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EDWIN M. STANTON

AN ADDRESS BY ANDREW CARNEGIE
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STANTON, THE PATRIOT

STANTON, The Patriot, Kenyon's most illustrious son, came of good kith and kin, born as he was of sturdy Quaker stock. His grandfather emigrated from Massachusetts to North Carolina before the Revolution in 1774, and he dying there his widow emigrated in 1800 to the Northwestern Territory because it was dedicated to freedom. The grandfather wished to manumit his slaves before leaving Massachusetts, but this being illegal he left them under the protection of a guardian to see that they were not misused. The Stantons settled at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. The son David, father of our subject, was an able physician in Steubenville, a strong abolitionist, laboring even in that early day to impress his fellows with the wrongfulness of slavery.

At thirteen, Edwin was fortunately employed in a book-store, so that access to books was assured: probably one of the most important factors in determining his future career. One of his school-mates, John Harper, whom I knew well in Pittsburg,

tells us of young Stanton's fondness for poetry and his greed for books.

Stanton is, so far as I know, the youngest library-founder known to history. His schoolfellow, Squire Gallagher, reports that before he was thirteen he started a circulating library where books were regularly exchanged among the boys. The boy was father to the man, for leadership, somewhat imperious yet never combative nor abusive, was clearly his.

While engaged in the book-store he devoted his evenings under Reverend Mr. Buchanan preparing for admission to Kenyon, which received him in his seventeenth year (1831). It is melancholy to read that he was compelled to leave after his junior year for want of means, but poverty has its advantages in training men. He returned to his former employer who sent him to take charge of a book-store in Columbus, Ohio, where he met his future wife. Too poor to marry then the young lovers waited some years, true to each other. Never was there a more devoted husband. He owed much to his wife.

The two years spent at college were formative years. When secession first reared its head and Jackson uttered the immortal words, "The Union must and shall be preserved," even then to the

young man here at college in his teens, this was the bugle call.

In 1825, finding the Union endangered, notwithstanding his father's opposition to Jackson and firm adherence to Clay and Adams, he sank all other issues and ardently supported Jackson, much to the regret of many of his best friends. Patriot at eighteen, patriot always, the needle not truer to the pole than Stanton to the Union.

He soon qualified for the law, became prosecuting attorney, and in his twenty-third year had built up a lucrative practice. He removed to Pittsburg in 1847 and it was there in his early prime that I, as telegraph messenger boy, had the pleasure of seeing him frequently, proud to get his nod of recognition as I sometimes stopped him on the street or entered his office to deliver a message. A vigorous, energetic and concentrated man, always intent upon the subject in hand, he had nothing of Lincoln's humor and ability to laugh; he was ever deeply serious. None stood higher than he in his profession, but it is in the realm of statesmanship that his services became so commanding as to give him place among the fathers of the Republic. He remained a Democrat, yet a Free Soiler, true to the anti-slavery traditions of his family. His removal to Wash-

ington brought him much business and for some years little time was paid to politics.

The election of Lincoln drew President Buchanan into serious negotiations with the Southern leaders with whom, as a Democrat, he was in sympathy. He soon felt the need of a strong constitutional lawyer to steer the ship of state aright, since Attorney-General Black had been appointed Secretary of State to succeed General Cass. His choice fell upon Stanton who abandoned a lucrative legal practice at the call of duty. Dangers were brewing fast around his beloved country and he was needed to defend the Union. On the twentieth of December, 1860, the very day Stanton entered the Cabinet, South Carolina declared the Union dissolved. The boy patriot of eighteen who had rallied to Jackson's call was revealed to an anxious country in his manhood as again the Jacksonian apostle, to teach South Carolina and all the other states that followed her, and all the world for all time thereafter, that the Union "must and shall be preserved."

