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The dedication of the Washington National Monument, with the orations by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop and Hon. John W. Daniel. Volume 3, Nos. 56 and 66 1885

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THE
DEDICATION
OF THE
WASHINGTON NATIONAL MONUMENT,
WITH THE
ORATIONS
BY
HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP
AND
HON. JOHN W. DANIEL.
FEBRUARY 21, 1883.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1885.



THE DEDICATION
OF THE
WASHINGTON NATIONAL MONUMENT,
FEBRUARY 21, 1885.

PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

The Congress of the United States, having received a notification from Hon. W. W. Corcoran, chairman of the Joint Commission for the completion of the Washington National Monument, that the shaft was approaching completion, passed the following joint resolution, which was reported to the Senate by the Hon. Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont:

JOINT RESOLUTION in relation to ceremonies to be authorized upon the completion of the Washington Monument.

Whereas the shaft of the Washington Monument is approaching completion, and it is proper that it should be dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, calculated to perpetuate the fame of the illustrious man who was "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen": Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a commission to consist of five Senators appointed by the President of the Senate, eight Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, three members of the Washington Monument Society, and the United States engineer in charge of the work, be, and the same is hereby, created, with full powers to make arrangements for—

First. The dedication of the Monument to the name and memory of George Washington, by the President of the United States, with appropriate ceremonies.

Second. A procession from the Monument to the Capitol, escorted by regular and volunteer corps, the Washington Monument Society, representatives of cities, States, and organizations which have con-

tributed blocks of stone, and such bodies of citizens as may desire to appear.

Third. An oration in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the twenty-second day of February, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty-five, by the honorable Robert C. Winthrop, who delivered the oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the Monument in eighteen hundred and forty-eight, with music by the Marine Band.

Fourth. Salutes of one hundred guns from the navy-yard, the artillery headquarters, and such men-of-war as can be anchored in the Potomac.

And such sum of money as may be necessary to defray the expenses incurred under the above provisions, not exceeding two thousand five hundred dollars, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Approved, May 13, 1884.

The Commission, as appointed by the Presiding Officers of the Senate and of the House, was: Senator John Sherman, of Ohio; Senator Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont; Senator William B. Allison, of Iowa; Senator Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; and Senator Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; Representative William Dorsheimer, of New York; Representative John Randolph Tucker, of Virginia; Representative John H. Reagan, of Texas; Representative Patrick A. Collins, of Massachusetts; Representative Nathaniel B. Eldredge, of Michigan; Representative Henry H. Bingham, of Pennsylvania; Representative Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois; and Representative James Laird, of Nebraska. With these members of Congress were associated, under the joint resolution: Hon. W. W. Corcoran, J. C. Welling, LL.D., and J. M. Toner, M. D., members of the Washington National Monument Society; and Lieut. Col. Thomas Lincoln Casey, U. S. Army, the engineer in charge.

The Commission, after the performance of the duties assigned to it, made the following

REPORT:

The Commission organized under the joint resolution, approved May 13, 1884, "In relation to ceremonies to be authorized upon the completion of the Washington Monument," as modified by the joint resolution approved December 18, 1884, respectfully report that at a meeting of said Commission, held in the room of the Joint Committee on the Library, June 19, 1884, Hon. John Sherman was designated chairman, E. J. Babcock secretary, and F. L. Harvey assistant secretary.

An invitation was extended to Hon. Robert C. Winthrop to deliver an address in the House of Representatives on the occasion of the dedication, which was accepted. The correspondence relating thereto is herewith communicated.

Special invitations were sent to the distinguished persons described in the joint resolution, and an engraved card of invitation was sent to a great number of civil and military organizations throughout the United States, the Regents of Mount Vernon, relatives of General Washington, and distinguished persons, a copy of which is herewith communicated.

Selections from the letters of acceptance and declination are also communicated.

The Commission invited Lieut. Gen. P. H. Sheridan to act as Marshal of the Day, with an aide-de-camp from every State and Territory. This invitation was promptly accepted, and General Sheridan entered with zeal and activity upon the performance of the duties assigned him.

An order of proceedings for the dedication of the Monument, for the procession from the Monument to the Hall of the House, and for the arrangements at the Capitol was provided by the Commission and approved by concurring resolution of the two Houses. This order of proceedings was executed in all its details without any accident, interruption, or change.

The thanks of the Commission are justly due to General Sheridan for the admirable manner in which the order of procession was executed.

The addresses, prayers, and ceremonies are herewith communicated in the order in which they occurred.

The Commission feel that they will not have fully discharged their duty without reporting to the two Houses a resolution of thanks to

Col. Thomas Lincoln Casey, Engineer Corps, U. S. Army, for his skill, ability, and fidelity, and to his associates and the workmen for the admirable manner in which they have performed their respective duties in the erection and completion of the Monument

A monument has been erected to the name and fame of George Washington, more imposing, costly, and appropriate than ever before was erected in honor of any man, and without the loss of a life in its construction, or any accident or event to mar the hearty satisfaction of the American people at its successful completion.

JOHN SHERMAN.

NATHANIEL B. ELDREDGE.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.

HENRY H. BINGHAM.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

JOSEPH G. CANNON.

THOMAS F. BAYARD.

JAMES LAIRD.

LUCIUS Q. C. LAMAR.

W. W. CORCORAN.

WILLIAM DORSHEIMER.

JAMES C. WELLING.

JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER.

JOSEPH M. TONER.

JOHN H. REAGAN.

THOMAS L. CASEY.

PATRICK A. COLLINS.

Programmes were published, under the direction of the Commission, giving the Order of Proceedings at the Monument and at the Capitol. General P. H. Sheridan published a series of Orders, giving the appointments of Marshals and of Aids, directing the formation of the several Divisions, stating the route over which the Procession would march, and making special assignments of: The Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Massachusetts as honorary escort to the President of the United States; the George Washington Post, No. 103, Grand Army of the Republic of New York, as honorary escort to the President-elect of the United States; and the First Troop of Pennsylvania City Cavalry as escort to the Marshal of the Day. The details for the organization of the Procession were carried out by the Chief of Staff of the Grand Marshal of the Day, Bvt. Brig. Gen. Albert Ordway, U. S. Volunteers.

THE DEDICATORY EXERCISES.

The weather on Saturday, February 21, was clear and cold, the ground around the base of the Monument was covered with encrusted snow, and the keen wind, while it displayed the flags on every hand, made it rather uncomfortable for those who arrived before the appointed time. The regular troops and the citizen soldiery were massed in close column around the base of the Monument, the Freemasons occupied their allotted position, and in the pavilion which had been erected were the invited guests; the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Officers; Officers of the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Volunteers; the Diplomatic Corps, eminent Divines, Jurists, Scientists, and Journalists; venerable Citizens, representing former generations; the Washington National Monument Society, and a few Ladies who had braved the Arctic weather.

The Marine Band, stationed in front of the pavilion, enlivened the scene by the performance of admirable music.

Senator Sherman, precisely at 11 o'clock a. m., advanced to the front of the pavilion and commenced the dedicatory exercises with the following prefatory remarks :

ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN SHERMAN.

The Commission authorized by the two Houses of Congress to provide suitable ceremonies for the dedication of the Washington Monument direct me to preside and to announce the order of ceremonies deemed proper on this occasion.

I need not say anything to impress upon you the dignity of the event you have met to celebrate. The Monument speaks for itself—simple in form, admirable in proportions, composed of enduring marble and granite, resting upon foundations broad and deep, it

rises into the skies higher than any work of human art. It is the most imposing, costly, and appropriate monument ever erected in the honor of one man.

It had its origin in the profound conviction of the people, irrespective of party, creed, or race, not only of this country, but of all civilized countries, that the name and fame of Washington should be perpetuated by the most imposing testimonial of a nation's gratitude to its Hero, Statesman, and Father. This universal sentiment took form in a movement of private citizens associated under the name of the Washington National Monument Association, who, on the 31st day of January, 1848, secured from Congress an act authorizing them to erect the proposed Monument on this ground, selected as the most appropriate site by the President of the United States. Its cornerstone was laid on the 4th day of July, 1848, by the Masonic fraternity, with imposing ceremonies, in the presence of the chief officers of the Government and a multitude of citizens. It was partially erected by the National Monument Association with means furnished by the voluntary contributions of the people of the United States.

On the 5th day of July, 1876, one hundred years after the Declaration of American Independence, Congress, in the name of the people of the United States, formally assumed and directed the completion of the Monument. Since then the foundation has been strengthened, the shaft has been steadily advanced, and the now completed structure stands before you.

It is a fit memorial of the greatest character in human history. It looks down upon scenes most loved by him on earth, the most conspicuous object in a landscape full of objects deeply interesting to the American people. All eyes turn to it, and all hearts feel the inspiration of its beauty, symmetry, and grandeur. Strong as it is, it will not endure so long as the memory of him in whose honor it was built; but while it stands it will be the evidence to many succeeding generations of the love and reverence of this generation for the name and fame of George Washington—"First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." More even than this—the prototype of purity, manhood, and patriotism, for all lands and for all time.

Without further preface I proceed to discharge the duty assigned me.

After music by the Marine Band, prayer was offered by the Rev. Henderson Suter, Rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, Va., where Washington worshiped.

PRAYER BY REV. HENDERSON SUTER.

Almighty God, Ruler of nations and of men, by whose providence our fathers were led to this goodly land, and by whom they were guided and sustained in their efforts to secure their liberties, accept this day the grateful homage of us, the inheritors of their well-earned rights.

Them and their leaders Thou didst choose. With courage and patriotism Thou didst inspire all; but we to-day, while unmindful of none, are specially called to acknowledge as Thy gift George Washington.

In honor of him, Thy servant, the Nation of Thy planting and of his thoughts and prayers has built this Monument, and we to-day, in that Nation's behalf, speak to his God and ours in prayer and thanks.

As we stand beneath the lofty height of this memorial work, and mark the symmetry of its form, we would remember Washington's high character and all the virtues which in him builded up the man.

A leader fearing God; a patriot unstained by self; a statesman wishing only the right, he has left us an example for whose following we supplicate Thy help for ourselves and for all who are now, and shall hereafter be, the instruments of Thy providence to this land and Nation.

In so far as he followed the inspirations of wisdom and of virtue may we follow him, and may his character be to the latest generation a model for the soldier, for the civilian, and for the man; that in our armies may be trust in God, in our civilians integrity, and among our people that home life which extorteth praise; and so all those blessings which he coveted for his people and his kind be the heritage of us and of our children forever.

O God, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe, bless to-day

and henceforth Thy servant the President of the United States and all others in authority.

To our Congress ever give wisdom. Direct and prosper all their consultations.

May our judges be able men, such as fear God, men of truth, governed in judgment only by the laws.

May our juries be incorruptible, ever mindful of the solemnity of the oath and of the great interests depending on its keeping.

May no magistrate or officer, having rights to maintain or order to secure, ever "wrest the judgment of the poor," or favor the rich man in his cause.

O God, throughout our land let amity continually reign. Bind ever the one part to the other part. Heal every wound opened by human frailty or by human wrong. Let the feeling of brotherhood have the mastery over all selfish ends, that with one mind and one heart, the North and the South, and the East and the West, may seek the good of the common country, and work out that destiny which has been allotted us among the nations of the earth.

Merciful Father, from whom "all good thoughts and good desires come," let the principles of religion and virtue find firm root and grow among our people. May they heed the words of their own Washington, and never "indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion," or forget that "to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports." Deepen in them reverence for Thy character. Impress a sense of Thy power. Create a desire for Thy favor, and let it be realized that man's highest honor is to be a servant of God, and that to fear Him and keep His commandments is our whole duty.

O God, in all our relations with the nations of the earth let honor and justice rule us. May their wisdom be our guide and our good their choice. Emulative only in the high purpose of bettering the condition of man, may they and we dwell together in unity and concord.

Bless all efforts to widen the sphere of knowledge, that true wisdom may be garnered by our people and nature yield her secrets for man's good and Thy glory.

In all our seminaries of learning—our schools and colleges—may men arise who shall be able to hand down to the generations following all that time has given.

And look upon our land. Give us the rain and the fruitful season. Let no blight fall upon the tree, no disease upon the cattle, no pestilence upon man.

To honor Thee, O God, we this day yield our homage and offer our praise.

Our fathers "cried unto Thee and were delivered."

"They trusted in Thee and were not confounded;" and we, their children, gathered by this Monument to-day, the silent reminder of Thy gifts, ask Thy blessing, O Ruler of nations and of men, in the name of Him through whom Thou hast taught us to pray; and may no private or public sins cause Thee to hide Thy face from us but from them turn Thou us and in our repentance forgive.

To our prayers we add our thanks—our thanks for mercies many and manifold.

Thou didst not set Thy love upon us and choose us because we were more in number than any people, but because Thou wouldst raise us up to be an asylum for the oppressed and for a light to those in darkness living.

For this great honor, O God, we thank Thee.

Not for our righteousness hast Thou upheld us hitherto and saved from those evils which wreck the nations, but because Thou hadst a favor unto us.

For this great mercy, O God, we thank Thee.

Not solely through man's wisdom have the great principles of human liberty been embodied for our Government, and every man become the peer of his fellow-man before the law; but because Thou hast ordered it.

For this great mercy, O God, we thank Thee.

And now, our Father, let this assembly, the representatives of the thousands whom Thou hast blessed, go hence to-day, their duty done, joyful and glad of heart for all the goodness that the Lord hath done for this great nation.

And for the generations to come, yet unborn, may this Monument which we dedicate to-day to the memory of George Washington stand as a witness for those virtues and that patriotism which, lived, shall secure for them Liberty and Union forever. *Amen.*

James C. Welling, LL. D., President of Columbian University, then read the following address, which had been prepared by Hon. W. W. Corcoran, First Vice-President of the Washington National Monument Society:

ADDRESS BY HON. W. W. CORCORAN.

It has been said that the fame of those who spend their lives in the service of their country is better preserved by the "unwritten memorials of the heart than by any material monument." The saying is pre-eminently true of the man whom the people of these United States must forever hold in grateful veneration as the one entitled above all others to the honored name of Pater Patriæ. Yet the instincts of the heart do not follow the impulses of our higher nature when, in honor of the mighty dead, they call for the commemorative column or the stately monument, not, indeed, to preserve the name and fame of an illustrious hero and patriot, but to signalize the gratitude of the generations for whom he labored.

And so on the 19th of December, 1799, the day after the mortal remains of George Washington had been committed to the tomb at Mount Vernon, John Marshall, of Virginia, destined soon afterward to fill with highest distinction the office of Chief Justice of the United States, rose in the House of Representatives and moved, in words penned by Henry Lee, of Virginia, that a committee of both Houses of Congress should be appointed "to report measures suitable to the occasion and expressive of the profound sorrow with which Congress is penetrated on the loss of a citizen first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

It is through a long series of years, and through the ebbs and flows of much divergent opinion as to the monumental forms in which the national homage should most suitably express itself, that the American people have watched and waited for the grand consummation which we are this day met to celebrate. It is because the stream of the national gratitude was so full and overflowing that again and again it has seemed to sweep away the artificial banks prepared to receive it; but that, in all the windings and eddies of the stream, there has been a steady current of national feeling which has set in one given

direction, the following historical memoranda will sufficiently demonstrate:

In pursuance of the resolution adopted by the House of Representatives on the motion of John Marshall, both Houses of Congress passed the following resolution on the 24th of December, 1799:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a marble monument be erected by the United States in the Capitol at the City of Washington, and that the family of General Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

A copy of this proceeding having been transmitted to Mrs. Washington, she assented, in the following touching terms, to so much of the resolution as called for her concurrence:

Taught by the great example which I have so long had before me never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I need not, I cannot say what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty.

The select committee (Henry Lee, of Virginia, being chairman), which was appointed to carry into effect the foregoing resolution, made report on the 8th of May, 1800, directing that a marble monument be erected by the United States, at the capital, in honor of General Washington; to commemorate his services, and to express the feeling of the American people for their irreparable loss; and further directing that a resolution of the Continental Congress adopted August 7, 1783, which had ordered "That an equestrian statue of General Washington be erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established" should be carried into immediate execution.

This latter resolution had directed that the statue of Washington be supported by a "marble pedestal on which should be represented four principal events of the war in which he commanded in person," and which should also bear the following inscription:

The United States, in Congress assembled, ordered this statue to be erected in the year of our Lord 1783, in honor of George Washington, the illustrious Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States of America during the war which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty, and independence.

Upon consideration of this resolution, that part relative to the erection of an equestrian statue was so amended as to provide that a "mausoleum of American granite and marble, in pyramidal form, one hundred feet square at the base, and of a proportional height" should be erected instead of it. An appropriation in pursuance of this end was not then made, but at a later day, on the 1st of January, 1801, a bill was passed by the House of Representatives appropriating two hundred thousand dollars in furtherance of this object.

In this measure the Senate failed to concur, for reasons easily found in the political excitements of that day, while absorbing public questions which ensued thereafter, and which finally issued in the war of 1812, sufficiently explain why the subject was dropped in Congress for many years.

In the month of February, 1816, the General Assembly of Virginia instructed the Governor of that State to open correspondence with Judge Bushrod Washington, at that time the proprietor of Mount Vernon, with a view to procure his assent to the removal of Washington's remains to Richmond, that a proper monument might there be erected to the memory of the Hero and Patriot. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence in the Congress, then in session, Hon. Benjamin Huger, of South Carolina, who had been a member of the Congress of 1799, moved for the appointment of a joint committee of both Houses to take action in pursuance of the proceedings had at that time of Washington's death.

This joint committee recommended that a receptacle for the remains of Washington should be prepared in the foundation of the Capitol, and that a monument should there be erected to his memory. But the whole project fell through because, in the mean time, Judge Washington had declined to consent to the removal of Washington's remains, on the ground that they had been committed to the family vault at Mount Vernon in conformity with Washington's express wish.

"It is his own will," added Judge Washington, in replying to the Governor of Virginia, "and that will is to me a law which I dare not disobey."

To a similar proposition, as renewed by the Congress of the United States in 1832, Mr. John Augustine Washington, who had then succeeded to the possession of Mount Vernon, made a similar reply, and since that date all thought of removing the remains of Washing-

ton from their hallowed resting place to the site of the proposed National Monument has been abandoned, and properly abandoned in view of the affecting natural considerations which had given a deep undertone of remonstrance even to Mrs. Washington's reluctant assent, as extorted from her by the ejaculations of the public grief in 1799.

It was precisely at this stage of our history, when all proceedings initiated in Congress had been frustrated by the failure to combine opinions on some preliminary condition held to be indispensable, that the people of this city, as if despairing of the desired consummation through the concerted action of both Houses of Congress, proceeded to initiate measures of their own looking in this direction.

In September, 1833, a paragraph appeared in the *National Intelligencer* of this city calling a meeting of the citizens of Washington to take the matter in hand.

In response to that call a meeting of citizens was held at the City Hall on the 26th of September, 1833, at which were present Daniel Brent, Joseph Gales, James Kearney, Joseph Gales, jr., Peter Force, W. W. Seaton, John McClelland, Pishy Thompson, Thomas Carberry, George Watterston, and William Cranch, afterwards Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District.

It was at this meeting that the Washington National Monument Society was formed, Chief Justice John Marshall, then seventy-eight years of age, having been elected its first President, and Judge Cranch the first Vice-President.

George Watterston, who deserves to be signalized as the originator of the movement, was the first secretary, and he served in that capacity from 1833 till his death in 1854, when he was succeeded by John Carroll Brent, who, in turn, was succeeded by Dr. John B. Blake, the successor of the latter being the Hon. Horatio King, the present secretary of the Society.

Upon the death of Chief Justice Marshall, in 1835, he was succeeded in the presidency of the Society by ex-President James Madison.

The plan adopted by the Society was to secure the assistance and unite the voluntary efforts of the people of the country in erecting a national monument to Washington.

At first, as if to give emphasis to the popular aims of the Society, all contributions were limited to the annual sum of one dollar from

any one person, the contributors becoming, by that act, members of the Society. The collections on this plan had amounted in 1836 to the sum of twenty-eight thousand dollars, which was carefully placed at interest, the fund standing in the names of Nathan Towson, Thomas Munroe, and Archibald Henderson, as trustees.

In this year advertisements were published inviting designs for the Monument from American artists, but placing no limitation upon the form of the designs. It was recommended, however, that they should "harmoniously blend durability, simplicity, and grandeur."

The cost of the projected Monument was estimated at not less than one million dollars.

A great many designs were submitted, but the one selected was that of Mr. Robert Mills, comprising in its main features a vast stylobate surmounted by a tetrastyle pantheon, circular in form, and with an obelisk six hundred feet high rising from the center.

In 1846 the restriction upon the subscriptions was removed, and in 1847 the fund amounted to eighty-seven thousand dollars.

Regularly authorized and bonded collecting agents were appointed in all parts of the country, and appeals were made to the generosity of the public.

