was found that he was suffering from an extensive and malignant abscess. This caused serious hemorrhages, which greatly depleted his system, and left him weak and emaciated. He put himself permanently under the physician's care, and Dr. Mallan has attended him constantly while he was in this city. Dr. N. S. Lincoln, a physician of great repute in this city, being called into consultation occasionally. Mr. Randall rallied and grew stronger and was getting on fairly well until last February, when he had a severe rigor, brought on probably by the weather. This rigor was accompanied by severe abdominal pains, and there were symptoms of peritonitis. From this time exhaustion began to set in, and the sick man's course was downward. Septicæmia was also present, and a chill and severe diarrhœa about two weeks ago brought the case to a critical stage.

Up to a short time ago Mr. Randall had confidence in his ability to pull through his sickness, and told a visiting Congressman that he thought he was mending and that he would be able to resume his duties in Congress. He joined the Presbyterian Church about two months ago. Mr. Wanamaker spoke to him on this subject, and Mr. Randall replied that he had been thinking of this matter for some time and would like to become a member of the church. Arrangements were effected by which he entered the Metropolitan Presbyterian Church on Capitol Hill. Dr. Chester is the pastor, and will probably conduct the funeral services in this city.

The news of Mr. Randall's death became generally known during the day. It was expected, and therefore was not so much of a shock as it otherwise would have been. A large number of persons called at the residence during the day to express their condolences. They were received by Mr. Lancaster, the son-in-law. The President and Mrs. Harrison sent a basket of flowers, with a note expressing their deep sympathy with the family. Speaker Reed called in the afternoon to express his regrets and to learn the wishes of the family with respect to the funeral services. He informed Mr. Lancaster that he would carry out the wishes of the family in all things. Among the other callers were Secretary Blaine, ex-Senator Ferry of Michigan, who stood next to Mr. Randall during the electoral count proceedings; ex-Speaker Carlisle, Representatives Breckinridge of Kentucky and Springer of Illinois, and many others. Sergeant-at-Arms Holmes called and took charge of the remains for the House of Representatives. They were embalmed and placed in a casket in the room in which Mr. Randall died. It is said that the dead man presents a lifelike appearance, except that he is emaciated and wasted to a remarkable degree.

The house in which Mr. Randall died is a plain three-story press-brick house, with marble trimmings and marble steps. It is not far from the Capitol, and is in a quiet, homelike neighborhood, away from the more fashionable part of Capitol Hill. It is one of a row, all precisely alike, which are typical Philadelphia houses, and look as though they might have been removed from the Quaker City and laid down in Washington.

The expression of regret at Mr. Randall's death was universal and sincere. None paid him higher tributes of admiration and respect than his Democratic colleagues in the House, who differed with him vitally upon one of the most important measures in Congress. Representative Roger Q. Mills had not heard of Mr. Randall's death when an Associated Press reporter called at about 1 o'clock and asked his opinion of Mr. Randall. Mr. Mills spoke feelingly and earnestly.

"He was a great man," said he, "a man of unimpeachable integrity, and a natural-born leader of men. He had more of the elements of leadership than any man I have come in contact with since I have been in public life. Nothing but his views on the tariff could have prevented him from being the leader of the Democratic party. It it had not been for that he would have been nominated for President in 1876, and," said Mr. Mills with emphasis, "he would have been elected and seated, for he would have had his rights. He was strong when he believed his opinions were right he would never change them, no matter what might happen. I never saw such remarkable determination. When he set his lips and brought down his chin that great jaw of his nothing could change him. Why, when our tariff bill was up I pleaded with him, urged and begged him to make some concessions and compromise, but he believed he was right and could not be moved. When all his party except Sowsell had come over to the Republicans and come over, he still held out and would not move. That was the only thing on which we differed. There is nothing good and great you cannot say for me about Randall. I esteemed him highly. My feelings toward him were of the kindest, and I had great admiration and personal attachment for him."

Speaker Reed said: "It would be useless to try to express in a few words the sense of great loss which we all feel in Mr. Randall's death. My esteem for him was very great, and I have always had and expressed the highest admiration for his steadfastness and courage. He was a good friend, a brave man, and a statesman beyond reproach."

Mr. Carlisle, who was just returning from a visit to the Randall residence, said: "My personal acquaintance with Mr. Randall began when I entered the Forty-fifth Congress, in October, 1877. Ever since then our relations have been not only friendly, but quite intimate. Although we differed widely upon some very important subjects, we agreed to allowed these differences to interfere with our friendship. I have always regarded him as an honest man in public life, and he was undoubtedly a man who had strong convictions and the courage to stand by them. I think that his death is a great loss to his party and to the country, and that he deserves to be remembered for a great many important public services."