There are many remarkable things in Stanton's life. I venture to point out what seems to me a wonderful coincidence. Lincoln as a youth saw a slave auction on the Mississippi, and there and then resolved that if he ever got a chance he would "hit

the accursed thing hard." His time came and he was privileged to emancipate the last slaves in a civilized land. So Stanton, changing his political party while in his teens at the call of the Union, in manhood changes the policy of his party and banishes disunion forever. For this he is destined to live in American history as one whose services to the Republic in her darkest hour rank in value with those of the foremost early fathers: Franklin, Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. No lower place can be assigned him than in that circle. Washington must ever stand alone—father among these worthy sons.

There are few more deeply interesting episodes in our history than that of Judge Black's conversion to Stanton's views. It will be remembered that as attorney-general, Nov. 20th, 1860, he gave the President his opinion that he could not constitutionally use military force for any purpose whatever within the limits of a state where there were no United States judges, marshals, or other civil officers, and there were none in South Carolina, the Federal officials having resigned. This led to prolonged negotiations between the agents of the Southern states and the President and his Cabinet, all tending to a peaceful dissolution of the Union.

General Cass, Secretary of State, loyal to the Union, resigned because the President refused to reinforce the Southern forts. Meanwhile, Secretary of State Black, and Stanton, who was then only a private citizen, had been in deep and earnest consultation, and Black took Cass's place only on condition that Stanton be made his successor. The reason was soon clear. Black had changed his views as he explained seven years after: he and Stanton had reached perfect accord on all questions, whether of law or policy. It is readily seen how this concord was attained. The true Jacksonian, ever holding as the prime duty the preservation of the Union as an indissoluble union of indissoluble states, had shown his elder brother that he was wrong and inspired him with the intense loyalty he himself possessed. Black says early in December he "notified the President of his change of view and handed him a memorandum for his private use." Here is an extract: "The Union is necessarily perpetual. No state can lawfully withdraw or be expelled from it. The Federal Constitution is as much a part of the constitution of every state as if it had been textually inserted therein." This is Stantonese. Black had seen a great light between November and December.

It would have been well had he consulted Stanton before giving his opinion of the previous month which brought Buchanan to the verge of treason. Fortunately for our country, Black remained at Stanton's side in the crisis and rendered great service. He deserves to have his mistake forgiven and forgotten. It was one which a lifelong Democrat might be pardoned for making. I knew more than one excellent public-spirited man in the circle of my friends who could not reconcile himself to the use of force against his fellows of the South, with whom his personal and political relations had been cordial. The "depart in peace" policy had many sympathetic adherents among such men.

Major Anderson's removal from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter created a contest which raged for three days in the Cabinet. Was the demand of South Carolina, that he be ordered back to Moultrie, to be granted or denied? Secretary of War Floyd claimed that the President had committed himself by a promise that the *status quo* should not be disturbed, which Anderson's movement certainly did. He prepared a letter to which Black, Stanton, and Holt objected. On the following Sunday, Black informed the President that if the letter was delivered he would resign. Stanton had never wavered in his

position. The moment the demand that Fort Sumter be evacuated was made, he told the Cabinet that "its surrender by the Government would be a crime equal to that of Arnold, and that all who participated in the act should be hung like André." Judge Holt, a member of the Cabinet, speaking from his own knowledge, tells us that Stanton also declared in the face of the President that a president who signed such an order would be guilty of treason. The President raised his hand deprecatingly, saying, "Not so bad as that, my friend, not so bad as that."

Judge Holt's tribute to Stanton reveals what the Republic owes to its defender. He says, "His loyalty to the Union cause was a passion. He could not open his lips on the subject without giving utterance to the strongest expressions. He never changed from first to last in his devotion to his country nor in the resolute manner in which he asserted and upheld his convictions." The decision of the Cabinet, upon which the sovereignty of the Republic over all its ports depended, hung for several days in the balance. The President finally sided with the loyalists. Stanton first reclaimed Judge Black, the Secretary of State, before entering the Cabinet, and after he did enter, the two men,

with Judge Holt, Secretary of War, prevailed upon the President to change his policy. History records in unmistakable terms that the chief antagonist of the policy of submission to the disunionists, and inspirer in the Cabinet of loyalty to the Union as against secession, was the patriot, Stanton.

