FUTURE OF THE NATION

Senator Daniel Paints It in Resplendent Colors.

His Centennial Oration in the House of Representatives—Declares That Washington is to Be the Capital of the Universal Republic Where The Parliament of Man Will Assemble.

The famed eloquence of Senator John W. Daniel, of Virginia, found full expression in his Centennial Celebration address, in the House of Representatives yesterday. His subject was "The Future of the United States." He said:

"Ancient history had no precedent for the United States of America and modern history has no parallel. A new land, a new people, a new principle of government, a clean slate for the refiguring of old problems, leisure and liberty to revise, correct, and expurgate old editions of civilization and originate new ones—these were the rare conditions that initiated the new deal for human rights and fortunes. The Anglo-Saxon was forehanded, prepotent, paramount, and ascendant. He outfigured, outworked, and outfought all rivals. To his side he beckoned all men as brethren, and all types of men came trooping from the four corners of the earth to share his winnings. In freer spirit and in higher hopes they cast new patterns for themselves and for other nations.

"If we are a greater England, we are also a greater Ireland, a greater Scotland, and a greater Wales; a greater Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; a greater Netherlands, a greater Germany, a greater Greece, and Rome, and a greater Jerusalem; a greater everybody, bearing, indeed, the Anglo-Saxon birthmark, but fused into a new, original, and composite national character.

"'Great races are made of the mixture of races like the beautiful bronzes which are composed of many metals.' The best blood of the world's great races is mixed in the American.

"The Roman augur looked to the west to catch in the reflected light of the upper sky the first flush of the coming dawn. So look we to the past of our country for the omens of its brilliant future. The United States contains the most diversified and assimilative elements that ever composed a great nation. Our domain is the best located. We have the most compact, the most convenient and symmetrical of all the seats of great nations. We are the most defensible of nations. North and south of us are friends from whom there is nothing to fear. East and west the everlasting seas are moats of our battlements. Within our borders are all the elements of human sustenance and national greatness. Our forests would build homes for the world to live in. Our coal would run its machinery, warm its firesides, and cook its food. Our iron, lead, copper, and zinc would supply its furnaces. From our woods, fields, fisheries, orchards, and gardens we could set a feast that would turn Lucullus green with envy, and dinner over, the world could quaff our wines, fill its cups with our coffee, sweeten it with our sugar, regale its fancies on our tobacco, and light itself to bed with our oil. If never another man or another thing were landed on our shores we could wax strong, adorn our homes with finest art, and multiply and replenish the earth with the overrunnings of our richness.

Epic of Human Progress.

"We have risen to greatness more rapidly than ever arose a great nation. Our ascendancy is less endangered from without than was ever that of a great nation. We have outrun the prophecies of our progenitors and surpassed the ideals of our founders. Our development has been the epic of human progress. It has made poetry of statistics and glorious romance of history. It has left the dreams of optimists as faded spectres in the rear of achievement. Our longevity projects itself to the furthest reach of human speculation, and the future is gorgeous with every sign of hope and courage.

"Our people understand each other better than they have done. Consequently, they have more hearty feelings of friendship and sympathy for each other than they ever had. At home and abroad the principles and the flag of the American Union were never more respected. We are the most th[illegible] unified of the great nations. [illegible] ing the differences of for[illegible] ths and seventy-six millions of [illegible] e to the mill to be ground out. The [illegible] f the grinding is great, and [illegible] impression that our [illegible] great. But [illegible] es are as much [illegible] government as the [illegible] r people are alike in their language, their laws, their usages, and their aspirations. Our political clocks all keep the same time. Our differences are only the natural and just differences that must ever arise from locality and individualism. Instead of rebuking them we should be thankful for them. They are sincere and unavoidable. They are the processes of Providence, which out of difference molds higher uniformity, and out of conflict produces the best resultant force. When the grinding of opinion is over all partake at a common table of the same bread. After all, it is only differences that come here. Our similitudes, which are as a myriad to one difference, are quiescent; and, comparing them, we should not forget that 'a single grasshopper under a fence makes more noise than a thousand cattle reposing in the shade.'

"We are the strongest of nations. So far, with only the phantom of a Regular Army as a nucleus of education, our wars have been fought for the most part by the volunteer citizen soldiery. They have never failed to cope successfully with the trained bands of Europe. Today at the tap of a drum ten millions would swarm to the national defence, and to a foreign foe our seacoasts would become

Looming bastions fringed with fire.

The American Volunteer.

