

I have no particular interest in opposing this proposition; I merely desire that the ruling shall be correct. Rather than have a wrong decision, I would prefer that the matter should come in by unanimous consent. In the decision of Mr. Speaker BLAINE, when General Beatty raised this question, the Chair will find a very full and interesting discussion of this whole subject.

Mr. SINGLETON. It seems to me the objection comes too late. If it had been made yesterday, when the report from the Committee on Printing was first brought up for consideration, perhaps it would have been well taken. We propose now to report back a resolution which was recommitted to the Committee on Printing in accordance with the instructions of the House, and that certainly is in order.

Mr. RANDALL. I suggest to the gentleman from Mississippi that he can escape all difficulty in this connection by now moving to reconsider the vote by which this subject was recommitted.

Mr. HOAR. That will cover it.

Mr. SINGLETON. I move to reconsider the vote by which the subject was recommitted to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. RANDALL. Pending that motion, I move the House adjourn. The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair would gladly postpone any ruling in reference to these "matters of printing" and their privileges. The case referred to by the gentleman from Massachusetts, brought in by Mr. Beatty, of Ohio, is remembered by the Chair. At that time, as the Chair thinks, Mr. Speaker BLAINE overruled previous decisions. That is the present impression of the Chair. He would be glad, if he could, to have this matter postponed or not ruled on, until a thorough examination of previous rulings could be made. The Chair would add that in his position as a mere *locum tenens* he craves the forbearance of the House in rulings so frequently *eo instanti*.

Mr. RANDALL. The motion to reconsider the vote by which the subject was recommitted does not involve the decision of the question at all.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I raised the point of order against the reception of the report from the Committee on Printing, and that point did not come too late, as it has been frequently held that it is in time to raise the point of order until after the proposition has been read.

Mr. RANDALL. This question was considered yesterday on a report from the Committee on Printing. That committee reported for the action of the House three resolutions, two of which were adopted and the third recommitted to the Committee on Printing with instructions. In my judgment, it is now entirely competent for the gentleman from Mississippi, from the Committee on Printing, to report back that resolution under the instructions with which it was recommitted. To avoid all question, however, he has moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was recommitted. That has been done time and again.

Mr. HALE. I rise to the point of order that the gentleman from Mississippi cannot now take this method of bringing the matter up on a motion to reconsider. Yesterday the subject was recommitted to the Committee on Printing, and that committee has to-day already reported it back. It has therefore gone beyond any stage where they can select the manner of bringing it up by a motion to reconsider. The ruling of the Chair, therefore, must be whether the report of the committee as made by the gentleman from Mississippi can be considered at once unless by unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair sustains the point of order of the gentleman from Maine. He is evidently right in saying that the committee to-day has reported it back. The gentleman from Mississippi has to-day submitted his report, and therefore it has gone beyond the stage when a motion to reconsider will lie. The committee having reported the matter back, it comes up before the House on that report. It being before us, can a motion to reconsider its recommendation be in order?

Mr. BURCHARD, of Illinois. The subject was up by unanimous consent yesterday. The proposition now is to report again from the Committee on Printing. It is now a new proposition.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair sustains the point of order made by the gentleman from Maine, as it is evidently correct. The committee having reported the subject back to the House, the motion (according to his point of order) to reconsider the recommendation does not lie.

Mr. RANDALL. Does the Chair say the gentleman from Mississippi has no right to enter a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was recommitted to that committee on yesterday?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Not after the committee has reported the subject back to the House.

Mr. RANDALL. The question of order was raised against the reception of the report, and to avoid that difficulty the motion to reconsider was made by the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I have raised the point of order against the reception of the report, and that point of order is still pending, the Speaker not having decided it.

Mr. RANDALL. The point of order has been raised against the reception of the report, that it was not an ordinary report from the Committee on Printing, which could be made at any time, but that the report was of a proposition changing existing law, which could only come in by unanimous consent.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. This matter was before the House without objection, by unanimous consent, when the point of order was made against it.

Mr. SINGLETON. I withdraw the motion to reconsider.

Mr. RANDALL. No; the report and then the motion to reconsider is in order.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I objected to the reception of the report as soon as it was stated to the House, and my point of order is perfectly good until the proposition was read.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. This report is before the House, and will come up to-morrow as the unfinished business.

Mr. RANDALL's motion was agreed to; and then (at five o'clock and fifteen minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following memorials, petitions, and other papers were presented at the Clerk's desk under the rule, and referred as stated:

By Mr. BASS: Remonstrance of Robert Dunbar and other citizens of Buffalo, New York, against the passage of the Morrison tariff bill, to the Committee of Ways and Means.

Also, remonstrance of R. H. Plumb and 100 other citizens of Buffalo, New York, of similar import, to the same committee.

Also, remonstrance of George W. Tift, Sons & Co., and 100 other citizens of Buffalo, New York, of similar import, to the same committee.

By Mr. CASON: The petition of dealers in tobacco of Crawfordsville, Indiana, that the law remain unchanged regulating the mode of packing tobacco, to the same committee.

By Mr. CLARKE, of Kentucky: The petition of George W. Morse, for compensation on account of labor and money expended in inventing the modern metallic center-fire cartridge system of breech-loading fire-arms adopted by the United States Army, to the Committee on Patents.