His policy having been agreed to, instead of resting content he began to urge the President to prepare for the worst, holding that "preparation could do no possible harm in any event, and, in the event of that which seems to be most likely, it is the country's only chance of salvation."

There was soon thrust upon him the duty of conferring with the leaders of the Republican party and preparing for a peaceful inauguration of the newly elected President, Lincoln. This he no more hesitated to perform than other patriotic duties required for the preservation of his country.

Interviews took place with Seward, Sumner, and other leaders. There was knowledge of treasonable designs against Lincoln's inauguration and of an attempt to induce Maryland to secede and claim the reversion of the District of Columbia. So pressing was the danger that the President was persuaded to order troops to Washington.

The effect of the arrival of United States soldiers under the national flag was startling. Here was notice at last, after months of doubt and hesitation, that the Republic was not to be destroyed without a struggle. All hope of peaceful settlement vanished. Even Mr. Stanton never rendered his country a greater service than that performed in January, 1861. He was denounced as no better than an abolitionist by Southern Democrats who favored the right of secession, and also by those who did not go so far but who refused to sustain the Government under Republican control. To both he was equally odious, because he stood for maintaining the Government under all circumstances. He entered the Buchanan Cabinet as a Democrat in 1860 and left it a Democrat, but a Democrat who subordinated every issue to the maintenance of law and the preservation of the Union. Upon this platform he advocated obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law and recognition of slavery, intensely opposed as he personally was to that system. Here he stood with Lincoln and the large party who preferred to keep the constitutional compact with the South rather than compel the abolition of slavery at the risk of civil war.

Seven states seceded and Jefferson Davis was elected president of the Confederate states one month previous to Lincoln's accession. Like his predecessor, Lincoln's one desire was peace, and many plans for satisfying the South received his earnest consideration. Soon did he realize that the men who had elected him were of different temper, some preferring disunion to the continuance of slavery, some for the Union with or without slavery as Lincoln himself was. A large portion of the Northern people, not Republicans, were disposed to blame the Anti-Slavery people for their attack upon property recognized by the Constitution. Well did Lincoln know that the opposition in the North to the use of force against the South under existing conditions would be serious and powerful; hence his earnest efforts to avert hostilities. He went so far as to favor the evacuation of Fort Sumter, and steps were taken to prepare the public for the great sacrifice. The Cabinet approved this by five to two. The rumor of this action, started to test public opinion, aroused the North. It was overwhelmingly condemned and in such terms as made the President and Cabinet pause. Lincoln never gave the order.

As was to be expected, Stanton, now a private citizen, was inflexibly opposed to the evacuation of Sumter. His letters at this time express grave doubts of the capacity of the President and his Cabinet to preserve the Union, but still he believed that the Union was stronger than all its foes.

While the Union was thus imperilled and men in all the various divisions into which public opinion had drifted knew not what a day was to bring forth nor what the end was to be, an event occurred which instantly crystallized the divided North into one solid body. Never can I forget the April morning when there flashed through the land, "Fort Sumter fired upon by the rebels."

I was then superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Pittsburg and went to my office every morning on a train crowded with passengers. That morning the cars resembled a disturbed bee-hive. Men could not sit still nor control themselves. One of the leading Democrats who had the previous evening assured me that the people would never approve the use of force against their Southern brethren, nor would he, came forward, greatly excited, and I am sorry to say some of his words were unquotable. "What's wrong with you?" I asked. "Didn't I tell you last night what the Secessionists

intended?" "But they have fired on the flag—fired on our flag." In less than a week I saw my friend one morning drilling to be ready as captain of a company to revenge that unpardonable crime. So with others of like views the night before. Stanton was right: the Union was stronger than all its foes. Ex-President Buchanan wrote General Dix:

"The present administration had no alternative but to accept the war initiated by South Carolina or the Southern Confederacy. The North will sustain the administration almost to a man; and it ought to be sustained at all hazards."

