ELOQUENT ORATION.

General Banks on the Paris Exposition.

His Great Speech Delivered in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, March 13th, 1866.

Full Official Report.

From the Congressional Globe.] Mr. Stevens moved that the rules be suspendedf and that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole on the

state of the Union. The motion was agreed to; and the House accordingly resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, in the chair,) and proceeded to the consideration of House joint resolution No. 52, to provide for the expenses attending the exhibition of the products of industry of the United States at the Exosition at Paris in 1867.

Mr. Washburne (III.) I move to lay that osition a

aside and take up an appropriation bill.

Mr. Banks I hope not. It is necessary
this question should be settled. e motion was disagreed to.

The mouon was disagreed to.

Mr. Banks moved that, by unanimous consent, the first reading of the joint resolution for information be dispensed with.

Mr. Washburne (III.) objected.

The joint resolution was then read a first time for information.

time for information.

Mr Banks. I move to amend the first section by the following, which was omitted After line seven, section one, insert :

First, to provide necessary, furniture and fixtures for the proper exhibition of the articles and products of the industry of the United States, according to the plan of the imperial commissioners, in that part of the building exclusively assigned to the use of

the United States, \$48,000.

Mr. Chairman, I suppose this amendment opens the whole subject for discussion.

The Chairman. General debate has not

been closed. Mr. Banks. Mr. Chairman, the amendmend I have offered embraces the material part of the sum appropriated in the first resolution, and is the point which controlled the judgment of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which this subject was referred, in asking the House to make an appropria-

for this purpose.

It is proper to say, Mr. Chairman, that
the Government of the United States has
the Government of the United States has never made an appropriation for an object of this character; and until the Exhibition of 1867 was proposed, no Government has taken the initiative and assumed the responsibility of expenses incurred in exhibitions of this description. Industrial exhibitions in all ages have been popular, and not governmental, enterprises. Whenever the people have had wrongs to redress or rights to assert, their only means of appealing to public opinion and support the problem of the people of the peo ing to public opinion and sympathy, except by violence, have been through the exhibition of the fruits of their industry. Thus it has ever been in Poland, Hungary, France, or England; wherever the people sought to influence the Government or stamp their ideas upon the public mind, they have, in exhibiting the fruits of their industry, given their claims upon This was true of our evidence of own Revolution as of other States. It was not until 1851 that industrial exhibitions engaged the universal attention of nations, The Exhibition of 1851 itself was only established upon the guarantee made by individual citizens who engaged that the Government should not be made responsible in any encouragement which it might afford. The Exhibitions at Paris in 1855, 1863 London in 1862, and at Hamburg in 1863, proceeded on the same idea, that the enter-prise was one of individual character, in which Governments participated, but for which they were not responsible, and which they did not assume to control. But at length, as with education, railways, and other popular organizations for the improvement of the condition of the people, ineustrial expositions now enjoy for the first time the reluctant but essential patron-

age and favor of Governments.

The Emperor of France has for the first time in the history of the world assumed the responsibility of collecting, classifying, and craticities its interest of the second control of the sec and exhibiting its industry, and invites all nations to present evidences of their prosperity, progress, and power in industrial pursuits. His Government has appropriated 20,000,000 francs for its expenses. He pays 12,000,000 francs from the treasury of the empire, and trusts that the balance of eight millions may be obtained from admission fees and in other forms of contribution.

Belgium has appropriated 600,000 francs, or \$120,000, for the same purpose. Every nation on the European continent will make its appropriations. Individuals, societies, corporations, cities, and departments of France will also be called upon for vol-untary contributions. It is therefore an enuntary contributions. It is therefore an enterprise in which Governments and not individuals are to act, and if the United States desires to be represented in this exhibition of the world's wealth, it must be through their Government, and not, as heretofore, by individuals. It is for that reason, among others, that the Committee on Foreign Affairs has asked this appropriation of the House. Unless the Government takes the initiative and is represented there as a Government, the people of the United States interested in the report of our progress in ndustry will be without rights or privileges. It is important that we should consider the subject in view of this fact. On the 15th of January last a resolution

