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THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1876.

SPEECH

OF

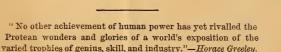
HON. R. C. MCCORMICK,

OF ARIZONA,

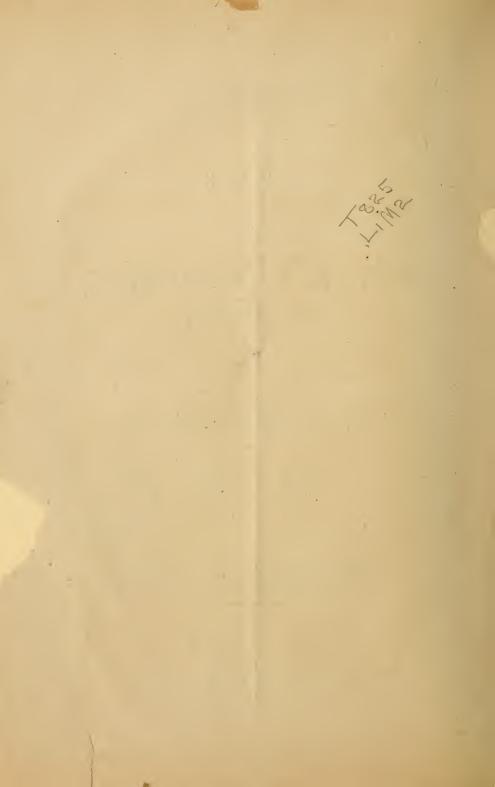
IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MAY 6, 1874.



WASHINGTON: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. 1874.



SPEECH

HON. RICHARD C. MCCORMICK.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 2986) to appropriate \$3,000,000 in aid of the centennial celebration and international exhibition of 1576-

Mr. McCORMICK said :

Mr. SPEAKER: Nearly ten years since the propriety of grandly celebrating the completion of the first century of our national existence became a subject of popular consideration and interest. It was conceded that there should be something more than mere noisy demonstrations of patriotism and pride, and those who were most earnest in the desire for a dignified, befitting, and useful commemoration of the important event in the history of this

Realm to sudden greatness grown,

conceived the idea of holding an international exhibition.

To lift the undertaking above anything like local or limited influences Congress was asked to charter a board of centennial commissioners, to consist of one commissioner and one alternate commissioner from each State and Territory in the Union. This was done by act approved March 3, 1871, and it was declared by the same act "that an exhibition of American and foreign arts, products, and manufactures should be held under the auspices of the Government of the United States in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1876."

The commissioners were to be appointed by the President of the United States on the nomination of the governors of the States and Territories respectively, and it was made their duty to prepare and superintend the execution of a plan for holding the exhibition.

Subsequently, by act approved June 1, 1872, Congress created what is known as the centennial board of finance, an organization made up of two citizens from each congressional district in the Union, and empowered to secure subscriptions of capital stock to an amount not exceeding \$10,000,000, to be divided into shares of ten dollars each; the proceeds to be used by said corporation for all the expenditures required in carrying out the objects of the act creating the centennial commission. These two organizations brought into existence by Congress and acting under the direct provisions of law, have been zealously engaged in the vast preparations necessary for the successful earrying out of so great an undertaking as an international exhibition. Of the scope and extent of their labors the volume I hold in my hand, the third annual report of the centennial commission to Congress, will give gentlemen some idea, although no one not actually involved in the work will readily comprehend how much has been done and how much remains to be done.

As a member of the executive committee of the commission, to which committee of thirteen the whole management of the business of the commission is intrusted for the year, I may say that no pains have been spared to gather from all sources all facts and figures of value in connection with the holding of the great exhibitions in Europe. Vienna was visited last summer by a number of the commissioners, and from a date prior to the opening of the exhibition held there to its close agents anthorized by the executive committee were present and actively occupied in behalf of the commission.

The elaborate reports of Professor W. P. Blake and Henry Pettit, esq., which are embodied in the report of the commission to which I have referred, present a perfect epitome of the organization of the Vienna exhibition in all its details, so arranged and classified that it will be invaluable for the use of the commission and board of finance. The defects and the failures as well as the advantages and triumphs of the exhibition are earefully set forth and many practical conclusions and suggestions of importance are presented.