By Mr. GARFIELD: The petition of the faculty of Dartmouth College, in relation to the metric system and its adoption for use in the United States, to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. GOODE: Papers relating to the claim of James E. Hozier, for compensation for the destruction of an oyster-bed by dredging by orders of the commandant of the Norfolk navy-yard, to the Committee of Claims.

By Mr. HARRIS, of Massachusetts: The petition of John W. Gardner, a passed assistant engineer United States Navy, that his pay in his present grade may commence at the time the vacancy occurred to which he was promoted, to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. HENDERSON: The petition of Henry Dart & Sons and other citizens of Rock Island, Illinois, that the law regulating the manner of packing tobacco remain unchanged, to the Committee of Ways and Means.

By Mr. LEAVENWORTH: The petition of Hile & Aldrich and others, of Syracuse, New York, of similar import, to the same committee.

By Mr. MILLER: Petitions for the acknowledgment of God and Christianity in the Constitution of the United States, signed by 3,219 persons from the States of New York and New Jersey, to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIDDLE: A paper relating to the establishment of post-routes from Carthage via Snow Creek to Chestnut Mound, Tennessee, and from Chestnut Mound via Granville to Flynn's Lick, Tennessee, to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. SOUTHWORTH: Memorial of the officers of the Academy of Medicine of Zanesville, Ohio, protesting against the passage of the bill to incorporate the National Surgical Institute of the District of Columbia, to the Committee for the District of Columbia.

By Mr. TOWNSEND, of Pennsylvania: Remonstrance of Samuel Riddle & Son, J. M. & D. Lewis, Liely & Co., Burnley & Co., James Barton, jr., and 315 other manufacturers and workmen of Delaware County, Pennsylvania, against the reduction of import duties upon foreign goods which enter into competition with their respective manufactures, to the Committee of Ways and Means.

By Mr. TUFTS: The petition of manufacturers and dealers in tobacco of Muscatine, Iowa, against any change in the law regulating the manner of packing tobacco, to the same committee.

By Mr. WIKE: The petition of manufacturers and dealers in tobacco of Quincy, Illinois, of similar import, to the same committee.

IN SENATE.

THURSDAY, May 18, 1876.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. BYRON SUNDERLAND, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bills from the House of Representatives were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia:

A bill (H. R. No. 2604) to incorporate the Suburban Railroad Company of the District of Columbia;

A bill (H. R. No. 2881) to authorize the establishment of a certain free public highway in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

A bill (H. R. No. 3046) to amend the law with respect to wills, to regulate the transaction of probate business in the supreme court of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

A bill (H. R. No. 3435) providing for the adjustment of claims against the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

ROBERT SMALLS.

Mr. MORTON. Although it is not in order at this time, as I see the Senator from Maryland [Mr. WHITE] in his seat I should like to enter a motion to reconsider the vote agreeing to a report made by him yesterday from the Committee on Naval Affairs adversely on the petition of Robert Smalls, of South Carolina, praying an allowance of prize-money for the capture of the steamer Planter in 1862. If there is no objection on the part of the Senator, I move to have the vote by which the report was concurred in reconsidered, and that the petition be recommitted to the committee in order that an additional statement may be presented in regard to the claim.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that order is made by unanimous consent.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. ENGLISH presented the memorial of Messrs. Bushwell & Dewell, and other citizens of New Haven, Connecticut, remonstrating against any change in the law regulating the mode of packing tobacco; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. BURNSIDE presented the petition of George G. Stillman and others, of Westerly, Rhode Island, praying an amendment to the river and harbor appropriation bill authorizing an appropriation to complete the improvement in Little Narragansett Bay, as recommended by General Warren; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. MORRILL, of Vermont, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, who were directed by a resolution of the Senate to inquire into the jail accommodations of the District of Columbia, reported a bill (S. No. 842) authorizing the commissioners of the District of Columbia to remove the jail in Judiciary Square to grounds near to the Washington Asylum for the use of the District; which was read and passed to the second reading.

Mr. SAULSBURY, from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, to whom was referred the bill (S. No. 308) for the relief of B. D. Morton, of Clarksville, Virginia, reported adversely thereon; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. HAMLIN, from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, to whom was referred the petition of Matthew Callaghan, praying compensation for having originated and furnished the Post-Office Department with the plan now in use for the return to the writer of letters not delivered to the person addressed, submitted an adverse report thereon; which was agreed to and ordered to be printed.

Mr. CONKLING, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. No. 702) to change the name of the steam-propeller Senator Mike Norton to America, reported it without amendment.

Mr. BURNSIDE, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom the subject was referred, reported a bill (S. No. 843) establishing the rank of the Paymaster-General; which was read and passed to the second reading.

Mr. SARGENT. I am instructed by the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. No. 841) for the relief of Bayse N. Westcott, to report it back adversely. My colleague on the committee [Mr. CONOVER] desires to make a minority report, and therefore I ask that the bill go on the Calendar.

Mr. CONOVER. I present the views of the minority to go with the bill on the Calendar.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be placed on the Calendar, and the views of the minority will be printed.

Mr. BRUCE, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred thirteen petitions of citizens of New York, late soldiers in the Union Army, praying for an amendment to the pension laws so as to extend the time in which to make application for arrears of pensions to July 4, 1876, submitted an adverse report thereon; which was agreed to and ordered to be printed.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. No. 1944) granting a pension to Niram W. Pratt, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon; which was ordered to be printed.