was approved by the President, which had passed both Houses of Congress, accepting the invitation of the Emperor of France to take part in the Exposition of 1867; and it now becomes our privilege and duty to say whether, by fit appropriations for this purpose, we will enable the speople we represent to avail themselves of the advantages offered us in common with other nations. There can be no impropriety in saying that if are to be represented at all we should be well represented, and that maket it necessary we should conform to the plan of the imperial commission. This plan has proprobably attracted the attention probably attracted the attention of gentle-men of the House, as it has been printed at length in No. 12 of the Executive Documents. Each Government is to be represented through its industrial agents. A part of the palace constructed for the proper exhibition of the varied products of human industry is assigned to each nation. The structure covers thirty-six acres of the Champ de Mars. It is elliptical in which had been supported by form. Each of the ten groups in which all branches are classified occupies one of the ten divisions running with the elliptical form of the structure into which it is divided, and each nation is assigned a section vided, and each nation is assigned a section of the ground floor, running from the outside to the centre; so that a spectator in moving round the building inspects all articles of any one class that the world produced and articles of any one class that the world produced in the section of t duces; and in moving from the outside to the centre by the transverse passage he will see everything that each nation produces. The industry of the world is thus so classified and arranged that a view of the whole. or of the part of each nation, is easily ob The United States ranks the eighth in the list of assignments of space. It has

six times the space heretofore assigned in other exhibitions where it was the fourth in the rank of nations.

It is necessary that the portion assigned to us should be furnished for the proper exhibition of the fruits of our industry, according to the plan provided for all nations. The expenditure required for this purpose according to the estimate of the American minister at Paris, for furniture and fixtures, will be \$48,000. It is to provide for this sum that the amendment is offered which I have sent to the Chair, and which was omitted in the printed form by accident. I am authorized to say by the committee that it is their unanimous opinion that the acceptance of the invitation on the part of the Govern ment makes it incumbent upon us to make this appropriation at least. I believe they were all united in that opinion. The com mittee hesitated, long and carefully sidered the subject in every point of view before they agreed to make the recommen dation for the appropriation of \$100,000.

The part of the building assigned for u

contains thirty thousand square feet. It gives us twenty thousand feet for passage ways and ten thousand feet net for exhibition. Every State in the Union has alread made application for a portion of this space. The State of Illinois has applied for a very large share, and altogether the room already demanded will more than cover the space assigned to us. It is probable that a larger part of the building would have been assigned had the representative of the Government at Paris or the executive officers here been authorized to accept the invitations or specify what space would be required or how much would be used if assigned. But neither there nor here was any one able to specify what space would be wanted. The opinion was expressed that the American people would desire to be represented and that the largest space allowed would be wanted. It is to furnish appropriate furniture and fixtures for this space that the appropriation of \$48,000 is

I will turn to the next section of the bill in order to explain other expenditures which are embraced in the \$100,000 asked For the compensation of four clerks in New York and four clerks in Paris, whose salaries shall be as follows: one at \$1,500,

one at \$1,400, and two at \$1,200 each. These clerks are provided for at New York in the resolution which passed Congress and was approved by the Prosident. This bill cuts down the salaries specified in the joint resolution passed, which was approved January 15, from \$1,600 to \$1,400, or \$200 for each clerk. So that it makes a reduction in the sum required to that extent. If we are to appear in Paris, if we are to expend \$48,000 for fixtures and furniture, it is of course necessary that there should be some arrangement made by which the articles presented for exhibition should be so classified that we should not duplicate from each State, and from different parts of the same State, the same articles. It is therefore absolutely necessary that there should be some officers to regulate this. A general agent was appointed at New York by the ecretary of State, whose salary was no fixed. This appointment has been approved,

and the appropriation is requested for him-self and the clerk which he was authorized to appoint. The next provision is-For the compensation of professional and scientific commissioners, ten in number, at the rate of \$1,000 each per annum, \$10,000. It may seem to some unnecessary that there should be ten scientific commissioners appointed to attend this Exposition; but if it be necessary, assuredly the compensa-tion of \$1,000, with the passage out and back, which is provided for in another section, will not be deemed extravagant. I think I may say with some degree of confidence that if the committee will look at the character of the Exposition and the plan upon which it is organized they will come to the conclusion that a scientific commission that shall attend for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the results of the indus-try of the world is absolutely essential to the full realization of its manifold advantages, and will far more than compensate for the amount of the expenditure incurred in

this section. The plan of the Exposition of 1867 is the grandest classification of the world's industry that the mind of man has ever conceived. There has never been presented, in the history of the world, such a comprehensive, systematic, and scientific grouping of the various branches of human ining of the various branches of numeri industry of the world as this plan unfolds, All the pursuits and products of industry are classified in ten leading divisions, and subdivided into ninety-five classes. It is proposed by the commissioner acting for the Government the American cting for the Government, the American minister at Paris, that one missioner for each one of these groups shall be appointed by the Government. The

2. Materials and application of labor to Furniture and other household articles.

are as follows:

4. Clothing, including cloths and other wearing apparel.
5. Mining, and the rough products of mining.
6. Processes of mechanic arts.

