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Gen. Cass's Extra Pay, $64,865 46—*General Taylor not one cent: proved by Official Documents.*

SPEECH OF

HON. ANDREW STEWART,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, U. S., August 3, 1848.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, Mr. STEWART rose at eleven o'clock, P. M., the House having been in session thirteen hours, and said, late as was the hour he had some few remarks to make which he would make now, with the indulgence of the committee. He said, I rise, principally to settle a small account with a gentleman from Michigan, (Mr. McClelland) and it is with no little regret that I perceive the gentleman is not in his seat, for I prefer saying in his presence that which I am about to utter. However, I have no alternative, at this late period of the session, but to proceed at once, or in all human probability leave matters unexplained which I feel myself imperiously called upon to maintain and justify. I hope, however, soon to see the gentleman in his seat.

It will be recollected that some time ago; in the course of some remarks which I made on this floor, I took occasion to animadvert on the public official conduct of Governor Cass, while Governor of Michigan Territory, and *ex officio* Superintendent of Indian affairs. That was a proper subject of examination by a Representative of the people, especially as the then governor is now a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people of this entire Union. Some time after the delivery of that speech, I had occasion to leave this city on a visit to my family, and during my absence the gentleman from Michigan undertook to answer what I had said; and this he did, as it appears from his printed speech with some severity. He characterized my speech as a villification of Governor Cass. He said I had been guilty of traducing that distinguished man, of whom the gentleman from Michigan is understood to be the immediate representative. He charged me with having been guilty of making "reckless charges" in regard to the extra pay which Governor Cass had received. Will it then be deemed strange if I, even at this late hour of the night, avail myself of the opportunity now presented to take a befitting notice of that gentleman's speech? It is due to myself that I should not allow it to pass unnoticed; but I assure the committee I shall not follow that gentleman's example; I will not enter into competition with the gentleman from Michigan in the use of abusive epithets. It would not become me nor the place where I stand, nor will it serve the cause of truth. This is no theatre for such displays.

I would do injustice to no man; and of Governor Cass I have said no more than unquestioned documents warrant; but called upon as I have been by the speech of the gentleman from Michigan, I feel constrained to repeat some of the statements which I have heretofore made, and to add others of even a worse character, of which I was then ignorant. For these statements I rely on public official documents. If, then, I err, I do so relying on official statements emanating from the political and personal friends of General Cass himself, and which I have never heard doubted—And on these documents I still rely to sustain the statements which I have before made, and others which I shall now submit to the committee and to the country.

On the occasion to which I have referred I stated the fact that General Cass, whilst Governor and *ex officio* Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Michigan, charged and received from this Government $60.412 as extra compensation over and above his regular and legal salary. I now repeat that statement, and I have not only official documents here to prove its truth to the extent of every dollar, and much more as will soon appear, but I have the speech of the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. McClelland) himself, in which he admits distinctly the truth of that statement. He admits that Governor Cass received $60.412 over and above his salary, and he enumerates the sums which make up that amount. He admits it, every dollar, as stated by me, and then he undertakes to explain it. Sir, he says among other things that it is not all *extra* pay, but partly expenses which he had incurred at various times. This was the explanation of the gentleman from Michigan, but I am prepared to show that all his expenses, and all the sums he advanced for "*provisions*" and "*presents*" to the Indians, for every pound of iron, steel, and every thing else, has been charged to, and repaid by, the Government, and that the sum of $60,412 constitutes no part of those charges, but is an amount which went into Governor Cass's private pocket. Were these not *extras*, then? There were but two kinds of pay to the officers of this Government, *regular* and *extra*. Governor Cass's regular pay was $2,000 per annum, and these sums, which amount to $60.412, were extras, over and above his regular salary; add his regular salary, $36,000, and the sum received would be $96.412. But I have not only the admission of the gentleman from Michigan, but the official documents which expressly declared this $60,412 to be "extra allowances." The resolutions of Congress which brought to light these enormous and unprecedented extras called on the War department for "extra allowances," and extra allowances alone. Is it not then manifest, that the suggestion of the gentleman, that a portion of this admitted payment of $60,412 were not extras, is utterly unfounded, is it not an attempt to conceal the truth, and deceive the people as to the real character of these *extra*ordinary charges?

