoke the sincerest expressions of national sorrow on the occasion of his death.

After another brief interval a third great military leader fell, in the person of General Winfield S. Hancock. This brave and generous commander was, at the time of his death, the senior major-general of the American army. Always a favorite with the people, he had, since the close of the war, occupied a conspicuous place before the public. In 1880 he was the Democratic candidate for the presidency, and though defeated by General Garfield, the defeat was without dishonor. His death, which occurred at his home on Governor's Island, on the 9th of February, 1886, was universally deplored, and the people omitted no mark of respect to the memory of him who, in the great struggle for the preservation of the Union, had been honored with the title of "Hero of Gettysburg." Thus have passed away the gallant generals of the Army of the Potomac. George B. McClellan, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, George G. Meade, and Winfield S. Hancock have one by one joined

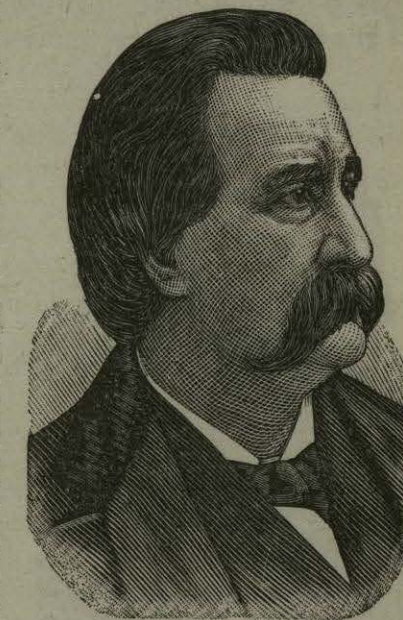
"The innumerable caravan that moves
To that mysterious realm where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death."

Before the close of the year 1886 still another, worthy to rank among the greatest of the Union commanders of the Civil War, ended his career on earth. Late in December, Major-General John A. Logan, United States Senator from Illinois, fell sick at his home, called Calumet Place, in Washington City. His disease was rheumatism, to which he had been subject at intervals since his exposure and hardships in the early Western campaigns of the war. After a few days' illness he became suddenly worse, sank into a comatose condition, and on the 26th of the month quietly breathed his last. His military and civil career had been distinguished in the highest degree. At the outbreak of hostilities, in 1861, few men did more than Logan to strengthen and unify the Union sentiment in the wavering Border States. His voice was a clarion, heard shrill and far above the confusion and uproar of the times. Resigning his seat in Congress he joined the first advance of the Union army, and fought in the battle of Bull Run. Without previous military training he rose rapidly to distinction, and became the volunteer general *par excellence* of the war. After the close of the conflict he returned to political life, and was chosen United States Senator from Illinois. In 1884 he was

nominated for the vice-presidency on the Republican ticket with James G. Blaine. That ticket being defeated, he resumed his duties in the Senate, and remained at his post until his death. The ceremonies of his funeral and the general voice of the American press indicated in an unmistakable manner the enduring place which he had merited and won in the affections of the people.

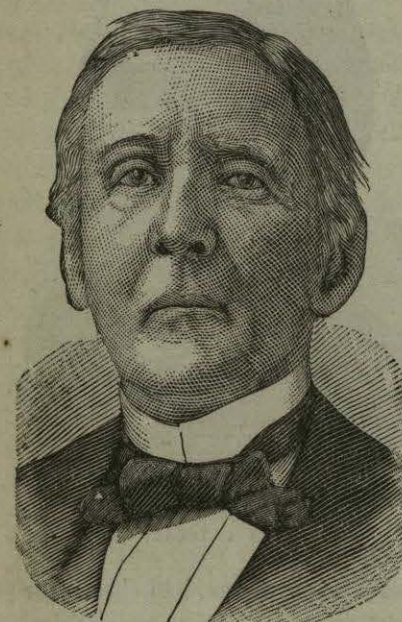
In the meantime a great civilian had fallen at his post of duty: On Nov. 25, 1885, Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, after what was supposed to be a trifling illness of a single day, died suddenly at his home in Indianapolis. The fatal message came in the form of paralysis. Not a moment's warning was given of the approach of that pale courier who knocks impartially at the door of the peasant and the portal of the great. The life of Mr. Hendricks had been one of singular purity, and the amenities of his character had been for many years conspicuous in the stormy arena of American politics. The goodness and greatness of the man, combined with his distinction as governor, senator, and vice-president, served to draw from the people every evidence of public and private respect for his memory. The body of the dead statesman was buried in Crown Hill Cemetery, near Indianapolis, the funeral pageant surpassing in grandeur and solemnity any other display of the kind ever witnessed in the Western States, except the funeral of Lincoln.