May 6th, to Stanton, he wrote:

"The first gun fired by Beauregard aroused the indignant spirit of the North as nothing else could have done, and made us a unanimous people. I had repeatedly warned them that this would be the result."

Buchanan proved to be a loyal man. Strong as the Union then proved to be, it is infinitely stronger to-day, not only in the North, but north, south, east, and west, wherever Old Glory floats. The forces in our country to-day are all ~~centrifugal~~ ^{centripetal}.

Seventy-five thousand volunteers were immediately called for by the President to fight for the Union. After the repulse at Bull Run, a great army

was concentrated around Washington under General McClellan, of whom Stanton expected great things, but as month after month passed and no forward movement was made, the nation became impatient and clamored for action. None came.

I can speak from personal experience of the condition of affairs in and around Washington immediately after Lincoln's call for volunteers, having escorted General Butler and his regiments from Annapolis to Washington after we had repaired the railroad torn up by the Confederates. I saw General Scott, then in command, assisted morning and evening into and out of his brougham and led by two orderlies across the pavement to and from his office. Upon the old, infirm man, unable to walk, was thrown the task of organizing and directing the Army. The heads of other departments under him were mostly superannuated. There was little or none of any of the requisites for war. Reorganization of every branch was essential. General Cameron, Secretary of War, labored hard and did well under the circumstances, and deserved commendation, but he could not work miracles. Time was needed.

On the 13th of January, 1862, without consultation with Mr. Stanton, Lincoln nominated him as

Secretary of War, and a few days later he was again a member of the Cabinet. Neither party nor personal considerations dictated his appointment. The President and Cabinet, disappointed and weary with the paralysis which had stricken the great army, and alarmed at the intense clamor of an incensed people, had to take action to prevent disaster. Earnestly searching for the best man to meet the emergency and to bring order out of chaos, there could be but one selection, the man who had restored President Buchanan to the Union cause, had convinced Secretary of State Judge Black that he was wrong in his views of constitutional law, had proclaimed failure to reinforce Fort Sumter treasonable, and told the President that if he surrendered the fort he would be a traitor and deserved to be hanged—that was the man the situation required. The effect of Stanton's appointment upon the country was magical as the people became conversant with the record of the new Secretary in Buchanan's Cabinet.

Much was said of Stanton's rude treatment of those having business with him, but, to judge whether his impetuosity was excusable, one has to know those who complained and what they demanded. He was overwhelmed with important

affairs and had neither time nor disposition to waste time upon those who had personal ends to advance. I witnessed his reception of the committee from New York City who, fearing consequences, visited Washington to urge a postponement of the draft. That was delightfully short. No time lost. If there was to be rebellion in New York, the sooner the Government met and crushed it the better. "No postponement" was Stanton's reply. We do not find Lincoln and members of the Cabinet or able members of the House or Senate or high military officers complaining of his manner. He had time and patience for them night or day.

His inherent kindness may be judged by his first act. It was to send a commission to Richmond to look after prisoners at the expense of the Government. Ten days later came his order that prisoners of war should receive their usual pay.

Lincoln was reported as saying to a friend who congratulated him upon Stanton's appointment—"Yes, the Army will move now, even if it move to the devil." Move it did, but not for some time. Month after month all was quiet on the Potomac. Even Washington was threatened and Pennsylvania invaded. The issue seemed to tremble in the balance. The nation was heart sick, but great news

came at last to encourage it. A brigadier-general named Grant upon his own initiative and much to the surprise of his commanding general, had captured Fort Henry and later Fort Donelson, with fifteen thousand prisoners, compelling the evacuation of Nashville. "I propose to move immediately upon your works" was the secret of victory. Here was "an auger that could bore," which Lincoln had determined to find.