"Against the soldier of any age or any country we might place with confidence the American volunteer. There is an army in our country grander than any ever mustered on the field of Mars. In line it would stretch over 5,000 miles. It is the conscript and volunteer school children of the United States, over 16,000,000 strong. It is the embryo of the mightiest civilized force ever organized by any people. Woe be unto him who sees in these young souls any unworthy thought. When this army deploys in action may it fly the banners of truth, of liberty, and love of fellow-man.

"The experience of over a century has exhibited the strength of our electoral institutions. We are as strong within as without. In the first inaugural address delivered in this city, on the Fourth of March, 1801, Thomas Jefferson said: 'Strangers, unused to think freely and speak what they think, might be imposed on by the animation of our discussion and exertions, but the contest of opinion being decided by the voice of the nation, and announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law and unite in common effort for the common good.' I believe with him that this is 'the strongest Government on earth.' I believe with him also that 'this is the one nation where every man according to the law would fly to the standard of the law and would meet invasion of the law as his own personal concern.'

"When he thus spoke our own self-government was yet an experiment. It is now a consummation. We might repeat his admonition: 'Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself; can he then be trusted with the government of others? or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.' The history of a hundred years has answered it.

"Compare the men whom the people have chosen as Presidents with an equal number of hereditary monarchs of any other nation, and self-government, in comparison, finds its incarnate vindication. This is the only great nation that ever passed through its formative conflicts without inflicting in a single case the penalty of death for a political cause. Does not this fact alone speak volumes for free thought, for free speech, for the government of the people and for the high character of the American people?

"If we have had strife it has been the proud and lofty strife of the brave and the true who can cherish honor, who can cherish principle, can cherish love, but cannot cherish hate. And be this never forgotten, that our only strife was over the heritage which empire foisted upon our ancestors against their will and which the Republic has removed forever. And that Republic stands at the dawn of a new century, with every son a free man under its flag and ready to defend it.

"'I am an American' means more today than it has ever meant, for if all the nations were arranged in line, each represented by one typical man, the American man would stand at the head of the line, the tallest, the straightest, the brawniest, the most practical-minded and biggest-hearted of them all.

The Hope of the World.

"We are the foremost nation of the world. We are the light and hope of the world. It is our freedom that has made us great.

"Race problem, Philippine problem, trust problem—what will you do with them? I am not here to answer. We may well view these and other problems with deep solicitude and anxious reflection. But if our problems be mighty they grew out of our might and have the mighty to deal with them. They come to those who have never been confounded by problems and have never dodged one; who have solved problems just as great, and some greater, than any now presented, and have left them all behind with monuments of their solution builded over them.

"When John Smith and his little band sailed into James River in 1607 a flight of arrows in their faces arrested attention to the greatest and deadliest of race problems. There are as many Indians on the American continent now as there were then, but where is the race problem of 1607?

"The London Company sent these settlers here and ordered everything. It called a Legislature at Jamestown in 1619, and in 1624 that Legislature said: 'This people will pay no tax save as this assembly shall appoint.' One hundred and fifty years afterward that principle became the cornerstone of this nation. Bills of right and free constitutions cover the country. But what has become of the London Company? The King gone, the Indian gone, the stamp tax gone, and the London Company, too—gone, all gone! But the American is here, and from ocean to ocean not an acre but a free acre; not a man but a free man, and all ancient problems but fireside tales. Behind our new problems marches the broader and better Republic. In the words of an illustrious American, 'It is history that teaches man to hope.' No human history burns with so high and bright a hope as that of the United States of America.

"We have been a world power ever since we tied taxation and representation together, and identified in one community the tax layer and the tax payer. It was out of that germ that arose our free Constitution. Wherever it is found a free constitution would grow out of it. It has quickened the republican movement around the globe. It has brought us the homage not only of the downtrodden, who welcomed its delivering hand, but as well that of the powerful who heeded not its forewarnings.

"But yesterday an English statesman, a former Prime Minister, declared that had not the elder Pitt left the House of Commons for the peerage he would have induced the English King to admit the American people to representation in Parliament; and he fancies that then the crown itself and all its belongings would some day have migrated to this country, leaving the British islands as the European outposts of a world empire. The world empire, under any crown, is the fading dream of humanity. The world republic is the ever-brightening and growing dream.

Centre of Anglo-Saxon Power.