Much interesting and valuable matter relating to other foreign exhibitions is given in these reports, and from many sources the commission has been supplied with information which will, I think, lead to an avoidance of the mistakes in buildings and the useless expenditures in management or mismanagement which have characterized some of the exhibitions and resulted in peenniary loss where there need to have been none.

I speak particularly of this because in the present debate gentlemen opposing the bill under discussion seem to have little idea of the thorough. I may say the exhaustive manner in which the centennial commissioners have entered into the consideration of every question bearing in any way upon the management of exhibitions like that proposed for 1876, the first of its national and international class projected in the United States.

The commission has also had the benefit of the reports of various State commissioners to Vienna, and as an offset to the assertion frequently heard that it is yet too early in the history of the United States to attempt an international exhibition, I take these words from the report of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., the Massachusetts commissioner: There is good reason to believe that every condition exists necessary to make a decided success of the proposed centennial exhibition. The court pageant, which has played so brilliant and essential a part in its great European prototypes, will, it is true, necessarily be wanting. The mercantile element, however, which has proved the mainspring of all recent expositions, will there be present in a more than ordinary degree.

If a member of the careful and conservative—the historic Adams family can speak thus confidently, New England need not fear to come to the aid of the enterprise.

OUR SUCCESS IN EUROPE.

Mr. Speaker, our success at London, at Paris, and at Vienna, with but a limited and imperfect exhibit in each instance, and at Vienna a degree of confusion in the management of our department, alike unfortunate and discreditable, upon whoever the blame may rest, has been such as to make it evident that we need not for a moment question our ability as a people to provide, as required by the act creating the centennial commission, a most creditable exhibition of the "national resources of the country and their development, and of its progress in those arts which benefit mankind," a display fitting to make, as further required by said act, "in comparison with those of older nations." My distinguished friend from Pennsylvania, [Mr. KELLEY,] in his eloquent speech at the opening of this debate, called attention to the fact that at London, Paris, and Vienna there was simply an "American department" containing but a few specimens of the products and industries of a part of the States, and nothing at all calculated to illustrate the resources and development of the whole Republic, the many States united as one.

The patriotic gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Banks, so long an able advocate of the national honor upon this floor, in his memorable speech in 1866 upon our representation at the Paris exposition of 1867 thus referred to our position at London:

Every one must confess that so far as the Government was represented in the exhibition of 1851, it was a melancholy and discreditable feature. We were saved from humiliation if not disgrace by the unexpected and marvelous skill and power of our own unappreciated mechanics.

No one can forget the surprise created in London over the unexpected triumphs of American ingenuity and skill, in honor of which even Punch forgot his prejudice and sang to amazed John Bull:

Your gunsmiths of their skill may crack,

- But that again don't mention :
- I guess that Colts' revolvers whack
- Their very first invention.
- By Yankee Doodle, too, you're beat Downright in agriculture,
- With his machine for reaping wheat, Chaw'd up as by a vulture.

Nor need I refer in detail to the victories achieved at Paris in 1867, where the United States received many awards. In communicating to Congress the reports of the commissioners to this grand exposition, which I may say are now classed among the most valuable of our public documents, Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, said of such international exhibitions:

Their beneficent influences are many and wide-spread. They advance human knowledge in all directions. Through the universal language of the products of labor, the artisans of all countries hold communication; ancient prejudices are broken down; nations are fraternized; generous rivalries in the peaceful fields of industry are excited; the tendencies to war are lessened, and a better understanding between capital and labor is fostered. * * * One of their most salutary results is the promotion of an appreciation of the true dignity of labor and its paramount claims to consideration as the basis of national wealth and power.

At Vienna last year the United States was represented in twentythree of the twenty-six groups into which the exposition was divided, and secured four hundred and forty awards; but Mr. Adams states that "the representation was in no way calculated to give a correct impression of our progress or condition as a people."