Mrs. James Madison, Mrs. John Quincy Adams, and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, at the request of the Monument Society, effected an organization to assist in collecting funds through the women of the country.

In November, 1847, the Monument Society adopted a resolution that the corner-stone be laid on the 22d of February, 1848, provided a suitable site could be obtained.

In January, 1848, Congress passed a resolution granting a site on any of the unoccupied public grounds of the City of Washington, to be selected by the President of the United States and the Washington Monument Society. The site on Reservation 3 was accordingly selected, and title to the land was conveyed to the Society. On the 29th of January it was decided to postpone the laying of the corner-stone until the 4th of July, 1848. Objections in the mean time having been made to the plan for the Monument as proposed by Mr. Mills, the Society, pursuant to a report from its committee, in the month of April of that year, fixed upon a height of five hundred feet for the shaft, leaving in abeyance the surrounding pantheon and base.

The corner-stone was laid in accordance with this decision of the

Society on the 4th of July, 1848, in the presence of the members of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government, foreign ministers and officers, and a vast concourse of citizens from all sections of the Union. The ceremonies—Masonic in character—were conducted under the direction of Hon. B. B. French, Grand Master of the Masonic fraternity for the District of Columbia, and were as interesting as they were impressive; the corner-stone being rested at the northeast angle of the foundation. The gavel used in this ceremony was the one used by General Washington in laying the corner-stone of the Capitol, and is now in the possession of Potomac Lodge, No. 5, of Free and Accepted Masons of the District of Columbia.

The prayer of consecration was offered by the Rev. Mr. McJilton, and the Oration of the day was pronounced by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, then Speaker of the House of Representatives. Profoundly regretting, as we all do, that this distinguished citizen cannot be with us to-day, because of recent illness, we still sincerely rejoice that he has sent to us the garland of his commanding eloquence, to be laid on the capstone of the Monument, amid the shoutings of the people as they cry, "Grace, grace unto it."

Among the guests on the stand at the laying of the corner-stone were Mrs. Alexander Hamilton (then ninety-one years old), Mrs. Dolly Paine Madison, Mrs. John Quincy Adams, George Washington Parke Custis, Chief Justice Taney, Lewis Cass, Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore, and many others distinguished as well for their social eminence as for their public renown.

The work, when once begun, progressed steadily, until in 1854 the shaft had reached a height one hundred and fifty-two feet above the level of the foundation.

Subsequently, an addition of four feet was put upon the shaft, making its total height one hundred and fifty-six feet, the whole executed at a cost of about three hundred thousand dollars.

Under the auspices of the Society, as well in its earlier as in its later history, blocks of stone for insertion in the interior walls of the Monument, and bearing appropriate inscriptions, have been contributed by nearly every State and Territory, and by many foreign governments.

The treasury of the Society having now been exhausted, and all efforts to obtain further sums having proved unavailing, the Society presented a memorial to Congress, representing that they were unable

to devise any plan likely to succeed, and, under the circumstances, asking that Congress should take such action as it might deem proper.

The memorial was referred in the House of Representatives to a select committee of thirteen, of which Mr. Henry May, of Maryland, was chairman, and this committee, on the 22d of February, 1855, made to the House an eloquent and able report, in which, after a careful examination of the whole subject, the proceedings of the Society in the past were reviewed and approved, and an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars was recommended to be made by Congress "on behalf of the people of the United States to aid the funds" of the Society; but at this time complications of a political nature arose in the management of the Society, the appropriation recommended was not made, and, for the same reason, a stop was put to the active prosecution of the work on the Monument for a number of years.

On the 26th of February, 1859, the Congress gave to the Washington National Monument Society a formal charter of incorporation, the incorporators being Winfield Scott, Walter Jones, John J. Abert, James Kearney, Thomas Carberry, Peter Force, William A. Bradley, Philip R. Fendall, Walter Lennox, Matthew F. Maury, Thomas Blagden, J. B. H. Smith, W. W. Seaton, Elisha Whittlesey, B. Ogle Tayloe, Thomas H. Crawford, W. W. Corcoran, and John Carroll Brent.

The first meeting of this new board was held in the City Hall, March 22, 1859, at which meeting President Buchanan presided. The Society again went vigorously to work, issuing public appeals, making collections at the polls, and employing every means to secure funds for the completion of the Monument. But the condition of the country during the decade from 1860 to 1870 rendered their efforts futile. It was not until the year 1873 that the Society again presented a memorial to Congress, recommending the Monument to its favorable consideration.

In the mean time the Society continued their appeals to the country for aid according to a plan which contemplated the raising, by subscriptions from all chartered organizations, of a certain gross sum deemed sufficient to complete the Monument, the payment of the subscriptions into the hands of the treasurer of the Society being contingent upon the pledging of the entire sum. A measurable success met the efforts of the Society in this direction, a very considerable sum having been promised by responsible bodies, and the

Society desisted from these efforts only when, on the 2d of August, 1876, an act of Congress, appropriating two hundred thousand dollars to continue the construction of the Monument, had become a law of the land.

This measure was introduced in the Senate by Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio, who properly presides at the high festival we hold this day at the base of the finished Monument. On the 5th of July, 1876 (the date is significant), he moved the adoption of a joint resolution declaring, after an appropriate preamble, that the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, "in the name of the people of the United States, at the beginning of the second century of the national existence, do assume and direct the completion of the Washington Monument, in the city of Washington." A bill in pursuance of this joint resolution was passed unanimously in the Senate on the 22d of July, in the House of Representatives without opposition on the 27th of July, and was signed by President Grant on the 2d of August, 1876.

By this act, which gave a Congressional expression to the national gratitude, a Joint Commission was created, to consist of the President of the United States, the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department, the Architect of the Capitol, the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, and the First Vice-President of the Washington National Monument Society, under whose direction and supervision the construction of the Monument was placed.

According to a provision of the same act, the Washington National Monument Society transferred and conveyed to the United States in due form all the property rights and easements belonging to it in the Monument, the conveyance being legally recorded in the proper court register.

By a further clause of this same act it was provided: That nothing therein should be so construed as to prohibit said Society from continuing its organization "for the purpose of soliciting and collecting money and material from the States, associations, and the people in aid of the completion of the Monument, and acting in an advisory and co-operative capacity" with the Commission named in the said act until the completion and dedication of the work.

Upon the death of President Madison, in 1836, the constitution of the Society had been so amended as to provide that the President of the United States should be *ex-officio* president of the Society. An-

drew Jackson was the first *ex-officio* president. The mayors of Washington, and, at a later day, the Governors of the several States were made *ex-officio* vice-presidents.

The mayors of Washington thus connected with the work were John P. Van Ness, William A. Bradley, Peter Force, W. W. Seaton, Walter Lennox, John W. Maury, John T. Towers, William B. Magruder, Richard Wallach, James G. Berret, Sayles J. Bowen, and Matthew G. Emery.

In the roll of the Society's membership the following names are recorded:

Chief Justice John Marshall, Roger C. Weightman, Commodore John Rodgers, General Thomas S. Jesup, George Bomford, M. St. Clair Clarke, Samuel H. Smith, John McClelland, William Cranch, William Brent, George Watterston, Nathan Towson, Archibald Henderson, Thomas Munroe, Thomas Carberry, Peter Force, ex-President James Madison, John P. Van Ness, William Ingle, William L. Brent, General Alexander Macomb, John J. Abert, Philip R. Fendall, Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, John Carter, General Walter Jones, Walter Lennox, T. Hartley Crawford, M. F. Maury, U. S. Navy, B. Ogle Tayloe, Thomas Blagden, John Carroll Brent, James Kearney, Elisha Whittlesey, W. W. Seaton, J. Bayard H. Smith, W. W. Corcoran, John P. Ingle, James M. Carlisle, Dr. John B. Blake, Dr. William Jones, William L. Hodge, Dr. James C. Hall, William B. Todd, James Dunlop, General U. S. Grant, George W. Riggs, Henry D. Cooke, Peter G. Washington, William J. McDonald, John M. Brodhead, General William T. Sherman, Dr. Charles H. Nichols, D. A. Watterston, Alexander R. Shepherd, Fitzhugh Coyle, James G. Berret, J. C. Kennedy, William A. Richardson, General O. E. Babcock, Edward Clark, Rear-Admiral L. M. Powell, Charles F. Stansbury, Frederick D. Stuart, Robert C. Winthrop, Joseph Henry, General William McKee Dunn, John C. Harkness, Horatio King, Daniel B. Clarke, George W. McCrary, Dr. Joseph M. Toner, James C. Welling, George Bancroft, Rear-Admiral C. R. P. Rodgers.

In conclusion, let me say that I should be strangely wanting to my sense of the proprieties belonging to this time and place, if, standing here as the representative of the Washington National Monument Society, I should fail in this high presence and at this solemn moment to give emphatic expression to the profound gratitude which is due from the Society to the Legislative and Executive Departments

of the Government, who have brought to a successful completion the patriotic work which the Society was not able to accomplish.

For the praise of the accomplished engineer of the Army, Col. Thomas Lincoln Casey, who has here built so solidly and so skillfully, we have only to look up to the finished work of his scientific hand, as that work stands before us to-day in the strong and even poise of its well-balanced architecture.

The heraldic ensign of Washington bore for its motto the words *Exitus acta probat*, "Their issue puts actions to the proof." The actions of Washington, as put to the proof of time, have issued in a great nation made free and independent under his military leadership; in a constitutional polity, based on liberty regulated by law, as devised by the convention of statesmen over whose deliberations he presided; in the powerful Federal Government whose energies he first set in motion from the high seat of its Chief Executive; in the affectionate and grateful recollection of more than fifty millions of people who to-day find in his name and fame their choicest national legacy; and, finally, in the veneration and homage of all mankind, who, to the remotest ends of the world, have learned to honor in our illustrious countryman the best as well as the greatest of the sons of men.

Surely, then, it is glory enough for the Washington National Monument Society that its pious labors, as put to the proof of time, have issued in the majestic structure which stands before us to-day, and it is glory enough for the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government that in "assuming and directing the completion of the Monument" on the foundations laid by the people, they have at once redeemed a sacred national pledge, and fulfilled a sacred national duty, by giving to this great obelisk the culmination and crown with which it towers above earth and soars heavenward, like the fame it commemorates.

THE MASONIC CEREMONIES.

The Masonic dedicatory ceremonies were then performed by the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the District of Columbia, Myron M. Parker, Most Worshipful Grand Master. He was assisted by Thomas P. Chifelle, R. W. D. G. Master; José M. Yznaga, R. W. S. Grand Warden; Jesse W. Lee, jr., R. W. J. G. Warden;

William R. Singleton, R. W. G. Secretary; C. C. Duncanson, R. W. G. Treasurer; Joseph Hamacher, W. G. Lecturer; C. B. Smith, Rev. and W. G. Chaplain; H. Dingman, W. G. Marshal; Emmett C. Elmore, W. S. G. Deacon; Thomas F. Gibbs, W. J. G. Deacon; Orville Drown, W. G. Sword Bearer; O. S. Firmin, W. G. Pursuivant; Frank N. Carver, W. S. G. Steward; Edward Kern, W. J. G. Steward, and Thomas J. Edwards, Grand Tiler.

The following ritual, which is somewhat abridged from that used by the Order on similar occasions, was then recited.

GRAND MASTER. R. W. Deputy Grand Master, what is the proper implement of your office?

DEPUTY GRAND MASTER. The square, Most Worshipful.

GRAND MASTER. What are its moral and Masonic uses?

DEPUTY GRAND MASTER. To square our actions by the square of virtue, and prove our work when finished.

GRAND MASTER. Have you applied the square to the Obelisk, and is the work squared?

DEPUTY GRAND MASTER. I have, and I find the corners to be square; the workmen have done their duty.

GRAND MASTER. R. W. Senior Grand Warden, what is the proper implement of your office?

SENIOR GRAND WARDEN. The level, Most Worshipful.

GRAND MASTER. What is its Masonic use?

SENIOR GRAND WARDEN. Morally, it reminds us of equality, and its use is to prove horizontals.

GRAND MASTER. Have you applied it, and are the courses level?

SENIOR GRAND WARDEN. I have, and I find the courses to be level; the workmen have done their duty.

GRAND MASTER. R. W. Junior Grand Warden, what is the proper implement of your office?

JUNIOR GRAND WARDEN. The plumb, Most Worshipful.

GRAND MASTER. What is its Masonic use?

JUNIOR GRAND WARDEN. Morally, it teaches rectitude of conduct, and we use it to try perpendiculars.

GRAND MASTER. Have you applied it, and have the walls been properly erected?

JUNIOR GRAND WARDEN. I have applied the plumb, and the walls have been skillfully erected according to rule; the workmen have done their duty.

GRAND MASTER. The several grand officers having reported that this structure has been erected by the square, the level, and the plumb, the corner-stone of which having been laid July 4, 1848, by the Grand Master of Masons of the District of Columbia, I now, as the Grand Master, do pronounce this Obelisk to have been mechanically completed.

(Junior Grand Warden presented the golden vessel of corn.)

GRAND JUNIOR WARDEN. M. W. Grand Master, it has been the

immemorial custom to scatter corn as an emblem of nourishment, I therefore present you with this golden vessel of corn.

GRAND MASTER. I therefore now scatter this the *very* corn which was similarly used on the 22d of February, 1860, at the dedication of the equestrian statue of Washington, at the Circle in this city. In the name of the Great Jehovah, to whom be honor and glory, I now invoke a continuation of the great prosperity, and all those blessings which were then invoked at the laying of the corner-stone of this structure, July 4, 1848, and which have been ever since unceasingly bestowed upon the inhabitants of this city.

(Senior Grand Warden presented the silver vessel of wine.)

SENIOR GRAND WARDEN. M. W. Grand Master, wine, the emblem of refreshment, having been used mystically by our ancient brethren, I present you with this silver vessel of wine.

GRAND MASTER. In the name of the Holy Saints John, I pour out this wine to virtue; and may the Great Moral Governor of the Universe bless this whole people, and cause them to be distinguished for every virtue, as they are for their greatness.

(Deputy Grand Master presented the silver vessel of oil.)

DEPUTY GRAND MASTER. M. W. Grand Master, I present to you, to be used according to ancient custom, this silver vessel of oil.

GRAND MASTER. I pour out this oil, an emblem of joy, that joy which should animate the bosom of every Mason, on the completion of this Monument to our distinguished brother, George Washington.

ADDRESS BY GRAND MASTER MYRON M. PARKER.

It is eminently fitting, upon an occasion like the present, that we, as Masons, should associate with these ceremonies certain historic relics with which General Washington was intimately connected, some of them over a century ago.

This gavel, prepared for the express purpose, was presented to Washington and used by him as President of the United States, and also as Grand Master *pro tempore* in laying the corner-stone of the Capitol of the Nation on the 18th day of September, 1793. Immediately thereafter he presented it to Potomac Lodge, No. 9, in whose possession it has ever since remained. It was used in laying the corner-stone of this Obelisk, July 4, 1848. Also the corner-stone of the equestrian statue of Washington at the Circle, and at its dedication, February 22, 1860. It was likewise used at the laying of the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol, July 4, 1851; also by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Virginia at the laying of

the corner-stone of the Yorktown Monument, October 18, 1881, and at many other public buildings in various States.

Here behold the sacred volume, belonging to Fredericksburg Lodge, No. 4, of Virginia, upon which he took his first vows to Masonry, November 4, 1752, and here the constitution of that lodge signed by him.

Here the sacred book, belonging to St. John's Lodge, No. 1, in the city of New York, upon which, on the 30th day of April, 1789, he took the oath of office as the first President of the United States.

Here the great light belonging to Alexandria Washington Lodge, No. 22, of Alexandria, Va., upon which he, as the Worshipful Master of that lodge, received the vows of the initiates made by him.

This is the apron worn by him, which was wrought by Madame La Fayette, and presented to him by that noble lady, the wife of the distinguished General La Fayette, Washington's compatriot, friend, and Masonic brother.

This golden urn contains a lock of Washington's hair, which was presented to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in 1800, by Mrs. Washington, and has been transmitted by every Grand Master of that Grand Lodge to his successor immediately after his installation.

This lesser light is one of the three candles which was borne in Washington's funeral procession, by Alexandria Washington Lodge, No. 22, and was taken into the first tomb of Washington, at Mount Vernon, where, on December 18, 1799, his mortal remains were deposited.

Having thus briefly referred to a few of the historical relics with which Brother George Washington was associated, it is proper that as Grand Master I should advert for a few moments to his life as a Freemason, leaving all other phases to be eulogized by the distinguished gentlemen who are to conclude these ceremonies at the Capitol.

George Washington's initiation into Masonry was during his minority, and was had under authority of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which admits minors of eighteen to its mysteries. He was made a Fellow Craft March 3, and a Master Mason August 4, 1753. While Worshipful Master of Alexandria Lodge he received the Royal Arch degrees, according to the custom of those days, as a compliment to the Master.

When Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Washington occupied

the chief place in the Masonic procession, on the occasion of St. John's (Evangelist) day, 1778, at Philadelphia.

It was after he had been Commander-in-Chief of the Army that our illustrious Brother received from Edmund Randolph (Governor of Virginia), as Grand Master, his commission as the first Master of Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, of Virginia.

When the Grand Lodge of Virginia was organized Washington was elected Grand Master, an honor he was compelled to decline, he not having at that time served as master of a lodge. In 1780 the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania unanimously nominated General Washington as Grand Master of Masons of the United States, an office to which he would have been elected had not the sentiment and policy of Masonry at that time been opposed to a National Grand Lodge. From the latest writings of our distinguished Brother we find evidence of his love for and devotion to the principles of Masonry. On the 2d day of May, 1791, he wrote the Grand Lodge of South Carolina that he "recognized with pleasure" his "relations to the brethren" whose principles "lead to purity of morals and beneficence of action." Still later, in 1793, he wrote the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in response to its dedication to him of its "Book of Constitution," that it is "pleasing to know that the milder virtues of the heart are highly respected by the society whose liberal principles are founded on the immutable laws of truth and justice." Again, he wrote King David's Lodge, of Rhode Island, that Masonry promotes "private virtue and public prosperity," and that he should "always be happy to advance the interests of the society, and to be considered by them a deserving brother."

In April, 1798, not three years before his death, he wrote the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts: "My attachment to the society will dispose me always to contribute my best endeavors to preserve the honor and interest of the Craft."

November 8, 1799, Washington wrote the Grand Lodge of Maryland, that "the principles and doctrines of Freemasonry are founded in benevolence and to be exercised for the good of mankind."

General Washington never forgot Masonry when a soldier. He encouraged and visited camp lodges and participated in their labor, frequently officiating as master. It was at the old Freeman's tavern, on the green of Morristown, N. J., in 1777, that General Washington himself made General La Fayette a Freemason. Upon one occasion,

a detachment of the American Army overcoming a British force, captured from them the working tools, jewels, and clothing of a military lodge. General Washington, upon learning this, ordered restoration, declaring that "he waged no war against philanthropy and benevolence."

I have dwelt thus somewhat at length to show that General Washington was devoted to the humane principles of Freemasonry from his minority to his death, in public and private life, and to show that it is especially appropriate for the Masons of this country to participate in the imposing ceremonies of to-day. This ceremony is not ecclesiastical. It is the growth of a sentiment along the ages, and as such will command the respect and admiration of mankind long after this Monument shall have crumbled to the dust. Thus we find that the immortal Washington, himself a Freemason, devoted his hand, his heart, his sacred honor, to the cause of freedom of conscience, of speech, and of action, and from his successful leading has arisen this Nation. To him and the memory of his deeds, a grateful people have erected this memorial in the capital which he founded, and which will bear his name to remotest ages; a monument towering above other monuments as he towered above other men.

GRAND CHAPLAIN. May the Lord, the giver of every perfect gift, bless all who are assembled, and grant to each one, in needful supply, the corn of nourishment, wine of refreshment, and oil of joy: Amen! Amen! Amen!

The Most Worshipful Grand Master and the Brethren in unison responded: "So mote it be: Amen!"

Col. Thomas Lincoln Casey, of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, the Chief Engineer and Architect of the Monument, then formally delivered the structure to the President of the United States, in the following words:

REMARKS OF COL. THOMAS LINCOLN CASEY, CHIEF
ENGINEER.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The duty has been assigned me of presenting the part taken by the General Government in the construction of this Monument, and of delivering it to the President of the United States.

You have heard from the First Vice-President of the Washington National Monument Society of the part taken by that distinguished body in the inception and partial construction of the Monument and of its appeals, both to the people of the country and to Congress, for assistance in the great work so bravely undertaken.

