

ernment office at 5 p. m. Hundreds of them do not know what hard work is. They work in good, comfortable offices, under unusually pleasant surroundings, receive good salaries, paid on the dot twice a month in cash; many drive their own automobiles, wear the best clothes tailored in Washington, are regular attendants on the best theaters, and altogether live in an atmosphere of wild extravagance. Each year they have 30 days' leave on full pay, 52 Sundays off, are allowed as many as 30 days' sick leave on doctor's certificate with full pay, are allowed every legal holiday and 12 half holidays on the Saturdays in summer, besides a half holiday on the days preceding Christmas and New Year, and on all of the special occasions and occurrences in Washington. Yet they are asking to be retired on a pension when reaching certain ages and howling because the Government expects eight hours' work on the days they do work. It is simply ridiculous. There are hundreds of other deserving people anxious for each one of their jobs, who would be glad to work eight hours a day.

Moreover, because Postmaster General Burleson made certain recommendations in the interest of efficiency certain employees are denouncing him. The employees at El Paso had the bad taste to send me a petition urging Congress to ask for his resignation. During this war I am in favor of making it a death-penalty crime for an employee of this Government to strike against the Government in this hour of peril.

In this connection I might add that we should do something at once for the underpaid rural free delivery and star-route carriers and the employees and postmasters in second, third, and fourth class offices. Many have not been making \$200 a year net for their service.

In conclusion, let me say that we all indorse what the President said in his message on February 11:

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion, and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. We are indomitable in our power of independent action and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail is the desire of enlightened men everywhere.

The Memorial Statue to Ex-President James Buchanan.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ISAAC R. SHERWOOD,
OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 21, 1913.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to grant permission to the trustees designated in the will of Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston for the erection of a memorial to James Buchanan, a former President of the United States, on public grounds of the United States in the city of Washington, D. C., in the southern portion of Meridian Hill Park, between Fifteenth, Sixteenth, W, and Euclid Streets NW.: *Provided,* That the design and location of said memorial and the plan for the treatment of the grounds connected with its site shall be approved by the Commission of Fine Arts, and that the United States shall be put to no expense in or by the erection of said memorial.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, it is claimed in this debate that James Buchanan, President from March 4, 1857, to March 4, 1861, was derelict of duty, when seven Southern States seceded from the Union during the last days of his administration. Looking backward to that perilous time the claim seems plausible. When Lincoln was inaugurated seven Southern States had seceded from the Union and had set up a separate government in Montgomery, Ala. But owing to President Buchanan's environment, it will be generally conceded that he was powerless to use force to coerce these seceding States, because he had no adequate force at his command. Even Lincoln, surrounded, as he was, by the ablest statesmen of his own party, made no move to coerce these seven seceded States until after an overt act, the attack on Fort Sumter, the exclusive defensive property of the United States.

It was that crash of cannon shot against the walls of Fort Sumter that called forth President Lincoln's bugle call to arms. One month and 12 days elapsed after Lincoln's inauguration before this overt act of war on Fort Sumter, during which

time Lincoln was powerless to coerce these seceding States, and he made no warlike attempt. And Lincoln's inability to cope with the impending crisis was apparent to every intelligent American citizen living at that desperate time. In fact, the leaders of the Republican Party were divided in opinion on the vital question of the coercion of a State. Horace Greeley, of the New York Tribune, the leading Republican editor of that day, and the then leading Republican in private life in the United States, advocated in his Tribune that the erring southern brothers be allowed to go in peace. Gov. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, a prominent candidate for President in the convention which nominated Lincoln and a leading statesman in the Republican Party, indorsed Horace Greeley's position to allow the seceding States to go in peace. In fact the Republican Party was divided on that issue.

It was the sound of hostile cannon in Charleston Harbor that aroused Lincoln and the whole North to arms. When cannon speak Nations think, and in the clash of great armies they sometimes think great thoughts.

Let us remember also that in the terrible crisis of impending war, President Lincoln in his call to arms on April 15, 1861, made the first duty of the 75,000 militia called into war service to recapture forts and public property of the United States.

I quote a paragraph from that memorable proclamation:

I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.

We were leading a dull and melancholy life previous to Lincoln's call to arms, but when the crisis came the finger of God dropped the plummet into the dead sea, and with the overflow came new hopes and new ambitions.