Major McKinley said: "The death of Samuel J. Randall takes out of public life one of the ablest and purest of our statesmen. He was a great man, and for twenty-five years has been a positive force in national affairs. During all of his long service in the House, amid the fiercest conflicts when passion ruled, Mr. Randall was always true to his country, to his convictions, and to his constituents, making everything yield to his convictions of public duty. He was a national leader of men. No man could have been a greater one. He will be missed in the nation's councils. Few men have filled a larger space than he. Before disease had taken hold of him, he was a majestic figure in the House. As a Speaker, he seemed fitted for the post—always firm and resolute in party contests, yet fair and courteous to his opponents. In the great contest of 1876, no man can tell what might have happened but for his strong, fearless and clear head. I shall feel his death a personal loss. Not the least of Mr. Randall's qualities were his standing integrity and rugged honesty."

Representative Holman, who served with Mr. Randall on the Appropriations Committee for many years, said that Mr. Randall was one of the greatest men of his time, and that during the years he was in Congress he had done more to shape legislation and had impressed his views more clearly upon our statute books than any other man in either House. He was a man of unswerving integrity, and would never support any measure which involved any useless or extravagant expenditure, even if it was to be spent in his own district; but if, on the other hand, it was for the good of the country, it found in him a warm friend and earnest advocate. "Mr. Randall," added Mr. Holman, "was by long odds the ablest member of the House, and was one of its most loved and respected members."

Representative Cannon, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, of which Mr. Randall was one of the members at the time of his death, said: "I served with Mr. Randall in the House of Representatives for more than sixteen years. He was one of the people, loved them, and believed in them. His knowledge of them, coupled with his courage and ability, made him a leader in his party—a real force in the nation. There are few men in public life who more strongly affected legislation and public sentiment than he. He was the best friends and the best of enemies. In his death the country suffers a great loss."

A number of telegrams of condolence from well-known men, mostly Pennsylvanians, were received by Mrs. Randall.

At 10 o'clock to-night Mr. Wanamaker said that the funeral had been fixed for Thursday morning. The arrangements will be in charge of a Congress Committee to be appointed to-morrow morning. Mrs. Randall prefers that the services shall be held in the church of which Mr. Randall was a member, and not in the House of Representatives. This church is the Metropolitan Presbyterian Church, Dr. Chester pastor, at the corner of Fourth and B streets, S. E. Nine or 10 o'clock will be the hour fixed for the services. After the ceremonies the funeral party will take a special train over the Pennsylvania Railroad to Philadelphia, where the interment will take place in the Randall family vault in Laurel Hill Cemetery. Brief services will be held there. The train is not expected to go into the city, but will stop at the Ridge Avenue Church.

A friend of Mr. Randall's said this evening that when he joined the church, two months ago, Mr. Randall fully expected to recover. Had he lived, from what he had said, he would unquestionably have taken a decided stand in church matters. His conversion was the result of his having leisure time, and had been as thoroughly studied by him as an appropriation bill. There was no sham about this, as there was no sham about Samuel J. Randall in anything. He became thoroughly convinced of his need of religion, and then, his mind being at rest, he became happier than he had been at any other time. All the family noticed it.

SAMUEL J. RANDALL.

The career of Mr. Randall is finished. He had barely passed the prime of his life, yet he had spent nearly thirty years in continuous service in the House of Representatives. That is a term of service of extraordinary length. His colleague from Philadelphia, the late Judge Kelley, alone of all the members of the present House, served longer, although another colleague, Mr. O'Neill, took his seat in 1863 with Mr. Randall. The history of this great citizen is contained, therefore, in the record of Congress from those dark days of the war, when he was first elected, until the present time. In this duty his life was absorbed, there his energies centred, and there is to be found the record of his preeminent services to the people, the Government, and to his party.

It is safe to say that no other man, of all the great number who have been from the beginning chosen as national legislators, was so completely identified with the House of Representatives for such a term of years as Mr. Randall was. Henry Clay's service there was shorter and irregular. John Quincy Adams, perhaps more than any other, resembled Mr. Randall in this respect. Although he entered the House when he was nearly as old as Mr. Randall was at his death, yet his service was only six years shorter than that of Randall. But we doubt if there can be found any other who for twenty-six years gave himself so entirely, without a single abstracting pursuit, to national legislation.

This was the business of his life, no other endeavor could tempt him away. He had opportunities that promised to yield wealth, but he declined them. He could have exchanged his seat for executive posts of honor, either in politics or commercial affairs, but he permitted nothing to distract him from his duty as a Representative in Congress. In this respect Mr. Randall's career is probably unprecedented.

He entered Congress when he was a young man. He was born in the October before John Quincy Adams's Administration ended, and he was elected to Congress in the second year of Lincoln's Administration. He found the lower House of Congress, when he entered it, controlled by a Republican majority that contained many men of great ability, and he also found himself one of a remarkable group of very young men whose development seems to have been quickened by the excitement of the war period. In this group were some who afterward became chief among the history makers; one of them was chosen President afterward, another was nominated for the Presidency, but was defeated, three others were at different times formidable Republican candidates for that nomination, and two others were leading candidates for the Democratic nomination. One was a candidate for Vice-President afterward upon the ticket with McClellan, while a number of these young men afterward served in different Cabinets and in the Senate.