Whatever may have been the results of these appeals, no really effective proceedings were had in Congress, having in view the completion of the Monument, until July 5, 1876. On that day, Mr. Chairman, you introduced in the Senate a concurrent resolution, referring in terms to the Centennial of our National Independence and to the influence of George Washington in securing that independence, and closing as follows:

Therefore, as a mark of our sense of honor due his name and his compatriots and associates, our Revolutionary fathers, we, the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled, in the name of the people of the United States, at this, the beginning of the second century of national existence, do assume and direct the completion of the Washington Monument in the City of Washington, and instruct the committees on appropriations of the respective Houses to propose suitable provisions of law to carry this resolution into effect.

Within two days from its introduction this resolution was passed unanimously by both Houses, and, in obedience to its instructions, a bill for the completion of the Washington Monument was at once reported in the House of Representatives, and became a law August 2, 1876. That statute appropriated two hundred thousand dollars for the completion of the Monument, to be expended in four equal annual installments; provided for a transfer to the United States of the ownership of the portion of the shaft then built, and created a Joint Commission to direct and supervise the construction of the Monument, which Commission was to make a report each year to Congress. The Commission was to consist of the President of the United States, the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department, the Architect of the Capitol, the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, and the First Vice-President of the Washington National Monument Society.

The act further required, "That, prior to commencing any work on the Monument, an examination should be made of its foundation, in order to thoroughly ascertain whether it was sufficient to sustain the weight of the completed structure, and, if the same should be

found insufficient, then the further continuance of the work was not to be authorized by anything contained in the act until the further action of Congress."

From the early days of the construction there had been apprehensions that the foundation was not of sufficient size to sustain the column if carried to the height originally designed. These apprehensions, which, just after the laying of the corner-stone, were shared by but few persons, had, as far back as 1853, become wide-spread, and were entertained by many intelligent people. In 1873, after a lapse of twenty years, the question of the sufficiency of the foundation was again the subject of discussion, at this time by a committee of the House of Representatives.

This was the select committee of thirteen, created to consider the practicability of completing the Washington Monument by the time of the Centennial Celebration of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1876. During their deliberations, they caused special investigations to be made concerning the stability of the existing structure. These investigations and the reports were made by capable engineers, and the conclusions drawn by them were to the effect that the existing foundation should not be subjected to any additional load whatever; in other words, that it would be unsafe to increase the height of the incomplete shaft.

It was hardly to be expected that the further examinations required by the act of August, 1876, would disclose anything different as to the condition of the foundation, nevertheless the Joint Commission secured the services of another board of experienced engineers, who, after careful borings, examinations, and tests of the earth of the site, and due deliberation, reported on the 10th of April and 15th of June, 1877, that the existing foundation was of insufficient spread and depth to sustain the weight of the completed structure, but that it was feasible to bring the foundation to the required stability by hooping-in the earth upon which it stood. These opinions were concurred in by most of the engineers who considered the subject, while they were quite as unanimous in the belief that to excavate beneath and put a new foundation under the old one would be hazardous in the extreme.

On the 8th of November, 1877, the Joint Commission made its first report to Congress, announcing the decision of the engineers, and this report led to the enactment of the joint resolution of June 14, 1878, authorizing the Joint Commission to expend the sum of thirty-six

thousand dollars, if they deemed it advisable, in giving greater stability to the foundation.

Two years had now elapsed since the creation of the Joint Commission. They at once secured the services of an engineer and his assistant, and directed the chief to prepare a project for strengthening the existing foundation so that the Obelisk could be carried to the desired height. This project, which necessarily included the form and dimensions of the finished Monument, was completed and approved October 1, 1878, and active operations were immediately commenced. The project contemplated first, the digging away of the earth from around and beneath the outer portions of the old foundation and replacing it with Portland cement concrete masonry; then, in removing a portion of the old masonry foundation itself from beneath the walls of the shaft and substituting therefor a continuous Portland cement concrete enlargement extending out over the new subfoundation. The weakness of the old foundation lay in the fact that it was too shallow and covered an area of ground insufficient to sustain the pressure of the completed work. The strengthening consisted in the enlargement of the foundation by spreading it over a greater area and sinking it a greater depth into the earth. The work of excavating beneath the Monument was commenced January 28, 1879, and the new foundation was finished May 29, 1880. It was impossible to properly enlarge the foundation with the funds granted in the joint resolution of June 14, 1878. A careful estimate of the cost, which accompanied the original project, amounted to about one hundred thousand dollars, and accordingly by the joint resolution of June 27, 1879, a further sum of sixty-four thousand dollars was granted to complete the foundation. This proved to be more than sufficient, as the foundation cost but ninety-four thousand four hundred and seventy-four dollars.

As completed, the new foundation covers two and a half times as much area and extends thirteen and a half feet deeper than the old one. Indeed, the bottom of the new work is only two feet above the level of high tides in the Potomac, while the water which permeates the earth of the Monument lot stands six inches above this bottom. The foundation now rests upon a bed of fine sand some two feet in thickness, and this sand stratum rests upon a bed of bowlders and gravel. Borings have been made in this gravel deposit for a depth of over eighteen feet without passing through it, and so uniform is

the character of the material upon which the foundation rests that the settlements of the several corners of the shaft have differed from each other by only the smallest subdivisions of the inch. The pressures on the earth beneath the foundation are nowhere greater than the experiences of years have shown this earth to be able to sustain, while the strength of the masonry in the foundation itself is largely in excess of the strains brought upon it. The stability of this base is assured against all natural causes except earthquakes or the washing out of the sand bed beneath the foundation.

Having enlarged the foundation, the work upon the shaft was speedily commenced. The summer of 1880 was mostly taken up in building an iron frame within the shaft, preparing the hoisting machinery, and collecting the granite and marble needed in the construction. The first marble block was set in the shaft on the 7th of August, 1880, and the last stone was placed at the level five hundred on the 9th of August, 1884, thus consuming four seasons in finishing the shaft. The topmost stone of the pyramidion was set on the 6th of December, 1884, thus essentially completing the Obelisk. Minor additions and modifications in the details of the interior of the shaft are still to be made, and some filling, grading, and planting are required for the terrace, but no work is proposed that can change the existing appearance or proportions of the Monument.

The masonry constructed by the Government is the best known to the engineering art, and the weight is so distributed that, subjected to a wind pressure of one hundred pounds per square foot on any face, corresponding to a wind velocity of one hundred and forty-five miles per hour, the Monument would have a large factor of safety against overturning. The marble is of the same kind as that in the monolithic columns of the Capitol, has a fine grain, is close and compact in texture, free from disintegrating impurities, and in this climate will endure for ages.

There is not time, nor is this the occasion, to enter into the engineering details of the construction, to discuss all the strains and stresses in the several parts of the work, or the factors of safety against destructive forces. It is sufficient to say, that although the dimensions of the foundation base were originally planned without due regard to the tremendous forces to be brought into play in building so large an obelisk, the resources of modern engineering science have

supplied means for the completion of the grandest monumental column ever erected in any age of the world.

In its proportions the ratios of the dimensions of the several parts of the ancient Egyptian obelisk have been carefully followed.

The entire height has been made slightly greater than ten times the breadth of base, producing an obelisk that, for grace and delicacy of outline, is not excelled by any of the larger Egyptian monoliths, while in dignity and grandeur it surpasses any that can be mentioned.

Mr. President: For and in behalf of the Joint Commission for the completion of the Washington Monument I deliver to you this column.

Senator Sherman then introduced "the President of the United States," and as Mr. Arthur stepped forward he was loudly applauded. When silence was restored he read the following remarks:

PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S DEDICATORY ADDRESS.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: Before the dawn of the century whose eventful years will soon have faded into the past, when death had but lately robbed this Republic of its most beloved and illustrious citizen, the Congress of the United States pledged the faith of the Nation that in this city, bearing his honored name, and then, as now, the seat of the General Government, a monument should be erected "to commemorate the great events of his military and political life."

The stately column that stretches heavenward from the plain whereon we stand bears witness to all who behold it that the covenant which our fathers made their children have fulfilled.

In the completion of this great work of patriotic endeavor there is abundant cause for national rejoicing; for while this structure shall endure it shall be to all mankind a steadfast token of the affectionate and reverent regard in which this people continue to hold the memory of Washington. Well may he ever keep the foremost place in the hearts of his countrymen.

The faith that never faltered, the wisdom that was broader and deeper than any learning taught in schools, the courage that shrank

from no peril and was dismayed by no defeat, the loyalty that kept all selfish purpose subordinate to the demands of patriotism and honor, the sagacity that displayed itself in camp and cabinet alike, and above all that harmonious union of moral and intellectual qualities which has never found its parallel among men; these are the attributes of character which the intelligent thought of this century ascribes to the grandest figure of the last.

But other and more eloquent lips than mine will to-day rehearse to you the story of his noble life and its glorious achievements.

To myself has been assigned a simpler and more formal duty, in fulfillment of which I do now, as President of the United States and in behalf of the people, receive this Monument from the hands of its builder, and declare it dedicated from this time forth to the immortal name and memory of George Washington.

President Arthur was frequently interrupted by applause, and when he had concluded the entire assemblage joined in repeated rounds of cheers, many waving their hats and handkerchiefs. It was with some difficulty that Senator Sherman could regain the attention of the audience, but when he did, he announced that the dedication ceremonies at the Monument were completed, and that those present would move in procession to the Hall of the House of Representatives, in the Capitol, where the orations would be delivered.

THE PROCESSION AND REVIEW.

No sooner were the exercises concluded than the military were again formed in column, the invited guests entered their carriages, and the procession took up the line of march for the Capitol, bands playing, drums beating, colors and banners fluttering in the wind, while the cannon at the

navy-yard, at the artillery headquarters, and at Fort Meyer fired minute guns.

The following order of procession was observed:

MARSHAL OF THE DAY.—Lieutenant-General Philip H. Sheridan, U. S. Army.

Chief of Staff.—Bvt. Brig. Gen. Albert Ordway, U. S. Volunteers.

Personal Aides-de-Camp.—Lieut. Col. W. J. Volkmar, U. S. Army, Mr. Linden Kent.

Aides-de-Camp.—Lieut. Col. M. V. Sheridan, U. S. Army; Lieut. Col. James Gregory, U. S. Army; Capt. S. E. Blunt, U. S. Army; Mr. Walker Blaine; Mr. Sevellon A. Brown; Capt. Francis V. Greene, U. S. Army; Col. H. L. Cranford, U. S. Volunteers; Medical Director J. M. Browne, U. S. Navy; Mr. H. Grafton Dulaney; Lieut. T. B. M. Mason, U. S. Navy; Col. Amos Webster, U. S. Volunteers; Mr. Edward McCauley; Lieut. W. H. Emory, jr., U. S. Navy; Capt. S. S. Burdett, U. S. Volunteers; Maj. Green Clay Goodloe, U. S. Marine Corps; Mr. R. J. Dangerfield; Bvt. Maj. Clayton McMichael, U. S. Volunteers; Bvt. Maj. John B. Fassit, U. S. Volunteers; Bvt. Lieut. Col. J. P. Nicholson, U. S. Volunteers; Mr. Mills Dean; Bvt. Lieut. Col. George Truesdell, U. S. Volunteers; Capt. I. N. Burritt, U. S. Volunteers; Bvt. Col. Archibald Hopkins, U. S. Volunteers; Capt. John M. Carson, U. S. Volunteers.

Honorary Staff, representing States and Territories.—Alabama, Mr. John H. Morgan; Arkansas, General James C. Tappan; California, Mr. Thomas C. Quantrell; Colorado, Maj. J. V. W. Vandenburg; Connecticut, General C. P. Graham; Delaware, General J. Parke Postles; Florida, Col. Wallace S. Jones; Georgia, Col. Clifford W. Anderson; Illinois, General Green B. Raum; Indiana, Col. R. W. McBride; Iowa, Col. William P. Hepburn; Kansas, General C. W. Blair; Kentucky, Col. J. B. Castleman; Louisiana, Col. Charles A. Larendon; Maine, General John M. Brown; Maryland, Col. E. L. Rodgers; Massachusetts, Mr. A. A. Hayes; Michigan, Col. H. M. Duffield; Minnesota, Col. C. W. Johnson; Mississippi, Col. J. M. McCaskill; Missouri, Hon. J. W. Stone; Nebraska, Col. L. W. Colby; Nevada, Hon. John H. Kinkead; New Hampshire, General J. N. Patterson; New Jersey, Col. S. Meredith Dickinson; New York, Maj. Alexander H. Davis; North Carolina, Mr. Fred Stith; Ohio, Col. C. A. Layton; Oregon, Mr. E. D. Appleton; Pennsylvania, Col. P. L. Goddard; Rhode Island, Col. F. M. Bates; South Carolina, Col. J. A. Simons; Tennessee, General A. B. Upshur; Texas, Col. J. E. Labatt; Vermont, General William Wells; Virginia, Maj. L. Blackford; West Virginia, Col. Robert White; Wisconsin, General J. C. Starkweather; Arizona, Hon. J. W. Eddy; Dakota, Col. William Thompson; Idaho, Maj. William Hyndman; Montana, Hon. Martin

Maginnis; New Mexico, Hon. F. A. Manzanares; Utah, Mr. Humphreys McMaster; Washington, Hon. C. S. Voorhees; Wyoming, Hon. M. E. Post.

Escort to the Marshal of the Day.—The First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, organized in 1774, Capt. E. Burd Grubb, commanding.

THE FIRST DIVISION.

Marshal.—Bvt. Maj. Gen. R. B. Ayers, U. S. Army.

Staff.—Bvt. Lieut. Col. George Mitchell, U. S. Army; First Lieut. Sebree Smith, U. S. Army; First Lieut. Medorem Crawford, U. S. Army; First Lieut. H. R. Lemly, U. S. Army; Second Lieut. M. C. Richards, U. S. Army; Second Lieut. W. Walke, U. S. Army; Second Lieut. H. L. Hawthorne, U. S. Army; Mr. I. H. McDonald, Mr. W. J. Johnson, Mr. Arthur D. Addison.

Battalion of Second U. S. Artillery, Lieut. Col. Loomis L. Langdon.

Battalion of U. S. Artillery, Bvt. Lieut. Col. L. L. Livingston.

Light Battery A, Second U. S. Artillery, Capt. Frank B. Hamilton.

Battalion U. S. Marine Corps, Capt. John H. Higbee.

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, of Massachusetts, (organized in 1638), commander, Capt. Augustus Whittimore; first lieutenant, Lieut. Col. E. B. Blasland; second lieutenant, Lieut. G. H. Gibson; adjutant, First Lieut. J. P. Frost, preceded by the Salem Cadet Band.

The Governor's Foot Guard, of Hartford, Conn. (organized in 1771), Maj. John C. Kinney; Capt. J. C. Pratt; Lieuts. T. C. Naele, J. Robert Dwyer, and F. C. Clark.

The German Fusiliers, of Charleston, S. C. (organized in 1775), Capt. Henry Schächte; First Lieut. Henry B. Schroder; Second Lieut. H. Fischer.

Richmond Light Infantry Blues, of Richmond (organized in 1793), Capt. Sol. Cutchins.

Washington Light Infantry Corps, of the District of Columbia, Lieut. Col. William G. Moore.

Union Veteran Corps (Old Guard), of the District of Columbia, Capt. S. E. Thomason.

Washington Continentals, of the District of Columbia, Capt. George E. Timms.

Emmet Guard, of the District of Columbia, Capt. W. H. Murphy.

Washington Rifle Corps, of the District of Columbia, Capt. George F. Hammar.

Butler Zouaves, of the District of Columbia, Capt. Charles B. Fisher.

Washington Cadet Corps, of the District of Columbia, Maj. C. A. Fleetwood.

Capital City Guard, of the District of Columbia, Capt. Thomas S. Kelly.

Capitol City Guards, of the District of Columbia, Capt. W. P. Gray.

National Rifles, of the District of Columbia, Lieut. J. O. Manson, accompanied by the National Rifle Cadets, Lieutenant Domer.

Lawrence Light Guard, Company E, Fifth Regiment Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, Capt. J. E. Clarke.

Detroit Light Infantry, of Michigan, First Lieut. George W. Corns.

Alexandria Light Infantry, of Virginia, Capt. G. A. Mushback.

Washington High school Cadets, of the District of Columbia, Maj. Frederick Sohon.

Corcoran Cadet Corps, of the District of Columbia, Capt. E. C. Edwards.

St. John's Academy Cadet Corps, of Alexandria, Va., Maj. William L. Pierce.

THE SECOND DIVISION.

Marshal.—Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia.

Staff.—Col. Thomas Smith; Maj. J. Courtland H. Smith; Mr. Henry Dangerfield; Mr. Bernard P. Green; Dr. Arthur Snowden; Col. Frederick A. Windsor; Maj. S. A. Robertson; Mr. Barbour Thompson; Mr. Eppa Hunton, jr.; Mr. W. L. Smoot; Mr. J. G. Beckham.

This division was headed by carriages, containing the invited guests, viz: The Congressional Commission, the Orators and Chaplains of the Day, the Washington National Monument Society, members and ex-members of the Joint Commission for the completion of the Monument, the Engineer of the Monument, his assistants, and detail of workmen, the President of the United States, members of the Cabinet, President and Vice-President elect of the United States, ex-Presidents of the United States, Judges of the Supreme Court and other Federal courts, the Diplomatic Corps, the Governors of States, accompanied by their respective staffs, the Senate, The House of Representatives, officers of the Army and Navy, the Society of Cincinnati.

The Masonic fraternity followed, marshaled by Harrison Dingman, marshal of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia, who had as his aides L. D. Wine, Will A. Short, J. C. Dulin, T. G. Lockerman, Charles G. Smith, and H. A. Johnston. The organizations in line were:

Grand Commandery, Knights Templar, of Maryland.

Grand Commandery, Knights Templar, of Virginia.

Grand Encampment of United States, Knights Templar.

Royal Arch Masons of the District of Columbia.

Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the District of Columbia.

General Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the United States.

Master Masons of the District of Columbia.

Alexandria Washington Lodge, No. 22, Alexandria, Va.

Washington Lodge, No. 3, Baltimore, Md.

Saint John's Lodge, No. 1, New York City.

Fredericksburg Lodge, No. 4, Fredericksburg, Va.

Dupont Lodge, of Dupont Mills, Delaware.

Delegations from the Grand Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons of West Virginia, Michigan, Illinois, Delaware, Dakota, New Hampshire, Texas, California, Maryland, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.

The Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the District of Columbia, M. W. Grand Master Myron M. Parker.

THIRD DIVISION.

Marshal.—Bvt. Brig. Gen. W. W. Dudley, U. S. Volunteers.

Staff.—General William Birney, Lieut. Col. F. G. Butterfield, Lieut. Col. G. C. Kniffin, Lieut. Col. E. C. Ford, Surg. T. B. Hood, Maj. E. W. Clark, Capt. J. B. Tanner, Capt. Fred. Mack.

Union Veteran Corps (First Company), Capt. M. A. Dillon, acting as escort to the Grand Army of the Republic.

George Washington Post, No. 103, G. A. R. of New York, General M. T. McMahon, commander.

Grand Army of the Republic, Department of the Potomac, N. M. Brooks, commander; John Cameron, assistant adjutant general.

John A. Rawlins Post, No. 1, H. E. Weaver, commander.

Kit Carson Post, No. 2, Marcus L. Hopkins, commander.

Lincoln Post, No. 3, H. H. Smith, commander.

O. P. Morton Post, No. 4, Charles H. Shoater, commander.

George G. Meade Post, No. 5, John B. Dowd, commander.

John F. Reynolds Post, No. 6, S. E. Faunce, commander.

James A. Garfield Post, No. 7, J. H. Jochum, commander.

Burnside Post, No. 8, C. H. Ingram, commander.

Charles Sumner Post, No. 9, George M. Arnold, commander.

Farragut Post, No. 10, W. T. Van Doren, commander.

The Valley Forge Memorial Association.

The Association of the Boston Light Guard, of Massachusetts (composed of members who participated in laying corner-stone of Monument).

The Independent Order of Rechabites, George W. Shoemaker, District Chief Ruler (participated in laying corner stone of Monument).

The Journeyman Stone-Cutters' Association (composed of men who cut the stone for the Monument).

German associations, under Mr. A. E. L. Keese, marshal, comprising: Association of Eighth Battalion, District of Columbia Vol-

unteers; German Veterans of Washington; Germania Mænnerchor; German Democratic Association.

Brotherhood of Carpenters, Union No. 1, of Washington, D. C.

Brotherhood of Carpenters, Union No. 29, of Baltimore, Md.

President's Mounted Guard, Maj. George A. Arms.

Virginia Club (mounted), Capt. W. A. Dinwiddie.

Maryland Club (mounted), Capt. B. W. Summey.

Washington Club (mounted), Capt. Thomas E. Hunter.

Georgetown Club (mounted), Capt. A. Fox.

Fire Department of the District of Columbia, Chief Engineer Martin Cronin, with their steam fire engines and apparatus.

THE MARCH AND THE REVIEW.

The procession moved from the Monument grounds through Seventeenth street to the new State, War, and Navy Department building, and thence in front of the Executive Mansion, through Fifteenth street into Pennsylvania avenue.