"It is not likely that any crown will ever come to this land of ours, but our constitutional system, with the people sovereign and holding in their hands the purse and the sword, can go everywhere. Eighteen sister Republics of America have patterned on its example. Our Monroe Doctrine has said to the monarchies, 'Touch them not,' and the world republic, not the world empire, is the vision that grows more and more distinct as we go spinning 'through the ringing grooves of change.' This land is already the radiant centre of Anglo-Saxon power. It is also the radiant centre of that vision. We will cleave to the principle that conjured that vision. It is brighter than crowns. It is stronger than sceptres. It is higher than thrones. It is longer ranged than cannon. It is sharper than swords and bayonets. It is more august than an army with banners. It marches while armies sleep. It conquers where armies fail. It floats where navies sink. It is the shield of the weak. It is the glory of the strong. It is the riches of the poor. It is the faith and hope and uplift of the oppressed. It is subtler than policy. It is right, and it is the destiny of nations.

"As our country moves to speed that destiny it will carry the future of Washington City with it. Our fathers brought the Federal Government here in 1800, and dedicated this spot as 'the eternal Capital of the eternal Republic.' And the Capital and the Republic have grown with equal pace, and their step has ever been forward. It was then a straggling village of 2,000 souls; it is now a magnificent metropolis of over 200,000. The Republic of 5,000,000 people and sixteen States then rested its western boundary on the Mississippi River, its southern boundary on the northern line of Florida. It has now 76,000,000 people and forty-five States, and our continental boundaries are the Pacific Ocean, Mexico, and the Gulf of Mexico. We have multiplied our territory four-fold, and our population nearly twenty-fold. Our centre of population was then near Baltimore, Md. It is now near Columbus, Ind., and is still traveling west 'to grow up with the country.'

"To my mind this Capital City of the Republic is the city unique and beautiful. Other nations have fixed their capitals in the crowded urban centres of commerce, and they possess the splendors that opulence has gathered around them. Our Capital, like our nation, was made to subserve a principle, and it has grown up in the midst of the mementos and associations of the principle which it represents. Its broad avenues intersecting its regular squares, its frequent reservations of grass and flowers and fountains, its parks and trees, its substantial business houses and sightly dwellings, its colleges, universities and museums, its monuments and public buildings, its noble river and picturesque landscape, its integral effect upon the eye, with the apex of the Washington Monument piercing the sky on the one side and this noble pile lifting its dome on the other; these things make Washington City a nobler panorama and more inspiring contemplation than are afforded by any other city in the world.

Axle of the Union Wheel.

"The United States will live and with them Washington will live, expanding, multiplying, beautifying, enlightening with every turn of the prodigious wheel of which it is the axle. Plans for its improvement abound. One contemplates the erection here of the 'Halls of the Ancients,' where the eye may behold revived the architectural creations of bygone nations. Another would produce on some expansive field a miniature of the United States of America, showing in the earth itself the delineations and undulations of our national topography. These and kindred schemes are well worthy of consideration. But the essential must come first. Washington needs, and the people of the whole country need, fitting outlets for the new railroads that press for admission, and bridges which will span the Potomac and connect the city with the military post, the agricultural station, and the beautiful cemetery at Arlington. More public buildings are needed by both the District and the Federal Government.

"All will be gratified to know that the White House is to be enlarged for the more suitable accommodation of the President in the exercise of the official and hospitable functions incumbent on the Chief of our multitudinous people; and all will wish the present occupant that happiness which he would, if he could, bestow on every one of them. No less pressing are the needs of the many departments. This Government should not be forced, as it has been, and is now, to rent rooms like a transient visitor, nor to put its public servants in dingy lodgings like postponed claimants. It is planned for the ages, and it should reside in habitations adapted to health and comfort and becoming to its character. Whatever we do in building should be the best of its kind in plan, in material, and in execution. All our public buildings should be of the noble classic design worked out by American architects according to the diversities of American genius. As this Capitol building, rising in white and soaring majesty, speaks to the heavens and the earth, as it were, in manifestation of its office, so should every public building established here express to the beholder in every lineament of its structure the stability, the dignity, and the grace of the American nation.

"And one public building above all others is needed here as the reflex of the peculiar genius of the nation, and of its supreme intellectual distinction in a department where it surpasses all ancient and modern nations. We are the most inventive of nations. The free intellect has been the most original and productive of all intellects. Other nations have surpassed us in literature and the fine arts, but in inventive and useful arts the United States is far transcendent. The Patent Office, established by Thomas Jefferson, and protecting for a brief period the only constitutional monopoly, the right to the exclusive enjoyment of one's original ideas, is the crown of American intellectual supremacy over the material world, even as the Constitution of the United States is the crown of political architecture and the Union itself the crowning glory of our people.