This group formed perhaps the most conspicuous array of young men ever gathered together in the House. There were, for instance, James G. Blaine, James A. Garfield, William B. Allison, William Windom, upon the Republican side of the aisle, and Mr. Randall, William S. Holman, George H. Pendleton, and William R. Morrison upon the Democratic side. Mr. Coukling had served in the preceding Congress, and was again to appear in the subsequent one; but he had been defeated in the canvass for this one by Francis Kernan.

With one or two exceptions these young Congressmen were born during the first Administration of Andrew Jackson, and their ages averaged thirty-three years. The oldest was not four years older than the youngest. Garfield, Morrison, and Randall came from the field of war; Garfield after dallying with the rival temptations of military and political ambition, Morrison because a bullet had pierced his lungs and he could not remain in the field, and Randall as a non-commissioned officer of a Philadelphia company that had seen service in 1861 and again at the Gettysburg campaign. It was in his first service as a volunteer that Mr. Randall revealed to the Government his power of judging men with accuracy. He served under Col. George H. Thomas, and he had not been very long in contact with that great man before he discovered the intellect that was in him. With characteristic promptness Randall, although a private soldier, wrote to Mr. Cameron, Secretary of War, setting forth the genius of that great captain. It was the first revelation to the Government of the man they had in George H. Thomas.

Randall, like all the others of that group, had practised politics before his election, but with the exception of Blaine, he was the only one who had not practised law also. He was trained for a merchant, and for ten years after reaching his majority he was in active business in Philadelphia, both as clerk and partner. He had inherited from his father, however, a political bias, which the parent must have suspected: for he took the son with him to the Convention that nominated Buchanan for President, and there young Randall got his first impulse in national politics.

The taste of politics he had at that time unquestionably revealed to him his vocation. "I suspected after the Buchanan campaign that I was cut out for a politician," he said to a friend in 1878, on the occasion of a public reception in his honor in Philadelphia. It was during the years 1857 and 1858 that Mr. Randall began to cultivate the acquaintance of men influential in Philadelphia, and to reveal his capacity for good fellowship. This genial side of his nature was a natural trait. He did not acquire it; and his great personal popularity came to him as a result of his disposition, which was the soul of good fellowship. But as the sterner business came to him, and the higher ideals commanded him, he found it necessary to repress this natural inclination. The sternness of his later days was a trait acquired by discipline.

It was this personal popularity that made Mr. Randall a successful candidate for the Philadelphia City Council and the Pennsylvania Senate, and a year or two later it resulted in his election for Congress as the solitary Democrat from Philadelphia. That city was conspicuously zealous in the war times, and contained an overwhelming Republican majority; therefore the election of a Democrat to Congress from one of its districts was a subject for comment, and Mr. Randall found himself somewhat conspicuous in the little minority of Democrats who were elected to the thirty-eighth Congress.

The career then begun, as we glance back at it, is easily divided into eras characteristic of the achievements which have distinguished Mr. Randall. These are the constructive, the administrative, and the conservative eras in his career. In all of them we shall see displayed those forces of intellect and character that made achievements possible which in some respects have never been equalled by any member of any Congress. We are struck at the very beginning of his career by his power of self-formation, his constancy, and his integrity, using that word in its highest and broadest sense. In respect of these traits he was furnished to a higher degree than any other of his contemporaries, perhaps than any other man that ever served in the lower House of Congress.

When Mr. Randall entered Congress he was inexperienced in legislative activity. The few months spent in the Pennsylvania Senate provided the only opportunity that he had ever had to become familiar with the Congress procedure. He knew the familiar rules of parliamentary law but he knew nothing of the procedure of the House, the mastery of which is really a profession.

He knew comparatively little of the subjects for legislation which command the greater part of the energies of the House. He had all this to learn. Probably no better indication can be found that his ambition was fixed and his purpose decided during the first session of this Congress, than the effort which Randall at once made to master those rules of the House. No one who did not purpose a career in Congress ever has attempted or will attempt to possess this necessary aid; and, although the rules were not so intricate then as now, yet they were sufficiently paradoxical and labyrinthine to cause despair to many who tried to master them. The failure of many men to sustain themselves in the House of Representatives can be traced to their inability to master its rules. They cannot be commanded by committing them to memory. It is the power to apply the rules to each situation as it arises that indicates the mastery of them.

Mr. Randall was assigned to a comparatively unimportant committee, that of Public Buildings and Grounds, so that he had abundant opportunity to study parliamentary procedure. He devoted himself to it. He was in the habit of taking the rulings of the day and comparing them with the precedents; he spent many hours at night following up the points of order made by experienced members, and in fixing in his memory the law upon which these points were sustained or rejected. He made briefs, so to speak, in which he laid down the reasons for the order of parliamentary procedure, and he watched the running fire of cross-debate with the keenest interest, because therein he found exemplified the rules of the House in all its various moods.