Mr. WADLEIGH, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the petition of Nathaniel P. Harbin, of Georgia, praying compensation for certain property seized and taken possession of by United States troops during the late war, submitted a report thereon, accompanied by a bill (S. No. 844) for the relief of Nathaniel P. Harbin, of Georgia.

The bill was read and passed to the second reading, and the report was ordered to be printed.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. MAXEY. I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill to be referred to the Committee on Claims. I will state for the information of the chairman of the committee that a bill was originally introduced for the relief of Mr. Woodward and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and by them returned and the case transferred to

the Committee on Claims. The object of the bill which I now introduce is to correct an error in the bill which is already before the Committee on Claims.

By unanimous consent, leave was granted to introduce a bill (S. No. 845) for the relief of W. H. Woodward, of Indianola, Texas; which was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. CONKLING asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to introduce a bill (S. No. 846) to punish the counterfeiting of trademark goods and the sale or dealing in of counterfeit trademark goods; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also (by request) asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to introduce a bill (S. No. 847) for the relief of the heirs of Captain Joshua Chamberlain; which was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. NORWOOD (by request) asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to introduce a bill (S. No. 848) for the relief of William Battersby; which was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. STEVENSON (by request) asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to introduce a bill (S. No. 849) for the relief of the Choctaw Nation of Indians; which was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PAPERS WITHDRAWN AND REFERRED.

On motion of Mr. CONKLING, it was

Ordered, That the papers relative to the application of the heirs of Captain Joshua Chamberlain be taken from the files of the Senate and referred to the Committee on Revolutionary Claims.

On motion of Mr. STEVENSON, it was

Ordered, That Elizabeth M. Dittoe have leave to withdraw her petition and accompanying papers from the files of the Senate.

SALMON FISHERIES ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER.

Mr. MITCHELL submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Commerce be instructed to inquire into the extent and condition of the salmon fisheries on the Columbia River in Oregon and Washington Territory, and report to the Senate, by bill or otherwise, such measure as, in its judgment, is expedient and proper for the regulation of such fisheries and the artificial hatching of salmon in such river.

CLAIMS FOR ARMY SUPPLIES.

Mr. WRIGHT. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill No. 1218, of which I spoke yesterday, stating the importance of action upon it at the very earliest moment.

Mr. SARGENT. It is very well understood that the legislative session was extended half an hour longer this morning on my motion, my purpose being to call up a bill very important in reference to my own State, which will not lead to much discussion.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will state to the Senator from California that this bill will lead to no discussion at all. It was reported at the last session of Congress, and it has come to us from the House of Representatives at this session. It includes claims reported from the Treasury Department eighteen months ago.

Mr. SARGENT. I think there are a large number of items in the bill, are there not?

Mr. WRIGHT. It will take no longer to read the bill now than at any other time, and it is a matter of great importance.

Mr. SARGENT. I only hope that I may have some time during the morning hour to call up the bill to which I have referred.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will cheerfully assist the Senator in getting up his bill. I do not think there will be any trouble about it.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Iowa to proceed to the consideration of the bill which he has named.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. No. 1218) making appropriations for the payment of claims reported to Congress, under section 2 of the act approved June 16, 1874, by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

LICK OBSERVATORY.

Mr. SARGENT. I move to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill No. 677.

The motion was agreed to; and the bill (S. No. 677) granting a site for an observatory to the trustees of the Lick Observatory of the astronomical department of the University of California was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The first section recites that James Lick, of San Francisco, California, has by deed of trust given a large sum of money for the erection and equipment of an observatory, dedicating the same to the astronomical department of the University of California for scientific and educational purposes, and has selected Mount Hamilton, in the county of Santa Clara, as the site for the observatory, and which is situate on the public lands of the United States, in township 7 south and range 3 east, Mount Diablo meridian, and reserves from sale or disposal under the general laws of the United States section 9, the north

half of section 10, the south half of section 3, the fractional north half of section 16, and the fractional section 17, in that township.

Section 2 grants so much of said land as is not already granted or disposed of by the United States, to wit, section 9, the north half of section 10, the south half of section 3, and fractional section 17, to the trustees of the Lick Observatory of the astronomical department of the University of California, with authority and in trust to convey the same to the regents of the University of California, and their successors, in trust for the use and benefit of the astronomical department of the University of California.

The Committee on Public Lands reported an amendment to insert at the end of section 2 the following:

Provided, That if the land herein granted shall be used for any other purpose than the site of said observatory, and the necessary purposes in connection therewith, the same shall revert to the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SARGENT. In line 15 of section 1, I move to strike out the words "the fractional north half of section 16." It is not granted by the bill, but reserved for school purposes. I see no object in retaining the words, and therefore move to strike them out.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BOOTH. I move to strike out section 3 of the bill. It is unnecessary here; but it is the usual formality in California to provide that an act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Mr. SARGENT. That section should go out.

The motion was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I should like to have the last section read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The section will be reported.

The Chief Clerk read section 2 of the bill.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I want to inquire if there is a provision which requires the land to be used exclusively for the purpose, and reserves the right to withdraw the grant if it be not?

Mr. SARGENT. There is.

The Chief Clerk read the following amendment made to the bill:

Provided, That if the land herein granted shall be used for any other purpose than the site of said observatory, and the necessary purposes in connection therewith, the same shall revert to the United States.

Mr. EDMUNDS. All right.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXCHANGE NATIONAL BANK OF PITTSBURGH.

Mr. WALLACE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill No. 2018.