Here, sir, is the resolution itself, adopted the 28th of February, 1842, calling upon the Secretary of War to communicate to this House "the names of such officers of the War Department and of the army, including paymasters and governors of territories, who have received *extra* allowance, the time when received, the amount of the *extra* allowance paid to each, the service for which the *extra* allowance was claimed, and the authority under which it was made." These are the very words of the call. Two reports were accordingly made in answer to this resolution; one by the 2d, and the other by the 3d Auditor of the Treasury. To show the care bestowed in the preparation of these documents, I may here observe, that clerks were regularly employed for two years on one, and one year on the other, of these reports; and that in making up the smallest of the two they examined 30,000 accounts and vouchers. These reports, then, are the authority on which I rely for the truth of the statement that General Cass received $60,412 as *extra* allowances. Yet, in the face of these official facts, the representative of General Cass on this floor has the hardihood to say that these are not "extra allowances," and to charge me in my absence with "wilful" missstatements; with vilifying and traducing General Cass by so representing them. I submit, sir, who is guilty of wilful misrepresentation?

Mr COBB, of Georgia. When were those reports made?

Mr. STEWART. One was made the 13th of December, 1842, and the other the 16th of December, 1843, in answer to a resolution of the 28th of February, 1842—They were reports made by officer, of the Treasury Department in obedience to a resolution which called for nothing but "extra allowances," and they show that General Cass received for extra charges the enormous sum of $60,412, more than was paid to all the Governors of all the Territories of the United States since the foundation of our Government up to this hour. Let gentlemen be patient—this is not all. I was myself ignorant of much the worst part of this case when I spoke before. I have some further developments to make, before I take my seat, that will startle gentlemen over the way, their candidate, and the country—transactions which, I venture to say, no honest man would stand up and justify, here or elsewhere. But, before proceeding to this matter, I have a few words more to say to the gentleman from Michigan. That gentleman admits the receipt, by Governor Cass, of the $60,412 over and above his regular salary. Now, hear his explanations as to the first item, $6,610, for *rations*. In the first place, what are the facts. Governor Cass, in October, 1821, came to this city to settle his accounts, and, in addition to an extra allowance of $1,500 per year over and above his legal salary of $2,000, he charged ten rations a day, at 20 cents each, for every day from the date of his appointment, in 1813, to 1821, (7 or 8 years,) amounting to $730 a year, for the whole period. This was a charge of money made for rations to which Governor Cass was never entitled. The Governor of a Territory has no right to rations; but Governor Cass, who never drew a ration, drew this amount of money as a sum to which he alledged he was entitled. I repeat, that the Governor of a territory is not entitled to rations; but if he were, was it likely that Gov. Cass would not have drawn them through a period of 7 or 8 years? He was not entitled to them, and he did not draw them; but, at the end of 7 or 8 years, he makes up an account charging ten rations a day, at 20 cents each, for the whole time, amounting to $6.610. This charge the gentleman from Michigan admits, (and who can deny it?) but he interpolates the words "for supporting the Indians." Rations for supporting the Indians! No, the gentleman knows that no rations were ever drawn by Governor Cass "for supporting Indians," or any body else. No, sir; he knows it was a money charge; and as far as truth is concerned, the gentleman from Michigan might as well have said that they were drawn to support the starving Irish, as that they were drawn to support the Indians. Were the 10 rations a day, charged by Governor Cass for 208 days, (nearly seven months) while settling his own accounts for extra pay in this city—were these also drawn to support the Indians? But here is the gentleman's speech, in which he quotes from the official report this charge of $6,610 for rations, where he interpolates these words, "for supporting the Indians." Why is this done? Is it not to deceive the people and screen Governor Cass from merited popular indignation? I ask, again who then is guilty, to use the language of the gentleman, of "wilful error and misrepresentation?"

Mr. COBB, of Georgia. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania permit me to ask, whether he intends to charge that Governor Cass ever drew one dollar from the public treasury dishonestly or improperly?