There can be no doubt, I think, that the resources and industries of the United States as now developed and advanced will warrant an exhibition upon our own soil that will surprise the world.

Horace Greeley, writing in 1871 upon the proposed exhibition, which he appeared to consider even then as an assured success, spoke thus of the progress of American industry:

We are advancing with rapid strides toward excellence in every department of industrial art, and the exposition of 1876 may confidently be expected to embody gratifying evidence that American industry, regarded as a whole, is equal, not merely in productive efficiency, but in skill and in taste, to that of any other nation on the globe.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEATURE.

But the world must be here in 1876 in order to stimulate us to the exertion necessary to our own certain success. It has been well said by an able writer that "The only way to obtain a completely national exposition is to make it international. Our own people will not exhibit themselves to themselves." There is no inspiration in such a programme, and for one I look upon the international feature of the proposed exhibition of 1876 as not only unobjectionable, but essential, if we would reap profitable results. I am at a loss to understand why gentlemen oppose it, for a purely national exhibition would cost nearly or quite as much and would not be nearly as likely to command interest, even at home, as an international exposition. It eannot be said that other nations will refuse to come, for upon the President's simple proclamation and commendation of July last, which the Secretary of State says is not an invitation, a number have already signified their purpose to come. Our late minister to Mexico, a distinguished citizen of Indiana, [Mr. Nelson,] now upon the floor of the House, informs me that the people of "our sister republic" were greatly pleased at the receipt of the proclamation, and the government at once decided to be represented. He says that not less than one hundred artisans are already at work in the city of Mexico preparing articles of skill, taste, and utility for exhibition at Philadelphia.

Of the feeling in Europe Professor Blake, in his report, remarks:

I can report the existence of the most friendly and even enthusiastic feeling in regard to the centennial exhibition. It is looked forward to hy all classes with in quiring interest. The statesman and political economist expect to derive from it fresh and more correct information regarding our institutions and resources and a deeper view of the great future of the American people. The men of science expect richer harvests than ever before of material for investigation, and look forward to the coming reunion of the nations in the New World as the opportunity to see some of its marvels with their own eyes. The industrial classes, with appetites whetted by what they have seen of our inventions and manufactures at Paris and Vienna. desire a nearer view and a broader association with the elements of our successful progress. The merchants and tradesmen believe that in our exhibition they will have the most favorable opportunity to extend their trade and to introduce products of a higher culture than we yet can claim. These are some of the elements, in general, upon which the interest in our exhibition is based; but I have not mentioned one which I am sure, from personal interviews with leading men of the various foreign commissions, jurors, and statesmen, comes of a broad and liberal sympathy with all that conduces to human progress and the realization that international exhibitions are potential in this direction. Much of the interest is engendered by the recognized fact that for the first time the American people are to have an international exhibition. It is spoken of as the *first* international exhibition in America under Government sanction and patronage. The Government is regarded as its responsible founder and sustainer.

All over Europe the exhibition is talked of and written of in a manner which shows that great importance is attached to it. At Vienna the commissioners from various countries parted with the earnestly expressed hope that they might meet in America in 1876, and it is known that many of them have already urged their governments to the most liberal provision for representation at Philadelphia. Nothing can be more absurd than the idea that foreigners will hesitate to come here in 1876 because it is the centennial year of our national independence. The Fourth of July week, with its inevitable outburst of patriotic ardor, may not be as enjoyable to some of them as to us; but to none will it, in my judgment, prove offensive. Certainly not to Great Britain; for the fact is notorious that our declaration of independence and the war which followed it, indicated principles now universally held in England, and constituted the triumph of a party to which all Englishmen now belong, whether they call themselves conservative or liberal.

But the celebration of the Fourth of July will be but an incident in the programme for the year, and the exhibition will not in any sense be a political glorification or a reminder of foreign or domestic differences or complications. For one I am ready to trust the good sense and good taste of the people, and I repel the thought that the representatives of any country or government may not visit us in 1876 with the assurance of the kindest and most respectful treatment. In a recent address the eminent Professor Tyndal said:

During my four months' residence in the United States I did not hear a single whisper hostile to England. This will sufficiently indicate to you my experience of the feeling of the people of the United States toward this country. Either they do not hate us, as alleged, or, if they do, the manner in which they suppressed this feeling, out of consideration for a guest, proves them to be the most courteous of nations.

RELATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE EXHIBITION.

And now a word touching the relations of our Government to this exhibition. This subject was referred to by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] and will doubtless be enlarged upon by the gentleman from Connecticut, [Mr. HAWLEY,] the president of the centennial commission. But I am not willing to pass it by without expressing my great surprise at the ground assumed by gentlemen upon this floor. In the face of the act of Congress of 1871, which distinctly declares that the exhibition shall be held under the auspices of the Government of the United States, and of the act of 1872, which reaffirms it, we are now told that the Government has nothing whatever to do with it, and that to ask an appropriation from Congress toward the cost of the grand affair is little less than an impertinence.

Because on the announcement of enthusiastic Pennsylvanians that that State would bear all the expenses of the exhibition the act of 1871 was made to provide as follows:

SEC. 7. That no compensation for services shall be paid to the commissioners or other officers provided by this act from the Treasury of the United States; and the United States shall not be liable for any expenses attending such exhibition, or by reason of the same,

It is insisted that the commission has no right to ask the appropriation proposed in the bill now before the House, and that to do so would be a violation of good faith. Gentlemen lose sight of the fact that the commissioners had nothing to do with the passage of this act and are in no wise responsible for it, but were appointed some time after its adoption. Furthermore, its provisions have been strictly obeyed. No compensation for services of commissioners has been paid by the United States, or by any one else for that matter, and the Government has not been, and is not under this act, held liable for any of the expenses of the exhibition.

Mr. DAWES. But you accepted that law with the stipulation that you would not call upon Congress for any aid.

Mr. MYERS. There was no such stipulation.

Mr. McCORMICK. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MYERS]

is correct. There was no such stipulation in the act of 1871 or in that of 1872. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. DAWES] will observe that these acts simply provide that under them the United States shall not be made liable for any debt or obligation incurred, and neither by the centennial commission nor the centennial board of finance has the United States been made liable for a dollar even to this hour.

But I submit that nothing in either of these acts makes it inconsistent or improper for those having the responsibility of the exhibition upon their hands to now come to Congress and ask a direct appropriation toward the necessarily large outlay required in order to make the exhibition what it should be, a grand and complete success. When we consider that in Europe the governments have been proud to bear nearly the entire expense of the exhibitions and have deemed it profitable to do so, it is to me incomprehensible that there should be opposition here to the payment of a sum supposed to be no more than one-third of the cost of the exhibition of 1876, which Congress has directly declared shall be held "under the auspices of the United States," and the commissioners for the control of which are commissioned from each State and Territory by the President under authority of law.

The cost of the Vienna exhibition, grossly exaggerated, is held up as a warning that instead of the sum which competent architects and engineers, who have considered the subject for many months, estimate the buildings and their appurtenances at Philadelphia will require, a much larger sum will be needed, and that the appropriation now asked of Congress is but a small part of what will be demanded from the Government for the purposes of the exhibition. To quiet this groundless clamor it may as well be announced now as at any time in this debate that the president of the commission [Mr. HAW-LEY] is in possession of a letter from John Welch, esq., chairman of the centennial board of finance, authorizing the statement that no additional appropriation will ever be solicited of Congress. While I do not think Mr. Welch called upon to give any such pledge, I will say for the benefit of those to whom he is not personally known that he represents the solid men of Philadelphia and that his word is his bond.

I am of those who think the whole cost of the international exhibition might with propriety be borne by the Government, and that the legislation in 1871 and 1872 which prohibited any liability, and upon which such stress is laid by some gentlemen upon this floor, is a positive discredit to Congress, and should be blotted from the statutebooks. Such legislation, I respectfully submit, is unworthy a great, powerful, and patriotic nation.