The motion was agreed to; and the bill (H. R. No. 2018) to authorize the Exchange National Bank of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to improve certain real estate was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It provides that the Exchange National Bank of Pittsburgh shall have power and authority to hold, improve, and lease that lot or piece of ground situate on Fifth avenue and Diamond street, in the city of Pittsburgh, adjoining the property owned and used by the corporation as its banking-house; the lot, the improvement of which is authorized, having been owned by the institution during its existence under a State charter and since its organization as a national bank. No funds of the bank, except its surplus beyond the amount required to be retained by section 5199 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, are to be applied to said improvement.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MISSISSIPPI-ELECTION INVESTIGATION.

Mr. MORTON. I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the special committee heretofore appointed by the Senate to investigate the late election in Mississippi be instructed to investigate also the late alleged killing of people and outrages committed near the Mississippi and Louisiana line, and on and near Bayou Tunica, and on Red River; and that, for this purpose, the committee shall have all the power and authority conferred by the original resolution for their appointment.

I should like to read in connection with the resolution the following dispatch received by Governor Kellogg, who is now in the city, late last night from H. C. Clarke, his private secretary:

NEW ORLEANS, May 17, 1876.

To Governor KELLOGG,

Willard's Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Watson, supervisor registration, Swaizie's son, and other colored fugitives from Feliciana, arrived; details horrible; two young colored girls taken from church at Ivens place two miles Mississippi line, Sunday, and ravished to death by young white men from Mississippi. About six white men known to be killed, and nearly sixty colored men hanged or shot up to Tuesday night. At Bayou Tunica four hundred colored and about the same number whites are under arms, the Bayou between them, colored men resisting passage of Bayou by white regulators. If committee comes, cannot they be instructed to take testimony?

H. C. CLARKE.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

RECEIVERS OF NATIONAL BANKS.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Calendar be now taken up for unobjected cases.

Mr. SHERMAN. There is some necessity for acting on a bill authorizing the appointment of receivers of national banks, and for other purposes, which has been reported for some time. If it is objected to, I will not insist on it now.

Mr. ALLISON. I do not object; but it occurs to me that if we go to the Calendar we shall get all the unobjected cases out of the way; and there are a great many of them. I will not object to this bill.

Mr. SHERMAN. I move to take up House bill No. 2441.

The motion was agreed to; and the bill (H. R. No. 2441) authorizing the appointment of receivers of national banks, and for other purposes, was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported by the Committee on Finance with amendments.

The first amendment was in section 2, line 8, after the word "creditor," to strike out "on his own behalf, or;" after the word "and" in the same line, to insert "of all," and in line 11, after the word "district," to strike out "within which any of the shareholders may reside or be found, or," so as to read:

That when any national-banking association shall have gone into liquidation under the provisions of section 5220 of said statutes, the individual liability of the shareholders provided for by section 5151 of said statutes may be enforced by any creditor of such association, by bill in equity, in the nature of a creditors' bill, brought by such creditor, on behalf of himself and of all other creditors of the association, against the shareholders thereof, in any court of the United States having original jurisdiction in equity for the district in which such association may have been located or established.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was in section 3, after the word "on" in line 17 to insert:

Or, if no newspaper is there published, in the newspaper published nearest thereto.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out the fourth section of the bill in the following words:

SEC. 4. That the Comptroller may, if, in his judgment, the interests of creditors or of shareholders of national banks which are in the hands of receivers will be promoted thereby, invest the money of such associations which may be on deposit with the Treasurer of the United States, subject to the order of the Comptroller, in interest-bearing bonds of the United States, which may be subsequently sold by him, and the interest accruing on such bonds, together with the principal thereof, be distributed among the creditors and shareholders, with the avails of the other assets, as prescribed by law.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was in section [5] 4, line 5, to insert after the word "shall" the words "neglect or;" so as to read:

That if any shareholder or shareholders of such bank shall neglect or refuse, after three months' notice, to pay the assessment as provided in this section.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out in section [7] 6 the proviso at the end of the section, in the following words:

Provided, That such banks shall not be required to have a paid-in capital exceeding \$100,000.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out section 8, in the following words:

SEC. 8. That so much of section 553, Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the District of Columbia, as authorizes the organization of savings-banks within said District, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

Mr. SHERMAN. Perhaps Senators who have listened to the reading of this bill do not need any explanation, and those who have not do not want any. Therefore, perhaps I had better say nothing about it. I will simply remark that the bill has been very carefully prepared at the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency and has passed the House of Representatives. Its chief object is to extend the cases in which receivers of national banks may be appointed. I can refer to the law and show the exact changes made; but I do not know that it is necessary. The principal object is to authorize the appointment of receivers of national banks in cases not now provided for by law.

Mr. ALLISON. Who appoints these receivers?

Mr. SHERMAN. The Comptroller, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, just as in other cases. I will say that now under existing law receivers can only be appointed on a failure to make the capital equal to the legal minimum, and also when the reserve is not made good, and also when the bank fails to redeem its notes. Senators can see that there are many cases when a bank may be utterly insolvent and yet because its notes are not presented the Comptroller has no power to appoint a receiver, and in many cases great injustice has been done, and banks in a crippled and failing condition and actually known to be insolvent have still gone on doing business. This bill extends the law to a number of cases where the insolvency is shown to the Comptroller, or where judgments have been had in courts of record and not paid, and also when a bank fails to comply with the statutes generally, especially section 5239 of the Revised Statutes.