The death of the Vice-President was soon followed by that of Horatio Seymour, of New York. On the 12th of February, 1886, this distinguished citizen, who had been governor of the Empire State, and, in 1868, candidate of the Democratic party for the presidency against General Grant, died at his home in Utica. He had reached the age of seventy-six, and, though for many years living in retirement, had never ceased to hold a large share of the attention of his fellow-citizens. Still more distinguished in reputation and ability was Samuel J. Tilden, also of the Empire State, who died at his home.



JOHN A. LOGAN.

called Greystone, at Yonkers, near New York City, on the 4th of August, 1886. Mr. Tilden had lived to make a marked—perhaps ineffaceable—impression on the political thought of the epoch. He had acquired within the lines of his own party an influence and ascendancy far greater than that of any other statesman of his times. His intel-



SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

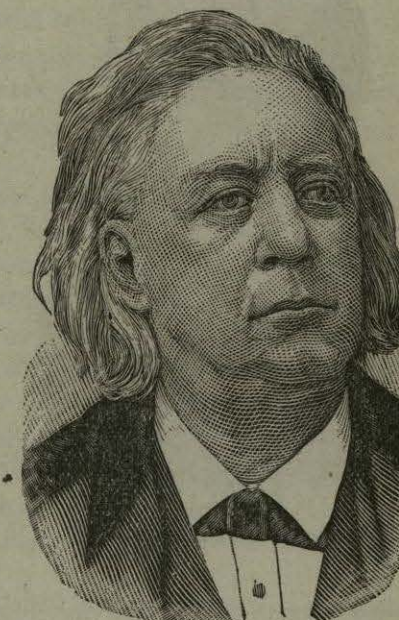
lectual force could not be doubted, nor could it be claimed that he failed to apply his faculties assiduously to the greatest political questions of the age. Mr. Tilden was born on the 14th of February, 1814, and was thus in the 73d year of his age at the time of his death. He had been a prominent figure in his native State for fully forty years, and had held many places of public trust and honor. In 1870-71 he was among the foremost in unearthing the astounding frauds and robberies which had been perpetrated on the city of New York, and in the following year was sent to the General Assembly, where his services were invaluable. In 1874 he was elected Governor of New York by a majority of more than 50,000 votes. In the executive office he was one of the ablest and most thorough-going who ever occupied the gubernatorial chair of the State. In 1876 he was nominated for the presidency, and at the election of that year received a large majority of the popular vote, only failing of a majority in the electoral college because of the tactics of the leaders of the party in power. Neither he nor General Hayes was clearly elected, the Democrats having carried two or three States with the shot-gun, and the Republicans, by the aid of the Electoral Commission, having counted in the electoral votes of a State or two which they did not carry at all. After the contest Mr. Tilden retired to private life, but continued to guide the counsels of his party and to influence public opinion up to the date of his death. Perhaps one of his ablest—as it was his last—public paper was a general letter on the subject of "The Coast and Harbor Defenses of the United States," a publication which clearly led to the legislation of the Forty-ninth Con-

gress on that important subject. Thus, within the space of less than eleven months, four of those eminent American statesmen who had been candidates of the Democratic party for the presidency of the United States, and the distinguished Vice-President recently chosen by that party to the second place of honor in the Government, had fallen from their places in the ranks of the living.

To this list of the American great whose earthly activities have recently ended in death must still be added the illustrious name of Henry Ward Beecher. To him, with little reservation, must be assigned the first place among our orators and philanthropists. Nor is it likely that his equal in most of the sublime qualities of energy and manhood will soon be seen again on the great stage of life. His personality was so large, so unique, and striking, as to constitute the man in some sense *sui generis*. His kind is rare in the world, and the circumstances which aided in his development have passed away. That fact in American history—the institution of slavery—which brought out and displayed the higher moods of his anger and stormy eloquence cannot again arouse the indignation of genius. The knight and his dangerous foil sleep together in the dust.

Mr. Beecher had the happy fortune to retain his faculties unimpaired to the very close of his career. On the evening of the 5th of March, 1887, at his home in Brooklyn, surrounded by his family, with no premonition or portent, the message came by apoplexy. An artery broke in the magnificent, heavy brain, that had been for more than forty years one of the greatest batteries of thought and action in the world, and the aged orator, nearing the close of his seventy-fourth year, sank into that deep sleep from which no power on earth could wake him. He lived until the morning of the 8th, and quietly entered the shadows. The sentiments awakened by his death, the circumstances of his sepulture, and the common eulogium of mankind, proved

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beyond doubt the supreme place which he had occupied in the admiring esteem, not only of his own countrymen, but of all the great peoples of the world.