Herein we find displayed that self-formative power which was one of the most notable traits of Mr. Randall's character. He was not only obliged to lean upon himself, but it was his nature to do so. He had no intimates in the majority and no special friends among the older members of his own circle. He not only lacked experience, but he lacked opportunity, such as a more favored member would have, of getting immediate experience; therefore he set out to form himself, by himself, in his own way, that he might be fitted for that career which he must have believed awaited him.

He came forth from this discipline, in the course of a year or two, one of the few great masters of the parliamentary procedure of the House. In later days, his instantaneous command of the rules, whether upon his feet or in the Speaker's chair, seemed to be almost inspirational; but this power was due wholly to the concentrated effort he made at the beginning of his career to command the machinery of Congress.

In another respect Mr. Randall revealed thus early the purpose which had come to him. He determined to understand what the chief duties of the lower House were, how they were begun and consummated. His attention was thus directed to the two chief objects of national legislation, the devising of ways and means for raising money to carry on the Government, and the formulating of the proper way of spending it. Although he was powerless under the rules to say a word, yet he began to study every subject of revenue bills and appropriation. He used to investigate the proposed measures, spending many hours at night in this study. He studied the record of previous legislatures, he delved into the history of appropriations, and he accumulated a vast amount of information upon this subject which would have been useless to him had he not looked to a prolonged career in Congress.

While he was thus engaged, Mr. Randall was scrupulous in his attention to his committee duties and in his attendance upon the sessions. Careful attention to the most trivial duties characterized his entire career. It was said some years ago by one of Mr. Randall's friends that his record in this respect excelled that of every man in the lower member of Congress, with the possible exception of John Quincy Adams.

He sat with the minority, and was conspicuous among them for the application he gave to everything that was before the House. It was simply working business, but it was conspicuous. His first public act was to introduce a resolution calling for larger pay for soldiers, and from the day that he entered Congress, it is said, no man exceeded him in the desire to see the Government do everything that might be honorably done for these servants.

Scattered through the records of this Congress are occasional sentences of four or five words which indicate that Mr. Randall at that time was impressed with the evil tendency to make extravagant and improper appropriation. In a speech delivered in the latter part of 1864 he declared that he sometimes thought and feared that, having conquered rebellion, the Government would have to face other and perhaps greater, because more insidious perils, namely, corruption, extravagancy, of assaults upon the Treasury, and of a low sense of responsibility and public integrity.

We discover, too, that Mr. Randall at this time began to reveal a profound conception of the sublime and eternal principles that are the foundation of true Democracy. It seemed to him that a return to these principles was the only recourse for the Government in this time of post-bellum peril. But he then revealed the intuitions of the true statesman in that, perceiving the fundamental peril and its remedy, he yet knew that patience was essential to the consummation of his purpose to establish that remedy. No man knew better than he that the Democratic organization of the North was not then well anchored to the sure foundations of Democratic principles, but a shattered organization; it was bearing the burden of reproach of sympathizing with the South; a burden which was unjust, but for which some intemperate-minded men were partly responsible; it had fallen with strange perversity rule an unsuccessful General for President and had put him on a platform which declared the war a failure. It had nominated with him a man of great prominence in the West who had expressed certain financial declarations which Democrats were afterward compelled to repudiate. The party was drifting without sail or pilot, seemingly a derelict.

It is not our purpose to speak of the saving remnant of Democrats out of Congress who held fast to Democratic anchorage. But of all those there in the lower House of Congress, none saw with clearer eye than Randall that the principles of Democracy must be reestablished or that the Government would perish. He entered upon his second term fully appreciating his opportunity and convinced of the responsibility of his position. His work was a work of construction which he was to do. He had carried on the personal work of self-formation and he was to continue it, that he might be fitted for this work of construction; and he was possessed of the spirit of reverence to a degree not excelled by any other who ever stood upon that floor. These, with integrity and the intuitive knowledge of men, are the qualities which make a great leader in a stormy parliamentary body like the House. Mr. Randall was endowed with these qualities, and they served him in emergencies where lighter accomplishments would have been as straws blown about by the wind.

"I was amazed," said Mr. Randall a few years ago, "to see men whom I knew to be sincere patriots during the war force the Congressionalizing tendency that followed the war." He saw men of undoubted personal honor voting away millions of dollars for palpable extravagances. He heard men who during the war had claimed that the States in rebellion were still in the Union, and that the Confederacy had had never taken them out of it, now preaching the doctrine that these States were really out of the Union, and could only be received back on the victor's terms. He was one of the first who perceived the blunder made by so many of the Republican leaders, of confusing the States with the army that had fought to take them out of the Union, of confounding individuals of the South with the autonomy of the States. In one of his elaborate speeches, made at that time, Mr. Randall alluded to this stupendous error, and said that he could not comprehend how intelligent men could have been so confounded. He also saw a shameful degradation of the tone of legislation respecting appropriations, and perceived the corruption of public sentiment honesty prevailed which resulted, not long after "in the impeachment of five Federal Judges, in the exposure of the sale of West Point cadetships, in the Whiskey Ring scandal, and finally in the Credit Mobilier corruption," and this indictment that is put in quotation marks here, is made by no unfriendly tongue, but is the indictment drawn against his party by George F. Hoar.

