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WASHINGTON NATIONAL MONUMENT.

Shall the Unfinished Obelisk stand a Monument of National  
Disgrace and National Dishonor ?

SPEECHES

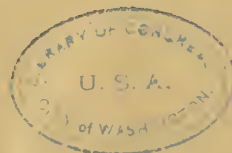
OF

HON. NORTON P. CHIPMAN, OF THE DISTRICT OF  
COLUMBIA, HON. R. C. McCORMICK, OF ARIZONA,  
HON. JASPER D. WARD, OF ILLINOIS,  
HON. JOHN B. STORM, OF PENNSYL-  
VANIA, HON. J. B. SENER, OF  
VIRGINIA, HON. S. S. COX,  
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JUNE 4, 1874.



WASHINGTON:  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.  
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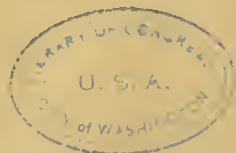
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HON. NORTON P. CHIPMAN.

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The House having under consideration the report of the Special Committee on the Washington National Monument, and also the report in relation to a monument to Mary, the mother of Washington—

Mr. CHIPMAN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Seventy-four years ago, on the 23d of last December, the Congress of the United States, in response to a universal feeling throughout the nation, resolved to erect a marble monument at the capital, so designed as to commemorate the great events of the military and political life of George Washington.

The whole people were in mourning for the loss of the man who by common consent was regarded as the Father of his Country; the man of whom it was said, without exciting the envy of a living soul, that he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

When Congress resolved to commemorate the great events of this man's life, they imposed a solemn as well as pleasing duty upon all who were to come after them until that duty should be performed. At this distance of time, looking back along the path of our history, and remembering the vicissitudes through which efforts to carry out that pledge have passed, and turning my face toward that unfinished column, standing with bowed head upon the banks of the Potomac, I wonder what great and stirring events must have interposed to prevent the consummation of this sacred duty.

George Washington died on the 14th day of December, 1799. No man who has ever lived occupied a larger space in history or had a greater and more salutary influence upon the lives of men. Upon his death not only the whole American people, but the civilized world, mourned his loss as one of the greatest and best of earth. The President, Mr. Adams, announced the distressing event to Congress in a message, in which he speaks of the purity of Washington's character and the long series of services to his country as having rendered him illustrious throughout the world. The letter which brought the sad intelligence to the President, and which was transmitted by him to Congress, was written from Mount Vernon, December 15, by Tobias Lear, who was with Washington in his last hours. The letter states:

His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life; not a groan nor a complaint escaped him in extreme distress. With perfect resignation, and with full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life.

There is to me, Mr. Speaker, a melancholy pleasure in reviewing this striking event of our early history, and I dare say the House will not feel the half-hour misspent which is given to revive the recollection of this now almost obscure passage.

I shall not myself speak particularly of the life and character of Washington; but what I shall say upon that theme I prefer shall be from the lips of those who were his associates in arms, his companions in the struggles of our early revolutionary period.

Both Houses of Congress waited upon the President to condole with

him on the distressing event. In their address to the President, the Senate said :

With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is wider than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtue. It repressed the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory. He has traveled on to the end of his journey and carried with him an increasing weight of honor; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favored of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity. Magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness. \* \* \* Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage. Let them teach their children never to forget that the fruit of his labors and his example are their inheritance.

In reply, among other things, Mr. Adams said :

In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to say that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities; I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy. \* \* \* \* \*

Among all our original associates in that memorable League of the Continent in 1774, which has expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the General Government.

And, in conclusion, added :

His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians. ~

It was a proper thing; indeed, less could hardly have been done than to resolve to erect a monument worthy of the character of such a man. And it perhaps may be as well for me to occupy my time chiefly in presenting to the House the vicissitudes through which the effort to erect a monument has passed, leaving other gentlemen to treat other branches of the subject. It is an instructive chapter; and while it carries with it a lesson not flattering to our patriotism, it may serve to point a moral, if it does not adorn a tale.

In announcing the death of Washington to the House, Mr. Marshall closed an eloquent address by submitting a series of resolutions befitting the occasion. One of these resolutions provided for the appointment of a joint committee of both Houses to report measures suitable to the occasion; and in that resolution occurs the memorable words, applicable to Washington only, declaring that these measures shall be expressive of the profound sorrow with which Congress is penetrated in the loss of a citizen "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." \* The Senate con-

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\* As the Annals of Congress show that Mr. Marshall made the report, a question of the authorship of these words arose in my mind. A friend, learned in patriotic lore, relieved my mind in the following letter:

DEAR SIR: I find myself confirmed in the recollection expressed to you last evening in regard to the authorship of the celebrated words, "First in war, first in peace," &c.

At page 441 of volume 2 of Marshall's Life of Washington, edition of 1839, there is this foot-note, referring to the resolution in which the words occur:

"These resolutions were prepared by General Lee, who, happening not to be in his place when the melancholy intelligence was received and first mentioned in the House, placed them in the hands of the member (Marshall) who moved them."

It was certainly honorable in Judge Marshall thus to secure to their real author the credit of these resolutions, which would otherwise have been given to himself.

curred in this resolution, the committee was appointed, and among other things done was the passage unanimously upon the same day of an act to erect a marble monument to Washington.

May 8, of the same session, Mr. Lee, of the committee on the part of the House, reported in favor of carrying out the resolution of Congress, passed in 1783, respecting an equestrian statue of Washington, and also to erect a marble monument to carry out the act of 1799. A motion was made to amend the report and carried, substituting a mausoleum for the statue and monument proposed. On the next day Mr. Evans, from the committee, reported a bill for erecting a mausoleum, which was to be one hundred feet square at the base and of proportionate height. The bill came before the House on final passage May 10, and passed—yeas 54, nays 19. On reaching the Senate, it was postponed, May 12, to the following session.

Congress assembled on the 17th of November in its second session, and on the 26th Mr. Lee moved a committee, with instructions to report measures to “carry into execution the resolution of Congress, passed the last session, in commemoration of the great events, military and political, in the life of George Washington;” and on the 2d of December Mr. Lee reported a bill to erect a mausoleum. The bill directed that it should be of marble, erected in the city of Washington, under the superintendence of the four Secretaries. The question was considered in Committee of the Whole December 5, when a motion was made to substitute a marble monument to be erected in the Capitol building; but Mr. Lee reminded the House that at the last session, after a long debate, they had declared in favor of a mausoleum; and that as no reasons had been assigned for a change of opinion, he hoped they would persevere in the deliberate result of their judgment.

It was urged by Mr. Griswold that—

It was the object of the bill to raise a monument which should last for ages, and which should be a perpetual memorial of the gratitude of America. Such would not be the case if the proposition made by the gentleman from North Carolina should be adopted. The monument proposed by him might be broken and destroyed by a lawless mob; and for his part he would not consent to raise such a monument to the memory of a man who had deserved so well of his country. \* \* \* It is true that it will not perpetuate the fame of Washington; his fame required nothing which we could do to give it perpetuity; but it will perpetuate the gratitude of the country. \* \* \* It was undoubtedly a subject of sentiment; and subjects of such a kind must be guided by feeling. Various opinion therefore may naturally be expected. His opinion was that the national sentiment called for the erection of a structure to correspond in size with the character of the man to whom it was raised.

Mr. Lee, who had been a companion in arms with Washington, and was the chosen orator of Congress on the occasion of his death, came to the support of his bill with a stirring, patriotic appeal to the House, in which he said that should this honorable spirit, kindled by an enthusiasm in the virtues and talents of our departed benefactor, subside and be chilled by the adoption of the amendment, he would condole with the House, and would rather they would be silent forever than disgrace themselves and their country by so subordinate an act. And, rising with his theme and in glowing eloquence, he continued:

It is true, sir, that the celebrity and the glory of Washington hang not on our plaudits. History will transmit to posterity the luster of his fame, glittering with untarnished purity. It is not in our power either to increase or diminish it. But, sir, we may imitate his virtues and his great example. We are deeply interested in holding them forth as illustrious models to our sons. Is there, then, I ask you, any other mode for perpetuating the memory of such transcendent virtues so strong, so impressive, as that which we propose? The grandeur of the pile we wish to raise will impress a sublime awe in all who behold it. It will survive the present generation; it will receive the homage of our children's children, and they will learn

that the truest way to gain honor amid a free people is to be useful, to be virtuous.