Mr. STEWART. I shall not attempt to characterize the conduct of Governor Cass. I shall give facts from public official documents, with the dates and pages and I shall then leave it to the country to characterize his conduct as they may think the facts warrant. My business is with facts; and I here adduce facts, which I defy gentlemen to invalidate or disprove. They may promise to answer, as they have done on other occastons, but they will again fail to do so; the less said the better. I will give gentlemen the document and page for every fact I state and every dollar I charge—documents accessible to them, which can be seen in a moment; and there can be no escape, therefore, if the charges are not promptly explained or disproved.

Mr. COBB. Will the gentleman excuse me. I wish to have a clear understanding on this point. I desire to know whether the gentleman from Pennsylvania intends to charge, or desires to make the impression on the mind of this country, that Governor Cass has, contrary to law or contrary to good morals, drawn one dollar from the Treasury of the United States?

Mr. STEWART. If the gentleman wants my opinion he shall have it. In my opinion he did. He was legally entitled to nothing but his salary of two thousand dollars per annum. But, sir I will not be drawn from my purpose by permitting myself to be catechised. My object is a simple statement of facts, drawn from official sources. Those facts will speak for themselves; and I shall not permit myself to be diverted from the duty I have undertaken to discharge in the short space of one hour, which is allowed me, by any false issue which the gentleman may wish to raise. I shall state facts, and prove them from the official records, and then I shall call upon gentlemen, the friends of Governor Cass, to deny or to justify them if they can. I repeat, for I am very desirous to be distinctly understood, that I charge Governor Cass with having drawn $60,412 as extra allowances over and above his legal salary of $2,000; and I shall soon proceed to make and prove other statements of worse character even than this, which will tax all the ingenuity of gentlemen to answer or evade.

Mr. MCLANE. Were not those charges of extra allowances allowed by some officer of the Government?

Mr. STEWART. He got the money, and of course they must have been allowed in some way or other. But he would tell the gentleman something about the "*modus operandi*" after a while. He begged gentlemen, however, to be patient; and if they could not be patient, to be patient as they could. I have been much abused by the party press of the country for making these charges; but so long as I am sustained by official documents, I can well disregard the outcry of the party organs I speak of the official conduct of Governor Cass. I speak of him as a public officer. I speak of him now, when he is a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and I maintain that I, or any other citizen of these United States, have the right to submit his conduct to the most rigid examination; for if he could be false to his trust in an inferior office—if he has done that which cannot be justified as the Governor of a Territory, what may he not do, if he should be elected President of the United States? If he has taken $60,000 or $70,000 as extra pay while he was Governor of the Territory of Michigan, what may he not do when entrusted with the management of thirty or forty millions of dollars? That is a question of great moment, from an examination of which I will not shrink or be deterred by any thing that can be said or done here or elsewhere. I defy and despise the abuse of a corrupt and venal press and of the foul mouthed slanderer. I have a duty to discharge—a duty I owe to my country, to save it if I can from falling into the hands of "the spoilers," to defend it to the extent of my humble ability against the utterly ruinous consequences which, in my conscience I believe, must follow another administration under the Cass and Polk system of policy, in both its foreign and domestic influences.

General Cass is the candidate of one party in this country for the highest office to which he can aspire, and the propriety of placing him in that office may be determined by his official conduct in the offices to which he has been appointed. The gentleman from Michigan, in his defence of General Cass, insinuated and suggested that General Taylor, the candidate of the Whig party, had received more extra pay than General Cass ever received. It appears to me that the gentleman from Michigan is very unfortunate in his line of defence of General Cass. If General Taylor has received a greater amount of extra pay than General Cass, it may show that General Taylor has been guilty of preying on this Government, and plunging his arm as deep as possible into the public treasury; but if true, is that any excuse for Governor Cass for doing the same thing? But the gentleman is no more fortunate in his facts than in his line of defence. General Taylor received more extra pay than General Cass! Why, sir, I am prepared to prove, and will prove, to the satisfaction of the gentleman, and of the world, from official records, that during a space of forty years—and I call upon gentlemen to mark it—General Taylor has not contaminated his fingers with a single dollar of extra pay.—This is shown by official reports made in answer to a call for a statement of all the extra pay of all the officers of the army, from the foundation of the Government to the year 1842, when these reports were made. Here are the reports, sir, which were made after two years careful examination of more than 40,000 accounts, showing every dollar of extra pay to every officer, from an ensign to a major general, from $1 to $10,000; showing, too, that almost every officer of our army, at one time or another, has received extra allowances amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars, and yet, sir, it is shown that General Taylor has never touched a dollar of extra pay. Now sir let General Cass and General Taylor stand before the country together, and let the country "look upon this picture, and then upon that."