Another distinguished name to be added to the American necrology of the decade is that of Morrison Remick Waite, Chief Justice of the United States. His death occurred at his home, in Washington City, on the 23d day of March, 1888. The event suggests and justifies the addition of a few paragraphs relative to the history and *personnel* of that great tribunal over which Judge Waite presided during the last fourteen years of his life.



MORRISON REMICK WAITE.

In the formation of the Constitution of the United States it was intended that the three general departments of the Government should be of correlative rank and influence. The sequel, however, as developed and illustrated in the actual working of our national system, has shown that the executive and legislative departments predominate, naturally, perhaps inevitably, over the judicial branch, and that, in the popular estimate, at least, the supreme court is of small importance as compared with the presidency and the two houses of Congress. This disesteem of the judiciary is not verified by a broader and more philosophical view of the subject. The importance, especially, of the conservative opinion of our great national court, in determining, at least negatively, the final validity of all legislation and of all subordinate judicial decisions, can hardly be overestimated. The same may be said of the supreme bench, considered as the only immovable breakwater against the unscrupulous and rampant spirit of party. It is fortunate, moreover, that the offices of our chief justice and of the associate justiceships are appointive, and are thus removed, in great measure, from the perfidy of the convention and the passion of a partisan election. It may be of interest to glance for a moment at some of the vicissitudes through which the supreme court has passed since its organization, in 1789.

The court was then instituted by the appointment of John Jay as chief justice,* who held the office until 1796, when he gave place to Oliver Ellsworth. The latter presided over the court until, in 1800, the infirmities of age compelled his resignation. Then came the long and honorable ascendancy of Chief Justice John Marshall, who held the office from his appointment, in 1801, to his death, in 1835. This was the golden age of the supreme court. From 1835 to 1837 there was an interregnum in the chief justiceship, occasioned by the disagreement of President Jackson and the Senate of the United States; but, at the latter date, the president secured the confirmation of Judge Roger B. Taney as chief justice, who entered upon his long term of twenty-seven years. It was his celebrated decision in the case of the negro, Dred Scott, relative to the status of the slave race in America, that applied the torch to that immense heap of combustibles whose explosion was the Civil War.

At the death of Chief Justice Taney, in 1864, President Lincoln appointed as his successor Salmon P. Chase, recently secretary of the treasury, and author of most of the great financial measures and expedients by which the national credit had been buoyed up and preserved during the rebellion. His official term extended to his death, in 1873, and covered the period when the important issues arising from the Civil War were under adjudication. To Chief Justice Chase fell also, by virtue of his office, the duty of presiding at the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson. In 1874 the appointment of Morrison R. Waite as chief justice was made by President Grant; and the death of this able jurist devolved on President Cleveland and the Senate the duty of naming his successor.

Chief Justice Waite was born at Lyme, Connecticut, on the 29th of November, 1816. From the public school he was transferred to Yale College, and was graduated from that institution in 1837. He then became a student of law, and, after completing his course, removed to Ohio, where he entered upon the practice of his profession at Maumee City. After serving one term, 1849-50, in the Legislature of the State, he removed to Toledo, which became henceforth his home, until his duties as chief justice called him to Washington City. He had been frequently solicited to become a candidate for office, but had adhered to his profession until 1871-72, when he accepted from President Grant the appointment as member of the celebrated Board of Arbitration, to sit at Geneva, in the adjudication of the Alabama Claims. Here he was associated with Charles Francis Adams, Caleb

* For the organization of the first supreme bench see page 364.

Cushing and Wm. M. Evarts; and, though he was less known to the public than they, he nevertheless bore himself with honor among his colleagues. Shortly after his return the death of Chief Justice Chase opened the way for Mr. Waite's appointment to the highest and most important judicial seat in America; and to this august position he brought a character, talents and attainments equal to the responsibilities of his office.

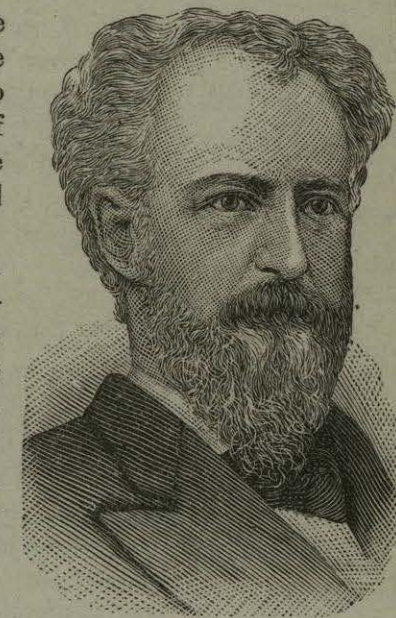
During his occupancy of the supreme bench Chief Justice Waite steadily rose in the esteem and confidence of the nation. He was not, perhaps, a man of the highest order of genius or of the very highest rank as a jurist. But, on the whole, the office of chief justice was rarely, if ever, more worthily borne than by its latest occupant. He was a man of equable and judicial temper, little disposed, if disposed at all, to look beyond the supreme bench to a possibly higher seat. His death was from pneumonia, and was so sudden as to be announced to the country by the same dispatches which gave first information of his serious sickness. He died peacefully, at his home. His funeral was held first in the hall of the House of Representatives, and afterward from his old residence in Toledo, at which city his remains were finally committed to the tomb.