But over and above all, Mr. Randall's fears were most aroused by what he regarded as a conspiracy against the form of the Government, as dangerous as that conspiracy which led to secession, and that was the movement to crush the coordinate power of the Executive by the impeachment of Andrew Johnson and the expulsion of him from his office.

Mr. Randall over and over again termed this conspiracy a blow aimed at the very core of the form of government. Now all of these dangers and the need of contending with them perfected in Randall his conception of Democracy as a principle and a rule of conduct. Democracy as formulated by its founders, And, while he had no parrot-like platitudes to utter, he began to reveal at this time that profound understanding of the philosophy of Democracy which subsequently led to his recognition on both sides of the aisle as the great Democrat of the House.

Facing this almost overwhelming wave of evil tendencies and this great conspiracy Mr. Randall began his work of construction. His short, crisp utterances upon the floor of Congress at this time reveal his purpose. It was to maintain Democracy, and not so much that his party might be reorganized as that the Government itself might escape deadly peril. He predicted then that the Republican party would only save itself by planting itself upon the Democratic principles of justice, economy, and integrity, but he had no idea it would do so until compelled by the prospect of Democratic ascendancy. To place this barrier across the demoralizing tendency Mr. Randall perceived that it was necessary to construct—that is, to build up, to restore the Democratic party—and that the initiative must be taken in Congress. And from the summer of '65 until he saw his work done, nine years later, Randall was absorbed in the work of construction.

Randall was no cunning politician of the smaller sort, no seeker of personal advancement, ready to reach his pinnacle of success over the political ruins he had made. During his career from '65 until the end, he did all those things which a petty politician would not do, and he did none of those things which a petty politician would do to gain personal prestige and advancement. Understanding fully that the course he was taking would be likely to wreck any personal ambition for higher office, he deliberately undertook responsibilities which would inevitably make enemies of strong men. His purpose was a dangerous one for a mere politician who plays for favor, but a glorious undertaking for the man who looks for national results that make honorable history. If Mr. Randall had been inspired by the desire for personal advancement, for that sort of political success which is indicated by promotion from one office to another, he would have trimmed his sails to catch the prevailing political winds in Pennsylvania. No Philadelphia Democrat could hope for such advancement. But as a Republican Mr. Randall could have hoped for all that Pennsylvania could give, and when the temptation to swing over was whispered to him, as it was in '65, and again later on, he spurned it.

It was a minority impotent in numbers with which Mr. Randall found himself at the opening of the Thirty-ninth Congress in December, 1865. It was just big enough to sit in a corner of the House. It was less than one-third of the entire party. It seemed to the majority so petty to be concerned about. It was tolerated with condescending pity; it was regarded as the last vestige of a once great party, and, not without some reason. If was what was left after the political carnage of 1864, when McClellan had carried only one Northern State. It consisted of about thirty members, nearly all of them from the border States. It was with this little remnant at his back that Mr. Randall began the work of construction. He easily took his place as the leader of it. In the technical and legal argument with which the minority opposed the reconstruction plans of the majority Mr. Kerr and Mr. Niblack went to the front. But in the leadership which upon this floor directs and controls, Mr. Randall was recognized as one of the chiefs. His patience and masterly self-discipline in respect of the rules furnished him with an ever-ready weapon, and in the councils of the little minority his opinions prevailed. Yet that a strikingly Democratic outlook. Thirty men at his back, some of them of no account, some better away than there, a solid Republican North, New Jersey alone excepted; the Southern States kept out of Congress by the party which claimed to have whipped them back into the Union, and with no rights upon the floor that the two-thirds majority were bound to respect. It was in the face of all this that he set out almost single handed to renew the Government.

Mr. Randall became a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and, we think, at his own request, and as a part of his purpose to lead the Democratic party back to its proper place. He saw that the party had got to come before the country with clean hands itself, and hands entirely clean it had not. A sentiment seemed to be gaining its way into the organization which he regarded with horror. It was a sentiment which ran counter not only to his idea of Democratic principles, but also to one of the strongest forces of his nature, his integrity. It was a sentiment that contained the seeds that might blossom into the repudiation of the war debt. Probably it was with this sentiment in view, partially, that Mr. Randall asked to be appointed a member of that committee.

He began at once to head off this sentiment. He had scarcely taken his seat in the Thirty-ninth Congress when he introduced a resolution which was meant for a note of warning for Democrats and for a positive affirmation of the position of Congress upon this matter of repudiation. This was a resolution declaring that every cent, principal and interest, of the war debt and every obligation of the Government should be paid according to terms, and upon this resolution he demanded the yeas and nays. He got them, and by an almost unanimous vote Congress sustained his resolution, and it went very far toward choking down the sentiment that was arising.