This national thoroughfare was decorated with flags and bunting, while many thousand spectators on stands and on the sidewalks formed a brilliant framework for the passing pageant. When the head of the column had reached the Capitol a halt was ordered, and the President of the United States, who occupied an open carriage drawn by four horses, passed the military to the Capitol. On his arrival there, after a brief delay, the President took his position on a reviewing stand which had been erected directly in front of the Capitol, where he was joined by the members of his Cabinet, several Senators, Representatives, and diplomats.

The column then passed in review, the officers saluting as they passed. General Sheridan, with his mounted staff,

wheeled out after they had passed the reviewing stand and took their position opposite the President. It took upwards of an hour for the military and civic organizations to march past in review, and as each body left the Capitol Grounds it was dismissed to the command of its head.

EXERCISES AT THE CAPITOL.

The seats had been removed from the floor of the Hall of the House of Representatives, which was filled with chairs, assigned to the invited guests, viz: The Senators, Representatives, and Delegates composing the Forty-eighth Congress; the President of the United States, the President-elect, the Vice-President-elect, and the ex-Presidents; the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court; the Cabinet officers, the Admiral of the Navy, the Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the officers of the Army and Navy who, by name, had received the thanks of Congress; the Chief Justice and Judges of the Court of Claims, and the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; the Diplomatic Corps; the Commissioners of the District, Governors of States and Territories, the general officers of the Society of the Cincinnati; the Washington National Monument Society, members and ex-members of the Joint Commission for the Completion of the Monument, engineers of the Monument, a detail of workmen, and other guests invited to the floor.

The Executive Gallery was reserved for the invited guests of the President, the families of the members of the

Cabinet, and the families of the Supreme Court. The Diplomatic Gallery was reserved for the families of the members of the Diplomatic Corps. The Reporters' Gallery was reserved exclusively for the use of journalists, and the remaining galleries were thrown open to the holders of tickets thereto.

The Marine Band occupied the vestibule in the rear of the Speaker's chair, and performed a succession of patriotic airs.

The House of Representatives having been called to order by Mr. Speaker Carlisle, at a quarter past one o'clock p. m., Messrs. Dorsheimer, Tucker, and Cannon were appointed a committee to wait on the Senate and inform that body that the House was ready to receive it, and to proceed with the ceremonies which had been appointed to take place in the Hall of the House.

This duty was performed, and at half-past two o'clock the members of the Senate, following their President *pro tempore* and their Secretary, and preceded by their Sergeant-at-Arms, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and occupied the seats reserved for them on the right and left of the main aisle.

The Hon. George F. Edmunds, a Senator from Vermont, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, occupied the Speaker's chair, the Speaker of the House sitting at his left. The Chaplain of the House, Rev. John S. Lindsay, D. D., and Rev. S. A. Wallis, of Pohick Church, near Mount Vernon, Virginia, sat at the Clerk's desk. The chairman of the Joint Committee of Arrangements, the orators, and the other officials designated were seated in accordance with the arrangements of the Joint Committee of Arrangements.

The President *pro tempore* of the Senate having rapped with his gavel, there was silence, and he said:

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, you are assembled, pursuant to the concurrent order of the two Houses, to celebrate the completion of the Monument to the memory of the first President of the United States. It is not only a memorial but an inspiration that shall live through all the generations of our posterity, as we may hope, which we this day inaugurate and celebrate by the ceremonies that have been ordered by the two Houses.

Rev. S. A. Wallis, of Pohick Church, near Mount Vernon, Virginia, then offered the following prayer:

Almighty and everlasting God, Lord of heaven and earth, who alone rulest over the nations of the world, and disposest of them according to Thy good pleasure, we praise Thy holy name for the benefits we commemorate this day.

Wonderful things didst Thou for us in the days of our fathers, in the times of old. For they gat not the land in possession by their sword, neither did their own arm save them, but Thy right hand and the light of Thy countenance, because Thou hadst a favor unto them. Especially do we render Thee our hearty thanks for Thy servant George Washington, whom Thou gavest to be a commander and a governor unto this people, and didst by him accomplish for it a great and mighty deliverance. And as we are now gathered before Thee in these Halls, we bless Thee for the government and civil order Thou didst establish through him. Grant that it may be upheld by that righteousness which exalteth a nation, and that this place may evermore be the habitation of judgment and justice. Let Thy blessing rest upon our Chief Magistrate and his successors in all generations. Grant each in his time those heavenly graces that are requisite for so high a trust; that the laws may be impartially administered to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of Thy true religion and virtue. We also humbly beseech Thee for our Senate and Representatives in Congress assembled that Thou wouldst be pleased to direct all their consultations to the advancement of Thy glory, the good of Thy Church, the safety, honor, and

welfare of Thy people, that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavors upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us for all generations. We pray Thee for our judges and officers that they may judge the people with just judgment, be no respecters of persons, and hear both the small and the great in his cause. O, Lord God of Hosts, be pleased to save and defend our Army and Navy, that each may be a safeguard to these United States, both by land and sea, until Thou dost fulfill Thy word, that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Be with those who have been appointed to speak unto us this day as they recount the deeds of old time, Thy marvelous works, and the judgments of Thy mouth. Give them grace to utter such words as may stir us up to emulate the virtues of our forefathers, so that we may transmit the Republic to our posterity high in praise and in name and in honor.

Let Thy richest blessings rest upon our country at large; may we lend a true obedience to the laws cheerfully and willingly for conscience' sake. Let no causeless divisions weaken us as a nation, but grant that we may be knit together more and more in the bonds of peace and unity. Preserve us from the dangers now threatening society, and enable each of us, high and low, rich and poor, to do his duty in that state of life unto which Thou hast called him. So we that are Thy people and sheep of Thy pasture shall give Thee thanks forever, and will always be showing forth Thy praise from generation to generation. These and all other benefits of Thy good providence we humbly beg in the name and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our most blessed Lord and Savior. Amen.

The President *pro tempore* of the Senate, after the Marine Band had played "Hail Columbia," said:

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, the first proceeding in order is the oration by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts. The Chair is sorry to announce that Mr. Winthrop, from indisposition, is unable to attend. According to the arrangements of the committee the oration will be now read by Hon. John D. Long, a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Massachusetts.

ORATION BY HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.*

President Arthur, Senators and Representatives of the United States:

By a joint Resolution of Congress you have called upon me to address you in this Hall to-day on the completion of yonder colossal monument to the Father of his Country. Nothing less imperative could have brought me before you for such an effort. Nearly seven and thirty years have passed away since it was my privilege to perform a similar service at the laying of the corner-stone of that monument. In the prime of manhood, and in the pride of official station, it was not difficult for me to speak to assembled thou-

* *Note by Mr. Winthrop's son to a pamphlet edition of his oration.*—On being informed of the passage of the joint resolution designating him as the orator at the dedication of the Monument, Mr. Winthrop wrote to Senator Sherman, of Ohio, chairman of the Monument Commission, and to Senator Morrill, of Vermont, one of its leading members, to express, not merely his deep sense of the honor conferred upon him, but also his great doubt whether he ought not respectfully to decline it. He had regarded his centennial oration at Yorktown, in 1881, as the closing effort of the series of historical addresses which he had been privileged to pronounce at different periods, and he hesitated to risk impairing the success of the present celebration by subjecting it to the contingencies of failing health and strength to which a man far advanced in his seventy-sixth year would necessarily be liable. Senators Sherman and Morrill, however, both replied that the interest of the occasion would be greatly enhanced if the orator whose name was associated with the inception of the Monument should officiate at its completion, and strongly urged Mr. Winthrop to accept the appointment, which he eventually did, though not without misgivings, which have been unhappily justified.

Two months only before the appointed time, and after he had substantially prepared what he proposed to say, Mr. Winthrop fell dangerously ill of pneumonia, his recovery from which was too slow to admit of the delivery of his oration in person. Under these circumstances, and at the joint request of the Monument Commission and of Mr. Winthrop, it was most kindly and effectively read for him by Hon. John Davis Long, late Governor of Massachusetts, and now a member of the United States House of Representatives.

R. C. W., JR.

sands in the open air, without notes, under the scorching rays of a midsummer sun. But what was easy for me then is impossible for me now. I am here to-day, as I need not tell you, in far other condition for the service you have assigned me—changed, changed in almost everything except an inextinguishable love for my Country and its Union and an undying reverence for the memory of Washington. On these alone I rest for inspiration, assured that, with your indulgence, and the blessing of God, which I devoutly invoke, they will be sufficient to sustain me in serving as a medium for keeping up the continuity between the hearts and hands which laid the foundation of this gigantic structure and those younger hearts and hands which have at last brought forth the capstone with shoutings. It is for this you have summoned me. It is for this alone I have obeyed your call.

Meantime I cannot wholly forget that the venerable Ex-President John Quincy Adams—at whose death-bed, in my official chamber beneath this roof, I was a privileged watcher thirty-seven years ago this very day—had been originally designated to pronounce the Corner-stone Oration, as one who had received his first commission, in the long and brilliant career at home and abroad which awaited him, from the hands of Washington himself. In that enviable distinction I certainly have no share; but I may be pardoned for remembering that, in calling upon me to supply the place of Mr. Adams, it was borne in mind that I had but lately taken the oath as Speaker at his hands and from his lips, and that thus, as was suggested at the time, the electric chain, though lengthened by a single link, was still unbroken. Let me hope that the magnetism of that chain may not even yet be entirely exhausted, and that I may

still catch something of its vivifying and quickening power, while I attempt to bring to the memory of Washington the remnants of a voice which is failing and of a vigor which I am conscious is ebbing away!

It is now, Mr. President, Senators, and Representatives, more than half a century since a voluntary Association of patriotic citizens initiated the project of erecting a National Monument to Washington in the city which bears his name. More than a whole century ago, indeed—in that great year of our Lord which witnessed the Treaty of Peace and Independence, 1783—Congress had ordered an Equestrian Statue of him to be executed “to testify the love, admiration, and gratitude of his countrymen”; and again, immediately after his death, in 1799, Congress had solemnly voted a marble monument to him at the Capital, “so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.” But our beloved country, while yet in its infancy, and I may add in its indigency, with no experience in matters of art, and heavily weighed down by the great debt of the Revolutionary War, knew better how to vote monuments than how to build them, or, still more, how to pay for them. Yorktown monuments and Washington monuments, and the statues of I know not how many heroes of our struggle for Independence, made a fine show on paper in our early records, and were creditable to those who ordered them; but their practical execution seems to have been indefinitely postponed.

The Washington Monument Association, instituted in 1833, resolved that no such postponement should longer be endured, and proceeded to organize themselves for the work, which has at length been completed. They had for their

first President the great Chief Justice John Marshall, the personal friend and chosen biographer of Washington, whose impressive image you have so recently and so worthily unveiled on yonder Western Terrace. They had for their second President the not less illustrious James Madison, the father of the Constitution of which Marshall was the interpreter, and whose statue might well have no inferior place on the same Terrace. Among the other officers and managers of that Association I cannot forget the names of William W. Seaton, whose memory is deservedly cherished by all who knew him; of that grand old soldier and patriot Winfield Scott; of Generals Archibald Henderson and Nathan Towson; of Walter Jones, and Peter Force, and Philip R. Fendall, together with that of its indefatigable General Agent, honest old Elisha Whittlesey. To that Association our earliest and most grateful acknowledgments are due on this occasion. But of those whom I have named, and of many others whom I might name, so long among the honored and familiar figures of this metropolis, not one is left to be the subject of our congratulations. Meanwhile we all rejoice to welcome the presence of one of their contemporaries and friends, whose munificent endowments for Art, Education, Religion, and Charity entitle him to so enviable a place on the roll of American philanthropists—the venerable William W. Corcoran, now, and for many years past, our senior Vice-President.

Nearly fifteen years, however, elapsed before the plans or the funds of this Association were in a state of sufficient forwardness to warrant them even in fixing a day for laying the first foundation-stone of the contemplated structure. That day arrived at last—the 4th of July, 1848. And a great day

it was in this capital of the nation. There had been no day like it here before, and there have been but few, if any, days like it here since. If any one desires a description of it, he will find a most exact and vivid one in the columns of the old National Intelligencer—doubtless from the pen of that prince of editors, the accomplished Joseph Gales. I recall among the varied features of the long procession Freemasons of every order, with their richest regalia, including the precious gavel and apron of Washington himself; Firemen, with their old-fashioned engines; Odd-Fellows from a thousand Lodges; Temperance Societies and other Associations innumerable; the children of the Schools, long ago grown to mature manhood; the military escort of regulars, marines, and volunteer militia from all parts of the country, commanded by Generals Quitman and Cadwalader and Colonel May, then crowned with laurels won in Mexico, which long ago were laid upon their graves. I recall, too, the masses of the people, of all classes, and sexes, and ages, and colors, gazing from the windows, or thronging the sidewalks, or grouped in countless thousands upon the Monument grounds. But I look around in vain for any of the principal witnesses of that imposing ceremonial: the venerable widows of Alexander Hamilton and James Madison; President Polk and his Cabinet, as then constituted—Buchanan, Marcy, John Y. Mason, Walker, Cave Johnson, and Clifford; Vice-President Dallas; George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of the great Chief; not forgetting Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, both then members of the House of Representatives, and for whom the liveliest imagination could hardly have pictured what the future had in store for them. Of that whole body there are now but a handful of surviv-

ors, and probably not more than two or three of them present here to-day—not one in either branch of Congress, nor one, as I believe, in any department of the national service.

To those of us who took part in the laying of that first stone, or who witnessed the ceremonies of the august occasion, and who have followed the slow ascent of the stupendous pile, sometimes with hope and sometimes with despair, its successful completion is, I need not say, an unspeakable relief, as well as a heartfelt delight and joy. I hazard little in saying that there are some here to-day, unwearied workers in the cause, like my friends Horatio King and Dr. Toner—to name no others—to whose parting hour a special pang would have been added had they died without the sight which now greets their longing eyes on yonder plain.

I dare not venture on any detailed description of the long intervening agony between the laying of the first stone and the lifting of the last. It would fill a volume, and will be sure hereafter to furnish material for an elaborate monograph, whose author will literally find “sermons in stones”—for almost every stone has its story if not its sermon. Every year of the first decade certainly had its eventful and noteworthy experiences. The early enthusiasm which elicited contributions to the amount of more than a quarter of a million of dollars from men, women, and children in all parts of the land, and which carried up the shaft more than a hundred and fifty feet almost at a bound; the presentation and formal reception of massive blocks of marble, granite, porphyry, or freestone from every State in the Union and from so many foreign nations—beginning, according to the catalogue, with a stone from Bunker Hill and ending with one from the Emperor of Brazil; the annual assemblies at its

base on each succeeding Fourth of July, with speeches by distinguished visitors; the sudden illness and sad death of that sterling patriot President Zachary Taylor, after an exposure to the midday heat at the gathering in 1850, when the well-remembered Senator Foote, of Mississippi, had indulged in too exuberant an address—these were among its beginnings; the end was still a whole generation distant.

Later on came the long, long disheartening pause, when—partly owing to the financial embarrassments of the times, partly owing to the political contentions and convulsions of the country, and partly owing to unhappy dissensions in the Association itself—any further contributions failed to be forthcoming, all interest in the Monument seemed to flag and die away, and all work on it was suspended and practically abandoned. A deplorable Civil War soon followed, and all efforts to renew popular interest in its completion were palsied.

How shall I depict the sorry spectacle which those first one hundred and fifty-six feet, in their seemingly hopeless, helpless condition, with that dismal derrick still standing as in mockery upon their summit, presented to the eye of every comer to the Capital for nearly a quarter of a century! No wonder the unsightly pile became the subject of pity or derision. No wonder there were periodical panics about the security of its foundation, and a chronic condemnation of the original design. No wonder that suggestions for tearing it all down began to be entertained in many minds, and were advocated by many pens and tongues. That truncated shaft, with its untidy surroundings, looked only like an insult to the memory of Washington. It symbolized nothing but an ungrateful country, not destined—as, God be thanked, it still

was—to growth and grandeur and imperishable glory, but doomed to premature decay, to discord, strife, and ultimate disunion. Its very presence was calculated to discourage many hearts from other things, as well as from itself. It was an abomination of desolation standing where it ought not. All that followed of confusion and contention in our country's history seemed foreshadowed and prefigured in that humiliating spectacle, and one could almost read on its sides in letters of blood, "Divided! Weighed in the balance! Found wanting!"

And well might that crude and undigested mass have stood so forever, or until the hand of man or the operation of the elements should have crushed and crumbled it into dust, if our Union had then perished. An unfinished, fragmentary, crumbling monument to Washington would have been a fit emblem of a divided and ruined Country. Washington himself would not have had it finished. He would have desired no tribute, however imposing, from either half of a disunited Republic. He would have turned with abhorrence from being thought the Father of anything less than One Country, with one Constitution and one Destiny.

And how cheering and how inspiring the reflection, how grand and glorious the fact, that no sooner were our unhappy contentions at an end, no sooner were Union and Liberty, one and inseparable, once more and, as we trust and believe, forever reasserted and reassured, than this monument to Washington gave signs of fresh life, began to attract new interest and new effort, and soon was seen rising again slowly but steadily toward the skies—stone after stone, course upon course, piled up in peace, with foundations extended to the full demand of the enormous weight to be

placed upon them, until we can now hail it as complete! Henceforth and forever it shall be lovingly associated, not only with the memory of him in whose honor it has been erected, but with an era of assured peace, unity, and concord, which would have been dearer to his heart than the costliest personal memorial which the toil and treasure of his countrymen could have constructed. The Union is itself the all-sufficient and the only sufficient monument to Washington. The Union was nearest and dearest to his great heart. "The Union in any event," were the most emphatic words of his immortal Farewell Address. Nothing less than the Union would ever have been accepted or recognized by him as a monument commensurate with his services and his fame. Nothing less ought ever to be accepted or recognized as such by us, or by those who shall rise up, generation after generation, to do homage to his memory!

For the grand consummation which we celebrate to-day we are indebted primarily to the National Government, under the successive Presidents of the past nine years, with the concurrent action of the two branches of Congress, prompted by Committees so often under the lead of the veteran Senator Morrill, of Vermont. The wise decision and emphatic resolution of Congress on the 2d of August, 1876—inspired by the Centennial Celebration of American Independence, moved by Senator Sherman, of Ohio, and adopted, as it auspiciously happened, on the hundredth anniversary of the formal signing of the great Declaration—that the monument should no longer be left unfinished, with the appointment of a Joint Commission to direct and supervise its completion, settled the whole matter. To that Joint Commission, consisting of the President of the United States

for the time being, the Senior Vice-President of the Monument Association, the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army, with the architects of the Capitol and the Treasury, the congratulations and thanks of us all may well be tendered. But I think they will all cordially agree with me that the main credit and honor of what has been accomplished belongs peculiarly and pre-eminently to the distinguished officer of Engineers who has been their devoted and untiring Agent from the outset. The marvellous work of extending and strengthening the foundations of a structure already weighing, as it did, not less than thirty-two thousand tons—sixty-four million pounds—an operation which has won the admiration of engineers all over the world, and which will always associate this monument with a signal triumph of scientific skill—was executed upon his responsibility and under his personal supervision. His, too, have been the ingenious and effective arrangements by which the enormous shaft has been carried up, course after course, until it has reached its destined height of five hundred and fifty-five feet, as we see it at this hour. To Col. THOMAS LINCOLN CASEY, whose name is associated in three generations with valued military service to his country, the successful completion of the monument is due. But he would not have us forget his accomplished Assistant, Capt. George W. Davis, and neither of them would have us fail to remember Superintendent McLaughlin and, the hard-handed and honest-hearted mechanics who have labored so long under their direction.

Finis coronat opus. The completion crowns the work. To-day that work speaks for itself, and needs no other orator. Mute and lifeless as it seems, it has a living and audible

voice for all who behold it, and no one can misinterpret its language. Nor will any one, I think, longer cavil about its design. That design, let me add, originally prepared by the Washington architect, Robert Mills, of South Carolina, and adopted long before I had any relations to this Association, was commended to public favor by such illustrious names as Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster. A colonnade encircling its base, and intended as a sort of Pantheon, was soon discarded from the plan. Its main feature, from the first, was an obelisk, after the example of that which had then been recently agreed upon for Bunker Hill. And so it stands to-day, a simple sublime obelisk of pure white marble, its proportions, in spite of its immense height, conforming exactly to those of the most celebrated obelisks of antiquity, as my accomplished and lamented friend, our late Minister to Italy, George P. Marsh, so happily pointed out to us. It is not, indeed, as were those ancient obelisks, a monolith, a single stone cut whole from the quarry; that would have been obviously impossible for anything so colossal. Nor could we have been expected to attempt the impossible in deference to Egyptian methods of construction. We might almost as well be called on to adopt as the emblems of American Progress the bronze Crabs which were found at the base of Cleopatra's Needle! America is certainly at liberty to present new models in art as well as in government, or to improve upon old ones; and, as I ventured to suggest some years ago, our monument to Washington will be all the more significant and symbolic in embodying, as it does, the idea of our cherished National motto, E PLURIBUS UNUM. That compact, consolidated structure, with its countless

blocks, inside and outside, held firmly in position by their own weight and pressure, will ever be an instructive type of the National strength and grandeur which can only be secured by the union of "many in one."