"Francis Bacon says: 'The sciences dwell sociably together,' and we should put on Capitol Hill, facing the Senate hall, as a companion piece to the exquisite Library Building, now facing the Hall of Representatives, another building of like architecture. And the American capitol of letters should have by its side the American capitol of inventive art, both facing this Capitol of the people, where their sovereignty has its highest exemplification. In that hall should be displayed the evolutions of inventions, with every invention indicated by its model, inclusive of the last improvement. It would be the greatest college of applied science that the world has ever seen; a monument to and a stimulus to invention, and leading by gradations to those truths of science which hover over the threshold of the age 'waiting to be caught.'

America's Inventive Genius.

"It was the mariner's needle that discovered America. The inventor made the discoverer possible, and inventive genius is that which is putting us ahead of all the nations. It is invention that manifolds the thoughts of the wise and scatters them in the humblest habitations. It is invention that has made the poor man's cottage gleam in cleanliness and beauty, like the palace. It is invention that has made circulating libraries and art galleries of our periodical literature. It is invention that forestalls the pestilence, extinguishes the conflagration, illuminates the darkness, make the fountain to gush forth by the fireside and in the desert, relieves the famine, and snatches the victims of the battlefield from the jaws of destruction. It is invention that has made princes of the earth out of merchants, manufacturers and skilled workmen; that has given precedence to our products in all the marts of the world; that is pouring the golden horn of trade balance into our treasury chests and transforming us from a debtor to a creditor nation.

"It is invention that has made war so terrible that peace forceses its bed of repose at the mouth of the cobwebbed cannon. It is invention that is to lift our earthly being from poverty, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick, unlock the Bastiles, and open all the doors where lie the victims of hardship and bigotry and oppression. It is invention that has brought to manifest revelation the unity of the universe, the unity of man, the unity of life, the unity of soul, and thrown the very gates of immortality ajar by proving the perpetuity of physical and moral force. It is invention that, whispering round the world, brings us in touch with each other, though thousands of miles apart, and that reminds us by its miracle as to the author of our being, that—

Closer is he than breathing,
And nearer than hands and feet.

"It is invention that will one day make the United States of the world fulfill the dream that now hovers over the United States of America. When that day comes the English language will be the universal language; our Constitution will be the model of the universal constitution. The principle of the Declaration of Independence, that taxation and representation must go together, will be the universal principle. The flag of the stars will be blazoned with the constellation of the nations. Here will assemble the parliament of man. The farthest star in the heavens will bear the name of Washington; and the city that now bears the founder's name will be the Capital of the universal Republic."

THE CAPITAL'S RECORD

Senator Hoar's Review of Events That Have Passed.

History Made Here for a Hundred Years by a Free People—Grave Problems Solved With Proper Self-Restraint—Honor and Duty in the Main Guided National Policies.

Senator Hoar of Massachusetts delivered the closing address of the Centennial Celebration exercises in the House of Representatives yesterday. It was in the nature of a historic review of the events that have passed in the Capital of the nation since it was established. Senator Hoar said:

"It is a hundred years since this city, planned by George Washington, became the seat of government. The site was chosen by the First Congress, in accord with the design of the framers of the Constitution. And yet we seem today to be still engaged in laying its foundations. The other great capitals of the world—Rome, London, Paris, Berlin, Edinburgh, Vienna—have their origin in a remote past. They not only embody the earliest authentic history of their countries, but their beginning is lost in the darkness of antiquity or hidden in the mist of fable. Their early annals have perished in a deeper oblivion than that which covers the builders of the pyramids, which moved Sir Thomas Browne to his sublimest utterance: 'History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveler, as he paceth amazedly through these deserts, asketh of her, Who builded them? and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not.'

"But Washington is still in earliest youth. There are Americans living who were born before this city received its name. For the first fifty years and more, down to the end of the civil war, our frugal predecessors hardly expended enough to make it decently habitable. They expended nothing for its adornment, except the construction of this Capitol, which was not finished in its present condition until 1861. But, taking the century as a whole, certainly the American people have no reason to be ashamed of their city.

"It was on the border line between the two contending parties in the civil war. The fires of that mighty conflict burned here more fiercely and hotly than anywhere else. When peace came, Washington, like the whole country, felt the inspiration of the new era.

Before, she like some shepherdess did show,
Who sat to bathe her by a river's side:
Not answering to her fame, but rude and low,
Nor taught the beauteous arts of modern pride.