The death of Chief Justice Waite made way for the return to the supreme judicial office in the United States of some member of the political party which has long been out of power. Since the epoch of the Civil War the court has been filled almost exclusively with judges who, by political affiliation, have belonged to the Republican party. The first distinctly Democratic appointment which has been made in the last quarter of a century was the recent one of Judge Lucius Q. C. Lamar, who by the nomination of President Cleveland was transferred from the secretaryship of the interior to the supreme bench. It has thus happened, in the vicissitude of things, that the two political theories which were opposed to each other in the war for the Union, and are still opposed by party name, have become confluent in the high court of the nation. This circumstance has been to some a source of alarm and prejudice; but the hope may be well entertained that partisan dispositions are less potent and dangerous—if indeed they assert themselves at all—on the supreme bench of the United States. Thus far in its history the court has, as a rule, been as pure in its administration and methods as it has been great in reputation. The muddy waters of party conflict have only occasionally reached as high as the threshold of our honored tribunal; and the fear that it may be otherwise hereafter may hopefully be put

aside as a groundless and spectral chimera of the hour. On May 1, 1888, the President appointed Melville W. Fuller, of Chicago, to the vacant chief justiceship.

The impression produced by the death of Chief Justice Waite had scarcely passed when the decease of another citizen, most noted for high character and great talents, again called the public attention to the rapid disappearance of the nation's most distinguished representatives. On the 18th of April, at the Hoffman House, New York city, Hon. Roscoe Conkling, ex-Senator of the United States, died after a brief and painful illness. A local inflammation resulting in the formation of a pus-sack under the mastoid bone of the skull led to the cutting of the skull in hope of saving Mr. Conkling's life; but he succumbed to the fatal malady and shock of the operation.

Roscoe Conkling was born in Albany, N. Y., on the 30th of October, 1829. After the completion of an academic course of study he went as a student of law to Utica in 1846. On reaching his majority he was admitted to the bar, and was soon afterward appointed to the office of County Attorney. From the beginning of his career his great talents and remarkable force of character were manifest. He made a profound impression first upon the local and then upon the general society of New York. In 1858 he was Mayor of Utica, and in the same year was sent to the national House of Representatives. He had already become an able politician, and was soon recognized as the leader of the Republican party in his native State. His rise was rapid, and his influence became marked in the affairs of the Government. He served for six years in the lower House, and in 1866 was elected to the Senate. In that body he aspired to leadership and gradually attained it, though not without many struggles and contests with the great men of the epoch. He was twice re-elected Senator—in 1872 and 1878; but in his third term, namely, in 1881, he found himself in such relations with the Garfield administration as induced him to resign



ROSCOE CONKLING.

his seat. This step was regarded by many as the mistake of his political life. At any rate, he failed of a re-election, the administration party getting control of the Legislature of New York and sending another in his place. After that date Mr. Conkling retired to private life and took up with the greatest success the practice of his profession in New York city.

Roscoe Conkling was a man of the highest courage and staunchest convictions. He never shone to greater advantage than when leading the forces of General Grant in the Chicago Convention of 1880. He was a born political general. His will and persistency and pride gave him a power which, if it had been tempered with greater urbanity, could hardly have failed to crown his life with the highest honors of the nation. His talents rose to the region of genius, and his presence was magnificent—an inspiration to his friends, a terror to his enemies. As a summary of the results of his career it may be said that at the time of his death none except his eminent rival, Mr. Blaine, might justly contest with him the proud rank of most distinguished private citizen of the United States.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1886, had occurred one of the most serious labor agitations which had ever been witnessed in the United States. It were difficult to present an adequate statement of the causes, general and special, which produced these alarming troubles. Not until after the close of the Civil War did there appear the first symptoms of a renewal, in the New World, of the struggle which has been going on for so long a time in Europe between the laboring classes and the capitalists. It had been hoped that such a conflict would never be renewed in the countries west of the Atlantic. Such a hope, however, was doomed to disappointment. The first well-marked symptoms of the appearance of serious labor strikes and insurrections occurred as early as 1867. The origin of these difficulties was in the coal and iron producing regions of Pennsylvania and in some of the great manufactories of New England. For a while the disturbances produced but little alarm. It was not until the great railroad strike of 1877 that a general apprehension was excited with respect to the unfriendly relations of labor and capital. In the following year much uneasiness existed, but the better times, extending from 1879 to 1882, with the consequent favorable rate of wages, tended to remove, or at least to postpone, the renewal of trouble.