This will not be the act of an individual. It will be the act of a government, expressing the will of a great nation. Seize, then, I pray you, seize with rapture the occasion that is now presented, thankful to the Supreme Disposer of Events for giving you the opportunity for rearing some future Washington. This is a great object. Frown, then, upon all the little efforts made to defeat it.

The House again, December 10, in Committee of the Whole, had the same bill under consideration. On this occasion many gentlemen participated in the debate. Mr. Claiborne, among others, said:

That on a question which would not fail to excite the sensibility of every American heart it was a subject of great regret that a division of sentiment should arise and he urged the House to unite in the last act of attention which they proposed to show this venerable character.

But while Mr. Claiborne urged—and in this the human nature in him is found repeated here and elsewhere daily—while he urged the House to unite in their action, he spoke to convince them that it was their duty to build an equestrian statue in accordance with the resolution of the Continental Congress, utterly ignoring the pledge of the Congress of which he was then a member.

The committee agreed to inquire into his suggestion, as well as others, and arose and reported progress.

Again, December 19, Mr. Lee reported to the House that the committee had considered the several propositions made commemorative of the services of Washington, but that it adhered to its former report as to a mausoleum; that they had maturely considered the merits of all the plans proposed and preferred the mausoleum, as well from its superior durability as cheapness, to any other.

December 23 the question was again before the House in Committee of the Whole, and a motion was made fixing the sum to be appropriated at \$200,000.

Mr. Smilie opposed it as a needless expenditure of money; that no responsible architect or engineer had given security that the work could be accomplished for the sum named.

Mr. Harper replied that the old story was again rung in their ears. He said:

An object in itself highly important was proposed, and forsooth because it cost some money, on the ground of economy it must be rejected. \* \* \* \* \*

These clamorous objections are well understood. Their sole object was *ad captandum vulgus*, to create alarm about what was termed useless expense. They were intended for nothing else.

In looking over the Annals of Congress, disclosing discussion upon this question, Mr. Speaker, I am struck with the fact that men in those days did not differ much from those of our times; but I think we may congratulate ourselves that no member would seriously think for a moment of charging a fellow-member in these frank and manly days with opposing appropriations to catch the vulgar ear.

In this particular at least, and a useful one it is, we may claim exemption from such base motives!

After these gentlemen had mutually paid the customary parliamentary courtesies to each other, each denying that the other knew anything about the subject, the committee arose.

Mr. Rutledge, in a brief appeal, brought back the House to the real question, reminding them that—

When the man whose loss the world deplored departed from us we were all shrouded with sorrow; the mournful event awakened our deepest regret, and resolutions expressive of the national affliction at his death and commemorative of his services were unanimously passed by both Houses of Congress. Those resolutions were not carried into effect owing to a disagreement between the branches of the



Legislature. Now, when we propose to carry them into effect, objections are started to every measure offered; objections that rise eternally in our horizon, which, whenever we pursue, fly from our reach, and which, always moving in a circle, we can never overtake.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Does it become the dignity of the House thus to be occupied with trifling objections on such a subject? They had delayed too long to do what ought to have been done at once.

The question was taken on filling the blank with \$200,000 and carried, which was agreed to in the House.

The bill was subsequently, January 1, 1801, engrossed, read a third time, and passed. The bill went to the Senate and was there indefinitely postponed.

For fifteen years the annals of Congress do not show that gratitude for the services of Washington had any abiding place in the hearts of the American people, and that such a man had ever lived one would doubt in perusing these pages. Except incidentally, his name is nowhere mentioned. Once in 1810, upon the death of his kinsman, Colonel William Washington, a spasm of patriotic feeling seized upon a member of the House, and he moved a resolution in honor of the deceased; but this ebullition of feeling was quickly suppressed, and, lest the contagion might spread and the memory be disturbed as to the buried monument, the resolution was rejected; and afterward, when a feeling of compunction seized upon some who had so promptly suppressed the attempt to revive any recollection of Washington, an effort was made to expunge the record so slighting to his family. It was refused, and the record kept as a warning to any who should hereafter attempt to honor the name.

In 1816 Mr. Huger, who was on the committee in 1799, moved a joint committee to inquire as to how the act of 1799 could be carried out. The Senate concurred, but no report was ever made there that I can find. The House committee reported favorably to a monument. In moving the law Mr. Huger said, his heart sank within him as he recalled to mind the scenes he had once witnessed and in which he had personally acted a part on the floor of that Congress, which represents the American nation, on the death of this great man. He had often since thought with astonishment and more than regret of the apathy of the American people on this subject. The only action taken is recorded in the following ghastly, laconic language: "And that said bill be indefinitely postponed." And so this first effort for fifteen years to redeem an early pledge died in the deadly atmosphere of indefinite postponement—that upas which grew at the touch of congressional indifference, apathy, and disloyalty to the name and fame of a man whose loss had once moved not only the American people but the whole world with profound sorrow.

In 1819 Mr. Goldsborough, in the Senate, moved a resolution to erect an equestrian statue to General Washington, which passed July 19. The House next day paid it the compliment to read it twice and send it to the Committee of the Whole, where it took refuge under the umbrageous shade of forgetfulness and died the ignoble death of postponement. The memory of Washington was allowed to repose peacefully in oblivion until 1824, when Mr. James Buchanan, just in the House fresh from the old Keystone State, made an abortive attempt to convince Congress that by neglecting for so long a period to accomplish the object of the act of 1799 it had subjected itself to the imputation of perfidy, as well as ingratitude. He said:

We made a solemn promise to the widowed partner of Washington and to the people of the United States by a legislative act that we would erect a monument to his memory. That distinguished lady has long slumbered with him in the grave, and this pledge has never been redeemed.

He continued :

It is difficult to determine whether this neglect be more impolitic or ungrateful. Every wise nation has paid honors to the memory of the men who have been the saviors of their country. Sculpture and painting have vied with each other in transmitting their images and the memory of their deeds to the remotest generations. By these means the holy fire of virtuous emulation has been kindled in the bosoms of the youth of succeeding ages.

Mr. Buchanan was a young member, and so far as the Annals of Congress show, he was tolerated by the House in this flight of fancy. On account of his youth and inexperience he was not reminded that the subject of his resolution had long since been consigned to oblivion and had become obsolete. If there was a member courageous enough to take him aside and congratulate him the record does not show it ; but I can imagine the sardonic smile which overspread the House as the resolution of the future occupant of Washington's seat was withdrawn "ordered to lie upon the table."

I wish, Mr. Speaker, I could find somewhere along this period a bright spot ; but as touching this holy duty it is all the blackness of darkness.

I would close the book of this Congress if I had not resolved to spread before you all I have found on this interesting subject.

At the same session, Mr. Johnson moved in the Senate to purchase the equestrian portrait of Washington by Rembrandt Peale, provided it should cost no more than \$5,000. A similar motion was made by Mr. Buck in the House. These propositions were consigned to the table gently that they might not disturb the quiet repose of the dead soldier and sage.

About the same time the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds was instructed to inquire into the expediency of purchasing three busts of Washington by Capellano. The committee subsequently reported that—

However laudable it may be in the Government to cherish a disposition friendly to the fine arts and to patronize ingenious artisans, or politic to adorn our public halls or libraries with the likenesses of departed sages and heroes, it is inexpedient to purchase these busts at this time under existing circumstances.

The brief record is that the report was concurred in.

Mr. Speaker, I challenge the civilized world, and I will include the semi-barbarous portion, to present a specimen of loftier contempt for the memories of the past, a more heartless and cavalier disposition of a sacred subject. Twenty-four years before, with one voice, the nation voted a monument to Washington, since which time no action had been taken toward it. The monument was again and again postponed ; a portrait was declined, and now three little busts could not be purchased "under existing circumstances." What were the "existing circumstances," I know not, unless it be that Congress was composed of men filled with personal ambitions, men absorbed in personal success, forgetful of the past, indifferent as to the future, and who lived in an atmosphere of dead memories and unpatriotic and selfish motives.

Washington and his great services had disappeared. The question had become one of patronage of art, the embellishment of our halls and libraries, or the commemoration of our heroes and sages generally. I shall go no further for proof that the so-called golden age of the Republic was an age of sordid and mean motives no better than our own, and that the evidences of patriotic devotion to the country and to the memories of our revolutionary struggle are fourfold stronger and more sincere to-day than in the days to which we are apt to turn for high aspirations and lofty motives.

In 1826 the House tabled a resolution to adjourn over the 22d of February in honor of Washington.

In 1832 an attempt to make some arrangements to celebrate his centennial birthday was dropped owing to the refusal of Mr. John A. Washington to permit the remains to be removed from Mount Vernon.