With equal vigor Mr. Randall stamped out the little conspiracy to force the Government to pay the rebel war debt. "Not one cent of it," were Mr. Randall's words on the floor of the House; "but I want those who were engaged in rebellion to go to work and help us pay our national debt." His action upon these two heresies brought Mr. Randall conspicuously before the country, and tended to place him at once at the head of his party in the House. This was a place which he kept by unceasing vigilance. He had not only to watch the opposition, but, what was still more difficult, to keep an eye upon some of those who were upon his side of the House. The *Congressional Globe* is full of the evidences of that watchfulness. A suggestion, a point of order, a demand for the yeas and nays, hundreds of interruptions—these traces of his leadership are now met with upon the pages of the record. He delivered only one prepared speech in this session, and it was one of the very few times he ever made. This was an argument spoken in February, 1866, upon the reconstruction policy.

Mr. Randall was in his 38th year when he delivered this speech, and nothing that he ever subsequently uttered in the way of a formal speech exceeded this address for power of logical reasoning, lucidity of expression, and a profound knowledge of constitutional principles. It was upon the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion. It was the occasion when the initiatory steps in the policy of the Republican party upon that subject were developed. Mr. Randall was not bred a lawyer, but he had during his first term in Congress closely studied constitutional law. Mr. Kerr and Mr. Niblack brought with them to the House excellent reputations as lawyers, and their arguments upon this question read like lawyers' briefs. Mr. Randall's speech differed from theirs because it was an address which laymen as well as lawyers could understand, and in the four conclusions with which he summarized his entire speech he stated the constitutional question as completely, as lucidly, and as compactly as it was possible. It was an exposition of constitutional principles which had all the clearness and profundity of convention at which might have been expected from a bench of learned judges. The preeminent ability displayed by this speech brought to Randall the recognition for intellectual force which he had already obtained as a man competent to do those things which make political leaders. In other and later speeches he showed more aggressive power, perhaps, than in this, but, as an example of orderly and logical processes of thought, of the power to express abstract principles with lucidity and so that they could be comprehended by all, and in the revelation of his grasp of the Democratic principles upon which the Constitution is built, this speech will stand comparison with the best efforts in either House of Congress.

We may as well, at this point, touch upon Mr. Randall's traits as a public speaker. He was not an orator, in the ordinary meaning of that word. He had not the imagination that makes the popular orator, nor had he any such command of the graces of elocution and the charms of rhetoric as are thought necessary for commanding public speaking. His voice, although clear and penetrating, had a high pitch, something like that of Lincoln. He used no gestures, except now and then a flourish with his right hand. He did not move from the place where he stood. He always listened with respectful attention to "the oldest speaker," but he could detect at once whether each was in earnest or was merely showing off. But sincerity in speech commanded his respect, and sincerity was an element of his own character and the groundwork of all his eloquence. There is one thing in his speeches that reminds the reader of Lincoln's capacity to grasp a subject, to treat it logically, and to expound it lucidly. This faculty is the more remarkable because outside of his vocation Mr. Randall was not a well-read man, and his command of English was limited, although complete within its limitations. He made comparatively few set speeches. The one to which we have referred was the only occasion in six years in which he delivered a prolonged address. His power was in the short rounds of debate, in give and take, in three-minute and five-minute speeches, in the interjection of a sentence, which might have made the text for a prolonged argument.

Mr. Randall served upon the Banking and Currency Committee for a number of years. It was a congenial place for him, for he was trained as a merchant, and he had sound business ideas. Integrity was the basis of his business belief, and it governed with a special force in his treatment of public as well as of individual obligation.

The Banking and Currency Committee dealt with prodigious subjects at that time. There was the national banking system calling for greater privileges; there was the question of the currency, what it should be, and what the Government should do in the way of dealing with that already emitted. There was the question of the refunding of the debt, and there were many collateral subjects of great importance.

Mr. Randall at once began to prepare himself to master the history, past and contemporary, of the national financial system. This preparation involved prodigious labor. The ramifications of the national system, which Chase had created under Lincoln, were very great. The history of the establishment of the fiscal policy and of its development was a story of financial construction unequaled in the history of this, or perhaps of any, Government.

Mr. Randall, in his investigation, took no man's word for anything. He investigated for himself. He went for the facts in the original and relied upon nobody's say so as to what they were. The mere drudgery of this work was appalling, and would have driven a man of less constancy away in despair. But as a result of this labor it may be affirmed that no other man who has served with him in Congress from that day to this, except John Sherman and William Pitt Fessenden, possessed such a complete knowledge of the fiscal history and policy of the Government. We once heard John Sherman say that Mr. Randall could have stepped from the Speaker's chair to be the man of the Treasury Department and administer that office without a moment's embarrassment.

Having mastered the history and the facts and the conditions, Mr. Randall applied the tests of Democracy to every financial subject that came before the committee. And although some of his propositions at that time were denounced and he was accused of being an obstructionist, yet we know of no completer vindication than that which he lived to see established in regard to his propositions. His was one of the first and then almost the solitary voice raised in Congress in his own party against the heresy of repudiation. When a Democrat from Ohio declared openly for repudiation Mr. Randall rose to reply. His speech was spoken in a breath. There were not ten lines of it in print, yet he compacted into it a denunciation of the heresy than which none more powerful was ever uttered.