Had the Fine Arts indeed made such advances in our country forty years ago as we are now proud to recognize, it is not improbable that a different design might have been adopted; yet I am by no means sure it would have been a more effective and appropriate one. There will always be ample opportunity for the display of decorative art in our land. The streets and squares of this city and of all our great cities are wide open for the statues and architectural memorials of our distinguished statesmen and soldiers, and such monuments are everywhere welcomed and honored. But is not—I ask in all sincerity—is not the acknowledged pre-eminence of the Father of his Country, first without a second, more fitly and adequately represented by that soaring shaft, rising high above trees and spires and domes and all the smoke and stir of earth—as he ever rose above sectional prejudices and party politics and personal interests—overtopping and dominating all its surroundings, gleaming and glistening out at every vista as far as human sight can reach, arresting and riveting the eye at every turn, while it shoots triumphantly to the skies? Does not—does not, I repeat, that Colossal Unit remind all who gaze at it, more forcibly than any arch or statue could do, that there is one name in American history above all other names, one character more exalted than all other characters, one example to be studied and revered beyond all other examples, one bright particular star in the clear upper sky of our firmament, whose guiding light and peerless lustre are for

all men and for all ages, never to be lost sight of, never to be unheeded? Of that name, of that character, of that example, of that glorious guiding light, our Obelisk, standing on the very spot selected by Washington himself for a monument to the American Revolution, and on the site which marks our National meridian, will be a unique memorial and symbol forever.

For oh, my friends, let us not longer forget, or even seem to forget, that we are here to commemorate not the Monument but the Man. That stupendous pile has not been reared for any vain purpose of challenging admiration for itself. It is not, I need not say it is not, as a specimen of advanced art, for it makes no pretension to that; it is not as a signal illustration of engineering skill and science, though that may confidently be claimed for it; it is not, certainly it is not, as the tallest existing structure in the world, for we do not measure the greatness of men by the height of their monuments, and we know that this distinction may be done away with here or elsewhere in future years; but it is as a Memorial of the pre-eminent figure in modern or in ancient history the world over—of the man who has left the loftiest example of public and private virtues, and whose exalted character challenges the admiration and the homage of mankind. It is this example and this character—it is the Man, and not the Monument—that we are here to commemorate!

Assembled in these Legislative Halls of the Nation, as near to the Anniversary of his birth as a due respect for the Day of our Lord will allow, to signalize the long-delayed accomplishment of so vast a work, it is upon him in whose honor it has been upreared, and upon the incomparable and inestimable services he has rendered to his country and to the

world, that our thoughts should be concentrated at this hour. Yet what can I say, what can any man say, of Washington, which has not already been rendered as familiar as household words, not merely to those who hear me, but to all readers of history and all lovers of Liberty throughout the world? How could I hope to glean anything from a field long ago so carefully and lovingly reaped by such men as John Marshall and Jared Sparks, by Guizot and Edward Everett and Washington Irving, as well as by our eminent living historian, the venerable George Bancroft, happily here with us to-day?

Others, many others, whom I dare not attempt to name or number, have vied with each other in describing a career of whose minutest details no American is ever weary, and whose variety and interest can never be exhausted. Every stage and step of that career, every scene of that great and glorious life, from the hour of his birth, one hundred and fifty-three years ago—"about ten in the morning of y^e 11th day of February, 1731-2," as recorded in his mother's Bible—in that primitive Virginia farm-house in the county of Westmoreland, of which the remains of the "great brick chimney of the kitchen" have been identified only within a few years past—every scene, I say, of that grand and glorious life, from that ever-memorable hour of his nativity, has been traced and illustrated by the most accomplished and brilliant pens and tongues of our land.

His childhood, under the loving charge of that venerated mother, who delighted to say that "George had always been a good son," who happily lived not only to see him safely restored to her after the exposures and perils of the Revolutionary struggle, but to see him, in her eighty-second

year, unanimously elected to be the President in Peace of the country of which he had been the Saviour in War; his primary education in that "old-field school-house," with Hobby, the sexton of the parish, for his first master; his early and romantic adventures as a land surveyor; his narrow escape from being a midshipman in the British Navy at fourteen years of age, for which it has been said a warrant had been obtained and his luggage actually put on board a man-of-war anchored in the river just below Mount Vernon; his still narrower and hairbreadth escapes from Indian arrows and from French bullets, and his survival—the only mounted officer not killed—at the defeat of Braddock, of whom he was an aide-de-camp; together with that most remarkable prediction of the Virginia pastor, Samuel Davies, afterward President of Princeton College, pointing him out—in a sermon, in 1755, on his return, at the age of twenty-three, from the disastrous field of the Monongahela—as "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country"; who has forgotten, who can ever forget these most impressive incidents of that opening career by which he was indeed so providentially preserved, prepared, and trained up for the eventful and illustrious future which awaited him?

Still less can any American forget his taking his seat, soon afterward, in the Virginia House of Burgesses—with the striking tribute to his modesty which he won from the Speaker—and his subsequent election to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, where on the 15th of June, 1775, at the instance of John Adams and on the motion of Thomas Johnson, afterward Governor of Maryland, he was unani-

mously appointed "General and Commander-in-Chief of such Forces as are, or shall be, raised for the maintenance and preservation of American Liberty." Nor can any of us require to be reminded of the heroic fortitude, the unswerving constancy, and the unsparing self-devotion with which he conducted through seven or eight years that protracted contest, with all its toils and trials, its vexations and vicissitudes, from the successful Siege of Boston, his first great triumph, followed by those masterly movements on the Delaware, which no less celebrated a soldier than Frederick the Great declared "the most brilliant achievements of any recorded in the annals of military action"—and so along—through all the successes and reverses and sufferings and trials of Monmouth and Brandywine and Germantown and Valley Forge—to the Siege of Yorktown, in 1781, where, with the aid of our generous and gallant allies, under the lead of Rochambeau and De Grasse and Lafayette, he won at last that crowning victory on the soil of his beloved Virginia.

Nor need I recall to you the still nobler triumphs witnessed during all this period—triumphs in which no one but he had any share—triumphs over himself; not merely in his magnanimous appreciation of the exploits of his subordinates, even when unjustly and maliciously contrasted with disappointments and alleged inaction of his own, but in repelling the machinations of discontented and mutinous officers at Newburgh, in spurning overtures to invest him with dictatorial and even Kingly power, and in finally surrendering his sword and commission so simply, so sublimely, to the Congress from which he had received them.

Or, turning sharply from this summary and familiar

sketch of his military career—of which, take it for all in all, its long duration, its slender means, its vast theatre, its glorious aims and ends and results, there is no parallel in history—turning sharply from all this, need I recall him, in this presence, presiding with paramount influence and authority over the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and then, with such consummate discretion, dignity, and wisdom, over the original administration of that Constitution, when the principles and precedents of our great Federal system of Government were molded, formed, and established?

It was well said by John Milton, in one of his powerful Defences of the People of England, “War has made many great whom Peace makes small.” But of Washington we may say, as Milton said of Cromwell, that, while War made him great, Peace made him greater; or rather that both war and peace alike gave opportunity for the display of those incomparable innate qualities which no mere circumstances could create or destroy.

But his sword was not quite yet ready to rest quietly in its scabbard. Need I recall him once more, after his retirement from a second term of the Chief Magistracy, accepting a subordinate position, under his successor in the Presidency, as Lieutenant-General of the American Armies in view of an impending foreign war, which, thank God, was so happily averted?

Nor can any one who hears me require to be reminded of that last scene of all, when, in his eight-and-sixtieth year, having been overtaken by a fatal shower of sleet and snow in the midst of those agricultural pursuits in which he so much delighted at Mount Vernon, he laid himself calmly

down to die—"not afraid to go," as he whispered to his physician—and left his whole country in tears such as had never flowed before. "Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace!"

Eighty-five years ago to-morrow—his sixty-eighth birthday—was solemnly assigned by Congress for a general manifestation of that overwhelming national sorrow, and for the commemoration, by eulogies, addresses, sermons, and religious rites, of the great life which had thus been closed. But long before that anniversary arrived, and one day only after the sad tidings had reached the seat of Government in Philadelphia, President John Adams, in reply to a message of the House of Representatives, had anticipated all panegyrics by a declaration, as true to-day as it was then, that he was "the most illustrious and beloved personage which this country ever produced"; while Henry Lee, of Virginia, through the lips of John Marshall, had summed up and condensed all that was felt, and all that could be or ever can be said, in those imperishable words, which will go ringing down the centuries, in every clime, in every tongue, till time shall be no more, "First in War, First in Peace, and First in the hearts of his Countrymen!"

But there are other imperishable words which will resound through the ages—words of his own not less memorable than his acts—some of them in private letters, some of them in official correspondence, some of them in inaugural addresses, and some of them, I need not say, in that immortal Farewell Address which an eminent English historian has pronounced "unequaled by any composition of uninspired wisdom," and which ought to be learned by heart by the children of our schools, like the Laws of the

Twelve Tables in the schools of ancient Rome, and never forgotten when those children grow up to the privileges and responsibilities of manhood.

It was a custom of the ancient Egyptians, from whom the idea of our Monument has been borrowed—I should rather say, evolved—to cover their obelisks with hieroglyphical inscriptions, some of which have to this day perplexed and baffled all efforts to decipher them. Neither Champollion, nor the later Lepsius, nor any of the most skillful Egyptologists, have succeeded in giving an altogether satisfactory reading of the legends on Pompey's Pillar and Cleopatra's Needle. And those legends, at their best—engraved, as they were, on the granite or porphyry, with the letters enameled with gold, and boasted of as illuminating the world with their rays—tell us little except the dates and doings of some despotic Pharaoh, whom we would willingly have seen drowned in the ocean of oblivion, as one of them so deservedly was in the depths of the Red Sea. Several of the inscriptions on Cleopatra's Needle, as it so strangely greets us in the fashionable promenade of our commercial capital, inform us in magniloquent terms, of Thothmes III, who lived in the age preceding that in which Moses was born, styling him a "Child of the Sun," "Lord of the Two Worlds," "Endowed and endowing with power, life, and stability." Other inscriptions designate him, or Rameses II—the great oppressor of the Israelites—as the "Chastiser of Foreign Nations," "The Conqueror," "The Strong Bull!"

Our Washington Needle, while it has all of the severe simplicity, and far more than all of the massive grandeur, which were the characteristics of Egyptian architecture, bears no inscriptions whatever, and none are likely ever to

be carved on it. Around its base bas-reliefs in bronze may possibly one day be placed, illustrative of some of the great events of Washington's life; while on the terrace beneath may, perhaps, be arranged emblematic figures of Justice and Patriotism, of Peace, Liberty, and Union. All this, however, may well be left for future years, or even for future generations. Each succeeding generation, indeed, will take its own pride in doing whatever may be wisely done in adorning the surroundings of this majestic pile, and in thus testifying its own homage to the memory of the Father of his Country. Yet to the mind's eye of an American Patriot those marble faces will never seem vacant—never seem void or voiceless. No mystic figures or hieroglyphical signs will, indeed, be descried on them. No such vainglorious words as "Conqueror," or "Chastiser of Foreign Nations," nor any such haughty assumption or heathen ascription as "Child of the Sun," will be deciphered on them. But ever and anon, as he gazes, there will come flashing forth in letters of living light some of the great words, and grand precepts, and noble lessons of principle and duty which are the matchless bequest of Washington to his country and to mankind.

Can we not all read there already, as if graven by some invisible finger, or inscribed with some sympathetic ink—which it requires no learning of scholars, no lore of Egypt, nothing but love of our own land, to draw out and make legible—those masterly words of his Letter to the Governors of the States in 1783:

"There are four things which, I humbly conceive, are essential to the well-being—I may even venture to say, to the existence—of the United States as an independent Power: First, an indissoluble Union of the States under one Federal

head; Second, a sacred regard to Public Justice; Third, the adoption of a proper Peace Establishment; and, Fourth, the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the People of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the Community. These are the Pillars on which the glorious fabric of our Independency and National Character must be supported."

Can we not read, again, on another of those seemingly vacant sides, that familiar passage in his Farewell Address—a jewel of thought and phraseology, often imitated, but never matched—"The name of American, which belongs to you in your National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations?" and, not far below it, his memorable warning against Party Spirit—"A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume?"

Still again, terser legends from the same prolific source salute our eager gaze: "Cherish Public Credit;" "Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all;" "Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of Knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

And, above all—a thousand-fold more precious than all the rest—there will come streaming down from time to time, to many an eager and longing eye, from the very point where

its tiny aluminium apex reaches nearest to the skies—and shining forth with a radiance which no vision of Constantine, no labarum for his legions, could ever have eclipsed—some of those solemnly reiterated declarations and counsels, which might almost be called the Confession and Creed of Washington, and which can never be forgotten by any Christian Patriot:

“When I contemplate the interposition of Providence, as it was visibly manifest in guiding us through the Revolution, in preparing us for the reception of the General Government, and in conciliating the good-will of the people of America toward one another after its adoption, I feel myself oppressed and almost overwhelmed with a sense of Divine munificence. I feel that nothing is due to my personal agency in all those wonderful and complicated events, except what can be attributed to an honest zeal for the good of my country.” “No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore an Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an Independent Nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of Providential Agency.” “Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and of citizens.”

And thus on all those seemingly blank and empty sides will be read, from time to time, in his own unequalled language, the grand precepts and principles of Peace, Justice, Education, Morality, and Religion, which he strove to incul-

cate, while encircling and illuminating them all, and enveloping the whole monument, from corner-stone to cap-stone, will be hailed with rapture by every patriotic eye, and be echoed by every patriotic heart, "The Union, the Union in any event!"

But what are all the noble words which Washington wrote or uttered, what are all the incidents of his birth and death, what are all the details of his marvelous career from its commencement to its close, in comparison with his own exalted character as a Man? Rarely was Webster more impressive than when, on the completion of the monument at Bunker Hill, in describing what our Country had accomplished for the welfare of mankind, he gave utterance, with his characteristic terseness and in his inimitable tones, to the simple assertion, "America has furnished to the world the character of Washington!" And well did he add that, "if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind."

The character of Washington! Who can delineate it worthily? Who can describe that priceless gift of America to the world in terms which may do it any sort of justice, or afford any degree of satisfaction to his hearers or to himself?

Modest, disinterested, generous, just—of clean hands and a pure heart—self-denying and self-sacrificing, seeking nothing for himself, declining all remuneration beyond the reimbursement of his outlays, scrupulous to a farthing in keeping his accounts, of spotless integrity, scorning gifts, charitable to the needy, forgiving injuries and injustices, brave, fearless, heroic, with a prudence ever governing his impulses and a wisdom ever guiding his valor—true to his

friends, true to his whole country, true to himself—fearing God, believing in Christ, no stranger to private devotion or public worship or to the holiest offices of the Church to which he belonged, but ever gratefully recognizing a Divine aid and direction in all that he attempted and in all that he accomplished—what epithet, what attribute could be added to that consummate character to commend it as an example above all other characters in merely human history!

From first to last he never solicited or sought an office, military or civil. Every office stood candidate for him, and was ennobled by his acceptance of it. Honors clustered around him as if by the force of “first intention.” Responsibilities heaped themselves on his shoulders as if by the law of gravitation. They could rest safely nowhere else, and they found him ever ready to bear them all, ever equal to discharge them all. To what is called personal magnetism he could have had little pretension. A vein of dignified reserve, which Houdon and Stuart have rightly made his peculiar characteristic in marble and on canvas, repressed all familiarities with him. His magnetism was that of merit—superior, surpassing merit—the merit of spotless integrity, of recognized ability, and of unwearied willingness to spend and be spent in the service of his country. That was sufficient to attract irresistibly to his support not only the great mass of the people, but the wisest and best of his contemporaries in all quarters of the Union, and from them he selected, with signal discrimination, such advisers and counselors, in War and in Peace, as have never surrounded any other American leader. No jealousy of their abilities and accomplishments ever ruffled his breast, and with them he achieved our Independence, organized our

Constitutional Government, and stamped his name indelibly on the age in which he lived as the Age of Washington!

Well did Chief-Justice Marshall, in that admiral Preface to the biography of his revered and illustrious friend, sum up with judicial precision the services he was about to describe in detail. Well and truly did he say, "As if the chosen instrument of Heaven, selected for the purpose of effecting the great designs of Providence respecting this our Western Hemisphere, it was the peculiar lot of this distinguished man, at every epoch when the destinies of his country seemed dependent on the measures adopted, to be called by the united voice of his fellow-citizens to those high stations on which the success of those measures principally depended."

And not less justly has Bancroft said, when describing Washington's first inauguration as President: "But for him the Country could not have achieved its Independence; but for him it could not have formed its Union; and now but for him it could not set the Federal Government in successful motion."

I do not forget that there have been other men, in other days, in other lands, and in our own land, who have been called to command larger armies, to preside over more distracted councils, to administer more extended Governments, and to grapple with as complicated and critical affairs. Gratitude and honor wait ever on their persons and their names! But we do not estimate Miltiades at Marathon, or Pausanias at Plateæa, or Themistocles at Salamis, or Epaminondas at Mantinea or Leuctra, or Leonidas at Thermopylæ, by the number of the forces which they led on land or on sea. Nor do we gauge the glory of Columbus by the size of the little

fleet with which he ventured so heroically upon the perils of a mighty unknown deep. There are some circumstances which can not occur twice; some occasions of which there can be no repetition; some names which will always assert their individual pre-eminence, and will admit of no rivalry or comparison. The glory of Columbus can never be eclipsed, never approached, till our New World shall require a fresh discovery; and the glory of Washington will remain unique and peerless until American Independence shall require to be again achieved, or the foundations of Constitutional Liberty to be laid anew.

Think not that I am claiming an immaculate perfection for any mortal man. One Being only has ever walked this earth of ours without sin. Washington had his infirmities and his passions like the rest of us; and he would have been more or less than human had he never been overcome by them. There were young officers around him, in camp and elsewhere, not unlikely to have thrown temptations in his path. There were treacherous men, also—downright traitors, some of them—whose words in council, or conduct in battle, or secret plottings behind his back, aroused his righteous indignation, and gave occasion for memorable bursts of anger. Now and then, too, there was a disaster, like that of St. Clair's expedition against the Indians in 1791, the first tidings of which stirred the very depths of his soul, and betrayed him into a momentary outbreak of mingled grief and rage, which only proved how violent were the emotions he was so generally able to control.

While, however, not even the polluted breath of slander has left a shadow upon the purity of his life, or a doubt of his eminent power of self-command, he made no boast of

virtue or valor, and no amount of flattery ever led him to be otherwise than distrustful of his own ability and merits. As early as 1757, when only twenty-five years of age, he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie: "That I have foibles, and perhaps many of them, I shall not deny; I should esteem myself, as the world also would, vain and empty were I to arrogate perfection."

On accepting the command of the Army of the Revolution, in 1775, he said to Congress: "I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with."

And, in 1777, when informed that anonymous accusations against him had been sent to Laurens, then President of Congress, he wrote privately to beg that the paper might at once be submitted to the body to which it was addressed, adding these frank and noble words: "Why should I be exempt from censure—the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merit and talents which I cannot pretend to rival have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me it has been my unremitting aim to do the best which circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may, in many instances, deserve the imputation of error."

And when at last he was contemplating a final retirement from the Presidency, and in one of the draughts of his Farewell Address had written that he withdrew "with a pure heart and undefiled hands," or words to that effect, he suppressed the passage and all other similar expressions, lest, as he suggested, he should seem to claim for himself a measure of perfection which all the world now unites in accord-

ing to him. For I hazard little in asserting that all the world does now accord to Washington a tribute, which has the indorsement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that “of all men that have ever lived, he was the greatest of good men, and the best of great men.” Or, let me borrow the same idea from a renowned English poet, who gave his young life and brilliant genius to the cause of Liberty in modern Greece. “Where,” wrote Byron—

“Where may the wearied eye repose
When gazing on the great,
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor despicable state!
Yes, One — the first, the last, the best,
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate —
Bequeathed the name of Washington,
To make men blush there was but One!”

To what other name have such tributes ever been paid by great and good men abroad as well as at home? You have not forgotten the language of Lord Erskine in his inscription of one of his productions to Washington himself: “You are the only being for whom I have an awful reverence.”

You have not forgotten the language of Charles James Fox, in the House of Commons: “Illustrious Man, before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance.”

You have not forgotten the language of Lord Brougham, twice uttered, at long intervals, and with a purpose, as Brougham himself once told me, to impress and enforce those emphatic words as his fixed and final judgment: “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!"