Now, like a maiden queen, she will behold,
From her high turrets, hourly suitors come:
The east with incense, and the west with gold,
Will stand, like suppliants, to receive her doom.

Three Typical Structures.

"I have spoken of the antiquity of European capitals. London has been a centre of civilization for more than twelve hundred years. The House of Commons has existed for eight hundred. There has been a Bishop's palace at Fulham more than a thousand. Paris has been a seat of government for thirteen centuries; Berlin for nearly four; Vienna for seven. And yet there are few places than can show for any one century more than three products of architecture that equal the Capitol, the Washington Monument, and the Congressional Library. If we can add to the glories of Washington three such structures only for each coming century, we need not be ashamed or comparison with any foreign city when Washington shall have reached the same age. Yet in 1800 we were a people of but 5,000,000. We are now 77,000,000. The population of this District is multiplied in larger proportion still. We shall deal with our metropolis in the coming centuries, as compared with that which has gone, with a liberality proportioned to our wealth, numbers, and power. If we spare the Republic, what may we not hope for Washington?

"These three structures, unrivaled, as they are, each in its respective class, are more interesting still for what they typify and stand for. The Monument to the Father of the Country is but a simple shaft. It marks a narrow spot. It commemorates a single human character. But the spot it marks, as was said, Mr. Speaker, by one of the most accomplished men who ever sat in your chair, 'is a prime meridian.' The prime meridian of universal longitude on sea or land may be at Greenwich or at Paris, or where you will. But the prime meridian of pure, exalted, human character will be marked forever by yonder obelisk. Integrity and patriotism are to be measured by nearness to it or departure from it. Boastfulness, out of place everywhere, is a thousand times out of place when we speak of the modest and unselfish Washington. Yet we can establish by the concurrent authority of the foremost men of all civilized countries that what the old monk, Joseph of Exeter, said of the English Alfred is true of him: 'The Old World knows not his peer, nor will the future show us his equal; he alone towers over other kings, better than the past ones, and greater than those that are to be.'

"That integrity, that unambitious service, that unerring wisdom, that unwearied industry, that unhesitating self-sacrifice, that purity not only unsullied but untempted—not even the temptation to sin seems to have beset that lofty nature—were all his. The devil is an ass. But he never was such an ass as to waste his time tempting George Washington.

"There is no time today to cite the overwhelming and concurrent testimony of great Englishmen, statesmen, and writers of history, and of great authors of the Continent, to the primacy of Washington among mankind. [illegible] name likely to be thought for parallel or comparison whose glory we all title to share—the sandth anniversary about to be celebrated whose throne his

A Fall.

"This whole city [illegible] use, a Washington monument [illegible] better that that great name [illegible] to oblivion and be forgotten unless the walls of this building where we are assembled, dedicated to legislation and to justice, also bear honorable witness to the character and influence of him who laid its cornerstone. Here for a hundred years a free people have enacted a great history, with its great achievements and its greater self-restraints. Here have been enacted the laws under which thirteen States have become forty-five States, and the country, which at first covered a little space by the side of the Atlantic, has spread until it covers a continent and its portals are upon both the seas. Here has been witnessed the sublimest spectacle that can exist on earth—a great and free people governing itself by a law higher than its own desire. A country where every man has his equal voice must, in its legislation, sometimes exhibit the infirmity common to humanity.

"But, in the main, faith and honor and duty have triumphed in these halls over selfishness and passion and ambition. Here the interests of capital have been protected by the votes of labor; here debtors have fixed in good faith the value of their payments to their creditors; here a people under no constraint but their own sense of duty, determined, in spite of fearful temptation, to continue to bear the weight of a vast debt; here the policy of dealing with the conquered was decided at the end of a long war by the votes of the conquerors, among whom every other family was in mourning for its dead, and not a drop of blood was shed and not a punishment exacted. Here finance and currency, with their subtleties surpassing the subtleties of metaphysics, have been dealt with by the plain sense of plain men. Here great public ways connecting distant oceans have been provided for. Here the manufacturing independence of America has been achieved. Here the great measures have been framed and enacted under which millions of men have been raised from slavery to citizenship and millions more welcomed from foreign lands. Here a disputed title to executive power has been peacefully settled under circumstances that would have drenched any other land with blood. And all this has been accomplished under the restraints of a written Constitution.