In the one, we see that which "gives the world assurance of a man"—"an honest man, the noblest work of God." But what shall be said of the other? The man who has taken more extra pay while he was Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and *ex-officio* superintendent of Indian affairs, than all the Governors of all the Territories, and all the secretaries acting as Governors, from the foundation of the Government to the present hour; and it must not be forgotten, that twelve or thirteen of the States of this Union have been Territories before they were admitted as States into this Union. Startling as this statement may be, it is clearly shown to be true by the official documents which have been published by order of Congress. I have those documents before me, respecting which I intend that there shall be no mistake; and, therefore, I invite to them the particular attention of this committee and of the country. The first document is No 6, of the 3d session of the 27th Congress; the other, No. 18 of the first session of the 28th Congress. From which documents it appeared that the whole of the extra allowances received by all the Governors, and Secretaries acting as Governors, amounted to but $19,400; while Governor Cass alone received $64,865 46!! This embraces an omitted item of $875. See doc. 112, 3 sess. 25th Congress, page 15.

I now come, said Mr. S., to the *new* counts in my indictment against Governor Cass, based on facts discovered since my former speech, and to which I call the special attention of gentlemen over the way.

1st, then, I charge that Governor Cass, while in the receipt of his legal salary of $2,000, and two extra allowances, one of $1,500 and the other of $730 per annum, and also $8 per day and 40 cents per mile travel, actually charged and received, in addition to all this, the pay of an "*assistant deputy quartermaster general*," at the rate of $1,001 80 per annum, and "the pay and emoluments of a captain" in the army for four years (from 1817 to 1821) $2,576 66, increasing his extra pay to $64,865 46—In support of this charge, I refer gentlemen to Document No. 18, 1st. Session, 28th Congress, page 25.

2d. I charge that Governor Cass, while receiving his regular salary of $2,000, two extra allowances of $1,500 each, and $8 per day, and 40 cents per mile for travel, amounting to $25 and sometimes $30 per day, permitted Mr. Woodbridge, the secretary who acted for him in his absence, to charge and receive a third extra allowance of $1,500 for three years and twenty-five days, thus charging the Government $3,000 per annum for clerkhire, officerent, &c., when I believe there is no evidence, nor even an allegation, that a dollar had ever been paid by Governor Cass for either the one or the other; to support this charge, I refer to Document No. 112, 3d Session, 25th Congress, page 2. Who can be found to justify or defend this?

These, I repeat, are facts derived from official sources.

A Member. How much did Gen. Harrison receive while Governor of the Northwest territory?

Mr. Stewart. I am reminded that General Harrison was the Governor of a territory in the Northwest, and I will tell the gentleman how much he received. The whole amount of General Harrison's extra pay during the whole time he was Governor of Indiana and the Northwestern territory, and for all the treaties he negotiated—(as numerous and important, perhaps, as those of Governor Cass)—was $3,201, instead of $64,865, the amount received by this great and *extra*ordinary, hero and patriot, Governor Cass. No; Harrison was an honest man—and like an honest man he neither charged nor received one cent for rations, office-rent, clerk-hire, or fuel, or for extra territorial services, for which Governor Cass charged and received $3,730 per annum *extra*. Here is the difference between Harrison and Cass—any more questions? If not, I will proceed to another point.

Mr. McLane. Does the gentleman mean to say that he obtained these payments without vouchers?