This Congress did, however, agree to employ John Vanderlyn, of New York, to paint a full-length portrait of Washington to be placed in the Hall of Representatives opposite the portrait of Lafayette, the head to be a copy of Stuart's Washington, and \$1,000 were appropriated.

This admirable painting is before you at the right of the Speaker, and I hope before we refuse to complete the unfinished monument that this picture may be veiled forever from the sight of man. I could never, Mr. Speaker, look toward your desk with those eyes full upon me and solemnly vote that our centenary may come and go without removing the national disgrace daily uttered by yonder unfinished shaft.

At the same session, also, the statue now in the East Capitol grounds, by Horatio Greenough, was ordered; the head was to be a copy of Houdon's Washington, the accessories according to the artist's judgment. This statue was designed for the Rotunda, but why it has been cast out and left utterly exposed and forsaken no one can tell.

Two unsuccessful efforts in the Senate in the same year, one to purchase Rembrandt Peale's Washington, and one to erect a full-length bronze pedestrian statue, closes the record, if we include the equestrian statue by Clark Mills, of all that has been done and refused by the American Congress toward redeeming a sacred pledge.

This, Mr. Speaker, is the history of thirty-two years of the American Congress in its effort by a suitable monumental structure to testify the gratitude of the American nation toward the Father of his Country; a man renowned throught the world, whose name is now and ever shall be the synonym for liberty and for free government.

We come now to the period when the people, despairing of congressional action, resolved to erect a monument from contributions out of their own purses. The story of this well-meant effort is soon told. Its details are fully presented in the report of the committee which gentlemen have before them.

In September, 1833, a number of patriotic citizens of Washington assembled together and on that and subsequent meetings devised a plan for erecting a national monument.

It was hoped that, a monument once erected by the voluntary contributions of the whole people, permission would be given to remove the remains of Washington for deposit in it, and whether this should be done or not it would be a rallying point for patriotism, and would be a noble emblem of attachment to the Union and its founders.

Of the original number who founded the society, not one survives. The names of these patriots should not be forgotten, and I shall do them the poor honor of connecting them with what I hope we intend to be the last and successful effort to complete what they so nobly began. They were William Brent, Daniel Brent, James Kearney, George Watterson, Joseph Gales, Joseph Gales, jr., Peter Force, William W. Seaton, John McClellan, Pishey Thompson, and Thomas Carbery.

Chief Justice Marshall was its first president and at his death Mr. Madison was chosen, since whose death the successive Presidents of the United States have held the position.

It was first determined to limit the subscription of any one person to one dollar, but this restriction was afterward removed.

In 1836 the subscriptions had reached \$28,000; in 1847 they had reached \$87,000.

On the 31st of January, 1848, Congress passed a resolution authorizing the society to erect the monument upon one of the reservations of the Government.

On the 4th of July, 1848, the corner-stone was laid in the presence of persons from all parts of the country and amid the prayers and plaudits of the whole people, and by 1854 the funds of the society were exhausted; the obelisk had reached the height of one hundred and seventy feet, at a cost of \$230,000, since which only four feet have been added.

The society appealed to Congress for aid as subscriptions had ceased, and a committee of the House reported a bill appropriating \$200,000, but at this critical juncture rival aspirants got possession of the organization, thus preventing action, and held it until the latter part of 1858, when Congress incorporated the society and confirmed its title to the reservation; but after appealing to the country in every way it could suggest, the society frankly avows its belief that if the monument is to be completed by the centennial Congress must provide the means.

This brings us face to face with our duty. The committee in recommending that Congress should promptly accept the trust tendered have not been unmindful of public sentiment as to the duty to economize expenditures in every branch of Government, but the committee thought there was that which withholdeth yet impoverisheth in this case. We did not believe that the enlightened public sentiment of the country would sustain us in refusing a reasonable appropriation to complete this monument. We felt that if no attempt had ever been made to erect a monument we could not honorably escape the duty imposed by the act of 1799, but we find here an unfinished monument started by the people which from lack of administrative machinery to reach contributors must utterly fail, unless the Representatives of the people come to their assistance, and we must either refuse or make the necessary appropriation.

Every question as to cost, stability of the shaft, and appearance when completed is answered in the report.

In brief, it is found not advisable to complete the obelisk to the height originally intended, (550 feet,) but to reduce it to the height of about 440 feet; it is found also that the pantheon or colonaded structure at the base may be dispensed with, and thus make not only a less expensive monument, but a shaft more graceful, in better proportion, and altogether more desirable.

For the pantheon is substituted a terrace with massive steps and balustrade, forming admirable pedestals for future statues.

The obelisk will cost.....	\$245, 145 17
The terrace.....	65, 540 75

Total cost of obelisk.....	310, 685 92
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With the funds now in the hands of the society, an appropriation of \$300,000 will finish the monument, and of this \$75,000 will be required this year.

It is found that the work will require five hundred and thirty-seven days, so that a delay till next session is fatal.

A word, Mr. Speaker, as to the plan. I know this has been criticised, but the criticism has been based not upon the effect produced

by a shapely and graceful obelisk unadorned, but by confusing this pure and simple style of Egyptian architecture with the Grecian pantheon or colonaded building surrounding its base. But this is now dispensed with according to the plan recommended by the committee, and a terrace of proper proportions substituted in its stead.

If the question were entirely a new one, and we were now for the first time to determine what character of monument should be erected to the memory of Washington, it may be that something more artistic and ornamental would be approved; but the people of the country, the rich and poor from the remotest boundaries of the Union, have subscribed to the monument upon the present design, and have expended over a quarter of a million dollars in rearing it to its present height. The committee felt that this consideration alone, admitting no others, would constrain them to adhere to this plan rather than to tear down the structure and open the question anew as to the design of a monument. It was felt that the moment this was done the whole army of empirics and charlatans in art would open their shafts upon every plan devised, and that great difficulty would result in determining upon any plan.

Some gentlemen here may remember that some years ago the committee for erecting a monument at Hamilton Square, in New York, advertised for plans, and forty or fifty were sent in and exhibited at the Art Union. Mr. Varnum tells us in his "Seat of Government" that a more grotesque and absurd group of light-houses, pyramids, and nondescript structures never were got together; one only, that of Frazee, received the faintest praise, and it was a superb copy of the Parthenon, to cost about \$5,000,000.

But, Mr. Speaker, there is something in this simple, majestic obelisk to my mind eminently proper as commemorative of the character of Washington, aside from the fact that the early fathers preferred it to one more involved and composite in its design. There is something in this obelisk without ornament, pure and simple in its design, not unlike the character of Washington. Strong and enduring, it cannot be more so than his fame; lofty and majestic, it cannot be more so than the motives which governed his life; higher than any like structures in the world, it cannot excel them by so much as he stands above all others in the spotless purity of his character.

Do gentlemen object to the site? Not to speak of its location as presenting a beautiful view of the Potomac, and from the top of the monument a full view of Mount Vernon, where rest the ashes of the chief, it was selected by Washington himself as the spot for a monument to the American Revolution which in 1795 was proposed should be erected at the permanent seat of Government; and afterward it was marked on Major L'Enfant's map of Washington City as the site for the equestrian statue of General Washington ordered by the Continental Congress, which map was examined and approved by Washington himself; besides its elevation is but little below the foundations of this Capitol building.

There is another consideration, Mr. Speaker, which will address itself to the minds of some members quite as strongly as the question of honor or sentiment involved. In 1859 Congress confirmed to the monument association their title to reservation No. 3, where the monument now stands, embracing about thirty acres, which had been deeded to them by President Polk in 1848. The deed gave to this society this reservation "to use, possess, and enjoy, quietly and peaceably and free from all let or hinderance," for the purposes of the society. This reservation forms an important link in the cordon of reserva-

tions extending from the Capitol grounds to the Executive Mansion. It is worth many times in value the amount required to complete the monument. The society have expressed a willingness to reconvey this reservation to the United States if this appropriation is made and the monument completed. As a question based entirely upon business principles, and laying aside all others, this alone should impel members to vote for the appropriation.

The United States are to-day trespassers in establishing a propagating garden on one portion of this reservation. Congress cannot with honor revoke the deed made to the society and refuse to carry out the trust coupled with it.

I submit, then, to gentlemen with whom considerations of patriotism and national honor will not avail, that here is a motive worthy the most economical, and which can be defended upon business principles however exacting.