7. Food, fresh and preserved, in its various states. 8. Leading agricultural products and specimens, 9. Natural horticultural products and

specimens. 10. Objects especially exhibited for im-

proveing the physical and moral condition of the populations of the earth.

These ten grounds embrace all the pursuits of man, all the products of industry, all the habits of life, all the relations of men to each other, to society, and to progressive civilization. It is of vast importance that this World's Exhibition should be so far studied by our people that we may be able to comprehend the advantages to be derived from it, and appropriate them to the instruc-tion and benefit of the different sections of

We have eminent scientific men in every part of the country who will be capable not only of illustrating our own relation to the industrial products of the earth, but combine in concise, comprehensive methods the results of their investigation, and to impart

that information to our people.

In the Eastern States we have Professor Agassiz, now in South America, whose investigations in natural science will electrify the world and give to the American name in the scientific world a higher prestige than any nation has enjoyed. Professor Agassiz believes that in a few years the sons of the noble familes of every nation in Europe will be sent to the universities of this country to complete their studies. that in the study of natural science we shall have advantages that are not enjoyed by any other nation or any other people on the face of the earth.

esent some one who will understand what is necessary for the development of their industry and the promotion of the great public interests identified with and depen-dent upon the success of American industry. And the valley of the Mississipp valley that is comparatively unknown to us—that is capable of supporting five hun-dred or one thousand million people, which will yield to our industry every product, every manufacture, every form of mineral, will be able to present a man who understands the resources of that vast section of our country, who will represent its power, who will make known the improvements that may be made, and the progress of in-

In the middle States they will be able to

dustry elsewhere.
In regard to the mineral and commercial regions on the Pacific coast, let me say that it is of the greatest importance that some man of science and practical skill should be

able to present to the people of the Old World the capacities and resources of that part of our country, and also make known to us in return what advantages may be derived from this Industrial Exhibition. In this manner we shall be able to repre

sent our material wealth.

And more than that, it is in our power to represent the social and political character of the country in such a way as to attract the attention of other nations. The educa-tion and the habits of the people; their habits in relation to their industrial pursuits; the food upon which they live; clothing they wear; the customs of the so-ciety in which they move; everything per-taining to American civilization will be represented by us. We can show the log cabin where lived one of the earlier Presidents of the Union; the humble roof beneath which was born or dwelt the martyr President, whose name is known and beresident, whose name is known and beloved by the common people of all nations. We can show the habits of our people in their industrial pursuits, and also the advantages which they enjoy in respect to education and progress, and thus place before the world an enlarged view the condition and the prospect of American civilization, that has not yet her presented and zation, that has not yet been pr sented, and that cannot be presented in any other way. And I think the expenditure of \$100,000 to represent us in these great aspects, the re-sults of which will be reported through ten

practical men of the country, will be a sum very well bestowed and very profitably ex-The next section relates to an additional structure which possibly may become necessary for our accommodation. I have said that thirty thousand square feet of area in gross have been assigned to us by the French Government, placing us eighth in the list of nations. Beyond all question that will be insufficient. Applications have been made already that will fill the entire space. The State of Illinois alone has made application for a space sufficient to take nearly all that

of the best informed, the most scientific and

space sufficient to take nearly all that assigned to us. It may be necessary for us to provide an additional structure. In the Champ de Mars we can have as much space as we please, and therefore it is proposed, it it shall be requisite, that the Government of the United States shall appropriate \$25,000 for the additional structure, upon condition that an equal sum shall be contributed by individuals for the same purpose. It may be found necessary, and it may not. I do not think the appropriation is an unreasonable one able one to request or an unreasonable one