In estimating Stanton as War Minister, many have been justly lavish in their praise of his unflagging energy, tenacity, and unconquerable will in the performance of the ordinary duties of a war minister, characteristic of an exceedingly able man, but a just estimate of him can only be made when the work he did, lying beyond the range of the immediate duties of a war minister, is known.

In the field of constitutional law, for instance, we see that Stanton converted both President and Secretary of State, and he was described as "Lincoln's right-hand man" in addition to being War Minister. There were emergencies when not only ability, but genius, was shown. Let us recall three of these:

The Western rivers were patrolled by Confederate steamboats, improvised ships of war. The

Navy Department had no plans for destroying these and opening the rivers to the National forces. Stanton knew Charles Ellet, builder of the Wheeling, Fairmount, and other bridges, an engineer of great ability, who had suggested rams for naval warfare. He wrote him, March, 1862,—

“If this Department had several swift, strong boats on the Western rivers, commanded by energetic fighting men, I could clear the rebels out of those waters and recover the Mississippi to the use of commerce and our armies. The Navy seems to be helpless and I am compelled to execute a plan of my own to avert the increasing dangers there. Can you not secretly fit out a fleet of swift boats at several points on the Ohio and descend on the rebels unexpectedly and destroy them? Please call at my office at once.”

Ellet was called to Washington for conference on March 26th, and altho Russia and our own Navy Department had long before rejected Ellet's idea of rams, Stanton adopted them, and sent Ellet to Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and New Albany to convert ordinary river steamboats into powerful rams. This was promptly done and the rams approached Memphis June 5th, destroyed the enemy and captured the city next day. Ellet was the only National officer

lost. Wounded on deck, Nelson-like, in the hour of his greatest triumph, he can never be forgotten. Only ten weeks elapsed between the resolve to improvise rams, and victory.

The second instance: The Confederates early took possession of Norfolk and the Navy Yard. Secretary Stanton asked the Navy Department if the fleet could not attack Norfolk, but was met with the suggestion that the Army should assault it by land. The Merrimac appeared and sunk the Frigates Congress and Cumberland and alarmed the seaboard cities. That night Stanton called a committee together in New York by telegraph to devise plans for sinking the terror. He provisioned Fortress Monroe for six months and advised the Navy Department he could not embark the Army to attack Norfolk until the Navy bottled up or sank the Merrimac. On the following day he wired Mr. Vanderbilt to name a price for sinking her. The Commodore promptly offered for the purpose the swift and powerful Steamship Vanderbilt as a gift to the Government. She was accepted and immediately sent to Fortress Monroe to lie in wait. These arrangements made, Stanton induced the President to accompany him to Fortress Monroe that he might have the Commander-in-

Chief at his side to issue such orders as he might think necessary to both Army and Navy. There was to be no failure of coöperation. The attack was a splendid success. The Merrimac retreated and destroyed herself. The Navy Yard, Norfolk, and Portsmouth were captured and the James River blockaded, all according to Stanton's plans and under his immediate direction.

The third instance: There came one serious disaster in the West—Rosecrans's defeat at Chickamauga, imperilling Chattanooga, the key to the region from which Rosecrans thought he might have to retreat. Stanton, as usual, had the solution—reinforce him from the Army of the Potomac. Upon receipt of Rosecrans's despatch he sent for Lincoln who was sleeping at the Soldiers' Home. Startled by the summons, the President mounted his horse and rode to Washington in the moonlight to preside over the Cabinet. Hallock opposed the idea, saying it would take forty days to make the transfer, but Stanton had already consulted the railroad and telegraph authorities, Eckert and McCallum, and had them present to assure the Cabinet that seven days would suffice. Stanton was given his way.