Nor can I fail to welcome the crowning tribute, perhaps, from our mother land—reaching me, as it has, at the last moment of revising what I had prepared for this occasion—in a published letter from Gladstone, her great Prime Minister, who, after saying in casual conversation that Washington was "the purest figure in history," writes deliberately, "that if, among all the pedestals supplied by history for public characters of extraordinary nobility and purity, I saw one higher than all the rest, and if I were required at a moment's notice to name the fittest occupant for it, I think my choice, at any time during the last forty-five years, would have lighted, and it would now light, upon Washington!"

But if any one would get a full impression of the affection and veneration in which Washington was held by his contemporaries, let him turn, almost at random, to the letters which were addressed to him, or which were written about him, by the eminent men, military or civil, American or European, who were privileged to correspond with him, or who, ever so casually, found occasion to allude to his career and character. And let him by no means forget, as he reads them, that those letters were written a hundred years ago, when language was more measured, if not more sincere, than now, and before the indiscriminate use of the superlative, and the exaggerations and adulations of flatterers and parasites, sending great and small alike down to posterity as patterns of every virtue under Heaven, had tended to render such tributes as suspicious as they often are worthless.

What, for instance, said plain-speaking old Benjamin Franklin? "My fine crab-tree walking-stick, with a gold

head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of Liberty,"—these are the words of his Will in 1789—"I give to my friend and the friend of mankind George Washington. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it, and would become it."

"Happy, happy America;" wrote Gouverneur Morris from Paris, in 1793, when the French Revolution was making such terrific progress—"happy, happy America, governed by reason, by law, by the man whom she loves, whom she almost adores! It is the pride of my life to consider that man as my friend, and I hope long to be honored with that title."

"I have always admired," wrote to him Count Herzburg, from Berlin, where he had presided for thirty years over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under Frederick the Great—"I have always admired your great virtues and qualities, your disinterested patriotism, your unshaken courage and simplicity of manners—qualifications by which you surpass men even the most celebrated of antiquity."

"I am sorry," wrote Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, in allusion to the accusations of one of the notorious faction of 1777—"I am sorry there should be one man who counts himself my friend who is not yours."

Thomas Jefferson, who, we all know, sometimes differed from him, took pains, at a later period of his life, to say of him in a record for posterity: "His integrity was most pure; his justice the most inflexible I have ever known; no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good, and a great man." And when it was once suggested to him, not long before his own death, that the fame of Washington might lessen

with the lapse of years, Jefferson, looking up to the sky, and in a tone which betrayed deep emotion, is said to have replied: "Washington's fame will go on increasing until the brightest constellation in yonder heavens is called by his name!"

"If I could now present myself," wrote Edmund Randolph, who had made injurious imputations on Washington before and after his dismissal from the Cabinet in 1795—"if I could now present myself before your venerated uncle," he wrote most touchingly to Judge Bushrod Washington in 1810, "it would be my pride to confess my contrition that I suffered my irritation, let the cause be what it might, to use some of those expressions respecting him, which, at this moment of indifference to the world, I wish to recall, as being inconsistent with my subsequent conviction. My life will, I hope, be sufficiently extended for the recording of my sincere opinion of his virtues and merit in a style which is not the result of a mind merely debilitated by misfortune, but of that Christian Philosophy on which alone I depend for inward tranquillity."

And far more touching and more telling still is the fact that even Thomas Conway, the leader of that despicable cabal at Valley Forge, but who lived to redeem his name in other lands, if not in our own—when believing himself to be mortally wounded in a duel, in 1778, and "just able," as he said, "to hold the pen for a few minutes"—employed those few minutes in writing to Washington to express his "sincere grief for having done, written, or said anything disagreeable" to him, adding these memorable words: "You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long

enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues!"

From his illustrious friend Alexander Hamilton I need not cite a word. His whole life bore testimony, more impressive than words, to an admiration and affection for his great chief, which could not be exceeded, and which no momentary misunderstandings could shake.

But listen once more, and only once more, to Lafayette, writing to Washington from Cadiz, in 1783, when the glad tidings of the Treaty of Peace had just reached him: "Were you but such a man as Julius Cæsar, or the King of Prussia, I should almost be sorry for you at the end of the great tragedy where you are acting such a part. But, with my dear General, I rejoice at the blessings of a Peace in which our noble ends have been secured. . . . As for you, who truly can say you have done all this, what must your virtuous and good heart feel in the happy moment when the Revolution you have made is now firmly established!"

Rightly and truly did Lafayette say that his beloved General was of another spirit and of a different mould from Cæsar and Frederick. Washington had little, or nothing, in common with the great military heroes of his own or any other age—conquering for the sake of conquest—"wading through slaughter to a throne"—and overrunning the world, at a countless cost of blood and treasure, to gratify their own ambition, or to realize some mad dream of universal empire. No ancient Plutarch has furnished any just parallel for him in this respect. No modern Plutarch will find one. In all history, ancient and modern alike, he stands, in this respect, as individual and unique as yonder majestic Needle.

In his Eulogy on Washington before the Legislature of

Massachusetts the eloquent Fisher Ames, my earliest predecessor in Congress from the Boston district, said, eighty-five years ago, that in contemplating his career and character, "Mankind perceived some change in their ideas of greatness. . . . The splendor of power, and even the name of Conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. . . . They knew and felt that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance." Yes, they all saw that he bore ever in his mind and in his heart, as he said at Philadelphia on his way to Cambridge, in 1775, that "as the Sword was the last resort for the preservation of our liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside when those liberties were firmly established." And they saw him lay down his sword at the earliest moment, and retire to the pursuits of peace, only returning again to public service at the unanimous call of his country; to preside for a limited period over a free Constitutional Republic, and then eagerly resuming the rank of an American Citizen. That was the example which changed the ideas of mankind as to what constituted real greatness. And that example was exhibited for all nations and for all ages, never to be forgotten or overlooked, by him who was born one hundred and fifty-three years ago to-morrow in that primitive little Virginia farmhouse!

I am myself a New-Englander by birth, a son of Massachusetts, bound by the strongest ties of affection and of blood to honor and venerate the earlier and the later worthies of the old Puritan Commonwealth, jealous of their fair fame, and ever ready to assert and vindicate their just renown. But I turn reverently to the Old Dominion to-day, and salute her as the mother of the pre-eminent and incomparable

American, the Father of his Country, and the foremost figure in all merely human history. In the words of our own poet Lowell:

“Virginia gave us this imperial man,
Cast in the massive mould
Of those high-statured ages old
Which into grander forms our mortal metal ran;
She gave us this unblemished gentleman:
What shall we give her back but love and praise?”

Virginia has had other noble sons, whom I will not name, but whom I do not forget. When I remember how many they are, and how great they have been, and how much our country has owed them, I may well exclaim, “*Felix prole virum.*” But, as I think of her Washington—of our Washington, let me rather say—I am almost ready to add, “*Læta Deum partu!*”

A celebrated philosopher of antiquity, who was nearly contemporary with Christ, but who could have known nothing of what was going on in Judea, and who alas! did not always “reck his own rede”—wrote thus to a younger friend, as a precept for a worthy life: “Some good man must be singled out and kept ever before our eyes, that we may live as if he were looking on, and do everything as if he could see it.”

Let me borrow the spirit, if not the exact letter, of that precept, and address it to the young men of my Country: “Keep ever in your mind and before your mind’s eye the loftiest standard of character. You have it, I need not say, supremely and unapproachably, in Him who spake as never man spake and lived as never man lived, and who died for the sins of the world. That character stands apart and alone. But of merely mortal men the monument we have dedicated

to-day points out the one for all Americans to study, to imitate, and, as far as may be, to emulate. Keep his example and his character ever before your eyes and in your hearts. Live and act as if he were seeing and judging your personal conduct and your public career. Strive to approximate that lofty standard, and measure your integrity and your patriotism by your nearness to it or your departure from it. The prime meridian of universal longitude, on sea or land, may be at Greenwich, or at Paris, or where you will. But the prime meridian of pure, disinterested, patriotic, exalted human character will be marked forever by yonder Washington Obelisk!"

Yes, to the Young Men of America, under God, it remains, as they rise up from generation to generation, to shape the destinies of their Country's future—and woe unto them if, regardless of the great example which is set before them, they prove unfaithful to the tremendous responsibilities which rest upon them!

Yet, let me not seem even for a moment to throw off upon the children the rightful share of those responsibilities which belongs to their fathers. Upon us, upon us it devolves to provide that the advancing generations shall be able to comprehend and equal to meet the demands which are thus before them. It is ours—it is yours especially, Senators and Representatives—to supply them with the means of that Universal Education which is the crying want of our land, and without which any intelligent and successful Free Government is impossible.

We are just entering on a new Olympiad of our national history—the twenty-fifth Olympiad since Washington first entered on the administration of our Constitutional Govern-

ment. The will of the People has already designated under whom the first century of that Government is to be closed, and the best hopes and wishes of every patriot will be with him in the great responsibilities on which he is about to enter. No distinction of party or of section prevents our all feeling alike that our Country, by whomsoever governed, is still and always our Country, to be cherished in all our hearts, to be upheld and defended by all our hands!

Most happy would it be if the 30th of April, on which the first Inauguration of Washington took place in 1789, could henceforth be the date of all future inaugurations—as it might be by a slight amendment to the Constitution—giving, as it would, a much-needed extension to the short sessions of Congress, and letting the second century of our Constitutional History begin where the first century practically began.

But let the date be what it may, the inspiration of the Centennial Anniversary of that first great Inauguration must not be lost upon us. Would that any words of mine could help us all, old and young, to resolve that the principles and character and example of Washington, as he came forward to take the oaths of office on that day, shall once more be recognized and revered as the model for all who succeed him, and that his disinterested purity and patriotism shall be the supreme test and standard of American statesmanship! That standard can never be taken away from us. The most elaborate and durable monuments may perish. But neither the forces of nature, nor any fiendish crime of man, can ever mar or mutilate a great example of public or private virtue.

Our matchless Obelisk stands proudly before us to-day, and we hail it with the exultations of a united and glorious

Nation. It may or may not be proof against the cavils of critics, but nothing of human construction is proof against the casualties of time. The storms of winter must blow and beat upon it. The action of the elements must soil and discolor it. The lightnings of Heaven may scar and blacken it. An earthquake may shake its foundations. Some mighty tornado, or resistless cyclone, may rend its massive blocks asunder and hurl huge fragments to the ground. But the character which it commemorates and illustrates is secure. It will remain unchanged and unchangeable in all its consummate purity and splendor, and will more and more command the homage of succeeding ages in all regions of the Earth.

GOD BE PRAISED, THAT CHARACTER IS OURS FOREVER!

The reading of Mr. Winthrop's oration, which was frequently interrupted by applause, was followed by music from the Marine Band.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE. Gentlemen, an oration will now be delivered by Hon. John W. Daniel, of Virginia.

ORATION BY HON. JOHN W. DANIEL.

Mr. President of the United States, Senators, Representatives, Judges, Mr. Chairman, and my Countrymen:

Alone in its grandeur stands forth the character of Washington in history; alone like some peak that has no fellow in the mountain range of greatness.

"Washington," says Guizot, "Washington did the two greatest things which in politics it is permitted to man to

attempt. He maintained by Peace the independence of his country, which he had conquered by War. He founded a free government in the name of the principles of order and by re-establishing their sway."

Washington did indeed do these things. But he did more. Out of disconnected fragments he molded a whole and made it a country. He achieved his country's independence by the sword. He maintained that independence by peace as by war. He finally established both his country and its freedom in an enduring frame of constitutional government, fashioned to make Liberty and Union one and inseparable. These four things together constitute the unexampled achievement of Washington.

The world has ratified the profound remark of Fisher Ames, that "he changed mankind's ideas of political greatness." It has approved the opinion of Edward Everett, that he was "the greatest of good men, and the best of great men." It has felt for him, with Erskine, "an awful reverence." It has attested the declaration of Brougham, that "he was the greatest man of his own or of any age." It is matter of fact to-day as when General Hamilton, announcing his death to the Army, said, "The voice of praise would in vain endeavor to exalt a name unrivaled in the lists of true glory." America still proclaims him, as did Col. Henry Lee, on the floor of the House of Representatives, "The man first in peace, first in war, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." And from beyond the sea the voice of Alfieri, breathing the soul of all lands and peoples, still pronounces the blessing, "Happy are you who have for the sublime and permanent basis of your glory the love of country demonstrated by deeds."

Ye who have unrolled the scrolls that tell the tale of the rise and fall of nations; before whose eyes has moved the panorama of man's struggles, achievements, and progression, find you anywhere the story of one whose life-work is more than a fragment of that which in his life is set before you? Conquerors, who have stretched your scepters over boundless territories; founders of empire, who have held your dominions in the reign of law; reformers, who have cried aloud in the wilderness of oppression; teachers, who have striven with reason to cast down false doctrine, heresy, and schism; statesmen, whose brains have throbbled with mighty plans for the amelioration of human society; scar-crowned Vikings of the sea, illustrious heroes of the land, who have borne the standards of siege and battle—come forth in bright array from your glorious fanes—and would ye be measured by the measure of his stature? Behold you not in him a more illustrious and more venerable presence?

Statesman, Soldier, Patriot, Sage, Reformer of Creeds, teacher of Truth and Justice, Achiever and Preserver of Liberty—the First of Men—Founder and Savior of his Country, Father of his People—this is HE, solitary and unapproachable in his grandeur. Oh! felicitous Providence that gave to America OUR WASHINGTON!

High soars into the sky to-day—higher than the Pyramids or the dome of St. Paul's or St. Peter's—the loftiest and most imposing structure that man has ever reared—high soars into the sky to where

“Earth highest yearns to meet a star,”

the monument which “We the people of the United States” have erected to his memory..

It is a fitting monument, more fitting than any statue.

For his image could only display him in some one phase of his varied character—as the Commander, the Statesman, the Planter of Mount Vernon, or the Chief Magistrate of his country. So Art has fitly typified his exalted life in you plain lofty shaft. Such is his greatness, that only by a symbol could it be represented. As Justice must be blind in order to be whole in contemplation, so History must be silent, that by this mighty sign she may unfold the amplitude of her story.

It was fitting that the eminent citizen who thirty-seven years ago spoke at the laying of the corner-stone should be the orator at the consummation of the work which he inaugurated. It was Massachusetts that struck the first blow for independence; it was her voice that made the stones of Boston to “rise in mutiny”; it was her blessed blood that sealed the covenant of our salvation. The firmament of our national life she has thickly sown with deeds of glory. John Adams, of Massachusetts, was among the first to urge the name of Washington to the Continental Congress when it commissioned him as Commander-in-Chief of the American forces; it was upon her soil that he drew the sword which was sheathed at Yorktown, and there that he first gave to the battle-breeze the thirteen stripes that now float in new galaxies of stars. And meet it was that here in the Capitol of the Republic, at the distance of more than a century from its birth, the eloquent son of that illustrious State should span the chasm with his bridge of gold, and emblazon the final arch of commemoration.

And I fancy, too, that in a land where the factious tongues of the elder nations are being hushed at last, and all rival strains commingled in the blood of brotherhood, the accom-

plished mission of America finds fitting illustration in the Sage descended from the Pilgrims crowning the Hero sprung from the Cavaliers.

It has seemed fitting to you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Commission, that a citizen of the State which was the birthplace and the home of Washington—whose House of Burgesses, of which he was a member—made the first burst of opposition against the Stamp Act, although less pecuniarily interested therein than their New England brethren, and was the first representative body to recommend a General Congress of the Colonies; of the State whose Mason drew that Bill of Rights which has been called the Magna Charta of America; whose Jefferson wrote, whose Richard Henry Lee moved, the Declaration that these Colonies be “free and independent States”; whose Henry condensed the revolution into the electric sentence, “Liberty or Death;” of the State which cemented union with that vast territorial dowry out of which five States were carved, having now here some ninety representatives; of that State whose Madison was named “the Father of the Constitution,” and whose Marshall became its most eminent expounder; of the State which holds within its bosom the sacred ashes of Washington, and cherishes not less the principles which once kindled them with fires of Heaven descended—it has seemed fitting to you, gentlemen, that a citizen of that State should be also invited to deliver an address on this occasion.

Would, with all my heart, that a worthier one had been your choice. Too highly do I esteem the position in which you place me to feel aught but solemn distrustfulness and apprehension. And who indeed might not shrink from

such a theater when a Winthrop's eloquence still thrilled all hearts with Washington the theme?

Yet, in Virginia's name, I thank you for the honor done her. She deserved it. Times there are when even hardihood is virtue; and to such virtue alone do I lay claim in venturing to abide your choice to be her spokesman.

None more than her could I offend did I take opportunity to give her undue exaltation. Her foremost son does not belong to her alone, nor does she so claim him. His part and her part in the Revolution would have been as naught but for what was so gloriously done by his brothers in council and in arms and by her sister Colonies, who kept the mutual pledge of "Life, Fortune, and Sacred Honor." New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, your comrade of the old heroic days, salutes you once again in honor and affection; no laurel could be plucked too bright for Virginia's hand to lay upon your brows. And ye, our younger companions, who have sprung forth from the wilderness, the prairie, and the mountain, and now extend your empire to the far slopes where your teeming cities light their lamps by the setting sun—what grander tribute to the past, what happier assurance of the present, what more auspicious omens of the future could Heaven vouchsafe us than those which live and move and have their being in your presence?

What heart could contemplate the scene to-day—grandier than any of Old Rome, when her victor's car "climbed the Capitol"—and not leap into the exclamation, "I, too, am an American citizen!"

Yet may I not remind you that Washington was a Vir-

ginian before he became an American, to tell his countrymen that "the name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discrimination?" And may I not seek the fountain from which sprang a character so instinct with love of country?

The Puritans of England, who from the landing at Plymouth in 1620 to the uprising against Charles I in 1640, "turned to the New World," in the language of Canning, "to redress the balance of the Old," were quickly followed to America by a new stream of immigration, that has left as marked an impress upon our civilization between the South Atlantic and the Mississippi as the sons of the Pilgrims have made between the North Atlantic and the Lakes.

When Charles I was beheaded in 1649, and when his son, the Second Charles, was beaten at Worcester in 1651, multitudes of the King's men turned their faces also to the new land of hope, the very events which checked the immigration of the Puritans to New England giving impulse to the tide which moved the Cavaliers to the Old Dominion. Between 1650 and 1670 the Virginia Colony increased from fifteen thousand to forty thousand souls, and nearly one-half of this number thither came within the decade after the execution of the King and the establishment of Cromwell's commonwealth on the ruins of his throne.

Intense loyalists were these new Virginians, who "would defend the crown if it hung upon a bush"; and when indeed its substance vanished with the kingly head that wore it, these "faithful subjects of King and Church" held allegiance to its phantom and to the exiled claimant. But they were not inattentive to their liberties. And if Virginia was

the last of all the countries belonging to England to submit to Cromwell, yet she was also "the first state in the world composed of separate boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface, where representation was organized on the principle of universal suffrage." And in the very terms of surrender to the commonwealth it was stipulated that "the people of Virginia" should have all the liberties of the free-born people of England; should intrust their business, as formerly, to their own grand Assembly; and should remain unquestioned for past loyalty to the King.

As in New England the Pilgrim Colony grew apace, so in Virginia prospered that of the Cavaliers. With that love of landed estates which is an instinct of their race, they planted their homes in the fertile lowlands, building great houses upon broad acres, surrounded by ornamental grounds and gardens.

Mimic empires were these large estates, and a certain baronial air pervaded them. Trade with Europe loaded the tables of their proprietors with luxuries; rich plate adorned them. Household drudgeries were separated from the main dwelling. The family became a considerable government within itself—the mistress a rural queen, the master a local potentate, with his graziers, seedsmen, gardeners, brewers, butchers, and cooks around him. Many of the heads of families were traveled and accomplished men. The parishes were ministered to by the learned clergy of the Established Church. In the old College of William and Mary ere long were found the resources of classic education, and in the old capital town of Williamsburg the winter season shone resplendent with the entertainments of a refined society. Barges imported from England were resources of amusement

and means of friendly visitations along the water-courses, and heavy coaches, drawn by four or six horses, became their mode of travel.

“Born almost to the saddle and to the use of firearms, they were keen hunters, and when the chase was over they sat by groaning boards and drank confusion to the Frenchman and Spaniard abroad, and to Roundhead and Prelatist at home. When the lurking and predatory Indian became the object of pursuit, no speed of his could elude their fiery and gallantly mounted cavalry.”