The next section contains an appropria tion for contingent expenses in Paris and New York, to be expended as the commissioners may direct, \$5,000 being for rent, advertising and incidental expenses already incurred in pursuance of the action of the Secretary of State, confirmed by the action of the two Houses of Congress, and ap proved by the President. The next is a section to which I propose to

offer an amendment when it shall be reached. It now provides that the Secretary of the Navy, at the request of the Secretary of State, shall be authorized to furnish on or more public vessels to transport the in-dustrial products of this country to and from France. The sentiments of the Secre tary of the Navy upon this subject, as indicated when the subject was up before, has led me, upon my own responsibility, to pro-pose a modification. I shall therefore pro-pose that the President of the United States shall be requested to furnish one or more public vessels for the transportation of the industrial products of this country to France, but not to return them; because it might be said, as the Exhibition will continue for six months, that to keep the Yessels there for that time, or to subject them to another voyage out to bring the goods to this country would be perhaps an unreasonable addition to the expense. I therefore propose that we provide one or more public vessels for the transportation of our con nental industry to the shores of France.

And I take occasion to say that the repre sentations which have been made here wh this subject has been up before in regard to the expense of this transportation have been greatly exaggerated. Gentlemen have said hat the expense would be two or three hundred thousand dollars; and it has been slated to us that the Navy Department is responsible for such a statement. I say, Mr, Chairman, that no such expenditure will be incurred: that neither \$100,000 nor \$50,000 nor \$20,000 nor \$10,000 nor any other considerable sum will be incurred. The expense will be no more than that which pertains to the possession of the vessels which the Government now owns.

We ask in the first place nothing more than store-ships—sailing vessels—wh now at the disposal of the Navy Department, which are not engaged in any public service, and can be assigned to this duty without the cost of a dollar to the Government. nent. The use of the vessels with the services of the officers and men now employed and aid by the Government, will add nothing at all to the expenses of the Department; and I feel authorized to say in behalf of the committee that we will gratefully accept the meanest exhibition of the national flag which the Navy Department chooses to make for us in aid of this great national representation of our industry.

I am told by officers of the Navy Depart-

ment that these storeships, when they are not wanted for service, are not now even sold; that the prices which they bring are so insignificant that that they are broken up for the sake of the material. It is only necessary therefore for us to say to the Navy Department, preserve one, two, three or four of these vessels, as may be required and this will give us all that we need for transporting the exhibitions of our industry to the shores of France. Within the present month I believe not less than twenty steamers have been sold in the city of Baltimore at an average of less than \$6,000 each; more than half of them were sold for less than \$4,000 each. Even ff we should ask the use of steamers, which we do not, certainly the Government of the United States has the power to gratify the people of this country at a very slight cost and with very

The reason for making this request upon the Navy Department is based upon a fact alike honorable to the service and the peo-ple of England. At the Exhibition of 1851 the Secretary of the Navy, without a re-quest of Congress, authority of law, or unjustifiable expense, gave to the manufac-turers, the artisans, the agriculturists, of this country the use of the war frigate St. Lawrence to carry to Southampton the pro-ducts of their industry; and the arrival of the St. Lawrence at Southampton is announced in the English histories of the Exhibition of 1851 as one of the most notable and gratifying incidents of that grand in-industrial exposition. The officers and men of that frigate were honored with an ovation at Southampton; and whenever they appeared within the realm of England they ere recognized as the representatives the flag of our country, the bearers of the

now, sir, if that was the case in 1851, assuredly the flag of the United States will be welcomed in the grander Exhibition of 1867. We ask in this case only that the Government shall lend us the flag of our country to convey the industrialre pre tions of all classes of its people from every

part of its territory.

There is in the resolution a provision which authorized the commissioner at New fork to charge the exhibitors one-half of the current rate of freight to France, the proceeds of which were intended to be applied to the reduction of the general ex-penses of this exhibition on the part of our Government as provided for by the first resolution appropriating the sum of \$100, 000. It was that provision which led me to say in reply to a question of the gentleman

from Illinois, (Mr. Washburne), when the subject was before the House some weeks since, that the expense would not in any event exceed \$100,000, and probably would not exceed \$50,000. But, upon reflection, felt that it was not altogetner an elevate proceeding for the Government of the United States, in the use of the vessels owned and paid for by the people, to charge half-price freight upon the articles to be exhibited in Paris next year for the purpose of illustrating the progress and greatness of our country, especially for the benefit of the Government and the people. And therefore I propose on my own responsibility to strike out that section, which stands as the third section in the printed resolution, leaving it as it stands in the second section, modifying it, however, so far as to call upon the President instead of the Secretary of the Navy

to furnish the vessels.