But, Mr. Speaker, I am impelled almost to apologize to the House for having even suggested such a consideration. It cannot be that patriotism and national gratitude are dead in this land. It cannot be that the name and fame of Washington are things of the past. It cannot be that we so near to him, his own countrymen, must alone refuse to do him honor.

Erskine wrote to Washington himself :

I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and excellent classes men ; but you are the only being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence.

Said Fox of him in the British House of Commons in 1794 :

Illustrious man ! deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind. Before him all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the potentates of Europe become little and contemptible.

Napoleon proclaimed, on hearing of the event :

Washington is dead ! This great man fought against tyranny ; he established the liberty of his country. His memory will be always dear to the French people, as it will be to all freemen of the two worlds.

Said Lord Brougham :

It will be the duty of the historian and the sage in all ages to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man ; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington.

Said Lamartine :

Efface henceforth the name of Machiavel from your titles of glory, and substitute for it the name of Washington. That is the name of modern liberty. It is no longer the name of a politician or a conqueror that is required ; it is that of a man the most disinterested and most devoted to the people. This is the man required by liberty. The want of the age is a European Washington.

Is this, Mr. Speaker, a just estimate of the character of our Washington ? Do we believe it ? And believing it, can we turn toward yonder unfinished monument which overlooks the final resting-place of the Father of his Country, whose shadow in the evening sun reaches to the spot where we now stand, and deliberately vote to perpetuate that evidence of national dishonor and national ingratitude ?

No, sir. Complete it ere your centennial day arrives, or let no American citizen look toward heaven on that glad morn and thank God that this is a land of liberty and that we are a free people. Complete it, or look not back to a noble ancestry ; but confess that your nation is in its decadence, and that its days are already numbered.

S P E E C H  
OF  
H O N . J O H N B . S T O R M .

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Mr. STORM. Mr. Speaker, I propose to occupy a very brief period of the time of the House in the discussion of this question. The gentleman from the District, who has paid a great deal of attention to this subject, has made a very exhaustive and full speech upon it and has said all that I had intended to say and more than I could have said.

Sir, I have prepared no remarks for this occasion, and I merely rise now for the purpose of saying that I am in favor of the completion of the Washington Monument. I challenge any member of this House to say whether there has been in this House during the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses a member who has been more careful in voting for appropriations of money from the public Treasury than I have been. I have ever been careful, and have endeavored by my votes so to act that no appropriation of money should be made from the public Treasury by my consent except for measures of public importance and necessity. But I say unhesitatingly that I am ready and willing to vote the appropriation necessary to complete the Washington National Monument. I think it is a subject of regret on the part of every one who visits the national capital that the Washington Monument should remain to this day incomplete. I do not think a constituent of any member on this floor could find fault with that member if he were to vote the appropriation called for by the Select Committee on the Washington National Monument. I think, sir, that no person in all this country would find fault with any member for aiding in the completion of that monument by making an appropriation from the Treasury, because, sir, it is a well-established fact that the Washington Monument Association cannot complete the work. They have had it in hand for many years, and they confess in a communication made to the chairman of the select committee on this matter that they are willing to abandon the enterprise, admitting that they are unable to complete the work.

If the monument had never been commenced, I do not say that I would be in favor at this time of making this appropriation. If that structure which is now a standing disgrace to the American people had never been commenced, I might be willing to wait for a more propitious occasion when the revenues of the Government would better justify than now an appropriation for this purpose. But standing there as it does, carried so far toward its completion, I am unwilling that the hundredth anniversary of our existence as a nation should dawn upon us with that monument standing there as a testimony that "republics are ungrateful."

Since the first steps were taken in regard to a monument to Wash-

ington ninety-one years have passed away. In August, 1783, a resolution was passed by Congress to erect an equestrian statue to Washington. And the very site upon which this unfinished monument stands was selected for that purpose and approved by Washington himself. Washington has been dead three-quarters of a century, and yet nowhere have the American people testified their gratitude, their affection, and reverence for the name of Washington by expending any amount of money in a monumental work to perpetuate his memory. I know it has been said—it was eloquently said by the illustrious orator who spoke on the occasion of laying the corner-stone of this monument in July, 1848—that Washington needs no monument, that this wide-spread Republic is a monument to Washington. That may be all true. The immortality of Washington is assured to him. But while Washington does not need a monument, it is necessary in discharging our duty to him for us to finish this monument. I admit that Washington would be just as great if the American people should neglect to erect a monument to his name. But in justice to ourselves, in justice to the character of the man, we cannot further neglect to finish the structure which was commenced here in sight of this Capitol. The duty is incumbent upon us, although Washington may not need it.

There are some questions connected with the building of this monument upon which this House probably may desire to be satisfied before it will be willing to vote this appropriation of money. There are two practical questions which presented themselves with great force to your committee. I think that committee has given proper attention to the two objections which have been presented to completing this monument which has been commenced here. The first was that the foundation of the present structure was so unsafe that it would be unwise to hazard any further expenditure of money upon it. The committee called upon General Humphreys of the Engineer Department to examine the foundation and the bases of the present work, and ascertain if it would be safe to carry it to completion according to the original plan.

General Humphreys detailed Lieutenant Marshall, of the Engineer Corps, to make the examination, a young man who I think I can safely say has no superior in this country as an engineer. He made the examination and submitted a full and exhaustive report upon the condition of the present structure. He reports that the foundation is safe; and while he thinks it might not be entirely safe to carry the monument up according to the original plan, to the height of six hundred feet, still it would be perfectly safe to carry it up to the height proposed by the committee, that is four hundred and thirty-seven feet. He says he has no doubt that it would be safe to carry the monument up to that height. That was an important question for us to consider, because it has been alleged by many parties who visited that monument that the chipping off in the lines of the lower courses was an indication that it would be unsafe to carry the structure up farther.

Lieutenant Marshall explains how that took place. He says, that the outer edges of the blocks which composed the lower courses being thicker than the inner edges, and the courses having been laid too close together, the chipping off is caused by the pressure of the shaft upon those lower courses, and indicates nothing but the fact that the outer edges had been laid too close together. That it affects at all the safety and the stability of the structure he says is not the fact.

He sunk a shaft along the line of the foundation for the purpose of



examining the character of the soil underlying it. He gives us a detailed account of the soil and the foundation upon which the monument rests. While he thinks the height of six hundred feet would probably be unsafe, although he does not say it would be, yet being very careful in his examinations, estimates, and calculations, he declares positively that it would be perfectly safe to carry the structure up to four hundred and thirty-seven feet, which the committee think would be high enough.

If the structure is limited to that height the sum required for its completion would be moderate; only about \$310,000 being required to complete the shaft and the terrace which Lieutenant Marshall has recommended for the ornamentation around the base of the monument. This plan dispenses with the elaborate work included in the extensive pantheon which was a part of the original plan. That pantheon is to be omitted and a small plain obelisk, an unornamented shaft four hundred and thirty-seven feet high with a terrace about the base, is to be adopted in its stead, and according to his calculations that would require an expenditure of \$310,000.

Can it be said that the American people will be unwilling to expend that small sum for the purpose of completing this monument? I do not think they will be unwilling to do so. I think that this House, nearly one hundred members of it having been willing to vote the sum of \$3,000,000 for the purpose of a centennial celebration at Philadelphia, would also be willing to vote the sum of \$310,000 for the completion of this monument, or about one-tenth of the same they were willing to give to the centennial celebration.

We have then, Mr. Speaker, a safe basis upon which to work, which unfortunately has not been the case with former efforts made in Congress for the completion of this monument. I think this is one of the reasons why Congress has been so negligent with regard to making an appropriation for it. We have never had heretofore a full report and clear statement of the exact condition of the monument. There has been abroad in the public mind an impression that there was something unsafe about the present structure and that it would not be advisable to carry it to completion. That question I think is now settled by indubitable authority based upon a full and searching examination, which has resulted in establishing the safety and stability of the present structure and the feasibility of carrying it to the height of four hundred and thirty-seven feet. This I think is established beyond all doubt.

Such being the case, it only remains for us to vote this appropriation. As I have said, \$310,000 will be the utmost amount needed for the completion of the work. The question has been asked of me whether all this would be required in one year. It would not. If \$75,000 were appropriated this year and the remaining portion next year it would be sufficient.

Mr. CHIPMAN. The gentleman will allow me to say that I consulted Lieutenant Marshall, the engineer whose report is before us, with direct reference to ascertaining the least sum that it would be necessary to expend before the reassembling of Congress in December next, and he said that with the amount which the society now has—about \$15,000—all that would be needed between this time and the assembling of Congress would be \$75,000 additional.