Mr. THURMAN. I wish to make one or two inquiries about this bill. In the first place, section 2 of the bill authorizes the individual liability of the shareholders to be enforced by a bill in equity filed by any creditor in the nature of a creditor's bill.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will state to my colleague that that does not apply except when a bank chooses to go into voluntary liquidation, and in such cases banks being a little crippled have gone into voluntary

liquidation. Under the statute as it stands the Comptroller cannot enforce the individual liability until the assets are exhausted, and thus they get time, unjustly in many cases, for the payment of their debts, when, if he had the power or if the creditors had the power to enforce the individual liability of the stockholders, the matter might have been wound up in thirty or sixty days.

Mr. THURMAN. It is to compel a resort to this individual liability before exhausting the assets—is that the object of section 2?

Mr. SHERMAN. It is only in cases where the bank stops voluntarily and is in process of voluntary liquidation—in such cases the individual liability, under the limitations of this section, may be enforced by a bill in equity brought by a creditor in behalf of himself and all the other creditors of the association against the shareholders.

Mr. THURMAN. It seems to me that it will leave a very great ambiguity, because the section of the bank charter referred to—5151—is not perhaps so clear for the courts to decide upon.

Mr. SHERMAN. Fifty-two hundred and thirty-nine.

Mr. THURMAN. The point to which I wish to call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Finance is whether or not this bill makes it certain when the shareholder shall be compelled to respond under the individual-liability clause of the bank charter. In respect to individual liability, where it is provided for generally, the decisions of the courts have been very contradictory in different States. I do not know that they have been under this banking act, for I am not familiar with the decisions under it. In some States it has been held that that makes the stockholder liable as if he were a mere partner, and an action at law may be brought against him. In others it has been held that he can be proceeded against by a creditor's bill and compelled to pay without waiting for the assets of the corporation to be exhausted. In others, as in my own State in the last decision made, it has been held that the assets of the corporation must be first exhausted. I do not know how this will be construed. It seems to me it ought to be clear one way or the other.

Mr. SHERMAN. As we have but five minutes' time, I will state to my colleague that this section does not change in the slightest degree the amount of the liability, the nature of it, or the mode of prosecuting it; it simply says that when a bank chooses voluntarily to go into liquidation, its creditors may file a creditor's bill to compel the individual stockholders to respond to their individual liability. It does not change the case at all as to other banks that are either wound up by a receiver or in process of liquidation under the law. I do not think there can be any objection to this section. The power they have had heretofore has been abused.

Mr. THURMAN. The bill will leave it to the courts, just as it is now. If the committee are satisfied with it in that way, I do not know that I shall interpose any objection; although it does seem to me that it would have been better to have made that individual-liability clause clear, so that the courts might know whether they could give judgement at once upon the individual-liability clause or whether they must wait until the assets were exhausted.

I wish, however, to call attention to another section of this bill that I am not quite sure is not a little questionable. Section 5 provides—

That all United States officers charged with the receipt or disbursement of public moneys, and all officers of national banks, shall stamp or write in plain letters the word "counterfeit," "altered," or "worthless" upon all fraudulent notes issued in the form of, and intended to circulate as, money, which shall be presented at their places of business; and if such officers shall wrongfully stamp any genuine note of the United States or of the national banks, they shall, upon presentation, redeem such notes at the face value thereof.

I am not aware of any such provision as that in the law now, though there may be. I am a little apprehensive that it might be dangerous. I am not opposed to the section, because it might tend to prevent an inflation of the currency; for I am opposed to inflation, and especially to inflation by means of counterfeit paper. I am not opposed to it on that ground; but this makes it the duty of every bank officer and every receiving and disbursing officer of the United States, when a note is presented, to decide whether it is altered, counterfeit, or worthless, and stamp it right on the spot as such. I think that would pretty effectually stop its circulation; but if the man whose note has thus been stamped is not satisfied with that, he may present it again and prove, I suppose, or bring suit and prove that the officer stamped it wrongfully or without sufficient cause, and then the officer is to redeem the note. How it is to circulate with this stamp on it, after the officer has redeemed it, I do not know.

Mr. SHERMAN. He can send it in and get his money for it.

Mr. THURMAN. I do not know how that is to be done. It seems to me that it is a very questionable provision.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time. The bill was read the third time, and passed.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Mr. WRIGHT. On Monday last the bill (H. R. No. 2829) for the relief of Ariel K. Eaton and James D. Jenkins, which was received from the House of Representatives, was by mistake referred to the Committee on Public Lands. I move that that order be reversed and that the bill be referred to the Committee on Claims.

The motion was agreed to.

PAYMASTER-GENERAL.

Mr. BURNSIDE. I ask for the present consideration of the bill (S. No. 843) establishing the rank of the Paymaster-General.

The bill was read. It provides that from and after its passage the rank of the Paymaster-General of the United States Army shall be brigadier-general; and no pay and allowances shall be made to him other than from the date of appointment under the act.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. SHERMAN. I think it had better lie over, as it was only reported to-day.

Mr. BURNSIDE. The bill has been reported from the Military Committee once before and recommitted.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will lie over.

IMPEACHMENT OF W. W. BELKNAP.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The hour of one o'clock having arrived, the legislative and executive business of the Senate is suspended, and pursuant to order the Senate proceeds to the consideration of the articles of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives against William W. Belknap, late Secretary of War. The Sergeant-at-Arms will clear the galleries and close the doors.