For one, I have never liked the plan of raising money by a stock

subscription as provided in the act creating the board of finance, and I am not surprised that it does not win popular favor. The Legislature of Tennessee recently sent a series of resolutions to Congress accompanied by the following preamble :

Whereas the mode of raising funds for celebrating the hundredth anniversary of American independence by our joint stock subscription necessarily tends to convert a great national occasion into a mere money-getting speculation is inconsistent with the patriotic memories it is intended to commemorate, and atterly unworthy of the people whose liberty it is designed to fittingly immortalize: Therefore, &c.

Tennessee, by these resolutions, instructed her Senators and requested her Representatives to propose, advocate, and sustain, by their votes, such an appropriation by Congress for said centennial exhibition as may be necessary to make said proposed celebration thoroughly national and international and worthy alike of the Gövernment and people of the United States.

I call the attention of gentlemen who say that no State has asked Congress to aid the centennial to these resolutions and to this extract from a recent message of the governor of New Jersey to the Legislature of that State, which body has appropriated the sum of \$100,000 to the centennial fund, an act worthy the loyal sons of the heroes of Monmouth and Princeton:

Congress inaugurated the movement under national auspices, and the President of the United States has announced to all nations that the exhibition will be held. The people desire that it shall be held, and they expect Congress to make such provision as will not only insure it against possibility of failure, but render it at least equal to any international exhibition that has been held in any part of the world.

Unquestionably the people desire that the international exhibition shall be held, and they look to Congress to insure it against possibility of failure. They do not believe the country so poor that it cannot grandly celebrate its centennial and give to all the nations of the earth ocular demonstration of what one hundred years of republican government has here done to develop art, science, and skilled labor. Instead of condemning members of Congress for voting money for such a purpose once in a century, my judgment is that the people will visit their displeasure upon all who hesitate so to do, and they will laugh at the plea of a want of constitutional authority in view of the appropriations for our representation at Paris and Vienna, and the aid rendered innumerable projects of far less interest and importance to the nation than this.

THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. Speaker, before passing to show some of the valuable results which may be expected to attend such an exhibition as it is proposed to hold in 1876, I will say a word in justice to the good people of Pennsylvania, who have been so harshly and unjustly criticised in the present discussion. Beyond urging the city of Philadelphia, where our independence was declared, as the most appropriate place, as it undoubtedly is, for the centennial demonstrations, whatever they might be, they have arrogated to themselves no undue prominence or influence, but constantly shown an unselfish desire that the management of the exhibition might be broadly national and as free as possible from local control. In the centennial commission the State, like the others, has but one commissioner and an alternate, and in the executive committee but a single representative. Yet Pennsylvania has already subscribed millions of dollars toward the expenses of the exhibition and given an example of liberality and patriotism which entitles her to high praise rather than cold criticism upon this floor.

Apart from the question of historic associations, the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the key-stone in the Federal arch, has, in my opinion, strong and peculiar claims to have the centennial demonstrations made within her borders. More than one-fourth of the entire wealth of the nation is in Pennsylvania, and no State better illustrates the marvelous growth and progress attained in a single century under our government of the people. At the date of the Penn charter the population was about 2,500; at the death of Penn, thirty-seven years later, the population was about 100,000; and at the declaration of independence, about 325,000. Since then the census returns show the following remarkable growth:

	Population.	
1790		
1800	602.365	
1810		
	1. 047. 507	
	1, 348, 238	
1860		
1870		

In 1870 the total number of acres in farms in the State was 17,994,200; the yield of wheat was 19,672,967 bushels. In coal the yield was more than one-half of the entire product of the United States. In 1872 the total product of iron in the United States was 2,388,260 tons, of which Pennsylvania furnished nearly one-half. In the same year the yield of petroleum was 6,531,675 barrels.

The State commissioner of statistics has compiled a series of tables for 1872, in which the different sources of wealth are classified and arranged in six groups, each of which is no doubt as nearly correct as it is possible to make it. The result is as follows:

1. Real and personal property	\$3, 475, 831, 851 00
2. Banks and building associations	433, 250, 801 66
3. Railroads and telegraph and canal companies	393, 913, 734 60
4. Corporations, &c., not included in above	1, 519, 128, 870 60
5. Manufactures of all kinds, &c	522, 078, 949 00
6. Coal and oil	
Total	6, 473, 914, 461 86

What product can we show to the world with more of honest pride than a magnificent commonwealth like this, so rapidly and wonderfully developed under the influence of our free institutions?