A series of bad crops ensued, and the average ability of the people to purchase was correspondingly diminished. The speculative mania, however, did not cease, and the large amounts of capital withdrawn

from legitimate production and lost in visionary enterprises still further reduced the means of employing labor. Stagnation ensued in business; stocks declined in value; manufactories were closed, and the difficulty of obtaining employment was greatly enhanced.

While these causes, half-natural, half-artificial, were at work, others, wholly fictitious, but powerful in their evil results, began to operate in the creation of strife and animosity. Monopolies grew and flourished to an extent hitherto unknown in the United States. On the other hand, labor discovered the salutary but dangerous power of combination. A rage for organizing took possession of the minds of the laboring men of the country, and to the arrogant front of monopoly was opposed the insurrectionary front of the working classes.

More serious still than the causes here referred to was the introduction into the United States of a large mass of ignorant foreign labor. The worst elements of several European States contributed freely to the manufactories and workshops of America, and a class of ideas utterly un-American became dominant in many of the leading establishments of the country. Communistic theories of society and anarchic views of government began to clash with the more sober republican opinions and practices of the people. To all this must be added the evils and abuses which seem to be incident to the wage system of labor, and are, perhaps, inseparable therefrom. The result has been a growing jealousy of the two great parties to production, the laborer and the capitalist.

The opening of trade for the season of 1886 witnessed a series of strikes and labor imbroglios in all parts of the country. Such troubles were, however, confined for the most part to the cities and towns where labor was aggregated. The first serious trouble occurred on what is known as the Gould system of railways, reaching from the Mississippi to the south-west. A single workman, belonging to the Knights of Labor, and employed on a branch of the Texas Pacific Railway, at that time under a receivership, and therefore beyond the control of Jay Gould and his subordinates, was discharged from his place. This action was resented by the Knights, and the laborers on a great part of the Gould system were ordered to strike. The movement was, for a season, successful, and the transportation of freights from St. Louis to the south-west ceased. Gradually, however, other workmen were substituted for the striking Knights; the movement of freights was resumed, and the strike ended in comparative failure; but this end was not reached until a severe riot in East St. Louis had occasioned the sacrifice of several innocent lives.

Far more alarming was the outbreak in Chicago. In that city the socialistic and anarchic elements were sufficiently powerful to present a bold front to the authorities. Processions bearing red flags and banners, with communistic devices and mottoes, frequently paraded the streets, and were addressed by demagogues who avowed themselves the open enemies of society and the existing order. On the 4th of May a vast crowd of this reckless material collected in a place called the Haymarket, and were about to begin the usual inflammatory proceedings, when a band of policemen, mostly officers, drew near, with the evident purpose of controlling or dispersing the meeting. A terrible scene ensued. Dynamite bombs were thrown from the crowd and exploded among the officers, several of whom were blown to pieces and others shockingly mangled. The mob was, in turn, attacked by the police, and many of the insurgents were shot down. Order was presently restored in the city; several of the leading anarchists were arrested and held for trial on the charge of inciting to murder, and measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies as had been witnessed in the Haymarket Square. On the following day a similar, though less dangerous, outbreak occurred in Milwaukee; but in this city the insurrectionary movement was suppressed without serious loss of life. The attention of the American people—let us hope to some good end—was called, as never before, to the dangerous relations existing between the upper and nether sides of our municipal populations.

The summer of 1886 is memorable on account of that great natural phenomenon, known as the Charleston earthquake. On the night of the 31st of August, at ten minutes before ten o'clock, it was discovered at Washington City, and at several other points where weather and signal stations were established, that communications with Charleston, S. C., were suddenly cut off. The discovery was made by inquiries relative to the origin of a shock which had that moment been felt with varying degrees of violence throughout nearly the whole country east of the Mississippi and south of the great lakes. In a few minutes it was found that no telegraphic communication from any side could be had with Charleston, and it was at once perceived that that city had suffered from the convulsion. Measures were hastily devised for further investigation, and the result showed that the worst apprehensions were verified. Without a moment's warning the city had been rocked and rent to its very foundations. Hardly a building in the limits of Charleston or in the country surrounding had escaped serious injury, and perhaps one-half of all were in a state of semi-wreck or total ruin.