Mr. Stewart. I say that General Cass's letters, which are published with these reports, do not assert that he ever employed a clerk or rented an office of any kind. But, to specify something to sustain the charge, this was adopted as the most convenient and plausible pretext to get the money. But the gentleman from Maryland asks if General Cass obtained these payments without vouchers? I answer, I believe he did; but to ascertain the fact with certainty, I went yesterday, first to the Third Auditor's office at the Treasury Department, and there I was told that the vouchers were filed in the office of the Second Auditor. I then proceeded to the office of the Second Auditor, Mr. McCalla, and told him that I wished to see the vouchers of General Cass for the payments that had been made to him, and what was the answer I received? The Auditor told me he could not attend to it. "Sir," I said, "can you give me the assistance of a clerk?" "No," was the answer, "my clerks are all busy—come some other time." I said I should not consume much time; but I was thus denied any means and all assistance to examine whether there were vouchers or not by the Second Auditor of the Treasury. The gentleman from Michigan, however, has shown that he could get all the documents that he wanted. He has got an account of all General Taylor's regular pay, and doubtless he has sought for General Taylor's "extra pay;" but he has not been able to find any, because, as appears by the records, he never received a dollar; nevertheless, the gentleman from Michigan has not hesitated to insinuate, and send it to the country, that General Taylor has received more extra pay than General Cass, in the face of these documents, which show conclusively that he never received a cent of extra pay during a service of forty years, in the course of which he was doubtless often entitled to it, as it appears nearly all other officers of the army have been. Yet the gentleman from Michigan insinuates that General Taylor recived extra pay for what he calls "the formal routine of light military duty, at comparatively unimportant posts." Sir, General Taylor has spent much of his time in the service on the western frontier; but is the frontier service "light military duty?"—Were there no hardships and privation to endure there? Let the Western members of this House answer. I undertake to assert that the frontier service is the most discomfortable, the most undesirable that an officer, who preferred personal ease to the hard duties of the camp, could be subjected to.

But Gen. Taylor has always been ready to serve his country wherever his services were required, how arduous soever they might be; and so far from having received more extra pay than Governor Cass as insinuated, I defy the gentleman to show that he has ever charged one dollar for extra pay. Here is the document which shows the sums paid to officers of all grades for extra allowances from the foundation of the government. It is at the service of the gentleman from Michigan, or any other gentleman, and I challenge them to find the name of Gen. Taylor once as the recipient of an extra dollar. But Gen. Cass received between $60,000 and $70,000 for sitting in his splendid and comfortable mansion in the city of Detroit, enjoying his champagne, with every luxury, and the society of family and friends while Gen. Taylor was enduring hardships on the western frontier. These are the two men now placed before the country for the Presidency. Which will the people prefer? The man who never contaminated his fingers with the extra perquisites of office, or the man who has become rich by such means, having received more than all the officers of like grade in the government? If Gen. Cass shall be elected President of these United States, how can he refuse to others similar allowances under the designation of extra pay, which he has himself claimed and received, without hesitation and without stint? And to what plunder would not the Treasury of the country be then exposed?

We have an instance of this on record. It will be seen in this document, No. 112, that Geo. B. Porter, Mr. Cass' successor as Governor of Michigan, actually charged and received by orders of Governor Cass, then Secretary of War, $8,400 for similar extra allowances nearly equal to one-half of the whole amount granted to all the other territorial governors put together. How could Governor Cass refuse? How could he deny to others that which he had so freely taken for himself?

But there is another fact to which I wish to call the attention of the committee. General Cass came to Washington in 1821 to settle his accounts; remained here during a whole session of Congress, 208 days; obtained $16,000 for extra allowances, and charged the Government $1,448 for this time, while receiving his legal salary of $2,000, & extra allowances of $2.230, with $1,500 *extra* paid the territorial secretary for attending to his business at home. He also spent another winter here in the same way, helping to make an "Indian Code," and electioneering for the War Department, for which he charged $1,520 in addition to all his salaries, increased by new extras to $5,000 per annum, and as usual $1,500 *extra* to his secretary.