My superior officer and life-long friend, Colonel Thomas A. Scott, upon whom Stanton greatly relied,

was called upon. Scott traveled the route. Stanton never left his office for three days and nights during the movement. September 26th the troops started and twenty-three thousand troops were with Rosecrans in less than seven days. To Colonel Scott, then at Louisville, Stanton telegraphed, "Your work is most brilliant. A thousand thanks. It is a great achievement." So my superior in Government service at Washington and kindest friend of early days, Thomas A. Scott, lives in history as one who "did the state some service."

This was not all. Rosecrans's advices were still most discouraging and indicated retreat. Stanton determined to visit the field and judge for himself. He wired General Grant to meet him and then immediately gave him full command of the Division of the Mississippi, not a moment too soon for it was necessary to wire Rosecrans that he was displaced by General Thomas, the latter receiving orders to hold his position at all hazards. The result was the defeat of the Confederates and the capture of Chattanooga. Stanton returned to Washington, but not until he had seen Rosecrans displaced and Thomas in command of the Army of the Cumberland, with Grant over all in the West.

The work of no mere secretary of war achieved these three triumphs. Stanton appears as a combination of secretary of war, admiral of the fleet, and commanding general, the President of the United States a zealous co-operator. We note in these emergencies intuitive apprehension of the vital points: fertility of resource, adaptation of means to ends, and, over all, sublime confidence in himself and certainty of success—all qualities that pertain to genius. It may be doubted if ever a man displayed genius of a higher order in affairs of similar character. Certainly no secretary of war ever approached him.

It was not long before Grant was called to Washington by Secretary Stanton and placed at the head of the Army. He dined with me at Pittsburg when he passed westward, and told me he was to become lieutenant-general with headquarters at Washington. General Thomas being then the popular idol I said to him, "I suppose you will place Thomas in command of the West." "No," he said, "Sherman" (who had been little heard of) "is the man for chief command. Thomas would be the first man to say so." Sherman did, indeed, prove that Grant knew his man.

Great events soon followed, culminating in the surrender of the Confederates and the assassination of Lincoln in the hour of victory; Stanton and Seward, like Lincoln, being also marked for death on the conspirators' list.

Stanton's report of December, 1865, opens as follows:

"The military appropriations by the last Congress amounted to the sum of \$516,240,131.70. The military estimates for the next fiscal year, after careful revision, amount to \$33,814,461.83."

The Army was reduced to fifty thousand men. The million of soldiers who had left peaceful pursuits to defend their country returned to their homes and their former pursuits without the slightest disturbance. "The future historian is to record," says Dana, "that this unprecedented transformation in which so many anxious patriots, soldiers, and statesmen alike, labored together, was pre-eminently achieved by the heroic genius of Edwin M. Stanton." So far all was peaceful and satisfactory in the North, but how the Southern states, recently in rebellion, were to be reconstructed, became the problem. Two days before his death, Lincoln had said, "We all agree that the seceded states are out of their proper practical relation to

the Union and that the sole subject of the Government, civil and military, is again to get them into that proper practical relation."

The Southern people held that the old state legislatures returned with peace.

Stanton's connection with the subject began before Lincoln's death. April 14th, at a Cabinet meeting he submitted, at Mr. Lincoln's request, a mode which he had prepared whereby the states "should be organized without any necessity whatever for the intervention of rebel organizations or rebel aid." Lincoln's last telegram, April 11th, following Stanton's policy, was to General Weitzel, in command at Richmond, ordering that "those who had acted as the Legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion be not allowed to assemble even in their individual capacity." President Johnson followed this policy for some time and all went well, but on the 14th of August in a telegram to the governor of Mississippi he changed his position. When Congress met it appointed a committee to consider whether any of the seceding states were entitled to be represented in either house and provided that, until its report should be acted upon by Congress, no member should be received from such states. The fear of the Unionists was that, should