A MOST PROFITABLE INVESTMENT.

And now let us consider some of the results likely to come from the exhibition of 1876, for the practical American mind demands profit from every investment of money. The exhibition conducted upon the grand scale which it must attain will cost much, but I think there was never before such an opportunity for securing a great return for money appropriated. In the life-time of those who hear me speak there will not, in my opinion, be another such occasion for securing. to the nation and people grand and lasting benefits in the best interests of peace and industry.

The London exhibition of 1851, begun in a season of financial distress, produced results of the greatest magnitude and widest range.

In a paper read by Lord Lennox, M. P., before the Society of Arts in 1866, he observed :

It may be and is undoubtedly true that as a nation we were, at the exhibition of 1851, not equal to the French in our designs, and in our appreciation of artistic beauty of form ; but it is also true that at the exhibition of 1862 our inferiority was admitted on all hands to be unspeakably less apparent than it had been eleven years before on a similar occasion.

When the exhibition was over and the results known, never was public opinion more unanimous than in declaring that the great exhibition had succeeded in clearly manifesting the existence of certain principles, that, if carried out, would confer a solid benefit on those engaged in manufactures and commerce, by bringing about, in the memorable words uttered by the late prince consort at Birmingham "the introduction of science and art as the unconscious regulators of productive industry."

The increase in exports during the two years following the English exhibition of 1851 was £24,485,050; during the two years following the exhibition of 1862, £36,476,789.

The Paris exhibition of 1867 was highly advantageous to France, and, as results have shown, peculiarly profitable to the United States. The section of the exposition occupied by American contributions contained such a collection of specimens of our agricultural, mineral, and other natural productions as had never before been seen in Europe. The richness and extent of these products were the wonder and admiration even of those who had heard and read of our vast resources, and especially to those representatives of the great financial centers of Europe who were seeking for evidences of the material basis of our public credit with a view to ascertaining the safety of our bonds for permanent investments.

In connection with this exhibit, which was the visible and convincing evidence of their truthfulness, were printed statements of the extent and resources and the inducements to settlement of every State

and Territory, each of which was accompanied by a general map on which the mineral deposits were indicated. These documents were freely distributed in the principal languages of Europe, and the fifteen millions of visitors from every quarter of the globe were placed face to face with these sample products, the extent of which and the opportunity of enjoying which were set forth in the printed governmental publication prepared at our General Land Office, which reached every government and every important library, as well as every center of intelligence in Europe. The interest of many of the people of Germany, the British dominions, and other European states was the greater in this question because of the large numbers of their countrymen and kindred who had sought new homes in America, and the effect was correspondingly strong upon their minds.

Now let us see what we can deduce from the officially prepared statistics of this Government as to the probable results of this exhibition upon immigration.

It may be interesting to state, first, that the lowest average value of immigrants to a country receiving them as permanent residents is estimated by Dr. Edward Young, the Chief of the Statistical Bureau, at \$800 per head. Dr. Engel, an eminent statistical authority at Berlin, makes the average at \$1,125, in which the estimate of Mr. Frederick Kapp, one of the commissioners of immigration for the State of New York, coincides.

During the first years of our domestic strife immigration declined to a rate much lower than the usual average, namely: For 1861 it was 91,920 against an average of about 130,000 for the previous three years. In 1864, 1865, and 1866, under the stimulus of war bounties and special efforts to encourage immigration, it reached the following numbers:

	Linenergi accore.		
1864			
1865			
1866	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		

In 1867 it was 298,358; in 1868, 297,215—a gradual downward tendency until the influences of our exhibit at Paris had sufficient time to bear fruit, when we have the following results:

	Immigration.	
1860		
1870	356. 303	
1871		
1872		
1873		

I do not undertake to say positively what percentage of this five years' immigration is due to the influence of the exhibition of 1867; but the average value of it to the United States, at \$300 per immigrant, (Dr. Young's estimate,) is considerably over \$200,000,000 a year. Placing my estimate, then, at 5 per cent., we have as a result \$10,000,000 from this one item of increased resources added to the most permanent and indestructible wealth of the country in one year by our exhibition at Paris. Assuming that there would be some decrease with time in the influence to which I have ascribed this item, I will reduce the percentage to 3 per cent. for the second year, which gives six millions, and to the next 2 per cent., or four millions; to the next 1 per cent., or two millions; making a total of twenty millions.

