

## HOUSE . . . No. 359.

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### Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, April 17, 1872.

The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom was referred an Order in regard to Memorial Statues of illustrious Massachusetts Statesmen to be contributed by this Commonwealth, and to be erected in the National Capitol at Washington, have considered the same, and respectfully submit a Report.

As the first branch of the Order made an inquiry as to the past action of the legislature in the matter, a brief history of the circumstances which induced Congress to inaugurate the measure, and the subsequent proceedings of our own State, may be deemed proper.

The extension of the capitol at Washington, which by a sublime faith in the glorious results of the War, was actively going on during the rebellion (the enemy at some periods being almost under its shadow), left upon its completion the old hall of the house of representatives without any special use to which it could be appropriately devoted.

This beautiful and stately chamber, rich in historical associations, could not be put to ignoble purposes ; and hence Congress, by an Act passed July 2, 1864, patriotically set it apart " as a National Statuary Hall, and authorized the President to invite each and all the States to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown, or for distinguished civic or military services, such as each State shall determine to be worthy of this national commemoration."

In the last of the inaugural addresses of the late Governor Andrew, on January 6, 1865, he, in a few eloquent words, called the subject to the attention of the legislature, and recommended the appointment of a commission to report a plan for coöperation on the part of Massachusetts. His suggestion met with a hearty response from the legislature, and he subsequently appointed John Gorham Palfrey, Richard Frothingham and Solomon Lincoln as the commissioners.

These gentlemen did not finish their deliberations until the following year. On the 16th of February, 1866, Governor Bullock transmitted their report, with a special message, to the legislature. The governor did not, however, at the time, make any specific recommendation, but deferred action.

The representatives from all the States had not then assumed seats in Congress, and as there was not a sufficient knowledge of the purpose of other portions of the Republic, he felt that we were not justified in proceeding at once in our share of the work. The report he considered interesting and instructive, and he thought would be of great value and influence whenever the State should be called to act more directly upon the subject.

Thus the matter was left. In the meantime, the Union has been reconstructed; every State has its representatives in both wings of the new capitol.

Several of the States have already placed their statues in the Memorial Hall, and others are preparing to do so; and the question is often and pertinently asked, Why is Massachusetts, one of the most glorious of the Old Thirteen, so backward in an enterprise so patriotic and ennobling?

Senator Anthony of Rhode Island, in his address of January of the present year, on the presentation of the statue of Roger Williams, after speaking of the two historical personages from most of the States which would be most likely to be selected as their representatives, closes with a picture of "Massachusetts pausing in the embarrassment of her riches, looking down the long list of her sons who, in arms, in arts and in letters, in all the departments of greatness, have contributed to her glory, and with hesitating fingers selects two to represent that glory here."

There is much truth in this significant sentence. No Commonwealth can excel Massachusetts in the long roll of famous

men who in every period of her history have illustrated the times in which they lived, and conferred honor upon the Commonwealth, whether it was Colony, Province or independent State. Her annals go back to the earliest settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race on our shores, are free from the myths and mysteries which too often cloud the past, and stand out with such clear outlines as to events and persons as to make them appear as if they were of yesterday.

The great eras and the men who acted in them are some of the most interesting studies for the student of history. The religious and political principles which shaped her local government, and which became embodied in institutions, have exerted an influence far beyond her own borders. Massachusetts herself could erect a pantheon, and fill it with the effigies of her own distinguished sons, each statue representing an historical personage who was a vital force in the generation in which he moved and who is gratefully remembered by posterity. But only two persons are to be selected for the commemorative purpose under consideration, and hence the utmost care and delicacy must be observed in arriving at a final determination.

We are aided in this matter by the report of the commission appointed by Governor Andrew, which is elaborate and full of interest. This document presents a clear and comprehensive review of the history of the Commonwealth, dividing it into four grand heroic eras and enumerating the important personages who served the State in the several periods. It finally selects two special epochs for commemoration. First, that of the Colonial history; and second, that of the Revolution. With entire unanimity they select JOHN WINTHROP, the first governor of Massachusetts, as the representative of the first, the Colonial period. The commission, in speaking of this portion of our history, and of its accompanying recommendations, uses the following language:—

“The Commissioners unanimously regard the first of the eras as unquestionably demanding to be presented by Massachusetts for the proposed national commemoration; perhaps that era deserves to be distinguished above all others as the heroic age of our Commonwealth. At all events, at no later period of its history, has there been a grander exhibition of the highest qualities that belong to man.

The conscientiousness, the daring, the fortitude, the self-renunciation, the superiority to all selfish and sordid motives, the forecast in design, the promptness and wisdom in action, the generous care for posterity, the devotion to great ideas, of the leaders in the enterprise of colonization were such as the most magnanimous men in later times may well be content if they approach.