And I do this, sir, for another reason which did not occur to me in its full strength at the time the committee reported this resolution. The products which we send to Paris will be to a great extent sold in that country. The American minister at Paris has expressed the opinion that nine tenths of the articles we send to that country will be sold there. They ought all to be sold. I think, therefore, there will be no necessity for specially providing for their return. do not think there is any great generosity in charging them fifty per cent, for their transportation to France. For these rea-I shall submit the several amendments

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the com-mittee, allow me, and I do not know but I am trespassing too much on their atten Several members,-Go on; we want to

which I have indicated.

hear you.

Mr. Banks—will gentlemen allow me to call attention to the results of previous un-authorized exhibitions of the world's industry in London, Paris, and Hamburg Carefully as we study the history of this country, and especially of its industry, we know very little of its present power and nothing at all of its future. We did not know in 1851 when we sent to London unknown men, not unknown men merely ir England but unknown men in America who would electrify as well as instruct the people of the world, who were most inter-ested in the prominent and industrial pursuits. When Mr. McCormick took his reaper there it was hardly recognised successful implement of agriculture here It was only when the premium was awarded to it that general attention in this country was called to its great merits and wonder ful success. When George Steers sent out the yacht America it attracted little atten tion. The London Times announced. after a careful examination of its model, that it was of a novel and not very promising style of architecture, of which we had no reason to be proud; but when it entered the contest against the sailing vessels of the whole world, it so far won in that contest as to leave no flag second; and then every American heart bounded with joy, and a new light broke upon the minds of the people of all nations.

There were other like honorable examples. There went out an unknown obscure mechanic from the city of New York, a native, I believe, of Massachusetts. The English locksmiths had challenged the whole world for twenty years to open that most important as well as most ingenious invention of mechanism, the Bramah lock A prize of two hundred guineas was offered to whoever could open it, and it had been tried by everybody, and no one had made an impression upon it. Mr. Hobbes, the American mechanic, gave it his attention. It was carefully guarded so that there could be no possible advantage taken by him and then, to the astonishment of all the English mechanics, after a few hours' experiments, he unlocked, locked itagain, and repeated the operation, without injury, as often as they pleased.

Sir. I need not refer to the most brilliant

success of other American mechanics Every one will agree with me in stating, so far as the Government was then represented in the Exhibition of 1851, it was not only failure, but a disgraceful failure, and that it was only the marvelous and unexpected skill and power of our own citizens, our own un known mechanics, that saved the United

States from utter disgrace.
In 1862 the Exhibition was repeated in London on a grander scale. We were then engaged in a terrible war, and could not afford to expend money on any extraneous object. We allowed, however, ninety-five American citizens to go there at their own risk and cost to exhibit the industry of the United States. Eighty-three of thoseninety-five American exhibitors received prizes in almost every branch of the pursuits of

industry.
The London Times, in speaking of that Exhibition, said that after the mechanical department the United States Department was the point of general attraction for the people of all nations. There was no representation of the Government there, no full representation of the industry, skill, genius, power and wealth of our people; only a few unauthorized citizens had gone there at their own expense, and they alone, according to the London Times, constituted the second point of attraction to the people of all nations. And foremost among these according to the representation of all the English journals, the great middle classes were the most constant and interested in their attendance upon the American de-

In the Exposition of 1863, at Hamburg. the Government was not represented, but some of our enterprising citizens were there; among others, a single representative from the State of Vermont went there of his own ccord, without the slightest expectation of achieving any distinction for himself. took with him, to represent one of the great staple interests of this country, twelve sheep. I do not suppose there is a man in this House, or that there was at that time a man in the United States, that would believe for a single moment that the American States were equal in sheep culture to those nations where it has been studied for two or three hundred years. In the Exposition at Hamburg, thirty-five different nations were represented. The crowned heads of Europe had their own finest spe-cimens of the sheep culture of Europe and Asia there; the Emperor of the French was represented himself by his own choice specimens of stock. And this Vermont si raiser, Mr. ('ampbell—I ought to mention his name—who carried out at his own cost, twelve sheep, was honored with an examination and received two first prizes, and a second prize, for the superiority of his tock. The award was not made by friends of this Government, not by men interested in our people, but by strangers: and when it was announced that an American had received two first prizes for the superiority of his stock, and the second prize also, everybody rejected it as fabulous, and every body rejected it as labdidus, and when it was verified by the subsequent publication of the awards they disputed the integrity of the award; but Mr. Campbell, the Vermont man, challenged a second examination, which was not accepted. I need not go further in the discussion o this matter, to show what we have done in the past. Let me say a word as to what we