No such scene of devastation and terror from a like cause had ever before been witnessed within the limits of the United States.

Many scientists of national reputation hurried to the scene and made a careful scrutiny of the phenomenon with a view of contributing something to the exact knowledge of mankind respecting the causes and character of earthquakes. One or two points were determined with tolerable accuracy. One was, that the point of origin, called the epicenter, of the great convulsion had been at a place about twenty miles from Charleston, and that the motion of the earth immediately over this center had been nearly up and down—that is, vertical. A second point tolerably well established was that the isoseismic lines, or lines of equal disturbance, might be drawn around the epicenter in circles very nearly concentric, and that the circle of greatest disturbance was at some distance from the center. Still a third item of knowledge tolerably well established was that away from the epicenter—as illustrated in the ruins of Charleston—the agitation of the earth was not in the nature of a single shock or convulsion, as a dropping or sliding of the region to one side, but rather a series of very quick and violent oscillations, by which the central country of the disturbance was in the course of some five minutes settled somewhat to seaward.

The whole coast in the central region of the disturbance was modified with respect to the sea, and the ocean itself was thrown into turmoil for leagues from the shore. The people of the city were in a state of utmost consternation. The people fled from their falling houses to the public squares and parks and far into the country. Afraid to return into the ruins they threw up tents and light booths for protection and abode for weeks away from their homes. The convulsion was by far the greatest that this continent has experienced within the historical epoch. Nothing before in the limits of our knowledge has been at all comparable with it in extent and violence except the great earthquake of New Madrid, in 1811. The disaster to Charleston served to bring out some of the better qualities of our civilization. Assistance came from all quarters, and contributions poured in for the support and encouragement of the afflicted people. For several weeks a series of diminishing shocks continued to terrify the citizens and paralyze the efforts at restoration. But it was discovered in the course of time that these shocks were only the dying away of the great convulsion, and that they gave cause for hope of entire cessation rather than continued alarm. In a lapse of a few months the *débris* was cleared away, business was resumed, and the people were again safe in their homes.

On the 4th of March, 1887, the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress expired by statutory limitation. The work of the body had not been so fruitful of results as had been desired and anticipated by the friends of the government; but some important legislation had been effected. On the question of the tariff nothing of value was accomplished. True, a serious measure of revenue reform had been brought forward at an early date in the session, but owing to the opposition of that wing of the Democratic party headed by Hon. Samuel J. Randall, and committed to the doctrine of protection, as well as to the antagonism of the Republican majority in the Senate, the act failed of adoption. In fact, by the beginning of 1887 it had become apparent that the existing political parties could not be forced to align on the issue of free trade and tariff, and as a result no legislation looking to any actual reform in the current revenue system of the United States could be carried through Congress.

On the question of extending the Pension List, however, the case was different. A great majority of both parties could always be counted on to favor such measures as looked to the increase of benefits to the soldiers. At the first, only a limited number of pensions had been granted, and these only to actually disabled and injured veterans of the War for the Union. With the lapse of time, however, and the relaxation of party allegiance, it became more and more important to each of the parties to secure and hold the soldier vote, without which it was felt that neither could maintain ascendancy in the government. Nor can it be denied that genuine patriotic sentiment and gratitude of the nation to its defenders coincided in this respect with political ambition and selfishness. The Arrears of Pensions Act, making up to those who were already recipients of pensions such amounts as would have accrued if the benefit had dated from the time of disability, instead of from the time of granting the pension, was passed in 1879, and at the same time the list of beneficiaries was greatly enlarged.

The measure presented in the Forty-ninth Congress was designed to extend the pension list so as to include all regularly enlisted and honorably discharged soldiers of the Civil War who had become in whole or in part dependent upon the aid of others for their maintenance and welfare. The measure was known as the Dependents' Pensions Bill, and though a few had the courage to oppose the enactment of a law which appeared to fling away the bounty of the government to the deserving and the undeserving, the evil and the just alike, and to compel the worthy and honorable recipients of pensions who had actually suffered in the war to rank themselves in the same category

with the thriftless, the unpatriotic, and the improvident, who, having been in the army, had afterward come to grief through their own lack of enterprise and frugality; yet a majority was easily obtained for the measure in both Houses, and the act was passed. President Cleveland, however, interposed his veto, and the proposed law fell to the ground. A strenuous effort was made in the House of Representatives to pass the bill over the veto; but the movement failed.