The Senate then proceeded to the trial of the impeachment of William W. Belknap, late Secretary of War.

The Senate sitting for the trial of the impeachment having adjourned, resumed its

LEGISLATIVE SESSION.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* laid before the Senate a communication from the commissioners of the District of Columbia, transmitting, in answer to a resolution of the Senate of April 10, 1876, a report of the commissioners of the sinking fund of the District, showing the amount of certificates of indebtedness issued by virtue of acts of the Assembly of the District of Columbia and of Congress, and also the amount of assessments made in pursuance of said acts to secure the payment of the certificates; which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

On motion of Mr. SARGENT, (at five o'clock and four minutes p. m.,) the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, May 18, 1876.

The House met at twelve o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. I. L. TOWNSEND.

The Journal of yesterday was read and approved.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. BAKER, of Indiana, by unanimous consent, obtained leave to withdraw from the files of the House the petition and papers in the claim of John B. Chapman, of Indiana.

Mr. POWELL, by unanimous consent, obtained leave to withdraw from the files of the House the papers in the case of Elizabeth J. Scott, being an application for a pension, there being no adverse report thereon.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. STRAIT, by unanimous consent, obtained leave of absence for two weeks on account of important business.

NORTH CAROLINA INDIANS.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*, by unanimous consent, laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, inclosing a communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, relative to an appropriation for the benefit of the North Carolina Indians; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PRESIDIO RESERVATION.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* also, by unanimous consent, laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting the report of the Chief of Engineers and of the commanding general, Division of the Pacific, on the bill (H. R. No. 1301) relative to the Presidio reservation; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PUBLIC GROUNDS OF WASHINGTON.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* also, by unanimous consent, laid before the House a letter of the Secretary of War, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the House of March 9, the report of Colonel O. E. Babcock, together with itemized vouchers, &c., pertaining to the public grounds of Washington; which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

JURISDICTION OF THE COURT OF CLAIMS.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* also, by unanimous consent, laid before the House a letter from the Attorney-General, transmitting documents relative to the extension of the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims, and for other purposes; which was referred to the Committee on Patents.

CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair is requested by the Clerk of the House to lay before the House the following communication.

The Clerk read as follows:

SIR: My attention has been called to the following telegram from this city to the Chicago Inter-Ocean of the 15th instant:

"THE NEXT MAN.

"Adams, the Clerk, is said to be the next man to have trouble. A member of Congress claims to have in his possession facts, which he will make public soon, to show that he (the Clerk) has been selling his appointments at sums ranging from \$100 to \$500."

I regret to obtrude this matter upon the attention of the House of Representatives; but, as these charges affect my honor as a man and my conduct as a responsible officer of this body, I feel impelled to do so, lest my silence under the circumstances might be misconstrued.

I therefore respectfully request that the House shall direct a committee to make an immediate and exhaustive investigation of this subject, and I challenge all persons who profess to have any knowledge or information of any official misconduct on my part to appear and communicate the same to said committee, to the end that the truth or falsity of such charges may be determined at once and forever.

I will here add—and I do so with the absolute and defying confidence of a man conscious of the perfect rectitude of his official conduct—that all such charges are infamous slanders, having not a shadow of foundation in truth.

Very respectfully,

GEO. M. ADAMS.

Hon. S. S. Cox,

Speaker pro tempore House of Representatives.

Mr. BROWN, of Kentucky. I offer the following resolution which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the communication from the Clerk of this House just read be referred to the Committee on Rules, with instructions to make a thorough investigation into the matters therein contained, and report thereon at the earliest practicable day, and that the said committee have power to send for persons and papers and make report at any time.

Mr. BROWN, of Kentucky. I doubt not, sir, that the House will readily accede to the request of its officer and pass the resolution I have submitted. This scandalous charge has been spread all over the land in newspapers, and it is but an act of simple justice to Mr. Adams that it be investigated.

I have known him, sir, for many years, and he has always had my unquestioning, undoubting, absolute trust. I believe him to be a gentleman possessed of the highest sense of honor, of incorruptible integrity; and I am sure that this estimate of his character is shared by all his friends. He was for eight years a representative on this floor from Kentucky, and he has in many other ways received manifestations of the confidence and regard of his fellow-citizens. His friends believe it impossible that he could have been guilty of anything unworthy in his official conduct. They believe that he will come out of this investigation without the shade of a shadow of suspicion upon his reputation, and that nothing that can be produced against him can be tortured into the semblance even of misconduct in office. Malignity has gone on its stealthy, hungry hunt along the gutters of calumny, hoping to be able to hook up something foul with which to smirch the escutcheon of this man. The charge we have heard is the product of that nasty search. It is a grave one. If true, he is disgraced and should be driven from his office; but, if false, he should be vindicated. Mr. Adams confronts the accusation. He defies the accuser. He demands the proof. Let it be produced, or the instigator of the vile slander stand condemned and despised.

I move the previous question.

Mr. ATKINS. I desire to ask the gentleman from Kentucky whether he has any idea who the instigator of this charge is.

Mr. BROWN, of Kentucky. The paragraph quoted in the letter of the Clerk refers to a Congressman.

Mr. BANKS. I ask the gentleman from Kentucky to withhold the call for the previous question for a moment that I may say a word in regard to the committee to which it is proposed that this communication shall be referred.

Mr. BROWN, of Kentucky. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BANKS. Of course I do not wish to say a word against the investigation that is proposed. But I ask the attention of the gentleman from Kentucky and the House to the constitution of the committee to which this subject is proposed to be referred.