may do in the future.
Mr. Chairman, of the ten groups into which the imperial commission has classi fied the industry of the world, the United States, if it shall be properly represented, will be at least the equal, if not the superior, of other nations in six or seven. I need hardly recount them. In works of art, although we have a reputation not yet in the blossom, I am sure we shall stand in some respects the equals of the modern representatives of older nations. The illustrations of the grand features of American scenery by Church, Bierstadt, and others, and the mar-bles of Powers, Story, and Hosmer, and

other sculptors yet unknown, and who will never be known except they shall have op-portunity to compare their achievements with the art products of other countries, cannot fail to attract at least respectful at-

In the great democratic exemplification of the art of wood engraving, the United States not only stands first, but it has achieved distinction by new processes wholly un-known to artists of the same profession in other parts of the world.

In materials and applications for the liberal arts, we cannot say much, because we do not know much. We have no knowledge of what this continent will produce in the way of the materials and applications of the liberal arts; but we need not be surprised if in this groupe, of the nature of which we know nothing at all, we stand as well as

other nations.

In the fifth groupe of minerals, and the raw and wrought products of mining, certainly we may say that no part of the world is equal in its mineral wealth to the United States. The mines of Russia are for less im portant as sources of national wealth. While the mines of Russia are chiefly on the east ern slope of the Ural mountains, from three to five thousand miles from St. Petersburg, whose rivers run gently to the Arctic sea from the centres of population, costing in transportation the greater part of the value of the products, our exhaustless wealth lies on the lines of population, where our population is moving and our railroads are constructed or being constructed, so that we may say that our wealth in respect to California is the same to us, or will be, as if it lay at the threshold of the Mint at Philadelphia or the marts of New York.

I need not refer to our capacity in mechanical invention or other classes of indus try in which we shall maintain a respectable if not superior position. But I want to ailude briefly to one point of national in-terest where we will be expected to show our power, and where we shall have an inupon domestic as well as foreign affairs by a full exemplification of what we

can do.

We have passed through a war of great we have passed inrough a war of great trials and great success. The attention of the world has been called to it. There will be nothing which the people of other countries will so desire to see and to comprehend as the materiel and organization of the American Army. The qurtermaster's department proposes to send a baggage wagon, manufactured at Philadelphia, that followed McClellan through his Potomac campaign, Rosecrans in Tennessee, and Sherman in his great march from the mountains to the sea, and then again to Richmond and the surrender of Lee. A wagon with such a history cannot fail to attract the attention of all people. A pair of worn-out shoes the dress of an American soldier, the shelter-tent under which he slept, his bayonet, his musket, his knapsack, his cap, his ra-tions, anything that belonged to him will attract more attention and draw greater crowds of people and hold them longer and closer than will the crown jewels of England. We want to see also the Navy of our

country represented, that Navy which ought to be willing to assist us in the slight demand we make upon it. We want the people of Europe to see of what our Navy is composed, our iron-clads and monitors, as novel in naval architecture as was the yacht America. We want them to see our twentyinch guns and the thousand-pound pro-jectile we have fabricated. The naval authorities of our country, I am told, would not hesitate to challenge the navies of the whole world to discharge their batteries upon one of our unresisting and silent monitors sleeping on their waters like a turtle, if they will allow that monitor to return the fire o each by a single shot. We want the people of the world to see what our mechanics have done and what they may do; and we want, too, to impress upon the people of Europe and Asia that if there is a chance to make Americans it is better to d it than to make us enemies. We want to show them that we prefer peace, that the fruits of peace are our pride, but that if war be made by their rulers they must not count on unresisting war, but on one that will carry havoc and devastation in their country as it has been carried into the coantry of our enemies. [Applause.] We want, too, that that most simple, that most pure, that most spotless hero of this or any age. Admirable Farragut, shall command in the waters of Europe our iron-clads and our monitors, and give the people evidence of the simplicity of the man whose naval ex-ploits are equal to the brilliant achievement ments of Duguay Trouin of France, of Von Tromp of Holland, or Nelson of the English Navy. And that he may not stand alone, we want that our own gallant soldiers shall be represented by their leaders, Grant and Sherman and Sheridan, that we may show the world of what stuff our Armyand Navy are made.