By far the most important and noted piece of legislation of the session was incorporated in the act known as the Inter-State Commerce Bill. For some fifteen years complaints against the methods and management of the railways of the United States had been heard on many sides, and in cases not a few the complaints had originated in actual abuses, some of which were willful, but most were merely incidental to the development of a system so vast and, on the whole, so beneficial to the public. In such a state of affairs the lasting benefit is always forgotten in the accidental hurt. That large class of people who, in despite of the teachings of history, still believe in the cure of all things by law, and that mankind are always about to perish for want of more legislation, became clamorous in their demand that Congress should take the railways by the throat and compel them to accept what may be called the system of uniformity as it respects all charges for service rendered. It was believed in Congress that to take up this call, and champion the alleged cause of the people, would be one of the most popular measures of the period. The Inter-State Commerce Bill was, accordingly, prepared, with a multitude of lengthy and involved clauses requiring a commission of great lawyers for their interpretation. It was enacted that all freight carriage across State lines within the Union should be at the same rate per hundred for all distances, and between all places, and under substantially the same conditions, and that passenger fares should be uniform for all persons. It must be borne in mind that, in the very nature of things, railways are unable to carry freight at as small a rate per hundred, or passengers at as small a charge per mile, between places approximate as between places at great distances. It must also be remembered that in some regions it is many times more expensive to build and operate a railroad than in others. To carry one of these great thoroughfares over the Rocky Mountains is a very different thing from stretching a similar track across the level prairies of Illinois. It must still further be considered that, in the nature of the case, competition will do its legitimate and inevitable work at an earlier date and more thoroughly between great cities, even when remotely situated, than between unin-

portant points, however near together. The traffic and travel between two villages is not sufficient to create competition among the carriers. It is as absurd to suppose that railway tariffs can be the same between New York and Chicago as they are between two Missouri towns, as it is to suppose that butter can command the same price in an Iowa village that it does in the Quincy Market of Boston. What should be said of an attempt in Congress to make the price of wheat and pork uniform throughout the United States?

The Inter-State Commerce Bill was conceived against all the natural, manifest and undeniable principles of the commercial world. It was passed with the belief that all discriminations in the charges made by railways doing business in more than one State could be prevented by law. It was passed as if to amend or abrogate those natural laws of trade and traffic which in their kind are as absolute, and as beneficial, as the law of gravitation. It was passed with the ulterior design of securing to its promoters the support of that ignorant and embittered race of men whose prejudices are out of all proportion to their knowledge of human rights, or their recognition of the paramount interests of the whole people. It was passed under the pernicious anti-democratic theory of governmental paternalism, which says that men are infants or imbeciles, unable to care for themselves unless they are fed and led and coddled by some motherly government of which they are the irresponsible offspring. It is safe to say that no other measure ever adopted by the American Congress has been so difficult of application, or has thrown the commercial affairs of the country into so great disorder. The one redeeming feature of the case has been, and is, that they who, by the passage of so preposterous a series of enactments, thought to crown themselves with laurel, came forth wearing a diadem of weeds and cactus.

During the whole of Cleveland's administration the public mind was swayed and excited by the movements of politics. The universality of partisan newspapers, the combination in their columns of all the news of the world with the invectives, misrepresentations, and countercharges of party leaders, kept political questions constantly uppermost, to the detriment of social progress and industrial interests. Scarcely had President Cleveland entered upon his office as chief magistrate when the question of the succession to the Presidency was agitated. The echoes of the election of 1884 had not died away before the rising murmur of that of 1888 was heard.

By the last year of the current administration it was seen that there would be no general break-up of the existing parties. It was

also perceived that the issues between them must be *made*, rather than found in the existing state of affairs. The sentiment in the United States in favor of the Constitutional prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors had become somewhat extended and intensified since the last quadrennial election. But the discerning eye might perceive that the real issue was between the Republican and Democratic parties, and that the questions involved were to be rather those of the past than of the future.

One issue, however, presented itself which had a living and practical relation to affairs, and that was the question of PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY. Since the campaign of 1884, the agitation had been gradually extended. At the opening of the session, in 1887, the President, in his annual message to Congress, departed from all precedent, and devoted the whole document to the discussion of the single question of a *Reform of the Revenue System* of the United States. The existing rates of duty on imported articles of commerce had so greatly augmented the income of the Government that a large surplus had accumulated, and was still accumulating, in the treasury of the United States. This fact was made the basis of the President's argument in favor of a new system of revenue, or at least an ample reduction in the tariff rates under the old. It was immediately charged by the Republicans that the project in question meant the substitution of the system of free trade in the United States as against the system of protective duties. The question thus involved was made the bottom issue in the Presidential campaign of 1888.