The Committee on Rules is appointed for the purpose of considering one distinct subject relating to the order of transacting the business of the House, the order of the course of legislation; and while of course gentlemen on that committee cannot object to considering any other subject referred to it, inasmuch as they were selected for particular reasons and on account of the positions they had held heretofore in this House either as its officers or as controlling its business, it seems better on general consideration that this subject be referred to a special committee, it being an important investigation and which should be made with as much speed as possible.

But there is another reason. The chairman of the Committee on Rules, who is the Speaker of the House, is absent. If he were present it would certainly occur to every gentleman that the Speaker of the House, on any consideration, ought not to be made the chairman of a committee of investigation on account of the powerful influence which he would naturally exert as an officer of the House. It would naturally suggest itself to every member that that powerful influence ought not to be thrown in the one scale or the other. As the Speaker is absent the committee cannot be charged with the consideration of this matter before his place is filled. I believe there are five members of the committee, and one being absent, the committee is equally divided. In the absence of the Speaker the Speaker pro

tempore would be chairman of the committee, not absolutely, but by the general course, as it happens that the member of the House who is now Speaker pro tempore is also a member of the committee. The committee therefore is reduced to three members, the Speaker pro tempore, and two of the members are ex-Speakers of the House. It is not such a committee that ought to be charged with the very important duty of considering this matter, affecting not only the character of one of the principal officers of the House, but to a great extent the character of the House itself. Now I suggest to the gentleman from Kentucky that this matter be referred to a special committee of five or seven members, to be appointed by the Chair, and with the due consideration of all circumstances connected with it and its importance, and then the House will be entirely satisfied with its judgment, and I hope the House will make that change in the motion.

Mr. RANDALL. I concur very fully with the gentleman from Massachusetts. The Committee on Rules have already one investigation before them, and we find great difficulty in getting a quorum. As the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BANKS] has stated, the Speaker is absent, and another member of the committee is not well and confined to his house. The truth is that as a member of that committee I have not time to attend to it. I have been unable to meet with the committee in the investigation already ordered because I am on another committee, and my presence there as its presiding officer is absolutely necessary. I concur with the gentleman that this matter should be referred to a special committee.

Mr. BROWN, of Kentucky. I am entirely indifferent as to what committee shall have charge of this matter, and in view of the suggestion of the gentleman from Massachusetts I will modify the resolution and propose the reference of these charges to a select committee of five to be appointed by the Chair; and in that connection I desire to say that standing as I am in intimate relations with the Clerk of the House I do not wish to serve on that committee, and I am authorized by him to say that he would prefer that no democratic Kentuckian should be on that committee.

The question was taken on the resolution, as modified, and it was agreed to.

LANDS IN MISSOURI.

Mr. GAUSE. I am instructed by the Committee on Public Lands to report back, with amendments, the bill (H. R. No. 1253) granting to the State of Missouri all the lands therein selected as swamp and overflowed land.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I make the point of order that that bill should be referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. BLAND. I hope the gentleman will not insist upon that point of order. Let the bill be read.

The Clerk commenced the reading of the bill.

Mr. BLOUNT. I object to the consideration of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Then the bill is not before the House.

Mr. HOLMAN. I think the bill should go to the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The bill is not before the House, objection being made.

Mr. HALE. I call for the regular order of business.

CONGRESSIONAL PRINTING.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The first business in order this morning is the consideration, as unfinished business, of the report from the Committee on Printing in relation to the Government Printing Office.

A point of order is pending concerning the reception and consideration of this report.

The Chair begs the attention of the House to this matter as of considerable importance concerning the rules of the House. It is important because it affects several committees which under the rules have "leave to report at any time," and, further, because it affects current legislation—its order and priority. To illustrate by a few queries: The Committee of Elections may "report at any time;" but is not that limited to contested-election cases and thus privileged? Can it, however, under the rule report a general election law? The Committee on Enrolled Bills has a similar privilege; but is not the limit fixed upon reporting enrolled bills only?

What is the condition of the report upon which this point of order is raised?

The gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. VANCE,] chairman of the Committee on Printing, on the 12th instant, submitted a report from that committee in relation to the Government Printing Office. That report was read at length and recommitted to the same committee. On Tuesday, the 16th instant, the House reconsidered the vote by which the report was recommitted to the committee, discussed the report nearly four hours, adopted two of the three resolutions submitted in that report, and recommitted the third resolution to the committee with instructions to modify the same. The vote by which the resolution was recommitted was reconsidered and the motion to reconsider laid on the table. The report was prevented from being brought back upon a motion to reconsider the vote of recommitment.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SINGLETON] on yesterday reported back the resolution with certain modifications. In fact his committee only obeyed the instructions of the House.

The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WILSON] thereupon made the point

of order that the privilege of the committee to report at any time extended only to reference of their reports to the Committee of the Whole.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] also raised the same point at a subsequent stage of the proceeding.

The Chair was inclined to rule promptly that the committee had the right to report at any time, and that the report was properly before the House for consideration, as consideration and report go together. (Barclay, 187.) The matter being of unusual consequence, the Chair desired to examine heedfully the question presented, as well as the reasons and precedents.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SINGLETON] temporarily complicated the question by moving to reconsider the vote by which the report was recommitted to the Committee on Printing. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. HALE] made the point of order that the committee having made the report recommitted to them, the motion to reconsider the vote of recommitment was not in order; which point of order was sustained by the Chair. In this ruling the Chair was clearly right, and for another reason besides that stated by the gentleman from Maine, [Mr. HALE,] namely, that there had been on Saturday a prevailing motion to table the question of reconsideration of the recommitment.