In the way of peace and for the purpose of averting war, there is and there can be no act of the American Government so important as this. I can scarcely doubt that the Emperor of France desires war with this country. One who sits upon a bayonet has a sharp seat and cannot rest quiet long. But Napoleon and the other rulers of Europe must satisfy the people of their respective Governments that they have an easy task and a sure end. While he has the power to represent America as he chooses, and France as he chooses, the people have no medium of instruction except through his representations. But in this industrial theatre of nations, the voice of rulers will not be more potential than that of the people The thin and deceptive veil of dip which has been hanging between Govern ments and the people for centuries, and which is responsible for the injustice of na-tions, will be lifted, and the people of Europe will understand the people of America. God, in His providence, in this the greatest of all providences, now gives to the democracy of America an opportunity to speak face to face with the democracy of Europe. The products of industry consti-tute the language of labor; it is a universal tongue; every man will comprehend it. And when they shall have seen for them-

selves the results of our war and capacity in peace they will make known to the rulers of the European world that the people of this country are to be preferred as friends rather than enemies. Thus, in the matter of peace and war, in preserving our relations with the Governments of other nations upon a proper basis, and in the means of defending our rights, a just representation is the best possible appeal we can make. But it is not in this view alone that such representation is important. This great in dustrial congress will constitute an era in our industrial history, as it will in the civilization of the world, Let me recall a few of the leading features of our position and power almo

thres of our position and power almost unknown to us, and never contemplated by the people of other countries.

Our cereal products double in quantity every ten years. They are now more than the grain crops of France; and equal to the grain crops of England, and in ten years they will be larger than the crops of both empires. Lamartine, in his letter justifying the Franch occupation of Mexico, states disthe French occupation of Mexico, states distinctly that the North American continent is to become the granary of the world, and

that France must control a portion of its territory or be subordinate to the Government and people of the United States.

The cotton crop gives employment to forty million Europeans. It has been cultivated in eight States, really in but five States. million Europeans. It has been chiryated in eight States, really in but five States. The utmost extent of this product has been five million bales a year. It can be successfully and profitably cultivated in twenty States, certainly in mere than half of the States of the Union. And instead of being extent of the most favorable crops, we will of population in 1860.

within a few years send to the markets of (Continued on the limited to five million bales a year as the

the world twenty million bales of cotton each

The grape is an indigenous product of this country. In the Mexican border States, on the Pacific coast, in the valley of the Missis-In the Mexican border States, on sippi, on the Ohio, and in other States, there is evidence abundant, plentiful, and undeat least in the thick we shall share at least in the profits of the wine manufacture. We already export wines, with other agricultural products, from the Pacific coast to South America, Australia, the Sandwich Islands, Japan, and other Asiatic ports.

The mineral wealth of this country is fabulous. No man would be believed for a single moment in the court of nations next year if he stated upon his own responsibility what is the possible, even the probable, development of the mineral wealth of this country. It is only when the Government shall make its statement that the people of the Old World will credit the relation mineral regions extend over seventeen par-allels of latitude and nearly an equal number of longitude, embracing two million square miles, the whole of which is plethoricand bursting with iron, lead, copper, asphal-tum, quicksilver, silver, gold, and many other minerals.

Several years since I was impressed with the statement made to me by our minister to Belgium, Mr. Sandford, who said that Baron Von Humboldt had told him that in his judgment it was impossible that the mountains of Virginia should not yield diamonds; that the configuration and character of the country of Virginia in yield diamonds; that the configuration and character of the country of Virginia indicated to Humboldt, who knew the physical world as other men know mankind, that the mountains of Virginia would ultimately be found a depository of this therichest and most rare of precious stones.

And in confirmation of this philosophic appropriate modely a very when well and a confirmation of the philosophic appropriate modely a very well and a confirmation of the philosophic appropriate modely are a very when well and a confirmation of the philosophic appropriate modely are a very when well are a confirmation of the philosophic appropriate modely are a confirmation of the philosophic appropriate modely are a confirmation of the philosophic and the philosophic appropriate modely are a confirmation of the philosophic appropriate modely are a confirmation of the philosophic appropriate models are a confirmation of the confirmation and the c

suggestion, made by a man who could read the indications of the surface of the earth, as an expert in natural science recognizes a fish by its bones—as if in exemplification and confirmation of this philosophic theory of Humboldt, we see it announced in the Southern portion of the continent that diamonds and other precious stones have al-ready been discovered. We know com-paratively nothing of the mineral character, the mineral resources, the mineral wealth of our country; and it is only when we shall stand in the council of scientific men, representing all parts of the world, and tho-roughly conversant with all its wondrous developments, our own resources fully and justly represented, that we shall be able to estimate the value of that we have by that which we have in our possession, but do not yet comprehend and rightly value.