As to the nominees of the various parties, it was from the first a foregone conclusion that Mr. Cleveland would be nominated for re-election by the Democrats. The result justified the expectation. The Democratic National Convention was held in St. Louis, on the 5th day of June, 1888, and Mr. Cleveland was re-nominated by acclamation. For the Vice-Presidential nomination there was a considerable contest; but, after some balloting, the choice fell on ex-Senator Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio. The Republican National Convention was held in Chicago, on the 19th day of June. Many candidates were ardently pressed upon the body, and the contest was long and spirited. It was believed, up to the time of the Convention, that Mr. Blaine, who was evidently the favorite of a great majority, would be again nominated for the Presidency. But the antagonisms which that statesman had awakened in his own party made it imprudent to bring him forward again as the nominee. His name was accordingly not presented to the Convention. The most prominent candidates were Senator John Sherman, of Ohio;

Judge Walter Q. Gresham, of Chicago; Chauncey M. Depew, of New York; ex-Governor Russel A. Alger, of Michigan; ex-Senator Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana; and Senator William B. Allison, of Iowa. The voting was continued to the eighth ballot, when the choice fell upon Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana. In the evening Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the first ballot.

In the meantime the Prohibition party had held its National Convention at Indianapolis, and on the 30th of May had nominated for the Presidency General Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, and for the Vice-Presidency John A. Brooks, of Missouri. The Democratic platform declared for a reform of the revenue system of the United States, and re-affirmed the principle of adjusting the tariff on imports with strict regard to the actual needs of governmental expenditure. The Republican platform declared also for a reform of the tariff schedule, but at the same time stoutly affirmed the maintenance of the protective system, as such, as a part of the permanent policy of the United States. Both parties deferred to the patriotic sentiment of the country in favor of the soldiers, their rights and interests, and both endeavored by the usual incidental circumstances of the hour to gain the advantage of the other before the American people. The Prohibitionists entered the campaign on the distinct proposition that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should be prohibited throughout the United States by Constitutional amendment. To this was added a clause in favor of extending the right of suffrage to women.

As the canvass progressed during the summer and autumn of 1888 it became evident that the result was in doubt. The contest was exceedingly close. As in 1880 and 1884, the critical States were New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana. In all of the other Northern States the Republicans were almost certain to win, while the Democrats were equally certain, of success in all the South. In the last weeks of the campaign General Harrison grew in favor, and his party gained perceptibly to the close. The result showed success for the Republican candidate. He received 233 electoral votes, against 168 votes for Mr. Cleveland. The latter, however, appeared to a better advantage on the popular count, having a considerable majority over General Harrison. General Fisk, the Prohibition candidate, received nearly three hundred thousand votes; but under the system of voting no electoral vote of any State was obtained for him in the so-called "College," by which the actual choice is made. As soon as the result was known the excitement attendant upon the campaign subsided and political questions gave place to other interests.

The last days of Cleveland's administration and of the Fiftieth Congress were signalized by the admission into the Union of FOUR NEW STATES, making the number forty-two. Since the incoming of Colorado, in 1876, no State had been added to the Republic. Meanwhile the tremendous tides of population had continued to flow to the west and north-west, rapidly filling up the great Territories. Of these the greatest was Dakota, with its area of 150,932 square miles. In 1887 the question of dividing the Territory by a line running east and west was agitated, and the measure finally prevailed. Steps were taken by the people of both sections for admission into the Union. Montana, with her 145,776 square miles of territory, had meanwhile acquired a sufficient population; and Washington Territory, with its area of 69,994 square miles, also knocked for admission. In the closing days of the Fiftieth Congress a bill was passed raising all these four Territories—South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Washington—to the plane of Statehood. The Act contemplated the adoption of State Constitutions, and a proclamation of admission by the next President. It thus happened that the honor of bringing in this great addition to the States of the Union was divided between the outgoing and incoming administrations.

Another Act of Congress was also of national importance. Hitherto the government had been administered through seven departments, at the head of each of which was placed a Cabinet officer, the seven together constituting the advisers of the President. No provision for such an arrangement exists in the Constitution of the United States; but the statutes of the Nation provide for such a system as most in accordance with the republican form of government. Early in 1889 a measure was brought forward in Congress and adopted for the institution of a new department, to be called the Department of Agriculture. Practically the measure involved the elevation of what had previously been an Agricultural Bureau in the Department of the Interior to the rank of a Cabinet office. Among foreign nations France has been conspicuous for the patronage which the Government has given to the agricultural pursuits of that country. Hitherto in the United States, though agriculture has been the greatest of all the producing interests of the people, it has been neglected for more political and less useful departments of American life and enterprise. By this act of Congress the Cabinet offices were increased in number to eight instead of seven.