But what will be the results in increased immigration and in the abiding effects upon our public credit of such a representation as we can make of our agricultural and mineral resources, of all the vast range of raw materials which our soil will produce, of our industries and the compensation of those engaged in them ?

Our public-land system and the abundance of land open in all directions to settlement enable us to secure a direct pecuniary return for outlay in an international exhibition such as no European nation could ever enjoy. European governments, cities, communes, provinces, societies, and the foreign press of all lands will be represented by their best talent, sent out to analyze and report upon these great features of national resources, which control the movements of capital and enterprise. They will send into every department of European life the story of our progress and our development and of our golden opportunities for all in the coming century.

EFFECTS ON NATIONAL CREDIT AND SECURITIES.

There is another important form of benefit to the nation and its finances which presents strong claims for recognition in reviewing the past as well as in contemplating the future, and that is the very marked effect which inevitably flows from a concentrated and wellselected exhibt of our agricultural, mineral, and other specimens which indicate the nature and extent of our productive resources and energies.

How was it at Paris in 1867? It will not be disputed that the market value of our securities was materially affected by the judgment of European financiers, and that such an exhibit as has been described would demonstrate inexhaustible resources. What do the statistics prepared by our Treasury Department disclose on this subject? That the value of our currency advanced as follows:

1867	 	 	70.9
1868	 	 	71.5
1869			72.7

Of course there is no way of positively ascertaining the extent of this appreciation in the public securities due to this exhibition; but it would hardly be extravagant to credit the representation in the heart of Europe with $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent., and it is probable that it may have caused at least 2 or 3 per cent. of this rise in value. Counting the public debt at an even two thousand millions, an appreciation of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. gives as the result \$10,000,000 benefit to the Government and people, bondholders and tax-payers of this country from this source.

What would be the result in this respect not only upon our present but upon our future welfare of a successful international exhibition ?

And may we not legitimately regard this thirty millions derived from two sources which had their origin in our representation at Paris as a sufficient warrant for conferring upon our people the larger benefits of an international exhibition upon our own shores, especially when it can be done by borrowing, as it were, from the earnings of a former exhibition, and will enable us to warm the sentiment of patriotism into new and vigorous life by joining our people, North and South, East and West, in a celebration which for moral grandeur will have had no parallel in all the ages?

Another benefit which lies at the very foundation of national prosperity and wealth has been partially realized by Great Britain as the result mainly of the first great exhibition held within her dominions. British statesmen, manufacturers, and merchants discovered with alarm that their industries had met with a competition which threatened to undermine a vast proportion of her export trade. They found that this was due to the superior workmanship and taste imparted to French, Belgian, Russian, and other products by artisans and designers indebted for their proficiency to superior systems of practical industrial education and training. Another cause of this progressive superiority of foreign competitors was the careful application of science in invention and processes to the economical and rapid production of the articles, fabrics, and commodities which supplied human wants, freighted the ships of Britannia, gave her the balance of trade, and the monopoly of the seas.

With all the energy of her best minds, her profoundest scientists, and industrial capitalists, under the leadership of the wise Prince Albert, who had inaugurated the exhibition, the British government directed itself to securing its industries against further encroachments, and to regaining its old prestige in international competition.

It was a slow and laborious process; but they succeeded in establishing the great industrial, artistic, and scientific museum at South Kensington, which has since become the source and center of a national system of industrial training which has shown its ever-increasing efficiency at succeeding exhibitions, thus exerting a saving influence on manufactures, art, and trade.