the entire South send disloyal representatives, these, with a few Democratic sympathizers from the North, might control Congress and pass such measures as would nullify the Emancipation Proclamation, the poisonous root of secession. Slavery, not yet quite eradicated, was ready to germinate again. The President, a Southern man, brought face to face with the question of granting all the rights of citizenship to the negro, recoiled, and favored leaving this question to the states. Stanton stood firmly for the right of House and Senate to judge of the election returns and qualifications of their own members. An election for Congress intervened. President Johnson made inflammatory speeches in the campaign, calling Congress "a body which assumes to be the Congress of the United States, when it is a congress of only a part of the United States," the people responded by sending increased loyal majorities to both houses. The prominent part played by Stanton singled him out as the object of attack by the President and those of the Cabinet who sided with him. To protect him from dismissal, Congress passed the Tenure of Office bill, which also protected General Grant. Neither could be dismissed without the previous consent of the Senate. On the 19th of July Congress passed

the Reconstruction Act, favored by Stanton, over the President's veto. Grant and Stanton, in cordial alliance, put it into force and saved the fruits of victory so seriously imperilled. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was finally made effective.

Soon after the adjournment of Congress, the President determined to displace Stanton and consulted Grant upon the subject. Grant expressed strong disapproval and, after pointing out that the approval of the Senate was necessary, ended with these words:

“In conclusion, allow me to say, as a friend, desiring peace and quiet, the welfare of the whole country North and South, that it is, in my opinion, more than the loyal people of this country (I mean those who supported the Government during the great rebellion) will quietly submit to, to see the very man of all others in whom they have expressed confidence removed.”

The President then requested Stanton's resignation, which he declined to give before the next meeting of Congress.

In this he had the cordial support of the loyal people. At a later date, the President suspended him and appointed General Grant Secretary of War

ad interim. In acknowledging to Stanton his acceptance, the General wrote:

“In notifying you of my acceptance, I cannot let the opportunity pass without expressing to you my appreciation of the zeal, patriotism, firmness, and ability with which you have ever discharged the duties of Secretary of War.”

Stanton knew that Grant had withstood the President resolutely, was true to the Union, and could be trusted, and hence had less difficulty in submitting under protest.

Upon the meeting of Congress, Stanton was promptly reinstated. General Grant immediately notified the President he was no longer Secretary of War, since the Senate had reinstated Stanton. This incensed the President, who had expected Grant to remain and dispute the Senate's action. That Stanton was surprised that Grant ever accepted the appointment is clear, but Grant's letter to the President, February 3rd, explains all:

“From our conversations and my written protest of August 1, 1867, against the removal of Mr. Stanton, you must have known that my greatest objection to his removal or suspension was the fear that someone would be appointed in his stead who would, by opposition to the laws relating to the restoration of

the Southern states to their proper relations to the Government, embarrass the army in the performance of duties especially imposed upon it by these laws; and it was to prevent such an appointment that I accepted the office of Secretary of War *ad interim*, and not for the purpose of enabling you to get rid of Mr. Stanton by my withholding it from him in opposition to law, or, not doing so myself, surrendering it to someone who would, as the statements and assumptions in your communications plainly indicate was sought."

* * * * *

"And now, Mr. President, when my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from the beginning to the end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War—my superior and your subordinate—without having countermanded his authority to issue the orders I am to disobey."

Thus Grant stood immovable, true to the loyal forces as against the President. The latter now attempted to get General Sherman to accept, but he resolutely declined. As a last resort, General Thomas was appointed. This led to his impeachment by the House and trial by the Senate. Upon the failure of the proceedings, through the lack of one vote only, although two-thirds majority was required, Secretary Stanton resigned and retired to private life, to be soon afterwards appointed justice of the Supreme Court, by President Grant. Resolutions of thanks were passed by both houses and many were the tributes offered to this remarkable man who had given six years of his life and undermined his health in his country's service. Before entering the Cabinet, he had amassed considerable means by his profession, but this was exhausted. Beyond his modest residence in Washington, he left nothing. Dispensing hundreds of millions yearly, he lived without ostentation, and he died poor.