"Here, also, in yonder silent chamber have been pronounced the judgments under which the powers of nation and State have been kept each in its appointed sphere, as the planets are kept in their courses, without noise and without jar. This has been the record of a single century. It has been the record of the achievement of earliest youth. The men who have wrought this history knew well what they were doing. There has been no drifting into empire. They have but seen what they foresaw. The man who is to write this story, as Bancroft might have written it, as Macaulay might have written it, as he who gave us the best portraiture of Washington in literature before Massachusetts called him to another service—called him from writing history to making it— might have written it, has not yet begun his stask. But it will yet be written. It will be written to be read of all men, as the one best story, so far, of constitutional liberty, protected and vindicated by law, according to the will of a free people.

Men That Have Passed.

"Literature and art and science came later. They always come later. Art has provided for literature in yonder Library its noble and fitting home. American science, also, has here its noble and fitting home. The Smithsonian Institution, founded, as we delight to remember, by the generosity of an Englishman, a subject of that gracious sovereign from whose realm we have learned so much of law and and science and literature and liberty, to whom we are glad to send our salutation on this our Centennial Day. While we remember with gratitude this great benefaction of our English kinsman, we are happy to recall also that it has been at least in some degree recompensed by the bounty to the city of London of George Peabody, an American, a citizen of the North by birth, a Southern man by adoption, an admirable example of the best traits of both sections blended into the highest character and type of American citizenship. Here, also, universities destined to take a high rank among the great institutions of the world have already laid their foundations and are raising their towers to the sky.

"The men who wrought this great work are gone—most of them; John Adams and his illustrious son, Jefferson, and Madison and Jackson and Lincoln and Grant and Webster and Clay and Calhoun and Seward and Benton and Sumner and Wilson and Morton and Chandler and Stevens and Fessenden and Justin Morrill and Lamar and Harris and Bayard—I have begun a catalogue I cannot complete. But no list of the illustrious statesmen or of the illustrious benefactors of this metropolis in the last century must omit the name of him whom the fatal arrow smote, in the hour which was alike the end and the beginning of a great career—your predecessor and friend, Mr. President, James A. Garfield. A few of their companions and coadjutors survive to behold the dawn of the new century, and give their counsel to the people who are to carry on its work, as a few of the companions of Washington beheld the beginning of this, and inaugurated its great accomplishment on the principles of the Revolution. Their work also is about done. They seem to survive for a brief period only that the new century may clasp hands with the old, and that they may bring to the future the benediction of the past."

THE DISTRICT

[illegible]lopment Into One of the World's Great Cities.

Commissioner Macfarland's Interesting and Eloquent Retrospect—The Cession of Alexandria—Realization of President Washington's Hopes Have Already Been Accomplished.

District Commissioner Henry B. F. Macfarland delivered the second address of the Centennial Day exercises at the White House yesterday morning, his subject being "Development of the District of Columbia During the Century 1800-1900." Mr. Macfarland said:

"One hundred years ago the District of Columbia became the permanent seat of the Government of the United States. For the first time the young nation had a Capital, after twenty-four years of wandering from one State to another. Moved by the attack of the mob of soldiers on Congress in Philadelphia in 1783, the makers of the new Government had written in the Federal Constitution that the nation should have its own Capital, in a Federal district to be ceded to the exclusive control of Congress. It is the only provision for an independent capital ever made by any nation. The then North and South had contended for the honor of providing this Federal district until threats of secession were occasionally heard, and it seemed to some that there might soon come to be no need for a National Capital. States offered cities and even capitals, and their Representatives in Congress fought over these offers. At last, with a characteristic compromise, the fathers provided that the Federal district should be given to the South, while the North should be given its desire in the assumption by the nation of the Revolutionary indebtedness of the States. Nothing could have been more fortunate than this decision, unless it be the determination to leave to George Washington the selection of the site for the new Capital, and the direction of its preparation.

"His own State of Virginia had offered ten miles square. The State of Maryland had done the same, and under the authority of Congress Washington had 100 miles of the Potomac, from Williamsport in Maryland to the Eastern Branch, where to choose. Washington chose with the eye of a surveyor the best site available under the circumstances, and then laid it out with the eye of a seer. All that he saw could not come true. The Federal District could not contain 'the greatest commercial emporium' of the United States, which he hoped for here, believing that the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which he had promoted, would, as its name suggested, with the Potomac connect the then East and West by the most practicable route to the sea. Nor could it contain the national university, which was so dear to Washington's heart that he richly remembered it in his will, though it was to become a roofless university. But Washington saw clearly what few other men could see, that the young and small but not feeble nation would grow and expand until it became the greatest of all nations. While men were still doubting whether it would last long as a nation George Washington was planning, with the assistance of Thomas Jefferson and L'Enfant and Ellicott, a National Capital for all time, a city of magnificent proportions, greater and better in design than any other in the world. No other city has ever been laid out on such a scale or in such style. Even Washington's reputation for common sense did not save it from being called a visionary scheme. For more than half a century home and foreign wits jested at it as it lay undeveloped, half village, half capital, through neglect of the General Government.