Mr. STORM. Mr. Marshall, the engineer who made the examination of the present structure, has not only made the estimate of the amount of appropriation which would be required, but he tells us the time within which it can be completed; that it would take

five hundred and thirty-seven working days to complete the shaft. This estimate is based of course upon the consideration of the number of men who can be advantageously employed upon the work for that period of time; because only a limited number can work to advantage. It would require, according to his estimate, five hundred and thirty-seven working days. It must be plain, then, to the House that if the work is to be completed by the 4th of July, 1876, it must be commenced very soon, as there will be only about six hundred working days between the next 4th of July and the 4th of July, 1876. The work therefore must be commenced soon after the coming 4th of July. The appropriation proposed would not of course all be needed at once. If we make an appropriation of \$75,000 this year and the balance next year it would be amply sufficient to carry the work to completion by the 4th of July, 1876.

As to the association that has had charge of this work I must say that a more patriotic body of men never labored for a good cause than the men who have worked for the completion of this monument. I know that much scandal has been in circulation with regard to the management of this affair, but if gentlemen knew the character of the men who have had this work in charge for many years—the officers of this association—they must at once acquit them of any such conduct as is attributed to them by the false rumors which have been aloft in regard to the management of this enterprise. They have labored hard and faithfully to complete it; but the fact has been shown, and they admit it, that by the system of voluntary contribution this monument cannot be finished. The only fair way is to give every person in the Republic a chance to contribute by taxation to the erection of this monument. I think the American people should build it, and the only fair way to distribute the expense is by an appropriation from the public Treasury, so that every person may contribute his share.

Mr. Speaker, upon Washington more eulogies have been pronounced than upon any man who lived in the eighteenth century. He has been praised by statesmen, by historians, and by poets both of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I think it can be truly said that the memory of Washington has not faded from the American mind. I believe that the American people do yet appreciate the life, character, and services of Washington. I cannot believe that the American people are so derelict in their duty to his memory that they are willing now in this national capital that monument shall longer stand incomplete. In this beautiful capital, built upon the spot selected by Washington, we have erected stately public buildings for carrying on the business of the various Departments of the Government—buildings substantial in structure and beautiful in their architecture. This city has been wonderfully improved within the last few years. Its parks have been ornamented, its streets have been beautified. But we are constantly admonished of our neglect in seeing this shaft incomplete. Speaking for myself and my constituents, I say I am unwilling that unfinished shaft shall stand any longer as a reproach to us. Early in the Forty-second Congress I introduced a resolution calling for information concerning this enterprise. I did not know at the time that that information had been called for in a prior Congress and was already at hand. But I have labored ever since I have been in Congress, in an humble way at least, to bring about among my friends a state of feeling which would aid us in the completion of this monument; and nothing would gratify me more when I retire from this Congress than to know that I may have done something in urging the completion of this work.



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tion called in so earnest and eloquent terms by the Delegate from the District. On the contrary, as shown to night, by the proceedings of early Congresses they resolved in favor of some kind of statue, an equestrian statue. They resolved from time to time in favor of some kind of monument. But I do not know that Congress has ever resolved in favor of that shaft. I have never been able to find it, and I think if such a resolution had been in existence the Delegate from the District would have referred to it. I have examined the matter with some care and have not found such resolution. I do not think the gentleman is in favor of it himself. Independent of some other questions, to which I will come pretty soon, it has an unfortunate foundation as it stands.

Then, Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate again that the surveys and examinations which have been made with reference to the stability of the present structure are not satisfactory at least to me; and I know they are not satisfactory to many others. It has been asserted that it is safe to erect that monument to the height that it is proposed now to be erected upon its present foundation. It may seem very strange for one who makes no pretension to technical knowledge or information upon such a subject as that to say that he does not think it is safe. I have examined with care the report of the gentleman who has surveyed it. I believe he is a skilled and excellent officer. I believe that Lieutenant Marshall has a bright future before him; but I am not entirely satisfied with the testimony which he gives on this subject. I am going to read from his report a few extracts, for the purpose of showing to the gentlemen interested and to the House one of the reasons why I cannot vote for this appropriation. He says in his report many things, but does not appear to give an affirmative answer to the question, whether it is safe to erect the monument upon the foundation as at present laid.

I do not think he says so, Mr. Speaker, and I will read what he does say; and first, in speaking of the condition of the shaft at present, from the examination he made of it, he says:

*This examination resulted in showing that the axis of the shaft is inclined so that its top is deflected 1.4 inches to the northwest. In February last the upper of the foundation courses was found by leveling to be depressed .6 of an inch to the northwest, which would indicate a deflection at the top of the axis of that portion of the shaft now completed of about 1.6 inches.*

I do not claim that that shows a very dilapidated condition of the monument; but I want to read the balance of what he says about it. That is in reference to a shaft one hundred and seventy feet high, and now it is proposed to raise it up to—how much?

Mr. CHIPMAN. Four hundred and thirty-seven feet.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. He says in another portion of the report:

*That portion now built consists of its foundation masonry of rough blocks of gneiss, many of them small, laid in hydraulic mortar—twenty-five feet high, eighty feet square at base, and fifty-nine feet square at top, and a portion of the shaft one hundred and seventy feet high of marble ashlar facing and rubble backing.*

*Excavations and examinations show that the foundation is placed eight feet below the surface of the ground upon ordinary loam or a mixture of clay and fine sand. Below this the proportion of sand was found to increase until a depth of twenty-two feet, or fourteen feet below the bottom of the foundation was attained, when a compact bed of gravel cemented by a ferruginous clay was found, which is inclined under such a small angle that it may be regarded as sensibly horizontal. The difficulty in boring in such material, and the presence of water making the sinking of an ordinary well more expensive than the means at my disposal would allow, no examination as to the thickness of this stratum of gravel or hard-pan was made. Sufficient is known, however, from wells dug in the monument lot to justify the assertion that there is no reason for apprehending that the earth is not firm for a sufficient depth to afford a good foundation for the heaviest of structures, provided*

*sufficient spread be given to the foundation and proper measures be taken to insure a uniform distribution of pressure.*

Now if that is a square answer to the proposition submitted to him, if it is an answer that such a shaft could be safely erected upon the foundation, I for one do not consider it so, and it is not satisfactory to me. That is another reason why I care not to vote an appropriation to construct this monument. The most direct answer he makes as to whether it would be safe to construct the monument on its present foundation is found in this language:

As far as can be discovered in a careful examination of the structure, there are no sufficient grounds for doubting the security of the foundation under its present load.

He says as far as can be discovered on a careful examination of the structure there are no sufficient grounds for doubting the security of the foundation under its present load; but you propose to add two hundred feet to this monument. In the other place where he answers the question he says it is sufficiently firm to support the heaviest structure provided a spread is given to secure it. That is the only language in which he refers to the sufficiency of the foundations, and if the gentleman can draw from that an affirmative statement, that it is perfectly safe to erect this particular monument to the height to which it is proposed to erect it, then he is more capable of determining the meaning of words than I am. I confess I am unable to do it.

Mr. CHIPMAN. The gentleman will allow me to interrupt him for a moment.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. Certainly.

Mr. CHIPMAN. I know the gentleman desires the truth in this matter. While he disagrees with a majority of the committee, I am confident that he disagrees with them honestly, and I know he will allow me to point out to him one important piece of evidence.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. If I fail to notice it before I get through I will give the gentleman an opportunity to remind me of it. I should be glad, of course, to have the truth known in regard to this matter.

Mr. CHIPMAN. I have no doubt of it.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. I do not desire to be misled or to mislead anybody in relation to a subject of this kind. I desire to understand the matter truthfully. I do not apprehend that there was any purpose on the part of this engineer to mislead anybody. He follows out what I have read with a whole lot of problems, which I am not competent to work out, but which the gentleman from the District may have worked out. I am not able to solve them, and I have not time to attempt it now. I have given his language, and I believe the whole of his language, on the question of the solidity of the foundation of this monument.

Now, there is one other proposition to which I desire to call attention and one other argument used by the Delegate from the District of Columbia which if unanswered might seem to have some force in it. I submit that if he wants to be entirely fair, and I know he does, he goes outside of the mark. I think it was unkind of him to talk about men being sordid in reference to this question. I do not like that kind of talk. I know that in debates like these gentlemen talk as they please, but I do not believe that those I represent are sordid upon this question.