Offers of gifts and private subscriptions by those who knew his wants were uniformly rejected. On the morning of the 24th of December, 1869, he breathed his last.

He had been foremost in urging the abolition of slavery, the root of secession, and Lincoln's right-hand man in preserving our blessed Union, which secures for this continent an indissoluble government so overwhelmingly powerful as to be immune from attack and able to enforce internal peace, in contrast to Europe with its huge armies, organized not against foreign foes but for protection against each other.

Well may we imagine the patriot murmuring as his spirit fled, "I thank thee, God, that thou hast permitted thy servant to see slavery abolished and the Union preserved; let him now depart in peace."

The tributes paid to his memory were many, and his transcendent services were fully extolled, but, of all that has been said or written about him, nothing gives posterity such clear, full, and truthful evidence of the man's seemingly superhuman power of infusing into a whole people the vibrations of his own impassioned soul, as is supplied by an editorial written by one by no means predisposed in his favor, Horace Greeley. The following editorial appeared in the *Tribune*, Feb. 18th:

"While every honest heart rises in gratitude to God for the victories which afford so glorious a guaranty of the national salvation, let it not be for-

gotten that it is to Edwin M. Stanton, more than to any other individual, that these auspicious events are now due. Our generals in the field have done their duty with energy and courage; our officers, and with them the noble democracy of the ranks, have proved themselves worthy sons of the Republic: but it is by the impassioned soul, the sleepless will, and the great practical talents of the Secretary of War, that the vast power of the United States has now been hurled upon their treacherous and perjured enemies to crush them to powder. Let no man imagine that we exalt this great statesman above his deserts, or that we would detract an iota from that share of glory which in this momentous crisis belongs to every faithful participator in the events of the war. But we cannot overlook the fact that, whereas the other day all was doubt, distrust, and uncertainty; the nation despairing almost of its restoration to life; Congress the scene of bitter imputations and unsatisfactory apologies; the army sluggish, discontented, and decaying, and the abyss of ruin and disgrace yawning to swallow us: now all is inspiration, movement, victory, and confidence. We seem to have passed into another state of existence, to live with distinct purposes, and to feel the certainty of their realization. In one word,

the nation is saved; and while with ungrudging hands we heap garlands upon all defenders, let a special tribute of affectionate admiration be paid to the minister who organized the victory which they have won."

Nothing is exaggerated here, unduly laudatory as it may seem. Many like myself can vouch from personal knowledge for all that is said, having known the man and his work and the conditions. Stanton deprecated its publication in 1862, and in a letter to the *Tribune* disclaimed the credit given him, but standing here to-day when justice can be done to the real hero without arousing jealousy in others, I solemnly pronounce every word of Horace Greeley's tribute richly deserved. Our pantheon is reserved for the fathers of the Republic. To these has recently been added Lincoln, who has taken his place among the gods. Two other names from our generation are yet to enter, their services swelling as events recede: Stanton and Grant.

Thus passed away Kenyon's most illustrious alumnus, but in the higher sense he is still with us, and distant is the day when the graduates of Kenyon shall find that his spirit no longer rules them from his urn. Such an example as he left is one of the most precious legacies that can be bequeathed to

posterity, a career spent, not in pursuit of miserable aims, which end with self, but in high service for others. In these days of materialism, where so many are devoted to the pursuit of wealth as an end, some pursuing it by underhand and dishonorable means, and in political life, where personal advancement is so often the aim, the value of a Stanton, in total abnegation of self, placing before him as his aim in life, service to his country, regardless of popularity, fame or wealth, cannot be overestimated.

It is for the students of Kenyon and for all men, year after year, generation after generation, century after century, to emulate his virtues, follow his example, and revere his memory.



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