Selection of the Site.

"Although it was south of Mason and Dixon's line, it was almost in the centre of the narrow Union of 1800, as it stretched along the Atlantic coast, but after the expansion of its domains begun under Washington, three years later, under Jefferson, crossed the Mississippi, suggestions of the removal of the Capital west of the Alleghenies began, and continued in what seemed an entirely natural way to the statesmen meeting in the then Washington, until railroad and telegraph, making communication so much quicker, deprived the advocates of removal of their chief argument.

"The Federal City, as Washington called it, the City of Washington, as the Commissioners and Congress inevitably called it, is Washington's prediction that the nation would live for centuries and would grow to the full need of such a capital. It is most appropriate that we begin this celebration almost under the shadow of the Washington Monument, that unique structure which practically marks the centre of the original District of Columbia, and in the President's House, which so interested Washington, and is the only public building completed in 1800 that is still standing. For while Congress, in the preliminary legislation, provided only for a Federal District, (though it afterward ratified the preparations for a Federal City made by Washington), the city, named for him, has always been more prominent than the District in the world's eye, and now that they are so nearly coterminous, the capital will be more and more known by its great founder's name; not, however, as Washington city, but as the City of Washington.

"It is interesting to read, in the official and unofficial documents, of the part which Washington took, with his customary energy, thoroughness and patience, in all the details of the founding of the Federal District and of the Federal City. It was he, personally, who made the bargain with the nineteen original proprietors, advantageous to them, but much more so to the Government, and who finally brought even the refractory David Burns to terms. It was he personally, who directed the Commissioners and the surveyors, as they laid out the streets and built buildings, and who mediated between them when they quarreled. It was the crowning work of his life, and perhaps nothing that he did, except the Jersey campaign that saved the Revolution, and the making of the Constitution that saved the nation, interested or pleased him more. It must have grieved him that he could not live to see the actual establishment of the National Government in the city that had been named for him. He died in December, and, under the act of Congress passed ten years before, the National Government began its removal from Philadelphia in May. By July the six executive departments of that day were all in full working order here. By November President Adams, after a visit of inspection in June, was occupying this house, and Congress was in session preparatory to the regular session in December. The Supreme Court having adjourned in August until February, did not meet here in 1800. But through the address of President Adams in Congress, and the responses of the Senate and the House, it was officially declared in November, that the seat of government had been established here.

"These formal announcements and the addresses exchanged by President Adams and the citizens are full of gratitude for the fact that the National Government had at last a home of its own. Privately there was much complaining over the discomforts of the new city. The letters of Mrs. Adams show what was thought of the President's House by his family. There were similar criticisms of the unfinished Capitol, while Senators and Representatives complained of the places where they had to board, and all agreed in denouncing the wretched roads which were called streets. Besides the construction of a few public buildings, at a cost of a million dollars, given by Maryland and Virginia, or raised by the sale of lots, and the outlining of a few streets, little had been done by the Government in the ten years of preparation, and less, proportionately, had been done by private individuals. The Government had no money to spare for such work from its scanty treasure, and there were only a few thousand people here. There had been a good deal of speculation in the new-made real estate lots, but there had been comparatively little building on them. It is not strange that the members of the Government and of the Diplomatic Corps looked back regretfully from the crude Capital to the comforts and pleasures of Philadelphia. If Congress had then begun to provide for the gradual improvement of the streets and parks reserved by Washington as the property of the nation, which owned more than half of the new city, it would have carried out the plan of its founder, as he doubtless intended should be done. But Congress left almost all that work to the few thousand inhabitants, who were also expected to provide most of the cost of police and fire protection, and other municipal services, while Congress practically confined its appropriations to the construction, repair, and maintenance of the Government buildings and their surroundings.

Development of Local Government.