"Repudiation," said he, "stands in no other light than dishonesty, but I do not think the danger of repudiation comes from such speeches as that just uttered, but from the extravagance, corruption, undue and unequalled taxation placed upon the statute books by the majority of the House."

He lived to see repudiation crushed, and the men who proposed it looked upon as fools. He declared against the extension of the national bank circulation because he believed it unbusinesslike, in that the Government could just as well issue its own notes as guarantee the notes of the banks. This he regarded not only as unbusinesslike but undemocratic, because it granted special privileges. His position was criticised as absurd and his reasoning as specious. But he lived to see a great portion of the people hold to this view and the Government's policy more and more directed toward the adoption of it.

He declared as early as 1867 that the Government was paying its debt too rapidly, involving excessive taxation, and he insisted that the true policy was to cut away at the war taxes, retain the internal revenue taxes, and reduce the interest, and to bring the revenues within the mark of an economical, but not parsimonious, administration of the Government. He lived to see these declarations admitted, and to see a Democratic House of his party take up this very position and apply it to a theory which Mr. Randall never contemplated as Democratic.

Perhaps it may be well to say here something of the habit that has prevailed of speaking of Mr. Randall as an honest man. It has passed along from mouth to mouth that whatever else Randall might be he was personally an honest man. This was a condescending sort of praise which did not please him. He saw no merit in it. To him honesty was not an accidental principle of character and as great a necessity of civilization as breathing is to existence. He was honest to the very core of his being, and honesty meant for him not only the not taking of money which belonged to others, but it meant absolute justice and integrity in man or in bodies of men in their relations.

We may refer here to his poverty. It was a matter of choice with him. He had abundant honorable opportunities to amass a fortune. Pecuniary prosperity and a fortuitous and of a worthy kind were often made to him. With such traits as he possessed he could not have failed to become conspicuous in the business world. But he remained poor because he chose to stay in politics and fight the battle of Democracy. The constancy of his nature would not permit him to be tempted to distract his attention from that which he had set out to do in the cause of the Democratic party and of his party.

Mr. Randall looked upon the national election of 1868 as of consequence to the Democratic party only in its formative possibilities. He knew that the election of Gen. Grant was assured on account of his military prestige, and that he would have to see the Democratic organization could have gone into the battle without some of those entanglements which prevented it from getting the best results out of the discipline of a canvass. He looked upon this canvass really as preliminary to a battle in 1872 wherein the Democratic party could hope to be successful, and upon an issue representing the difference between Republicanism and sound Democracy. Had Mr. Pendleton been nominated in 1868 it is very doubtful whether Mr. Randall would have taken the stump, although he was those years his friend, because Mr. Pendleton was regarded as the exponent of financial theories which Mr. Randall believed to be undemocratic. But he gave Mr. Seymour his cordial support, looking upon that statesman as the truest, as well as one of the most patriotic, of Democrats.

Although the election of 1868 resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory, yet Mr. Randall perceived that the elements existed which would call upon him before another national canvass to reveal such a frightful state of corruption and extravagances that a reaction to Democratic principles would be inevitable. He declared at that time that it was his conviction that the time was coming, and was very near at hand, when the principles of Democracy would triumph, and would check the centralizing and debauched tendencies of the times.

Mr. Randall was no scandal hunter. He was not fond of searching for the iniquities of men, but did not shrink when the occasion demanded investigation, and it was his theory that the only permanent and safe policy was to create such a public atmosphere, and to administer the laws so rigidly that scandals would be impossible.

We estimate at this time his work of mastering those subjects of legislation involved in the appropriation bills. The labor this involved was immense. His studies of appropriations were systematic and like those a philosophical historian. Sometimes he labored for weeks over the history of a single item. He spent many hours in the departments, going back to original sources for information, and in the course of two or three years he had informed himself, as we believe, as well as any man in Congress ever did, upon the subjects outside of his own committee room, and as completely as a Chairman of the Appropriations Committee serving through many Congresses could have done. In this way he became absolutely master of all showing a searching grasp of Government machinery. In the course of a year after he first entered Congress and served on the Committee of Buildings and Grounds, he had thoroughly acquainted himself with subjects sprung to come before the committee, and it was said at the time that no man in Congress knew the public buildings and grounds as he did. We have shown how he learned, while serving on the Banking and Currency Committee, the history and operation of the fiscal system of the Government, and he was master of it too upon his feet in sudden emergencies, and could demonstrate his proposition at an instant's demand with the clearness with which a mathematical professor could demonstrate a proposition in arithmetic. But in the study of the appropriations he went still further, and we think that his case is without precedent in that he voluntarily took up a task which belonged to a committee of which he was not a member, so that he might inform himself for the instruction he expected from the work he had before him. At a later period he did this same thing with the business that came before the Ways and Means Committee.