Mr. CHIPMAN. The gentleman will allow me to say that the sordid persons to whom I referred were the members who long since

preceded us here, and who failed to do their duty in respect to this monument.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. I am coming to that. I do not like to hear that kind of talk. I do not yield to the gentleman in admiration of the grand achievements of this great man. His memory is as dear to me as it is to him. He has done as much for me as he ever did for the gentleman; he did it for all of us. But the argument which he makes that this property of thirty acres on which the monument stands is worth more than is asked for by this bill and is now the property of the commission to whom the work was formerly committed, is not to my mind exactly a fair one. The original act provided substantially that the commissioners, the corporation, should have this property for the purpose of erecting thereon a monument. It is hardly fair to say that we ought to make this appropriation because the commission is ready to reconvey this property to the Government. I do not want to speculate in real estate—we all speculate in real estate more or less in my part of the country. But this land was set apart for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of Washington, and I want no speculation by any body, not even the Government, in that land.

The law which created this commission—and I call the attention of gentlemen to it—the commission or corporation to which the title to this land was conveyed for the purposes set forth in the deed—contains this provision :

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That this act may at any time be altered, amended, or repealed by the Congress of the United States.

And I have something else in relation to that in the records in this case. This commission having failed in its trust, not by any fault of its own but simply because the American people did not respond in money to their call for the building of such a monument as this; and I might, perhaps, stop here and give some reasons which prevented the commission from succeeding. One probably was that when the unsightly column reared itself so high that they could see it they did not feel like contributing more to it. It is not correct to argue that the Government will make money by this appropriation and resuming the possession of this land. In the gentleman's own report—I presume it is his report—if not, I beg his pardon—

Mr. CHIPMAN. The gentleman is right.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. In speaking of the general management of this matter the gentleman says in his report :

Your committee deem it but just to the people that this conveyance of so important a reservation should be canceled and the title again vested in the United States.

This your committee believe it is entirely competent for Congress to do—

First. Because the charter act confirming the deed is repealable by its terms.

Second. Because the deed was made in trust, which trust, by the confession of the society, cannot be longer carried out; besides, the members of the society have by formal vote expressed a willingness to surrender their organization.

That is an answer to that part of the argument. The land belongs to the Government already; the right to repossess it is perfect and complete.

I do not know but I might properly stop now and say no more. I do not want to say a word beyond what I feel in duty bound to say, as I am a member of the committee which makes this report, to justify the vote which I shall give. But I will go on a little further and say that I do not believe we have been guilty of any injustice toward the memory of Washington. I do not believe there has been any ingratitude in the hearts of the American people toward that great man. They have builded a monument to him better and higher and broader

than any that could be reared of stone. He is enshrined in the heart of every one who loves freedom. He lives and moves and controls to day by the memory of his glorious deeds and acts this great people more than any other man living or dead. It is unkind to say that the failure to complete this monument—which I can hardly restrain myself from characterizing in stronger terms than any I have yet used, but I will not do so—it is unkind to say that the failure to construct this monument is any evidence of ingratitude on the part of the American people.

That is not the reason it has not been finished. There is another reason that underlies all this, and which has had much to do in determining the action of Congress and the people upon this question. I represent here a constituency living many hundred miles away, a constituency not less patriotic, not less devoted to the great cause for which Washington so gloriously struggled, not less in love with his memory and his achievements than are those who live in this city. They have been appealed to, as have the rest of the people of this country. To what extent they have responded to those appeals I do not know. But they have been appealed to in the proper manner. This commission which was organized to build this monument was the proper medium for the solicitation of funds for the purpose. If my people have declined to contribute of their means for this purpose, I do not feel that I have any right to appropriate for this purpose money from the public Treasury which has been taken from them in the shape of taxes for the expenditures of the Government and apply it to finish this unhappy shaft upon this unsafe foundation.

I do not say there may not be found precedents for such an appropriation as is here asked for; I do not say that there may not be occasions when such appropriations may sometimes be made, and this may be a proper occasion, yet I do not feel that in times like the present, when the condition of the country is what every one knows it to be, (and I am not going to talk about that,) I do not feel that I have a right to vote \$100,000 or \$300,000 or any considerable sum for the completion of this unsightly, unstable shaft. And I do not believe, nor am I willing that it should go to the people of this country or be spread upon the record, that because I am unwilling to vote for this appropriation, therefore I am less patriotic, less in love with the achievements and the great events in which that great man participated, or less desirous to perpetuate his memory and hand down his bright example to those who will follow us, than are those who entertain different views upon this subject. I am not willing that any such record shall be made against me or those whom I represent on this floor.

Therefore I will say in conclusion, laying aside every other consideration but that of conviction founded upon a careful study and consideration of this subject—not a scientific study, for I am not an engineer, but a conviction founded on a careful survey and examination of this ill-shapen, badly put together structure, and the mixed blocks which form the foundation upon ordinary mold, as is stated in the report from which I have read, without any knowledge of what is below it, stratas of sand and gravel, the depth and thickness of which is unascertained—I am unwilling to vote more money to be expended upon it, for the reason that I do not believe it to be either safe or proper.

Now I believe that if you should go on and complete this monument—this opinion is not worth much and I do not give it as being worth much—I believe that if we complete this structure even upon



the plan now proposed by the committee, the storms, the uncertain foundation, the swaying to and fro of such a column, will sooner or later bring it to the earth; and I want no monument erected to Washington by human hands which time can crumble. The monument which he now has can never be destroyed by wind or wave or storm, unless it be such a storm as shall sweep from the face of the earth the last human heart that loves freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I have felt called upon to attract the attention of members to these several views, because I have been just a little afraid that notwithstanding the "hard times" the patriotism of this House of Representatives, which I know is up to high tide, might under the energetic lead of the chairman of this committee be induced to make an appropriation for this purpose that ought not to be made. Leaving out every other consideration, I believe the attempt ought not to be made to piece out a structure which ought never to have been commenced in such a way and upon such a foundation. If a monument to Washington must be erected, let it be upon a foundation that is not mud, and marl, and gravel, and sand. If this is to be completed, let not the engineer tell you, as he does in his report, that he was unable to get through the stratum of gravel just below the foundation, that the difficulty of boring by reason of water coming in was so great and the means at his control were so small that he could not attempt except in general terms to say in a sort of guessing way that the foundation, if properly spread out, would be sufficient to support some structure of very considerable proportions, and that it is sufficient to support the structure with its present weight. That we already knew; we did not need any scientific man to tell us that, for we know that it does support it in an indifferent way. I believe we shall be doing wrong unless we require, before a dollar of appropriation is made for this monument, a more elaborate survey of the situation, of the foundation, of the condition of the soil, than we have had up to the present time. Why, sir, there is notice to us in this report of Lieutenant Marshall that if you should go on and erect this monument another hundred or two hundred feet high, and it should fall down at the first storm, you could not hold him to any sort of accountability. He has not told you and does not tell you except in a general way that the foundation is sufficiently strong; and after a fall had taken place in the structure, he might easily say that his report never covered this exact case.

Mr. STORM. I do not wish to interrupt the gentleman, but he will allow me to ask whether in the report of Lieutenant Marshall the only doubt he expresses is not with regard to carrying the monument to the height of six hundred feet; whether he does not say it would be perfectly safe to carry it to the height of four hundred and thirty-seven feet.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. No, sir; he does not say that it would be perfectly safe if carried to the height of four hundred and thirty-seven feet. His report upon that point is expressed in very general terms indeed. I have read every extract from the report which in any direct manner answers that question. True, he submits a lot of problems which I cannot solve, but I would never vote money on such problems as those.

Mr. STORM. On the thirteenth page of his report he uses this language:

From which we find that the stability of the shaft at its point of least stability is 7.4 greater than necessary to insure safety.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. That is with reference to the monument as it stands now.

Mr. STORM. No, sir; it is his calculation with regard to carrying the monument to the height of four hundred and thirty-seven feet.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. On what page of the report is that?

Mr. STORM. On page 13, about the middle.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. I read that same extract.

Mr. STORM. You did not read it all.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. I think I did.

Mr. McCORMICK obtained the floor.

Mr. CHIPMAN. I hope the gentleman from Arizona will indulge me a moment that I may say a few words in connection with the remarks just made by the gentleman from Illinois. The committee desire nothing more than that the problem as to the security of the foundations shall be fully solved before one dollar is expended toward the completion of this monument. No greater disgrace, certainly no greater calamity, could possibly befall the country than that the shaft after being once completed should fall to the ground. I can imagine a universal wail of sorrow going up over the whole land at such an event. But I hope, when we come to the question of action before the House, to suggest a provision in whatever bill may be voted upon that no money shall be expended until a further examination has been made and the officers of the Engineer Department have reported to the President that upon such further examination they are satisfied the work can go on to the height recommended. I am quite as much interested in having proper security against such a result as is the gentleman from Illinois. I would be unwilling to advise the House to construct any monument which might, by chance at some future time fall to the ground. Indeed the chief reason for adopting the simple obelisk was its permanency and imperishability.