"It was impossible for the people of Washington to sustain this burden, which was not shared by their neighbors of Georgetown and Alexandria, and as the size of the Government and with it the population and needs of the city increased, its municipal affairs went from bad to worse. Guided by their admirable mayors (at first appointed by the President, but afterward elected, first by councils and later by the people, assisted by councils), the Washingtonians doubtless did their best to perform what was impossible, but, of course, failed. Even when Congress recognized this failure and provided for some of its indebtedness, it made no material change in the arrangement for nearly three-quarters of a century. Indeed, it provided no form of government for the entire District of Columbia until 1871, and no permanent form of government for it until 1878, although in 1801 it did establish a judicial system for it. Washington and Georgetown, and Alexandria (until, grown tired of the unreciprocal arrangement, she induced the nation in 1846 to let Virginia take back the territory south of the Potomac), had each a separate municipal government, while a levy court of justices of the peace in Washington County and a county court of justices of the peace in Alexandria County looked after the regions outside of the towns. The United States, owning more than half of the real estate of the District of Columbia, was for nearly three-fourths of the century like a visitor rather than a citizen, paying no taxes, and making but small direct contributions to meet the expenses of the city of Washington, or of the District of Columbia. It spent over $90,000,000 in the District in that time on public buildings and their surroundings, including occasional contributions to local objects, but it left the citizens to carry out the rest of Washington's plans, and to maintain local government.

"It was not until after the civil war had made the National Capital known to the whole country and endeared to two-thirds of it as never before; it was not until it had been contended for by the bravest armies ever arrayed in battle, that the national interest in it induced Congress to assume the nation's share of its Government and its burden. The National Government ceased to have a transient feeling, and the talk of the removal of the Capital west of the Mississippi could for the first time be treated humorously. The hundreds of thousands of men whom the demands of war first brought to Washington came from all the States and Territories. Many of them went home again to tell the people how homely Washington was, yet how well worth fighting for; many remained as citizens, while others gave their lives that it might continue to be the Capital of the United States. From these men sprang its new life.

Era Before the War.

"The history of the District of Columbia falls naturally into two chapters. The first covers the seventy-one years in which it had no real existence. It was neither dead nor alive, although it had a name to live. For forty-six years the cities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria lived independently, but in more or less harmony within the limits of the District of Columbia.

"Then Alexandria withdrew, while Washington and Georgetown lived on the same terms for twenty-five years more, but with constantly increasing community of interest. Washington, as the actual seat of government, naturally grew as the nation grew, and much more rapidly than its older neighbors. With a selected population, representing from the beginning the best elements of the whole country, brought together largely in connection with the National Government, which at first boasted of long tenure of office, Washington developed a local life unique in character. It shared with Georgetown a peculiarly refined and cultivated society, and an especially intelligent citizenship. It had a cosmopolitan tone and view before the days of constant and general world traveling. It had the consciousness of being distinguished by the presence of the National Government, and by events in the country's history. Members of the Diplomatic Corps and European travelers who wrote about the National Capital in the first half of the century admitted all this, even when they made sharp criticisms of its physical appearance and temporary defects in comfort and convenience. It is easy to see, in the letters and reminiscences of the Washingtonians of that time, that life here had a flavor and interest not found in any other American cities. Washingtonians thought nationally more than the people of other cities, and showed a peculiar public spirit as they endeavored to meet the obligations which the neglect of the National Government imposed upon them in peace and in war.

"To meet the local needs a considerable commercial and manufacturing interest developed with the growth of the city, and gradually the taxable wealth increased so that by 1860 it amounted to $547 per capita. The civil war wrought great changes here. For the second time the whole District of Columbia was recognized in practical legislation by the creation of a metropolitan police force. The exigencies of the war times compelled in other ways the recognition of the fact that there was a District of Columbia. But Congress was too busy to take up any general scheme for its improvement until ten years later, when, by the act of February 21, 1871, it created a territorial form of government, with a Governor and a Legislature, the Governor and the upper chamber to be appointed by the President, together with a Board of Public Works and a Board of Health, while the House of Delegates was to be elected by the male citizens.

Substantial Improvements Begun.

"With this act begins the second chapter of the District's history and its real existence under a substantial government. In three years the District was transformed, largely through the energy and enterprise of one man in the new government. All that should have been done toward the improvement of the District, and especially the city of Washington, according to Washington's plan, in seventy years, was done in half that many months. The District was saved from being, like the then unfinished Washington Monument, a disgrace rather than a credit to the great founder. It was literally redeemed and given beauty for ugliness and wealth for poverty. But the first work was done roughly, hastily, though thoroughly, and it naturally roused strong opposition, and for the time being was misunderstood.

"People saw the comparatively large indebtedness it created, rather than the incomparably large results it ensured, and many of them felt personal resentment as well as righteous anger against some of the workers. Between the private griefs, and the public indignation, and a certain

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