However triumphantly we have competed and may again compete in various departments of machinery and invention with other nations, we are now and have been suffering for the want of increased occupations, which will come to us with increased diversification of arts and products.

An international exhibition is of the first necessity to disclose to us the wide range of these arts and industries, a monopoly of which improved training in applied science and art now secures to a few European nations.

Can we afford to lose this golden opportunity or lessen by delay its redeeming effects? Shall we gain a half century in progress at a single bound, or shall we give up the race, as if we, as a republic, were incapable of competing with monarchical nations in the great race of human progress?

NECESSITY OF GOVERNMENTAL RECOGNITION.

Mr. Speaker, to my mind many of the arguments used by the opponents of the pending bill are as unreasonable, not to say ridiculous, as the reply of the old lady who, when recently asked to subscribe to the stock of the centennial board of finance, said she would not subscribe a single dollar until the money raised for the last centennial had been accounted for. And the most unreasonable of all these arguments is, in my opinion, that which would entirely disconnect the Government from our proposed international exhibition, even in the face of the two acts of Congress upon the statute-books to which I have referred. Not only is it too late to undo this legislation without unending disgrace to the nation, but it is absolutely essential that the Government should be fully identified with the undertaking in order to secure co-operation from abroad. The powers which have acted favorably upon the President's proclamation of July last have done so with the understanding that it was an official invitation to a national affair, and those holding back are only awaiting to be sure that such is the character of the invitation or commendation.

Baron Schwarz, the director general of the Vienna exhibition, when recently asked how foreign governments could be interested in the centennial exhibition, replied: "Through the action of your home Government and of its diplomatic agents abroad. The managers of your exhibition cannot address themselves directly to foreign governments. As far as Europe is concerned, it must be an exhibition made by the United States and not by private parties." Hence the importance of governmental sanction and support at every step, and the danger of the impression which must inevitably go abroad from the defeat of the measure now under discussion.

Mr. Speaker, the great and ever-growing West, the broad region of mountain and plain beyond the Mississippi, feels a deep interest in the success of the centennial exhibition. That vast country, if unexplored and uninhabited, save by the wily savage, when the declaration of

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1776 was made, is now musical with the voice of industry and its busy people are second to none in the Union in their devotion to the principles upon which the Government was founded and has so signally flourished. They want to join heartily with the men of the North, the South, and the East in making the demonstrations of 1876 such as must be memorable in the annals of the Republic and of the world. The Pacific coast, with its thrifty States and Territories, what a wealth of display may it contribute to the great exhibition! Already a hundred boxes of specimens of precious ores have reached Philadelphia from this El Dorado, which since the London exhibition of 1851 has yielded to the world more than \$1,500,000,000 in gold and silver, and has grown to be an empire in itself.

When before in the history of mankind have there arisen within a period so brief social organizations of such magnitude and importance, embracing such varied resources, embodying so much wealth and enterprise, so much intellectual power and civic experience, as are combined in these latest-born offspring of the Republic that have cradled themselves amid the murnurs of the Pacific? The dreams of romance have been more than realized in the sober facts of their recent history; and their progress from unpeopled solitudes to republican provinces would transcend the limits of credulity anywhere but among a people accustomed to the transformations which the American continent alone has presented.

> Dared I but say a prophecy, As sang the holy men of old, Of rock-built cities yet to be, Along these shining shores of gold, Crowding athirst into the sea, What wondrous marvels might be told!

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I have to say that apart from the question of sentiment aroused by this debate, sentiment in which our fathers fondly indulged, and of which we cannot, in my judgment, have too much, it seems to me that the representatives of the people in Congress assembled will be warranted by every consideration of national honor, dignity, and interest in insuring the success of the centennial exhibition, whatever amount it may be necessary to appropriate for such purpose. If any nation can afford to be liberal and should be liberal on such an occasion it is this; and knowing the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific as I do, I am satisfied beyond the shadow of a doubt, whatever may here be intimated to the contrary, that if the popular vote could be polled on the subject the verdict would be, "Make it as grand, as noble, as memorable as the Republic is resplendent in its history, its achievements, its vast dominions, and its world-wide renown."

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