The gentleman bases his remarks in part upon what he fears or hopes or believes to be the public sentiment of his district. I wish to call his attention to an editorial clipped from the Chicago Inter-Ocean, a paper published in the city where he resides. Speaking of this monument and its proposed completion that paper says:

Efforts to this end have been made in every Congress for at least fifteen years, but without success. We are glad that this course is finally to be adopted, for the simple reason that it is an unpleasant feature of the national capital to see such a work abandoned and going to dilapidation. In its inception we believe it was in bad taste. George Washington's best monuments are the great nation which he helped to found and the record of his pure and patriotic life. He needed no such shaft as this to commemorate his deeds, and the money which has been and is to be wasted in its construction had much better have been devoted to some different purpose—to charity or to paying so much of the national debt. But there are so many good souls who feel that the work ought to go on that we are glad that action is to be taken in Congress which will secure that result.

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The committee, in view of all the facts, recommend that the Government take the work off the hands of the association and assume the responsibility of its completion, which Congress will no doubt do. Uncle Sam does such jobs in first-class style, and with reasonable speed. We may, therefore, hope—those of us who may visit the national capital in the course of a few years—to see this great mammoth pillar looming up against the sky—the tallest work of the kind in the world.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. Will the gentleman allow me to say to him, since he has quoted the remarks of that paper, that I recognize its author? It is an excellent paper and widely circulated. Still, of a dozen papers published in my city, it is the only one which has said a word on this subject. So far as I know it would not urge the building on such foundation and does not urge it.

Mr. CHIPMAN. I have not read the journal for the purpose of finding articles upon this subject. This one was specially brought to my attention.

Mr. WARD, of Illinois. I merely wish to say that it is scarcely fair to give an extract from one newspaper published where there are a dozen others, and say that it reflects the public sentiment when all the others may be on the other side, and besides that paper does not pretend to say that this particular plan should be adopted. I respect the paper but I do not specially care whether they are for or against this, and know well enough they would all be against completing this shaft as proposed if they once saw that foundation.

Mr. CHIPMAN. No doubt the gentleman's judgment is independent on this subject. He has the reputation on this floor of forming an independent judgment. I only wished to call attention to the fact that even in Chicago, where there is no very friendly feeling in regard to the present location of the Capitol and its future adornment, the people there think it is the duty of Congress to complete the monument. And I might on this question of public opinion lay before the House similar expressions from every quarter of the Union including the great journals of the nation's commercial metropolis.

Now in regard to this question of security of the foundations, I wish only to add to what appears in the reports and in the remarks already submitted, that in 1855 a committee of this House was appointed to examine the subject, and a report was made, a very full one, by a member from the State of Maryland, to which was appended a report of an officer of engineers of the Army stating his views upon this very subject, and he held that the foundations were entirely secure. Later Mr. Marshall made a report to the last Congress concurring in that opinion. And now, after a more careful examination, while he says he does not think the monument can be safely built to the height of six hundred feet, he recommends that it be built to a height of four hundred and forty feet. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WARD] is quite right in saying that Lieutenant Marshall is not clear and distinct in saying that the foundations are secure for erecting the monument to any given height; but he does recommend to Congress that the shaft be completed to the height of four hundred and forty feet, and he certainly would not recommend that if he thought the foundations were insecure.

SPEECH  
OF  
HON. RICHARD C. McCORMICK.

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Mr. McCORMICK. A year or more ago, when a similar committee was appointed to take this subject into consideration, and a report was presented by that committee, it was supposed by many men then in Congress that the recommendations of the report would meet very general favor, and at a meeting of the representatives of the Territories, the Western Territories, it was suggested that if there was to be a general movement in favor of the completion of that monument something should be said for the people living on the far frontier, and I was asked at that time to say something in behalf of those people.

I prepared some remarks, and took some pains to gather facts and figures from abroad in reference to monuments there, triumphal arches, and mementoes of this class; and I propose to-night not to occupy the attention of the House, but simply to obtain leave to print those facts and figures in connection with this subject.

I would simply say in connection with what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WARD] has stated, that it seems to me that the question is not to-night whether it was wise or unwise to start this monument upon the plan on which it was started. It may not have been wise, it may not have been necessary, and the plan may not have been in good taste or an appropriate one. But the people of this country, so far as I have talked with them, have a horror of allowing anything started as a monument in honor of Washington to be abandoned or given up; and therefore if it be not the most tasteful design, or if it be not in the most appropriate location, it would still seem to be in accordance with the spirit of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land that it should be completed and not abandoned. One reason why the private subscriptions are not large is this. I think the people have felt this and have been more reluctant to subscribe on this ground. But there has been more or less of interest shown, and perhaps if there had been greater vigor of management or respect for those who have been in charge of the affair the necessary funds might have been raised. A single effort was made in the State of California, and at the election in 1860, \$11,000 were contributed at the polls. Now, if as much as that had been done in the other States at one or two elections the entire sum of money would have been raised. The total cost of this monument would be small as compared with other similar monuments in Europe. I find that one of the triumphal arches in Paris cost a million and a half of dollars; I find that wherever they have undertaken in Europe to commemorate the services of military men or of men of civil renown and distinction, they have carried the work through almost entirely at the expense of the Government, and carried it through at less cost than this monument will involve.

I am not prepared to question the suggestions of the gentleman as to the security of the foundations or the general character of the work. I only say, speaking for the people of the far frontier, that their unanimous feeling is in favor of completing this work and they feel that it would be well if possible to complete it before the 4th of July, 1876.

Mr. CHIPMAN. I desire to say one word more. There is another report pending before the House from this committee made by the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. PELHAM,] who had the matter in charge, as chairman of a sub-committee. Although I was not a member of the sub-committee that visited Fredericksburgh for the purpose of inquiry into the condition of the tomb of Mary, the mother of Washington, the gentleman having that subject in charge not being here, I will say, that the committee agreed unanimously to recommend an appropriation of about \$12,000 to complete that monument. It is, if possible, in a more disgraceful condition than the monument in this city to the memory of George Washington. It was partly destroyed during the war. It lay between the battle-lines of the Union and confederate forces and was in the midst of the camping-ground alternately of the Union and confederate troops. It has been defaced by curiosity-seekers until now one can hardly recognize it as a monument to any one. I think it is the duty of Congress, second only in importance to its duty to complete the Washington National Monument, to see that the effort to commemorate the memory of that woman who gave birth to so great a man is carried out. The committee are I believe unanimously in favor of making this appropriation. If this nation has ever contributed to perpetuate by monumental structure the memory of any woman, I do not now recall the instance. May we not do so in this instance as a graceful recognition, not only of her family, but of the mothers of the Revolution?

The gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. SENER,] who takes a great interest in this matter and who is from the district where this tomb is located, has given his attention to the subject and I hope he will address the House upon it. I should be glad to hear from him to-night.

## S P E E C H

OF

## H O N . J A M E S B . S E N E R .

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Mr. SENER. Mr. Speaker, it is a curious fact in our progressive, utilitarian history which we are making day by day, that while we can always draw to this Chamber one hundred and fifty or two hundred men from all parts of the nation when wit is to be bandied, or when the question of the retention or dismissal of a clerk is to be considered, only fifteen or twenty Representatives of the people can be gathered here to consider the question of whether it is a paying business in this nation of ours, this grand experiment of self-government, to perpetuate the memory, and record in brass or stone our recognition of the virtues of those who gave birth to the Republic. I say it is a commentary, which I make not as a reproach upon my fellow-members, but it is a commentary that springs from that utilitarian spirit which threatens to sap the very life-blood of the Republic. Men seem to be forgetting the principles on which the Government was founded; men seem to be forgetting those springs of human action which governed the fathers of the Revolution when they brought into being that experiment of Government which we have developed into a great and magnificent Republic, spreading from ocean to ocean. If this Government is worth preserving, it is worth preserving on the basis of the principles in which it originated. If it is worth preserving, it is worth while to remember those who gave to it in the days of its infancy their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors. If it is worth while to remember these men, surely, above all and beyond all, it is worth while to remember that grand central figure who contributed so much to the success of the armies of the Revolution, and who brought out of the very fires of the Revolution the little band of patriots that established a Government which at that time was the admiration of the lovers of human freedom everywhere. To-day it is the first republic in the world, and of the first powers of the earth. I say that it is a patriotic duty to cherish the memory of this great man, and not only to cherish his memory and emulate his virtues, but if it is worth while to remember him, it is worth while to remember also that mother whose counsels made him what he was, and to whom he owed everything of his success in life.