“In the first colonists, the planters at Plymouth, all these qualities were abundantly exemplified, and the merits and services of Carver and Brewster, of Bradford and Winslow, and Standish can never be recognized with too grateful commemoration. But the settlement of Massachusetts Bay was projected on a larger scale; it contemplated political results more comprehensive; it became the hive from which other communities were peopled with great rulers and good citizens; and it gave birth to the institutions and the policy which mainly determined the character of the subsequent history of New England. In one of the early emigrants to Massachusetts, their acknowledged chief, all their virtues were impersonated. We do not hesitate to advise that one of the statues to be set up in the National Hall shall commemorate the period and the services of the first JOHN WINTHROP. All nations have reserved peculiar honors for their founders; John Winthrop, rather than any other man, represents the founders of Massachusetts. It is impossible to estimate the lasting influence of a human life. But nothing can be more certain than that the beneficent consequences of Winthrop's life have been vast. His mind, more than any other, arranged the social state of Massachusetts. Massachusetts moulded the society of New England. ‘The principles of New England,’ wrote the philosophical French observer, ‘spread at first to the neighboring States, then they passed successively to the more distant ones, and at length they imbued the whole confederation.’

“By virtue of recent events, this process is now going on with a new activity, which is destined still to grow. And this nation, as long as it continues to hold up a guiding and cheering light to the friends of liberty and law in all parts of the earth, will be carrying out the work of John Winthrop, and of his associate colonists of Massachusetts Bay.”

The Committee unite with the Commissioners in favor of a statue of Gov. Winthrop. They believe that in selecting the period which he represents, Massachusetts asserts her rightful position as Mother of States, and that he embodies in his personal character and career an example of conscientious devo-

tion to the public service at a memorable period in her history, alike honorable to himself and the Commonwealth whose affairs he so long administered.

In regard to the selection of a person to represent the Revolutionary era, the Committee would respectfully recommend the name of SAMUEL ADAMS.

The original commission were not as unanimous respecting the statesman to represent this period as they were in the first. They were divided as to the relative merits for this special commemorative purpose of Samuel Adams or his great co-patriot and kinsman, JOHN ADAMS. Either, the Committee admit, would be appropriate, but there are peculiar circumstances growing out (perhaps on account of his age) of an earlier and longer continued participation in those events which brought on the revolution which should be an element in the selection, and induces them to favor the first and older man, rather than the younger.

As early as 1750 Samuel Adams commenced the defence of Colonial rights. In 1764 he drafted the instructions to the Boston Representatives protesting against the proposed Stamp Act, was the framer of the State papers issued by the House of Representatives, 1767-8, and for a long period was an acknowledged popular leader of the people in the series of measures which finally consummated in the open and avowed object of severing our connection from the Crown of Great Britain. John Adams, writing in 1772, says in reference to Samuel Adams and himself, that "they have been steadfast and immovable in the cause since 1761, and one of them, Mr. Samuel Adams, for full twenty years before." And again, 1819, he wrote of his cousin: "If the American Revolution was a blessing and not a curse, the name and character of Samuel Adams ought to be preserved. It will bear a strict and critical examination even by the inveterate malice of his enemies. His merits and services, and sacrifices and sufferings are beyond all calculation."

The magnanimity of John Adams towards another should not allow us to displace him from his own rightful position, but his contemporaries during his lifetime did full justice to his merits, and an admiring posterity join in the award. He was the first minister to the court of our mother country after

independence was secured, was vice-president under Washington, his successor in the chief magistracy of the Union, and lived far into the present century to receive the gratitude and applause of millions of his fellow-countrymen.

With Samuel Adams it was different. His life was a hard one. Unjust calumny often criticised his public services, the comfort of his private life was marred by the loss of fortune, and, after his brilliant career in the Revolutionary Congress was finished, his only conspicuous public office was that of the governor of his native State, which he received in his old age, but a short time before he was summoned to another world. His remains lay unheeded under a sidewalk on Tremont Street, in a tomb in the Granary burial ground; no statue anywhere commemorates his memory, and, until recently, his great merits in the cause of liberty and independence seem hardly to have been acknowledged or appreciated.

The present seems to be a good opportunity to do just but tardy homage to the name of this great patriot.

Congress will, no doubt, at a day not far distant, order statues of our earlier presidents to be placed in its capital city, when John Adams, the second in the illustrious line, honored alike by the nation and his native State, will take his place with those who have received the highest position of dignity from their fellow-countrymen.

The Committee, in closing their Report, cannot refrain from again expressing their sense of the delicacy of the task assigned to them. The Act of Congress calls at this time for only two statues. If the number had been larger, there would not be so much difficulty; but to select two without doing injustice to others, in some minds equally meritorious, is a hard duty. They have given the subject much thoughtful consideration, and have, they trust, without partiality or prejudice, come to the conclusion which they respectfully submit to the legislature.

The Committee recommend the passage of the accompanying Resolves.

For the Committee,

F. W. LINCOLN.

## Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

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In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-Two.

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### R E S O L V E S

To provide for the Erection of Memorial Statues of Massachusetts Statesmen, for the National Capitol.

[Read and referred to the Committee on Finance.]

*Resolved*, That his excellency William B. Washburn, honorable Horace H. Coolidge, the president of the Senate; honorable John E. Sanford, the speaker of the house of representatives, with two members from each branch of the legislature, to be selected by the presiding officers, be appointed a commission to procure, from Massachusetts artists, statues in marble or bronze, of JOHN WINTHROP and SAMUEL ADAMS, to be erected in the capitol at Washington, as the contribution of this Commonwealth to the national gallery.

*Resolved*, That the sum of thirty thousand dollars be placed at the disposal of the commission, and that his excellency the governor be authorized to draw, from time to time, such amounts as may be required to defray the cost of the statues and other necessary expenses.