This was the Virginia, these the Virginians, of the olden time. If even in retrospect their somewhat aristocratic manners touch the sensitive nerve of a democratic people, it may at least be said of them that nothing like despotism, nihilism, or dynamite was ever found amongst them; that they cherished above all things Honor and Courage, the virtues preservative of all other virtues, and that they nurtured men and leaders of men well fitted to cope with great forces, resolve great problems, and assert great principles. And it is at least true that their habits of thought and living never proved more dangerous to “life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness” than those of others who in later days corrupt the suffrage in the rank growth of cities; build up palaces and pile up millions amid crowded paupers; monopolize telegraphic and railway lines by corporate machinery; spurn all relations to politics, save to debauch its agencies for personal gain; and know no Goddess of Liberty and no Eagle of Country save in the images which satire itself has stamped on the Almighty Dollar.

In 1657, while yet “a Cromwell filled the Stuarts’ throne,” there came to Virginia with a party of Carlists who had

rebelled against him John Washington, of Yorkshire, England, who became a magistrate and member of the House of Burgesses, and distinguished himself in Indian warfare as the first colonel of his family on this side of the water. He was the nephew of that Sir Henry Washington who had led the forlorn hope of Prince Rupert at Bristol in 1643, and who, with a starving and mutinous garrison, had defended Worcester in 1649, answering all calls for surrender that he "awaited His Majesty's commands."

And his progenitors had for centuries, running back to the conquest, been men of mark and fair renown. Pride and modesty of individuality alike forbid the seeking from any source of a borrowed luster, and the Washingtons were never studious or pretentious of ancestral dignities. But "we are quotations from our ancestors," says the philosopher of Concord—and who will say that in the loyalty to conscience and to principle, and to the right of self-determination of what is principle, that the Washingtons have ever shown, whether as loyalist or rebel, was not the germ of that deathless devotion to Liberty and Country which soon discarded all ancient forms in the mighty stroke for independence?

Two traits of the Anglo-Saxon have been equally conspicuous—respect for authority—resistance to its abuse. Exacting service from the one, even the Second Charles learned somewhat from the other. When pressed by James to an extreme measure, he answered: "Brother, I am too old to start again on my travels." James, becoming King, forgot the hint, was soon on his travels, with the Revolution of 1688 in full blast, and William of Orange upon his throne. The Barons of Runnymede had, indeed, written in the Great

Charter that if the King violated any article thereof they should have the right to levy war against him until full satisfaction was made. And we know not which is most admirable, the wit or the wisdom of the English lawyer, John Selden, who, when asked by what law he justified the right of resistance, answered, "By the *custom* of England, which is part of the common law." Mountains and vales are natural correspondences.

A very *Tempé* had Virginia been, sheltering the loyal Cavaliers in their reverence for authority. The higher and manlier trait of the Anglo-Saxon was about to receive more memorable illustration, and she uprose, Olympus-like, in her resistance to its abuse.

And the Instrument of Providence to lead her people and their brethren, had he lived in the days when mythic lore invested human heroes with a God-like grace, would have been shrouded in the glory of Olympian Jove.

One hundred and fifty-three years ago, on the banks of the Potomac, in the county of Westmoreland, on a spot marked now only by a memorial stone, of the blood of the people whom I have faintly described, fourth in descent from the Col. John Washington whom I have named, there was born a son to Augustine and Mary Washington. And not many miles above his birthplace is the dwelling where he lived and now lies buried.

Borne upon the bosom of that river which here mirrors Capitol dome, and monumental shaft in its seaward flow, the river itself seems to reverse its current and bear us silently into the past. Scarce has the vista of the city faded from our gaze when we behold on the woodland height that swells above the waters—amidst walks and groves and gar-

dens—the white porch of that old colonial plantation home which has become the shrine of many a pilgrimage.

Contrasting it as there it stands to-day with the marble halls which we have left behind us, we realize the truth of Emerson: “The atmosphere of moral sentiment is a region of grandeur which reduces all material magnificence to toys, yet opens to every wretch that has reason the doors of the Universe.”

The quaint old wooden mansion, with the stately but simple old-fashioned mahogany furniture, real and ungar- nished; the swords and relics of campaigns and scenes familiar to every school-boy now; the key of the Bastille hanging in the hall incased in glass, calling to mind Tom Paine’s happy expression, “That the principles of the American Revolution opened the Bastille is not to be doubted, therefore the key comes to the right place;” the black velvet coat worn when the farewell address to the Army was made; the rooms all in nicety of preparation as if expectant of the coming host—we move among these memorials of days and men long vanished—we stand under the great trees and watch the solemn river, in its never- ceasing flow, we gaze upon the simple tomb whose silence is unbroken save by the low murmur of the waters or the wild bird’s note—and we are enveloped in an atmosphere of moral grandeur which no pageantry of moving men nor splendid pile can generate. Nightly on the plain of Mar- athon the Greeks have the tradition, that there may yet be heard the neighing of chargers and the rushing shadows of spectral war. In the spell that broods over the sacred groves of Vernon, Patriotism, Honor, Courage, Justice, Virtue, Truth—seem bodied forth—the only imperishable realities of man’s being.

There emerges from the shades the figure of a youth over whose cradle had hovered no star of destiny, nor dandled a royal crown—an ingenuous youth, and one who in his early days gave auguries of great powers; the boy whose strong arm could fling a stone across the Rappahannock; whose strong will could tame the most fiery horse; whose just spirit made him the umpire of his fellows; whose obedient heart bowed to a mother's yearning for her son and laid down the Midshipman's warrant in the British Navy which answered his first ambitious dream; the student transcribing mathematical problems, accounts, and business forms, or listening to the soldiers and seamen of vessels in the river as they tell of "hair breadth 'scapes by flood and field"; the early moralist in his thirteenth year compiling matured "Rules for behavior and conversation"; the surveyor of sixteen, exploring the wilderness for Lord Fairfax, sleeping on the ground, climbing mountains, swimming rivers, killing and cooking his own game, noting in his diary soils, minerals, and locations, and making maps which are models of nice and accurate draughtsmanship; the incipient soldier studying tactics under Adjutant Muse, and taking lessons in broadsword fence from the old soldier of fortune, Jacob Van Braam; the Major and Adjutant-General of the Virginia frontier forces at nineteen—we seem to see him yet as here he stood, a model of manly beauty in his youthful prime—a man in all that makes a man ere manhood's years have been fulfilled—standing on the threshold of a grand career, "hearing his days before him and the trumpet of his life."

The scene changes. Out into the world of stern adventure he passes, taking as naturally to the field and the frontier as the eagle to the air. At the age of twenty-one he is

riding from Williamsburg to the French post at Venango, in western Pennsylvania, on a mission for Governor Dinwiddie, which requires "courage to cope with savages and sagacity to negotiate with white men"—on that mission which Edward Everett recognizes as "the first movement of a military nature which resulted in the establishment of American Independence." At twenty-two he has fleshed his maiden sword, has heard the bullets whistle, and found "something charming in the sound"; and soon he is colonel of the Virginia regiment in the unfortunate affair at Fort Necessity, and is compelled to retreat after losing a sixth of his command. He quits the service on a point of military etiquette and honor, but at twenty-three he reappears as Volunteer Aide by the side of Braddock in the ill-starred expedition against Fort DuQuesne, and is the only mounted officer unscathed in the disaster, escaping with four bullets through his garments, and after having two horses shot under him.

The prophetic eye of Samuel Davies has now pointed him out as "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I can but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country"; and soon the prophecy is fulfilled. The same year he is in command of the Virginia frontier forces. Arduous conflicts of varied fortunes are ere long ended, and on the 25th of November, 1759, he marches into the reduced fortress of Fort DuQuesne—where Pittsburgh now stands, and the Titans of Industry wage the eternal war of Toil—marches in with the advanced guard of his troops, and plants the British flag over its smoking ruins.

That self-same year Wolfe, another young and brilliant

soldier of Britain, has scaled and triumphed on the Heights of Abraham—his flame of valor quenched as it lit the blaze of victory; Canada surrenders; the seven years' war is done; the French power in America is broken, and the vast region west of the Alleghanies, from the lakes to the Ohio, embracing its valley and tributary streams, is under the scepter of King George. America has been made whole to the English-speaking race, to become in time the greater Britain.

Thus, building wiser than he knew, Washington had taken no small part in cherishing the seed of a nascent nation.

Mount Vernon welcomes back the soldier of twenty-seven, who has become a name. Domestic felicity spreads its charms around him with the "agreeable partner" whom he has taken to his bosom, and he dreams of "more happiness than he has experienced in the wide and bustling world."

Already, ere his sword had found its scabbard, the people of Frederick county had made him their member of the House of Burgesses. And the quiet years roll by as the planter, merchant, and representative superintends his plantation, ships his crops, posts his books, keeps his diary, chases the fox for amusement, or rides over to Annapolis and leads the dance at the Maryland capital—alternating between these private pursuits and serving his people as member of the Legislature and justice of the county court.

But ere long this happy life is broken. The air is electric with the currents of revolution. England has launched forth on the fatal policy of taxing her colonies without their consent. The spirit of liberty and resistance is aroused. He is loath to part with the Mother Land, which he still calls "home." But she turns a deaf ear to reason. The first Colonial Congress is called. He is a delegate, and rides to

Philadelphia with Henry and Pendleton. The blow at Lexington is struck. The people rush to arms. The sons of the Cavaliers spring to the side of the sons of the Pilgrims. "Unhappy it is," he says, "that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy plains of America are to be either drenched in blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But how can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?" He becomes commander-in-chief of the American forces. After seven years' war he is the deliverer of his country. The old confederation passes away. The Constitution is established. He is twice chosen President, and will not consent to longer serve.

Once again Mount Vernon's grateful shades receive him, and there—the world-crowned Hero now—becomes again the simple citizen, wishing for his fellow-men "to see the whole world in peace and its inhabitants one band of brothers, striving who could contribute most to the happiness of mankind"—without a wish for himself, but "to live and die an honest man on his farm." A speck of war spots the sky. John Adams, now President, calls him forth as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief to lead America once more. But the cloud vanishes. Peace reigns. The lark sings at Heaven's gate in the fair morn of the new nation. Serene, contented, yet in the strength of manhood, though on the verge of three-score years and ten, he looks forth—the quiet farmer from his pleasant fields, the loving patriarch from the bowers of home—looks forth and sees the work of his hands established in a free and happy people. Suddenly comes the mortal stroke with severe cold. The agony is soon over. He feels his own dying pulse—the hand relaxes—he murmurs, "It is well;" and Washington

is no more. While yet Time had crumbled never a stone nor dimmed the lustrous surface, prone to earth the mighty column fell.

Washington, the friend of Liberty, is no more!

The solemn cry filled the universe. Amidst the tears of his People, the bowed heads of kings, and the lamentations of the nations, they laid him there to rest upon the banks of the river whose murmurs were his boyhood's music—that river which, rising in mountain fastnesses amongst the grandest works of nature and reflecting in its course the proudest works of man, is a symbol of his history, which in its ceaseless and ever-widening flow is a symbol of his eternal fame.

No sum could now be made of Washington's character that did not exhaust language of its tributes and repeat virtue by all her names. No sum could be made of his achievements that did not unfold the history of his country and its institutions—the history of his age and its progress—the history of man and his destiny to be free. But, whether character or achievement be regarded, the riches before us only expose the poverty of praise. So clear was he in his great office that no ideal of the Leader or Ruler can be formed that does not shrink by the side of the reality. And so has he impressed himself upon the minds of men, that no man can justly aspire to be the chief of a great free people who does not adopt his principles and emulate his example. We look with amazement on such eccentric characters as Alexander, Cæsar, Cromwell, Frederick, and Napoleon; but when the serene face of Washington rises before us mankind instinctively exclaims, "This is the Man for the Nations to trust and reverence and for heroes and rulers to copy."

Drawing his sword from patriotic impulse, without ambition and without malice, he wielded it without vindictiveness and sheathed it without reproach. All that humanity could conceive he did to suppress the cruelties of war and soothe its sorrows. He never struck a coward's blow. To him age, infancy, and helplessness were ever sacred. He tolerated no extremity unless to curb the excesses of his enemy, and he never poisoned the sting of defeat by the exultation of the conqueror.

Peace he welcomed as the Heaven-sent herald of Friendship; and no country has given him greater honor than that which he defeated; for England has been glad to claim him as the scion of her blood, and proud, like our sister American States, to divide with Virginia the honor of producing him.

Fascinated by the perfection of the man, we are loath to break the mirror of admiration into the fragments of analysis. But, lo! as we attempt it, every fragment becomes the miniature of such sublimity and beauty, that the destroying hand can only multiply the forms of immortality.

Grand and manifold as were its phases, there is yet no difficulty in understanding the character of Washington. He was no Veiled Prophet. He never acted a part. Simple, natural, and unaffected, his life lies before us, a fair and open manuscript. He disdained the arts which wrap power in mystery in order to magnify it. He practiced the profound diplomacy of truthful speech, the consummate tact of direct attention. Looking ever to the All-Wise Disposer of events, he relied on that Providence which helps men by giving them high hearts and hopes to help themselves with the means which their Creator has put at their service. There was no infirmity in his conduct over which Charity

must fling its veil; no taint of selfishness from which Purity averts her gaze; no dark recess of intrigue that must be lit up with colored panegyric; no subterranean passage to be trod in trembling lest there be stirred the ghost of a buried crime.

A true son of nature was George Washington, of nature in her brightest intelligence and noblest mold; and difficulty, if such there be in comprehending him, is only that of reviewing from a single standpoint the vast procession of those civil and military achievements which filled nearly half-a-century of his life, and in realizing the magnitude of those qualities which were requisite to their performance—the difficulty of fashioning in our minds a pedestal broad enough to bear the towering figure, whose greatness is diminished by nothing but the perfection of its proportions. If his exterior—in calm, grave, and resolute repose—ever impressed the casual observer as austere and cold, it was only because he did not reflect that no great heart like his could have lived unbroken unless bound by iron nerves in an iron frame. The Commander of Armies, the Chief of a People, the Hope of Nations could not wear his heart upon his sleeve; and yet his sternest will could not conceal its high and warm pulsations. Under the enemy's guns at Boston he did not forget to instruct his agent to administer generously of charity to his needy neighbors at home. The sufferings of women and children, thrown adrift by war, and of his bleeding comrades, pierced his soul. And the moist eye and trembling voice with which he bade farewell to his veterans bespoke the underlying tenderness of his nature, even as the storm-wind makes music in its under-tones.

Disinterested Patriot, he would receive no pay for his mil-

itary services. Refusing gifts, he was glad to guide the benefaction of a grateful State to educate the children of his fallen braves in the institution at Lexington which yet bears his name. Without any of the blemishes that mark the tyrant, he appealed so loftily to the virtuous elements in man that he almost created the qualities of which his country needed the exercise; and yet he was so magnanimous and forbearing to the weaknesses of others, that he often obliterated the vices of which he feared the consequence. But his virtue was more than this. It was of that daring, intrepid kind that, seizing principle with a giant's grasp, assumes responsibility at any hazard, suffers sacrifice without pretense of martyrdom, bears calumny without reply, imposes superior will and understanding on all around it, capitulates to no unworthy triumph, but must carry all things at the point of clear and blameless conscience. Scorning all manner of meanness and cowardice, his bursts of wrath at their exhibition heighten our admiration for those noble passions which were kindled by the inspirations and exigencies of virtue.

Invested with the powers of a Dictator, the country bestowing them felt no distrust of his integrity; he, receiving them, gave assurance that, as the sword was the last resort of Liberty, so it should be the first thing laid aside when Liberty was won. And keeping the faith in all things, he left mankind bewildered with the splendid problem whether to admire him most for what he was or what he would not be. Over and above all his virtues was the matchless manhood of personal honor, to which Confidence gave in safety the key of every treasure; on which Temptation dared not smile; on which Suspicion never cast a frown. And why

prolong the catalogue? "If you are presented with medals of Cæsar, of Trojan, or Alexander, on examining their features you are still led to ask, what was their stature and the forms of their persons? but if you discover in a heap of ruins the head or the limb of an antique Apollo, be not curious about the other parts, but rest assured they were all conformable to those of a God."

Great as a Commander, it may not be said of him as of Marlborough, that "he never formed the plan of a campaign that he did not execute; never besieged a city that he did not take; never fought a battle that he did not gain." But it can be said of him that, at the head of raw volunteers, hungry to the edge of famine, ragged almost to nakedness, whose muniments of war were a burlesque of its necessities, he defeated the trained bands and veteran generals of Europe; and that, when he had already earned the name of the American Fabius, destined to save a nation by delay, he suddenly displayed the daring of a Marcellus. It may be said that he was the first general to employ large bodies of light infantry as skirmishers, catching the idea from his Indian warfare, and so developing it that it was copied by the Great Frederick of Prussia, and ere long perfected into the system now almost universal. It can be said of him, as testified by John Adams, that "it required more serenity of temper, a deeper understanding, and more courage than fell to the lot of Marlborough, to ride on the whirlwind" of such tempestuous times as Washington dealt with, and that he did "ride on the whirlwind and direct the storm." It can be said that he was tried in a crucible to which Marlborough was never subjected—adversity, defeat, depression of fortune bordering on despair. The first battle of his youth ended in capitula-

lation. The first general engagement of the revolution at Long Island opened a succession of disasters and retreats. But with the energy that remolds broken opportunities into greater ones, with the firmness of mind that can not be unlocked by trifles but which when unlocked displays a cabinet of fortitude, he wrenched victory from stubborn fortune, compelling the reluctant oracle to exclaim as to Alexander, "My son, thou art invincible." So did he weave the net of war by land and sea, that at the very moment when an elated adversary was about to strike the final blow for his country's fall, he surrounded him by swift and far-reaching combinations, and twined the lilies of France with the Stars and Stripes of America over the ramparts of Yorktown. And if success be made the test of merit, let it be remembered that he conducted the greatest military and civil enterprises of his age, and left no room for fancy to divine greater perfection of accomplishment.

Great in action as by the council board, the finest horseman and knightliest figure of his time, he seemed designed by nature to lead in those bold strokes which needs must come when the battle lies with a single man—those critical moments of the campaign or the strife when, if the mind hesitates or a nerve flinches, all is lost. We can never forget the passage of the Delaware that black December night, amidst shrieking winds and great upheaving blocks of ice which would have petrified a leader of less hardy mold, and then the fell swoop at Trenton. We behold him as when at Monmouth he turns back the retreating lines, and galloping his white charger along the ranks until he falls, leaps on his Arabian bay, and shouts to his men: "Stand fast, my boys, the Southern troops are coming to support you!" And we

hear Lafayette exclaim, "Never did I behold so superb a man!" We see him again at Princeton dashing through a storm of shot to rally the wavering troops; he reins his horse between the contending lines, and cries: "Will you leave your general to the foe?" then bolts into the thickest fray. Colonel Fitzgerald, his aid, drops his reins and pulls his hat down over his eyes that he may not see his chieftain fall, when, through the smoke he reappears waving his hat, cheering on his men, and shouting: "Away, dear Colonel, and bring up the troops; the day is ours." "Cœur de Lion" might have doffed his plume to such a chief—for a great knight was he, who met his foes full tilt in the shock of battle and hurled them down with an arm whose sword flamed with righteous indignation.

As children pore over the pictures in their books ere they can read the words annexed to them so we linger with tingling blood by such inspiring scenes, while little do we reckon of those dark hours when the aching head pondered the problems of a country's fate. And yet there is a greater theater in which Washington appears, although not so often has its curtain been uplifted.

For it was as a statesman that Washington was greatest. Not in the sense that Hamilton and Jefferson, Adams and Madison were statesmen; but in a larger sense. Men may marshal armies who can not drill divisions. Men may marshal nations in storm and travail who have not the accomplishments of their cabinet ministers. Not so versed as they was he in the details of political science. And yet as he studied tactics when he anticipated war, so he studied politics when he foresaw his civil *role* approaching, reading the history and examining the principles of ancient and modern

confederacies, and making notes of their virtues, defects, and methods of operation.

His pen did not possess the facile play and classic grace of their pens, but his vigorous eloquence had the clear ring of our mother tongue. I will not say that he was so astute, so quick, so inventive as the one or another of them—that his mind was characterized by the vivacity of wit, the rich colorings of fancy, or daring flights of imagination. But with him thought and action like well-trained coursers kept abreast in the chariot race, guided by an eye that never quailed, reined by a hand that never trembled. He had a more infallible discrimination of circumstances and men than any of his contemporaries. He weighed facts in a juster scale, with larger equity, and firmer equanimity. He best applied to them the lessons of experience. With greater ascendancy of character he held men to their appointed tasks; with more inspiring virtue he commanded more implicit confidence. He bore a truer divining-rod, and through a wilderness of contention he alone was the unerring Pathfinder of the People.