I have only to say further, for I have prepared no speech, that the only trouble about the completion of this monument in my judgment seems to be this: that in the past few years so great has been the degeneracy touching the expenditure of public money, the great fear everywhere is that appropriations of public money will not be fairly, squarely, and honestly applied. The gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. WARD,] who has spoken here to-night with such force as he always brings to bear upon every subject, has intimated that this scheme, as I understood him, never originated in any proper motive: That is to

say, the love of Washington, the admiration of his patriotism, and of his efforts in our early struggles for independence were made instruments whereby some designing men operated upon the confidence of the American people in order to make money out of the construction of a monument. And this, taken with his opposition to the site and the objection to the foundation on account of its want of security, constitutes the only argument that is presented on the floor of the American Congress in opposition to the completion of this monument.

Can it be, Mr. Speaker, that in less than a century we have so far degenerated as to abandon so grand an undertaking for such reasons as these? Can it be that the American Congress will hesitate to appropriate money for this purpose because of the belief that the appropriation which may be made will be dishonestly applied? Can it be that we, as the representatives of the people, will say that our virtue is higher than that of the men who sent us here, and that such an appropriation if made will not be honestly applied? I say no; for I believe not in the utter degeneracy of the times. The time has come when we are about to unload; and I am satisfied that the Forty-third Congress is doing the work nobly and manfully, and that upon its skirts will hang no Credit Mobilier; that it will teach such lessons as will prove to all rings and corruptionists that the money of the Government when appropriated must be honestly and legitimately expended. I believe that the fear of any other result will work a wrong and injury, especially if it leads to a refusal to make an appropriation out of the public Treasury for a purpose that must challenge the admiration of the whole world and command the sober approval of the whole American people for both the monument here in Washington and the unfinished one to the mother of that great man at Fredericksburgh, Virginia.

I hope that these appropriations will both be made. Standing here as I do the representative of the district in which Washington was born, I wish I had the power and force to plead in real earnest tones with the few men who have come here to-night actuated by the noble impulses of patriotism and by their presence showing their approval of the proposition the real importance of these two monumental propositions from the stand-point of a lofty patriotism that can never be too highly valued. I wish I could impress upon them the necessity of linking the past and the present by these glorious memories.

While on my way to this Capitol to-night I heard the argument made against this proposition that the people of this country wanted to change the location of this capital, and therefore no more money ought to be spent for any public work here in Washington. In other words, that we are to go over again the history of the eastern and the western empire, to have two capitals; one here and the other on the Pacific slope or somewhere in the center of the continent. Sir, it matters not so much where the capital is situated. Railroads and telegraph lines, which did not exist in the days of Rome or in the earlier days of our Republic, have annihilated time and space, and better than anything in this utilitarian age are the glorious memories which help us to revive our admiration of the past, to preserve its sentiments and traditions; and because of its name and the great man whose history is blended with it, this national capital must long remain the cherished object of every American heart. Nor will the seat of the American government ever be hastily changed, however much the subject may be agitated. Talk not about forgetting those memories! Is there a man who has come to years of maturity who does not

cherish the memories of the past above all things else? When the years come about him and the days grow on, when his own youth that he loved so well begins to ripen into maturer manhood, is there not something that tells us that the memories of childhood are the purest and that the affections and friendships of youth are the best? Applying the same reasoning, shall we ever forget the infancy of the Republic? Ought we ever to forget the men who helped to bring about its organization, who lent their aid in sustaining this Republic in its infancy and aided in laying the foundation of that power in virtue of which we are here to-night the representatives of a great, free, and powerful people?

But, as I said before, I have prepared no speech, and until the chairman of the committee called on me I had no expectation of saying a word. But I trust not only may these appropriations be made, but, as I said a few minutes ago, let those monuments be made connecting links between the memories of the past and the hopes of the future.



SPEECH  
OF  
HON. SAMUELS. COX.

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Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, all monuments are a part of history. Every monument erected to a great man, or in memory of a great event, illustrates something in history. It is a constant mortification to the people of the United States, when they come to this city, to see that mutilated monument about which so much has been said, and so patriotically, this evening. I hope something will be done to rescue that monument from its present condition, although I fear it is now a symbol of the condition of our Government. I have said that all monuments represent something historical. I am not sure but I would vote for an appropriation either to finish the monument or to put it into some better and more classical shape.

I have traveled somewhat and have seen some of those monuments which have come down to us from other ages and other epochs. I cannot but remember this evening the monument which I saw once in Rome to Titus, the conqueror of Jerusalem. On that monument, in the form of an arch, was represented all that could confirm our Bible in regard to the siege of Jerusalem. It commemorated, as they supposed, in eternal marble or stone the conquest of that city by Rome.

I am not thoroughly a believer in this obelisk which comes from Egypt, the simple shaft going up into the air to a considerable altitude and having very little significance. I should prefer some arch like that of Milan, or some temple of fame like that of Munich, or something like the arch of Titus, or the Arch of Triumph which has represented many historic memories for France.

But irrespectively of what the monument may be, it belongs to the American people before our centennial to memorize something of our earlier and better days. What it may cost is for these gentlemen to determine and for the House to vote, but one thing is very sure, that the American people desire before their hundredth anniversary to have something significant in reference to George Washington. The other day in my city when the decoration of the heroes of our recent civil war took place, processions marched by and decorated the statue of our President, Mr. Lincoln, but not one tribute of flowers was placed on the statue of George Washington. Even Nero had a friend to lay a bouquet upon his grave. It is a sign, sir, of our decadence. And I do trust that the American people may do something wiser and better and kinder in this regard.

But I rose principally, Mr. Speaker, to say that our American national metropolis is derelict in many duties. We should have decorated this capital. There is no taste as yet displayed according to the best tastes of mankind in much of the art of this capital. I have offered resolutions on this subject, and had them sent to the Committee on the Library. They are buried there, truncated like Washing-



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ton's monument. I do not know, sir, but that we ought to make motion and pass it to dismiss this Joint Committee on the Library who do so little—who do nothing except to give bouquets.

The artists of America are interested in having something better at our capital to illustrate our national history and glory. We have nothing as yet comparable to what the other nations have at their capitals. We have rude art here as yet; and yet that comes from artists. I cannot tell you why, sir, because I do not know the influences which prevail around the capital.

But one thing is sure. Unless the American Congress pay the nicest heed to something more æsthetic, something more useful, something more historic, something more in the line of art which they have hitherto done, our national capital will be thoroughly demoralized that it ought to be moved out West.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Would not New York be a better place for it?

Mr. COX. My friend from Ohio suggests New York. New York is full of artists, and none are more eminent than gentlemen who have graduated from my friend's own State. I think the best artists in New York, including Mr. Ward, came from his own neighborhood. I am proud to recognize them as the first almost in their guild in New York.

But, sir, from some influences which nobody knows, the kindest influences perhaps, this capital has not been properly cared for in the line of art. And I only rose to-night for the purpose of calling the attention of the Committee on the Library and of the members of this House to the fact that we are disgraced all over the world by our utterly disgusting performances in the line of art. If you do raise this obelisk which comes from Egypt, a barbarian country that never had art, I do not believe it will succeed in impressing the American people in a proper way with the virtues and the greatness of George Washington. I would like to see something that would give to the American people the idea in marble or in stone that we had once a nation and a race of heroes in the early days before my friend, the Delegate from this District, fought and bled and almost died for his country. I would like to have something done here to illustrate the greatness of our fight for independence.

George Washington did not fight for liberty altogether, but for independence; and independence in one sense is larger than liberty. Our ancestors never fought for liberty. They had all their liberties, and when the English Crown strove to take their liberties from them, they fought for independence. They bowed for many years before the English Crown and the English Crown did not heed their prayers, though very submissive. But at last they struck for independence. And I would like to see some monument—not to liberty altogether, for George Washington was himself a slave-holder, but to independence of foreign domination, and in all the relations which this country bears to all the world.

Therefore, sir, I would hope when we consider this matter in the House in reference to an appropriation of money that we shall have all the eloquence that we have heard this night concentrated in favor of some mode, I care not exactly what, that will, before the centennial at least, relieve Washington City from the disgrace of a truncated monument to the father of our country.

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