James Buchanan on the question of African slavery in the States was no more proslavery than the average Republican of that day. If we are to deny his status a place in this National Capital because of his proclaimed opinions on the slavery question, when no demand is made for a dollar out of the Federal Treasury, what shall we do with at least one-quarter of the marble and bronze statues now in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, who, when living, were more proslavery than James Buchanan?

I will now proceed to verify the statement that President Buchanan was while President no more favorable to slavery in the States than the Republican Party.

The Republican national convention of 1860 was held at Chicago, Ill., May 16-18. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated for President and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for Vice President.

The following plank, the crux of the whole matter, was unanimously adopted. I quote section 4:

That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

It will be seen that the most vital plank in the Republican national platform, upon which Abraham Lincoln was elected President, was an absolutely proslavery platform. It not only declared the right of the States to absolutely control slavery, and denied the right of the General Government to interfere, but it also denounced the John Brown raid as amongst the gravest of crimes. You may search every utterance of James Buchanan, from the commencement of his career to the end of his first term as President on the 4th of March, 1861, and you will find nowhere such a declaration in favor of human slavery in the States as that adopted by the Republican national platform of 1860. Furthermore, you will not find in the utterances of Mr. Buchanan any denunciation of the John Brown raid as amongst the gravest of crimes.

We must judge public men not by the lights of the present time but in the time in which they lived and moved. Every public man from George Washington down to the present time has been influenced more or less by his environments. I did not agree with James Buchanan in 1860 or 1861. I quote this Republican national platform in order to show that I was at that time far in advance of the party to which I belonged on the vital question of human slavery. As the eloquent gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] has already quoted, I was a prophet of emancipation.

And now let me say something of James Buchanan as a man. I have some matter that I consider vital which has never appeared in print touching the character of this distinguished Pennsylvanian. It throws a light on his character not revealed in this debate.

In his youth James Buchanan's heart was won by the charms of the beautiful Miss Anna C. Coleman, who, like himself, resided in Lancaster, Pa. They were soon betrothed and were counted the handsomest couple in all the country around. Some time after the engagement had been announced Mr. Buchanan was obliged to go out of town on a business trip. On his return he stopped in to see a Mrs. William Jenkins, who was entertaining a Miss Gracie Hubley, daughter of Gen. Hubley, an officer of the Revolutionary War. A gossiping young woman told Miss Coleman of Mr. Buchanan's visit and thereby incurred her jealousy. On the spur of the moment she penned an angry note and released him from his engagement. A short time after this incident a party was arranged to go to Philadelphia to attend an opera. Miss Coleman was included in the invitation, and on arriving at Philadelphia, on a plea of indisposition, remained at the hotel. On their return from the opera Miss Coleman was found in her room cold in death. The sad fate of Miss Coleman broke James Buchanan's heart and he never married and never loved another woman.

A poem written by James Buchanan, which has never been printed, was found on the person of Miss Coleman, of Lancaster, on the 26th of August, 1819. James Buchanan wrote a note to the father of Miss Coleman, asking the privilege of attending the funeral. Here is the note, dated December 19, 1819:

I have lost the only earthly object of my affections, without whom life now presents to me a dreary blank. I have now one request to make, and for the love of God and of your dear departed daughter, whom I loved more than any other human being could love, deny me not.

This letter is signed James Buchanan, and is addressed to Robert Coleman. It was written to ask the privilege of gazing upon the form, then cold in death, of Anna C. Coleman. This privilege the father of Miss Coleman denied to James Buchanan. In fact, he never answered his letter.

Let me read an unpublished poem by James Buchanan, found on the person of Miss Coleman, the night of her suicide in Philadelphia:

And is my dream of faith and hope
Forever gone into the past?
And will the God for mercy cope
With all my sunken hopes at last?

It can not be that I shall meet
No more those eyes of light divine;
It can not be your memory sweet
Can ever part from me and mine.

Some other day I hope and pray
The shadows of this desperate hour
Shall vanish in a brighter day,
And truth and trust shall vent their power.

Some other day not far away,
As God is truth and I am true,
These ugly doubts shall fly away
And show I am not false to you;
Until that hour, dear heart, be true,
For here I pledge my all to you.