I need not speak of the petroleum discoveries in the view or with the spirit of speculation. I have no eyes for speculation. I never saw in my life a share of stock or scrip of any sort; and I have no care for such things. I have no doubt that, so far as petroleum is the subject of speculation, it will be an injury as all speculation is. But we must look at the developments, of nature, in whatever aspect they present themselves. Here in our own country, in our most populous States, we discover that Providence has given to us a form of wealth necessary to all nations and in all pursuits. and which is found in almost exhaustless quantities. It would seem as if precious ils flowed in the veins of the earth as does its waters: that when it is exhausted in one place it appears in another, and when ex-hausted in the second fountain it reappears again in the first. So, making any ordinary and reasonable draft upon this most bounteous and most miraculous development of our wealth, we may well say that it is ex-haustless. It extends from the Alleghenies to the Pacific coast, and may be found anywhere within an area of two million square miles, and no man can put his foot down or fix his stake at any point at which he may not penetrate the earth and receive wealth

in this form. Let me look at another point in which we havn or ought to have some interest. It is the railway system. The railway is a new element of power. We have thirty-one thou and miles of railroad—four times as much as England—more than any other country. We can build as much as we want, and as soon as we desire. Other nations count the cost; but we have no cost; for to invest in a railway is to give value to that property which we possess in other forms. The construction of our railways has cost us \$1,100,000,000; \$800,000,000, as I stated the other day, were expended between 1850 and 1860. And I have no doubt that between 1870 and 1880, \$1,000,000,000 more will be invested, so that we shall have a railway to every part of this country, connecting all the points of domestic wealth, whether the coal of Pennsylvania, the lead of Illinois, the copper of Michigan, or the gold and silver, of the Pacific coast, with he commerce of the world.

[Here the hammer fell.]
Mr. Ashley (Ohio)—I move that, by unanimous consent, the gentleman from Massachusetts be allowed to conclude his

remarks. There was no objection. Mr. Banks-Again, sir, consider the question in another regard, which is moral and mental. Mr. Oliphant, a member of the British Parliament, said in a public speech the other day that in religious and secular education the United States are ahead of the whole world. It is well known that we appropriate more money in public educa-tion than all other States. In this Exhibition of 1867 education will be a material feature; and it would be a crime if the nations of the earth are to be represented in point of education, that the Government of the United States should not be properly

represented. And the same is true of the public press of the country-the American institution which gave in 1860 four thousand journals and a thousand million copies per annum, now yields double the number of copies, or two a week for every person in the United

Now, sir, in the court of nations, these facts will make an impression upon the world in two respects in which we have much interest: first, in regard to our finances; and second, in regard to our population. Capital is proverbially heartless, and will go wherever it finds material for safe and profitable investment. European nations are insecure in their political relations. We are secure if we settle our domestic affairs, as I have no doubt we shall. We will show in our mineral development, in our increased cotton products, in the exen our increased cotton produces in the ex-tension of our cereals, such an absolute se-renity in reference to the payment of our public and private debts, as to deprive the capitalists of Europe of any, even the slightest, apprehension in making investments in our country.

I say, and I think without exaggeration.

I know it is a strong statement that I am. about to make—if the Government of the country should issue its scrip in small sums, paying, seven, eight, nine, or ten-per cent. interest, with a full and fair representation of our material wealth and the character of our people to the people, it would break every savings bank in Europe if the Governments did not interfere to stop subscriptions.

Look at our population, sir, and the great area we occupy, as elements of wealth.
The territory is equal to that of Europe. It is sufficient to support a thousand million people. The valley of the Mississippi alone, with its tributaries between the mountains, with its tributaries between the mountains, will support a thousand million people populated as England is, three hundred and thirty three to to a square mile. It will yield all the products of Europe and Asia. Tea and coffee will grow in the Southwest, and with grain grown in the Northwest ten or twenty years the whole world will look to America for food. Our population is keeping progress with our advance in material wealth. We had thirty millions

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