But there is another matter to which I wish to call attention. It is this. On the 17th of October, 1821, when Governor Cass came on to settle his accounts, the principal ground on which he based his extra claims was the *rise of provisions* in Detroit in 1814, '15 and '16, and he sent "a schedule of prices" of what he calls the "articles of life" with his letter to the War Department, and said if the Department would allow him $2000 for these three years ($6,000 in all) he would be satisfied; or, to use his own words, "these three years comprehend the period to which I am willing this allowance shall be *restricted*, and within which the prices of every article was most extravagant"—thus basing his claim expressly on the ground of the rise in the price of provision, of chickens and eggs, pigs and potatoes, and perhaps, "Bologna sausages," which, if a good reason for raising his, would be equally good for raising every other salary in the country. But what is most astonishing is this: Twelve days after the date of this letter "restricting" his claim to $6,000, having got new views on the subject, he writes another letter, dated the 29th of the same month, increasing his claim from $6,000 to $16,000; that is, from $2,000 extra for three years to $2,230—not for three years but for the whole period of his service from 1813 to 1841, which he received.—Now, what will be thought of this man's conscience, who says $6,000 is enough one day, and claims $16,00 the next, for precisely the same service? I leave gentlemen to explain. But there was another trait in this letter even worse than this. In reply to a suggestion of the President, that the *mode* pointed out by Governor Cass for covering his claims could not be justified by *law* or *usage*, Governor Cass suggests that there was no limit to allowances out of the contingent—yes, *contingent*—appropriation for the Indian department but "*the discretion of the Executive;*" and to conceal the true character of the transaction, he makes this suggestion to the Secretary of War. I quote his words. He says: "The expenditure of the appropriation for the Indian department, is entirely discretionary with the Government; it is applied to such objects, and in such manner, as the Government may deem most conducive to the public interest—there is no limitation but the discretion of the Executive. I do not ask the sum I have stated as a fixed annual allowance, but as a fair estimate of my claim under the authority of Government. I do not ask it to be paid to me. I request it may be allowed in my *account current* as an item of expenditure to which I was liable." Not to be paid to him on his private account, but to be put in his public official "*account current*, as an expenditure to which he was liable." And here, General Cass's attorney, the gentleman from Michigan, might very well stick in again "for supporting the Indians," to be taken out of the Indian contingent fund," over which Governor Cass says "the Executive has an unlimited discretion." Sir, I cannot, I will not attempt to characterize this suggestion, this plan to deceive the public, but will leave gentlemen here, and the people at large, to characterize it as they think proper. Is it susceptible of defence or justification? If so, I would be glad to hear it.

But there is another curious thing about this matter. It appears that in all his settlements Governor Cass never charged but one $1,500 extra allowances at a time. One time he charged $1,500 for office rent, &c. and the next time he brought up the other $1,500 charge for crossing the territorial line; thus, apparently, charging but one $1,500 extra allowance, when, in fact, he was receiving two. And the officers themselves seem to have been deceived, for they several times state that he got but $1,500 a year extra. But the Governor was appointed Secretary of War, and come to settle his final account, he was obliged to charge, and did charge, for both his $1,500 extra allowances up to the date of his appointment. See Doc 112, 3d sess. 25th Congress, page 15. And after getting the money by a requisition on the Treasury, he then suspended the settlement, being himself at the time Secretary of War, and it remained suspended till he was appointed minister to France, when he got the 2d Auditor to close it up. Thus, it appears, that, for the purpose of receiving the balance, the account was considered settled; but then, being himself Secretary of War, the settlement was suspended—a very curious, but convenient arrangement.

But, sir, there is another thing which I regard by far the worst feature in the whole matter—worse than all the extras. By referring to the final settlement of Governor Cass's accounts as Governor of Michigan, and *ex officio* Superintendent of Indian affairs, (see Doc. 112, 3d session 25th Congress, page 16,) where it appears that, about a year after Governor Cass was appointed Secretary of War, he drew up an account against the Government for money alleged to have been advanced for the Government many years before, in his official capacity, and, if right, ought to have been, and it is to be presumed would have been, settled in his quarterly accounts and paid by the Government. These charges for over-payments to Indians on account of annuities, presents, contingencies, &c., running back in some instances ten and twelve years, brought the Government in his debt $35,075, for which he got a requisition (No. 2,906) on the Treasury, dated the 21st August, 1832, (a year after after his appointment as Secretary of War) in full of the alleged balance; and then, having got the money, he suspended the settlement of this account, and it remained suspended some four or five years, till he was about leaving as minister to France when he got the matter closed by his

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