A man, either in public or private life, who could remain loyal and true to the love of a woman dead for 50 years—for James Buchanan lived 77 years—can have my vote for a monument, even if he did not earn it as a prophet of emancipation, when prophets of emancipation, like myself, were being mobbed.

During the second term of Grant's administration Horatio King, who was Postmaster General under James Buchanan, was head of a literary society which met at his house every Saturday evening. At that time Grace Greenwood; Mary Clemmer Ames; George Alfred Townsend; J. Q. Howard, of the *Galaxy*; Miss Boyle, the poetess; and Col. Don Piatt, of the Sunday Capitol, were among the usual visitors. It was at one of these receptions that I learned through Horatio King the story of James Buchanan's broken-hearted love affair with Miss Coleman.

Some of you practical statesmen on this floor may call James Buchanan's loyal love a weakness, but how many of you would have wept for half a century over the loss of your first love and remained single and loyal and true to the end? Probably not one.

Those who knew James Buchanan best during his lifetime know that this tragedy saddened all his life.

Let us not at this late hour malign the memory of a man who in his time was fully abreast with the public sentiment of his party and a majority of his country, whose social life was pure, and who ranked as a peer in intellectual development and culture with the leading statesmen of his generation.

In the gentleness of Christian charity, and as the only emancipation prophet of 1859 who was not mobbed and the only one now living, with malice toward none and with charity for all, I propose to vote for this resolution.

To Erect a Monument to James Buchanan in the City of Washington.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD E. ROBBINS,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 20, 1918,

On the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 70) authorizing the erection on the public grounds in the city of Washington, D. C., of a statue of James Buchanan, a former President of the United States.

Mr. ROBBINS. Mr. Speaker, my efforts to address the House upon this resolution have been frustrated by the motion of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SLAYDEN] demanding the previous question, and I now avail myself of the privilege granted me to make some further comment on the purpose of this resolution. The object of this resolution is to accept a gift, in the form of a memorial to James Buchanan, a former President of the United States, from his niece, Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston, the cost of which will be between one hundred and one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, the same to be erected in Meridian Park, in the city of Washington, without any cost whatever to the United States Government.

During the debate on this resolution, when it was previously up for consideration on the 13th of February, opposition developed to the acceptance of this gift upon two grounds:

First. That the memory of President Buchanan should not be thus commemorated.

Second. It was a bad precedent for the Government to accept this gift in the form proposed.

The latter of these reasons needs no consideration whatever, because many of the monuments throughout the city of Washington have been gifts and others have been in part a gift and in part paid for by money appropriated by Congress. There is ample precedent for accepting this donated monument.

The first objection, from the manner in which it was urged, may be taken to in some manner reflect upon the fair name of the great State of Pennsylvania, which State presented Buchanan to the Nation, if some reply is not made thereto.

The career of James Buchanan is without a parallel in American public life. Born of poor and humble parentage in the mountains of Franklin County, Pa., April 23, 1791, he taught school and educated himself, in a large measure. He became a member of the Lancaster County (Pa.) bar and was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1814. He was a Member of Congress from 1820 to 1830 and became one of its most distinguished Members and was for years chairman of the great Judiciary Committee. From 1830 to 1834 he was minister to Russia. From 1834 to 1845 he was United States Senator from Pennsylvania. From 1845 to 1849 he was Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Polk. From 1852 to 1854 he was minister to the Court of St. James at London, England, and in 1856 he was elected the fifteenth President of the United States from the State of Pennsylvania.

Thus for a period of 56 years, with the exception of two short breaks, James Buchanan was in public life, and during this time he filled offices from the lowest to the highest with signal credit, tact, and ability. What an inspiration this career must be to every young American. From a humble home in the mountains of Franklin County, called "Stony Batter," to the Presidency! What other nation affords such opportunity and shows such accomplishments in one of its citizens of lowly birth, who attained such distinction unaided except by his own talent, perseverance, determination, and industry?

During the Presidency of James Buchanan three important events occurred:

First. The Dred Scott decision, rendered March 6, 1857, two days after his inauguration. In this decision Chief Justice Taney said:

They—

Referring to the negroes—

had for more than a century before been regarded as so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.

This decision precipitated the issue of slavery and made certain the War of the Rebellion.

Second. The Lincoln and Douglas debates in 1858, in which Mr. Lincoln spoke of slavery thus:

In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself can not stand." I believe the Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free.