There can, indeed, be no right conception of Washington that does not accord him a great and extraordinary genius. I will not say he could have produced a play of Shakespeare or a poem of Milton, handled with Kant the tangled skein of metaphysics, probed the secrecies of mind and matter with Bacon, constructed a railroad or an engine like Stephenson, wooed the electric spark from Heaven to earth with Franklin, or walked with Newton the pathways of the spheres. But if his genius were of a different order, it was of as rare and high an order. It dealt with man in the concrete—with his vast concerns of business stretching over a

continent and projected into the ages—with his seething passions; with his marvellous exertions of mind, body, and spirit to be free. He knew the materials he dealt with by intuitive perception of the heart of man—by experience and observation of his aspirations and his powers—by reflection upon his complex relations, rights, and duties as a social being. He knew just where, between men and States, to erect the monumental mark to divide just reverence for authority from just resistance to its abuse. A poet of social facts, he interpreted by his deeds the harmonies of justice.

Practical yet exalted, not stumbling in the pit as he gazed upon the stars, he would “put no man in any office of consequence whose political tenets were opposed to the measures which the General Government were pursuing.” Yet he himself, by the Kingliness of his nature, could act independently of party, return the confidence and affections, use the brains and have thrust upon him the unanimous suffrage of all parties—walking the dizzy heights of power in the perfect balance of every faculty, and surviving in that rarefied atmosphere which lesser frames could only breathe to perish.

Brilliant I will not call him, if the brightness of the rippling river exceed the solemn glory of old Ocean. Brilliant I will not call him, if darkness must be visible in order to display the light; for he had none of that rocket-like brilliancy which flames in instant corruscation across the black brow of night—and then is not. But if a steady, unflickering flame, slow rising to its lofty sphere, high hung in the Heavens of Contemplation, dispensing far and wide its rays, revealing all things on which it shines in due proportions and large relations, making Right, Duty, and Destiny so plain

that in the vision we are scarce conscious of the light—if this be brilliancy—then the genius of Washington was as full-orbed and luminous as the god of day in his zenith.

This is genius in rarest manifestation; and, as life is greater than any theory of living, in so much does he who points the path of Destiny and brings great things to pass, exceed the mere dreamer of great dreams.

The work of Washington filled the rounded measure of his splendid faculties. Grandly did he illustrate the Anglo-Saxon trait of just resistance to the abuse of power—standing in front of his soldier-husbandmen on the fields of Boston, and telling the general of earth's greatest Empire, who stigmatized them as "rebels" and threatened them "with the punishment of the cord," that "he could conceive of no rank more honorable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free People, the original and purest fountain of all power," and that, "far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas would comprehend and respect it." Victoriously did he vindicate the principle of the Declaration of Independence, that to secure the inalienable rights of man "governments are instituted amongst men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." By these signs he conquered. And had his career ended here none other would have surpassed—whose could have equaled it? But where the fame of so

many successful warriors has found conclusion, or gone beyond only to be tarnished, his took new flight upward.

If I might venture to discriminate, I would say that it was in the conflicts of opinion that succeeded the Revolution that the greatness of Washington most displayed itself; for it was then that peril thickened in most subtle forms; that rival passions burned in intestine flames; that crises came, demanding wider-reaching and more constructive faculties than may be exhibited in war, and higher heroism than may be avouched in battle.

And it was then that the soldier uplifted the visor of his helmet and disclosed the countenance of the sage, and passing from the fields of martial fame to the heights of civil achievement, still more resplendent, became the world-wide statesman, like Venus in her transit, sinking the light of his past exploits only in the sun of a new-found glory.

First to perceive, and swift to point out, the defects in the Articles of Confederation, they became manifest to all long before victory crowned the warfare conducted under them. Charged by them with the public defense, Congress could not put a soldier in the field; and charged with defraying expenses, it could not levy a dollar of imposts or taxes. It could, indeed, borrow money with the assent of nine States of the thirteen, but what mockery of finance was that, when the borrower could not command any resource of payment.

The States had indeed put but a scepter of straw in the legislative hand of the Confederation—what wonder that it soon wore a crown of thorns! The paper currency ere long dissolved to nothingness; for four days the Army was without food, and whole regiments drifted from the ranks of our hard-pressed defenders. "I see," said Washington,

“one head gradually changing into thirteen; I see one army gradually branching into thirteen, which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power, are considering themselves as dependent upon their respective States.” While yet his sword could not slumber, his busy pen was warning the statesmen of the country that unless Congress were invested with adequate powers, or should assume them as matter of right, we should become but thirteen States, pursuing local interests, until annihilated in a general crash—the cause would be lost—and the fable of the bundle of sticks applied to us.

In rapid succession his notes of alarm and invocations for aid to Union followed each other to the leading men of the States, North and South. Turning to his own State, and appealing to George Mason, “Where,” he exclaimed, “where are our men of abilities? Why do they not come forth and save the country?” He compared the affairs of this great continent to the mechanism of a clock, of which each State was putting its own small part in order, but neglecting the great wheel, or spring, which was to put the whole in motion. He summoned Jefferson, Wythe, and Pendleton to his assistance, telling them that the present temper of the States was friendly to lasting union, that the moment should be improved and might never return, and that “after gloriously and successfully contending against the usurpation of Britain we may fall a prey to our own folly and disputes.”

How keen the prophet's ken, that through the smoke of war discerned the coming evil; how diligent the Patriot's hand, that amidst awful responsibilities reached futureward to avert it!

By almost a miracle the weak Confederation, "a barrel without a hoop," was held together perforce of outside pressure; and soon America was free.

But not yet had beaten Britain concluded peace—not yet had dried the blood of Victory's field ere "follies and disputes" confounded all things with their Babel tongues and intoxicated Liberty gave loose to license. An unpaid Army with unsheathed swords clamored around a poverty-stricken and helpless Congress. And grown at last impatient even with their chief, officers high in rank plotted insurrection and circulated an anonymous address, urging it "to appeal from the justice to the fears of government, and suspect the man who would advise to longer forbearance." Anarchy was about to wreck the Arch of Triumph—poor, exhausted, bleeding, weeping America lay in agony upon her bed of laurels.

Not a moment did Washington hesitate. He convened his officers, and going before them he read them an address, which, for home-thrust argument, magnanimous temper, and the eloquence of persuasion which leaves nothing to be added, is not exceeded by the noblest utterances of Greek or Roman. A nobler than Coriolanus was before them, who needed no mother's or wife's reproachful tears to turn the threatening steel from the gates of Rome. Pausing, as he read his speech, he put on his spectacles and said: "I have grown gray in your service, and now find myself growing blind." This unaffected touch of nature completed the master's spell. The late fomenters of insurrection gathered to their chief with words of veneration—the storm went by—and, says Curtis in his *History of the Constitution*, "Had the Commander-in-Chief been other than Washing-

ton, the land would have been deluged with the blood of civil war."

But not yet was Washington's work accomplished. Peace dawned upon the weary land, and parting with his soldiers, he pleaded with them for union. "Happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced," he said, "who have contributed anything in erecting this stupendous fabric of freedom and empire; who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions." But still the foundations of the stupendous fabric trembled, and no cement held its stones together. It was then, with that thickening peril, Washington rose to his highest stature. Without civil station to call forth his utterance, impelled by the intrepid impulse of a soul that could not see the hope of a nation perish without leaping into the stream to save it, he addressed the whole People of America in a Circular to the Governors of the States: "Convinced of the importance of the crisis, silence in me," he said, "would be a crime. I will, therefore, speak the language of freedom and sincerity." He set forth the need of union in a strain that touched the quick of sensibility; he held up the citizens of America as sole lords of a vast tract of continent; he portrayed the fair opportunity for political happiness with which Heaven had crowned them; he pointed out the blessings that would attend their collective wisdom; that in their fate was involved that of unborn millions; that mutual concessions and sacrifices must be made; and that supreme power must be lodged somewhere to regulate and govern the general concerns of the Confederate Republic, without which the union would

not be of long duration. And he urged that happiness would be ours if we seized the occasion and made it our own.

In this, one of the very greatest acts of Washington, was revealed the heart of the man, the spirit of the hero, the wisdom of the sage—I might almost say the sacred inspiration of the prophet.

But still the wing of the eagle drooped; the gathering storms baffled his sunward flight. Even with Washington in the van, the column wavered and halted—States straggling to the rear that had hitherto been foremost for permanent Union, under an efficacious Constitution. And while three years rolled by amidst the jargon of sectional and local contentions, “the half-starved government,” as Washington depicted it, “limped along on crutches, tottering at every step.” And while monarchical Europe with saturnine face declared that the American hope of Union was the wild and visionary notion of romance, and predicted that we would be to the end of time a disunited people, suspicious and distrustful of each other, divided and subdivided into petty commonwealths and principalities, lo! the very earth yawned under the feet of America, and in that very region whence had come forth a glorious band of orators, statesmen, and soldiers to plead the cause and fight the battles of Independence—lo! the volcanic fires of Rebellion burst forth upon the heads of the faithful, and the militia were leveling the guns of the Revolution against the breasts of their brethren. “What, gracious God! is man?” Washington exclaimed: “It was but the other day that we were shedding our blood to obtain the Constitutions under which we live, and now we are unsheathing our swords to overturn them.”

But see! there is a ray of hope, Maryland and Virginia had already entered into a commercial treaty for regulating the navigation of the rivers and great bay in which they had common interests, and Washington had been one of the Commissioners in its negotiation. And now, at the suggestion of Maryland, Virginia had called on all the States to meet in convention at Annapolis, to adopt commercial regulations for the whole country. Could this foundation be laid, the eyes of the Nation-builders foresaw that the permanent structure would ere long rise upon it. But when the day of meeting came, no State north of New York or south of Virginia was represented; and in their helplessness those assembled could only recommend a Constitutional Convention, to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787, to provide for the exigencies of the situation.

And still thick clouds and darkness rested on the land, and there lowered upon its hopes a night as black as that upon the freezing Delaware; but through its gloom the dauntless leader was still marching on to the consummation of his colossal work, with a hope that never died; with a courage that never faltered; with a wisdom that never yielded that "all is vanity."

It was not permitted the Roman to despair of the Republic, nor did he—our Chieftain. "It will all come right at last," he said. It did. And now let the historian, Bancroft, speak: "From this state of despair the country was lifted by Madison and Virginia." Again he says: "We come now to a week more glorious for Virginia beyond any in her annals, or in the history of any Republic that had ever before existed."

It was that week in which Madison, "giving effect to his

own long-cherished wishes, and still earlier wishes of Washington," addressing, as it were, the whole country, and marshaling all the States, warned them "that the crisis had arrived at which the People of America are to decide the solemn question, whether they would, by wise and magnanimous efforts reap the fruits of Independence and of Union, or whether by giving way to unmanly jealousies and prejudices, or to partial and transitory interests, they would renounce the blessings prepared for them by the Revolution," and conjuring them "to concur in such further concessions and provisions as may be necessary to secure the objects for which that Government was instituted, and make the United States as happy in peace as they had been glorious in war."

In such manner, my countrymen, Virginia, adopting the words of Madison, and moved by the constant spirit of Washington, joined in convoking that Constitutional Convention, in which he headed her delegation, and over which he presided, and whose deliberations resulted in the formation and adoption of that instrument which the Premier of Great Britain pronounces "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

In such manner the State which gave birth to the Father of his Country, following his guiding genius to the Union, as it had followed his sword through the battles of Independence, placed herself at the head of the wavering column.

In such manner America heard and hearkened to the voice of her chief; and now closing ranks, and moving with re-animated step, the Thirteen Commonwealths wheeled and faced to the front, on the line of the Union, under the sacred ensign of the Constitution.

Thus at last was the crowning work of Washington accomplished. Out of the tempests of war, and the tumults of civil commotion, the ages bore their fruit, the long yearning of humanity was answered. "Rome to America" is the eloquent inscription on one stone contributed to yon colossal shaft—taken from the ancient Temple of Peace that once stood hard by the Palace of the Cæsars. Uprisen from the sea of Revolution, fabricated from the ruins of the battered Bastiles, and dismantled palaces of unhallowed power, stood forth now the Republic of Republics, the Nation of Nations, the Constitution of Constitutions, to which all lands and times and tongues had contributed of their wisdom. And the Priestess of Liberty was in her Holy Temple.

When Salamis had been fought and Greece again kept free, each of the victorious generals voted himself to be first in honor; but all agreed that Themistocles was second. When the most memorable struggle for the rights of human nature, of which time holds record, was thus happily concluded in the muniment of their preservation, whoever else was second, unanimous acclaim declared that Washington was first. Nor in that struggle alone does he stand foremost. In the name of the people of the United States—their President, their Senators, their Representatives, and their Judges, do crown to-day, with the grandest crown that veneration has ever lifted to the brow of glory, Him whom Virginia gave to America—whom America has given to the world and to the ages—and whom mankind with universal suffrage has proclaimed the foremost of the founders of empire in the first degree of greatness; whom Liberty herself has anointed as the first citizen in the great republic of Humanity.

Encompassed by the inviolate seas stands to-day the Amer-

ican Republic which he founded—a freer Greater Britain—uplifted above the powers and principalities of the earth, even as his monument is uplifted over roof and dome and spire of the multitudinous city.

Long live the Republic of Washington! Respected by mankind, beloved of all its sons, long may it be the asylum of the poor and oppressed of all lands and religions—long may it be the citadel of that Liberty which writes beneath the Eagle's folded wings, "We will sell to no man, we will deny to no man, Right and Justice."

Long live the United States of America! Filled with the free, magnanimous spirit, crowned by the wisdom, blessed by the moderation, hovered over by the guardian angel of Washington's example; may they be ever worthy in all things to be defended by the blood of the brave who know the rights of man and shrink not from their assertion—may they be each a column, and altogether, under the Constitution, a perpetual Temple of Peace, unshadowed by a Cæsar's palace; at whose altar may freely commune all who seek the union of Liberty and Brotherhood.

Long live our Country! Oh, long through the undying ages may it stand, far removed in fact as in space from the Old World's feuds and follies—alone in its grandeur and its glory—itself the immortal monument of Him whom Providence commissioned to teach man the power of Truth, and to prove to the nations that their Redeemer liveth.

The delivery of the above was repeatedly interrupted with loud applause.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE. In accordance with the programme, Benediction will now be pronounced by

Rev. Dr. Lindsay, Chaplain of the House of Representatives.

The Rev. John S. Lindsay, D. D., then pronounced this benediction:

The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be among you and remain with you always. *Amen.*

At 5 o'clock p. m. the President of the United States, the Supreme Court, the Senate, and the invited guests retired from the Hall.

8 W M

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BROOKLINE, MASS., *June 24, 1884.*

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,

Chairman, &c. :

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 19th instant, addressed to me at Boston, has reached me at my summer home, and I have not found it easy to reply. It brings me face to face with an appointment which I hardly know how either to accept or to decline.

I am most highly honored by the resolution of Congress, naming me as the orator on the completion of the Monument to Washington, and I thank you sincerely for the friendly and flattering terms in which you have communicated the resolution.

Nothing would afford me greater gratification, in these closing years of my life, than to perform the distinguished service thus assigned to me, and I wish I could feel emboldened to accept the appointment without reserve. But I cannot be wholly unmindful of the disabilities and uncertainties of advanced age.

Should life and health be spared me, I shall not fail to be with you on the 22d of February next, to unite in the congratulations of the hour and to do homage to the memory of the Father of his Country. Nor can I decline to give some expression to the remembrances and emotions awakened by the completion of a monument, of which I was privileged to speak at length at the laying of its corner-stone so many years ago. But I dare not render myself responsible for a long, elaborate oration. The effort would exceed my strength, and in all sincerity, but with great reluctance, I must beg your Commission to excuse me from the attempt.

A brief commemorative address is the most that I can promise.

Meantime the Commission must feel at perfect liberty to leave me altogether out of their programme, and to make such arrangements as may seem to them most likely to secure the success of the occasion. I desire them only to understand, that if, within the limitations which my age enjoins, I can lend any assistance or interest to the proposed ceremonial, I shall take pride and pleasure in placing myself at their disposal.

Believe me, dear Senator Sherman, with great respect and regard,
Your friend and servant,

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

90 MARLBOROUGH STREET, BOSTON,

February 13, 1885.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman, &c.:

DEAR SENATOR SHERMAN: It is with deep regret that I find myself compelled to abandon all further hope of being at the Dedication of the Washington Monument on the 21st instant. I have been looking forward to the possibility of being able to run on at the last moment, and to pronounce a few sentences of my oration before handing it to Governor Long, who has so kindly consented to read it. But my recovery from dangerous illness has been slower than I anticipated, and my physician concurs with my family in forbidding me from any attempt to leave home at present.

I need not assure the Commissioners how great a disappointment it is to me to be deprived of the privilege of being present on this most interesting occasion. I am sure of their sympathy without asking for it.

Please present my respectful apologies to your associates, and believe me,

With great regard, very faithfully, yours,

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

P. S.—This is the first letter I have attempted to write with my own pen since my illness.

NEW YORK CITY, *January 27, 1885.*

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman, &c.:

DEAR SIR: I regret very much that my physical condition prevents my accepting the invitation of the Commissioners appointed by Congress to provide suitable ceremonies for the Dedication of the Washington Monument, to be present to witness the same, on the 21st of February next. My throat still requires the attention of the physician, daily, though I am encouraged to believe that it is improving.

Very respectfully, yours,

U. S. GRANT.

FREMONT, OHIO, *February 16, 1885.*

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman:

MY DEAR SIR: I regret that it is not practicable for me to accept the invitation to attend the ceremonies at the Dedication of the Washington Monument, on the 21st instant.

When the work on the Monument was resumed under the act of 1876, as a member of the Commission in charge of it I was much interested in the plan for strengthening the foundation recommended by the engineer, Colonel Casey, and have ever since watched with solicitude the progress of the structure towards completion. It is a pleasure to have an opportunity to congratulate Colonel Casey and his associates, that after so many anxious years of devotion to their task they are now gladdened by the successful termination of their skillful and hazardous labors.

The fame of Washington needs no monument. No work of human hands can adequately illustrate his character and services.

His countrymen, however, wishing to manifest their admiration and gratitude, a hundred years ago decided to build a monument in honor of his deeds and virtues. Having undertaken the work, they could not neglect it or allow it to fail. The friends of liberty and good government in all other lands will unite with patriotic Americans in rejoicing that a monument so fitting and majestic has now been erected in memory of Washington.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

ALBANY, *January 31, 1885.*

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman, &c.:

DEAR SIR: I regret very much that it will be impossible for me to be present at the ceremonies attending the Dedication of the Washington Monument, on the 21st of February.

Many engagements and occupations, which you can well imagine admit of no postponement, oblige me to forego the pleasure of taking part in the interesting exercises.

Yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

BANGOR, *January 29, 1885.*

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman of Commission, &c.:

I have been honored in the receipt of the invitation of the Commission in relation to the Dedication of the Washington Monument, to be present at the same on the 21st day of February. I have also received your invitation for the same purpose, in which you express the hope that I will accept the invitation tendered to me.

In view of the importance of the event and its national character, I do not feel at liberty to decline your invitation, and I cordially accept the same.

I will be present at the Dedication, unless prevented by some cause not now known or anticipated.

I have the honor to be, very truly, yours,

HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

MALONE, N. Y., *January 28, 1885.*

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,
Chairman, &c.:

SIR: I am in receipt, through you as its chairman, of the invitation of the "Committee appointed by Congress to provide suitable ceremonies for the Dedication of the Washington Monument," to be present at those ceremonies.

I greatly regret to say that the condition of my health will deprive me of the pleasure of being present on that occasion.

Very respectfully, yours,

W. A. WHEELER.

912 GARRISON AVENUE, SAINT LOUIS, MO.,

January 28, 1885.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,

Chairman of Committee, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge the compliment of your invitation to share in the ceremonial of the Dedication of the Washington Monument on the 21st of February next, and to express regret that I cannot be present.

With great respect,

W. T. SHERMAN,

General.

OAK KNOLL, DANVERS, MASS.,

Second Month 8, 1885.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN,

Chairman of Committee:

DEAR FRIEND: The state of my health will scarcely permit me to avail myself of the invitation of the Commission to attend the ceremonies of the Dedication of the Washington Monument.

In common with my fellow-citizens I rejoice at the successful completion of this majestic testimonial of the reverence and affection which the people of the United States, irrespective of party, section, or race, cherish for the Father of his Country. Grand, however, and imposing as that testimonial may seem, it is, after all, but an inadequate outward representation of that mightier monument, unseen and immeasurable, builded of the living stones of a nation's love and gratitude, the hearts of forty millions of people. But the world has not outlived its need of picture-writing and symbolism, and the great object-lesson of the Washington Monument will doubtless prove a large factor in the moral and political education of present and future generations. Let us hope that it will be a warning as well

as a benediction; and that while its sun-lit altitude may fitly symbolize the truth that "righteousness exalteth a nation," its shadow falling on the dome of the Capitol may be a daily reminder that "sin is a reproach to any people." Surely it will not have been reared in vain if, on the day of its dedication, its mighty shaft shall serve to lift heavenward the voice of a united people that the principles for which the fathers toiled and suffered shall be maintained inviolate by their children.

With sincere respect, I am thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