He was thus in a position during the entire term of Gen. Grant, both from his information, his authority, and his courage, to mold that republican majority in the House, and perhaps than any other man in the country to formulate and expound the principles upon which the Democratic party should be reconstructed. His record throughout Grant's tenure reveals his constancy in this purpose; and in the beginning of this term he began to see the effect of his work, although at first it was revealed in a movement which he did not anticipate, which was a surprise to the whole country.

There was a tendency in the way of corrective measures which developed into the Liberal movement of 1872. It is undoubtedly a fact that the agitation out of which this movement sprang was due to a great extent to the course of Mr. Randall in opposition to Republican extravagance and centralizing tendencies. The movement proved the truth of a proposition he made years before, that the nation could only be preserved by the party that stood upon Democratic principles. Mr. Randall did not apprehend, however, that the opposition of Republican tendencies would go so far as to create formal schism inside of the Republican party. It did go that far, and resulted in the nomination of Horace Greeley by the Liberals and the endorsement of that nomination by the Democracy. Mr. Randall was not one of those who favored that endorsement, but he accepted the action of the Democratic party mainly because he saw that out of the canvass would come the tendencies which would perfect the Democratic organization so that in 1876 it could rally the country upon a sound platform and with confidence of success. After Grant's election for the second term Mr. Randall continued the agitation and the opposition, and as he was preeminently leader of the Democratic party of Congress his policy and his counsels became powerful influences toward its finding the ground upon which the Democracy fought their great battle in the fall of 1874. On the night of Nov. 3, 1874, Mr. Randall, at the Democratic headquarters in Philadelphia, received those returns which showed him that the purpose he had set out nine years before to achieve had been consummated. The Democratic party had reversed the majority in the House of Representatives, and it had swept the country with a tidal wave of triumph. Thus this man, who less than ten years before had stood with a little band which was regarded as the flotsam and jetsam of a once great party, now beheld the recreated Democracy fashioned in a great measure by his own hand. He was now to be the leader of a majority which was about to do those things which would put the party in control, not only of the House of Representatives, but subsequently of the administration of the Government.

We come now to a most dramatic illustration of Mr. Randall's qualifications for a great parliamentary leader. His successful contest with the Republican majority to defeat by parliamentary manœuvre what is now usually called the Force bill is commonly referred to as the most brilliant and remarkable victory of his life. It was a great victory, and it brought him in a picturesque and dramatic light before the people, but it was simply an incident of his career. It revealed the natural and acquired abilities of Mr. Randall at the perfection of their powers. But for the thorough self-discipline and complete training to which he had subjected himself in previous years, he never could have organized his little minority into a force effective enough to resist the Republican majority a single hour. But it required something more than a knowledge of parliamentary law and of the rules of the House, and something supplementary to his vast knowledge of the machinery of Government, to conduct this opposition successfully upon the floor. It required tirelessness, energy, endurance, and intuitive knowledge of men and the suggestion of unconquerable purpose to lead a minority in such a fight as this. All of those qualities Mr. Randall possessed, and when he undertook to defeat the Force bill in the only way that it could be done, he was more fully equipped for his task, we think, than any other parliamentary leader who had set about the defeat of a majority measure. The Force bill was the last effort of the radical Republicans, as they were then called, to keep their political supremacy in the Southern States. It was repugnant to Mr. Randall's sense of justice to the South, and it was obnoxious to a deadly extent to the Democratic principles upon which he believed the Government could alone safely be administered. Every inspiration of his nature revolted against the measure, and he believed that it it was put upon the statute books and enforced, it would prove a serious menace to political liberty. Mr. Randall was never a friend of filibustering movements. It was his theory, and he believed it to be the Democratic principle, that the majority should not be prevented, outside of legitimate parliamentary means, from legislating as they thought fit. By legitimate means he meant argument, discussion, debate. But in this case the measure was so obnoxious, and struck such a dangerous blow at political freedom, and its partisans were so blinded by prejudice and passion, that he believed it to be an opportunity and a duty, when discussion was exhausted, to fight the measure technically, in accordance with rules of the House, and to retard, if not defeat, its passage. The Republican majority was overwhelming. It was also maddened by the assurance that in the next Congress it would be in a minority. Mr. Randall undertook to say to his Democratic friends that if they would stand by him and remain upon the floor of the House night and day, without sleep if necessary, and eating their meals at their desks, if that was required, he would beat the bill. He kept his word. The physical strain upon him was prodigious. He dared not leave the chamber for more than a moment at a time, and for three days and nights he was there, interposing every device which the rules of the House permitted, sleeping not at all, sometimes standing in his place, a cup of tea in one hand and a sandwich in the other, with perfect confidence in his resources and an assurance of victory unless the Speaker should violate his oath and disobey the rules of the House in making decisions. The temptation put upon Mr. Blaine to make arbitrary rulings was great, but as Speaker he resisted them. Mr. Randall had gone to him, and said: "Do you intend to be guided by the rules of the House in your decision?" and Blaine had replied: "I shall not deviate one iota from what