The present occupant of the chair has carefully looked into the subject and examined the authorities and precedents. He has read the decision of Mr. Speaker BLAINE in the case alluded to yesterday by the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. HOAR.] It is found in the *Globe*, second session Forty-second Congress, page 2478. He has also read the reply and speech of Mr. Beatty at that time. (See *Globe* of same session, page 2408.) He has also examined other decisions which seem to differ from that of Mr. Speaker BLAINE.

While he believes now as he did then, that that decision under the strict construction of the rules was correct, he is of opinion that the present matter involves and presents an entirely different and exceptional question. At that time and in that case the origin of the rule and the necessity out of which it grew sanctioned the decision. The rule is as old as the Thirtieth Congress. Its author was Mr. Henley, of Indiana. It was intended to save a large amount of money which would otherwise be paid for additional composition of documents, &c., when matter had been taken down and after extra numbers were ordered. The rule was founded in convenience and economy, and was not to be enlarged to comprehend the report at any time of general legislation.

Frequently this rule has received a too literal interpretation, which led to its abuse. In fact Mr. Beatty quoted many occasions when Mr. Speaker BLAINE himself allowed the committee to report other matters than those strictly belonging to the current printing of the House. The Tributes to Abraham Lincoln and their distribution by law was instanced. This instance is found in the *Globe*, second session Forty-first Congress, page 3118. But in that case the resolution had been referred to the committee. The subject-matter was committed to the committee by the House itself and the Chair allowed the report to be made "at any time." Therein it is akin to this present case.

Inasmuch as the original resolution of investigation in this case gave no authority to report or suggest general legislation, the Chair is of opinion that the point of order now raised would have held good, if made at the proper time, *i. e.*, when the report was first made on the 12th instant. But he is also of opinion that the report having been received, read, and, with full knowledge of its purport, recommitted to the committee, again reported on the 16th, considered, and partly disposed of, again recommitted to the committee with instructions embodying the wish and conclusion of the House, it is now in order. The instructions so enlarged the original jurisdiction of the committee that the point of order that the report is not a privileged one does not now lie.

The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] stated yesterday that Mr. Speaker BLAINE in making his decision resorted to the origin of the rule and fortified himself by several important precedents, among others, decisions of Speakers Winthrop and Cobb.

The Chair was aware of the decisions. He stated yesterday that his impression was that Speaker BLAINE had overruled them. Whether his decision, which was made that of the House by a resolution from Mr. BANKS sustaining it, (*Journal*, April 16, 1872, page 697,) overruled that of his eminent predecessors or not, is not very material to the present decision. They are referred to only to show that they are not absolutely necessary to the present ruling, either as reason or authority. In certain respects, they confirm the present ruling of the Chair, while in other respects the decision of Mr. Speaker BLAINE does not conflict with it. For all that appears in his own decision, Mr. Speaker BLAINE could consistently coincide with that of the Chair. The Clerk will read the opinions of Speakers Winthrop and Cobb.

The Clerk read as follows:

*The Speaker stated the question. The Chair understood the gentleman from Georgia to claim for the Speaker the discretionary power to say what character of reports the Committee on Printing might make under their general leave to report at any time. The Chair overruled the point of order, and disclaimed any such power. The rule was expressed that the Committee on Printing might report at any time, without reference to the nature or character of the report.—Speaker Winthrop.

*The SPEAKER. * * * The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Burt] submits as a point of order that under the rules of the House the gentleman from Mississippi is not entitled to make this report as a privileged question. The Chair overrules the point of order upon the ground that the twenty-first rule of the

House provides that it shall be in order for the Committee on Printing to report at any time. The rule places no restriction whatever upon the subject-matter to be reported; and, in the opinion of the Chair, it is limited only to the fact whether or not the subject be legitimately before that committee.—Speaker Cobb.

In the decision of Mr. Speaker BLAINE he did not hesitate to declare that he differed from these ex-Speakers; and that he took the responsibility of overruling them. The present acting Speaker would hesitate before following such an example, even as against one ex-Speaker. Nor is it necessary for the decision of the present point of order.

It will be observed that both these eminent Speakers were of opinion that the Committee on Printing possessed the right to report at any time "without reference to the nature or character of the report." Mr. Cobb limits his ruling by the fact, significant in the present case, whether or not the subject was legitimately before that committee. The Chair presumes that no member of the House will deny that the committee had obtained jurisdiction of the subject of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker BLAINE in his decision urged as a strong reason against the privilege claimed by Mr. Beatty, the chairman of the House Committee on Printing in the Forty-second Congress, that if it was conceded the House might suddenly and without warning have precipitated upon it bills embracing extraordinary and general legislation. He held that the rules, which were largely for the protection of minorities, were intended to prevent such legislation. Certainly in the present case it cannot be urged that the House was not fully aware of the legislation proposed in the report under consideration, and therefore that portion of the argument made by Mr. Speaker BLAINE in making that decision does not apply in this case.

The sections of the pending resolution for the Committee of Appropriations to consider, reported by Mr. VANCE, the chairman of the Printing Committee, comprehend a large sphere of repealing and original legislation. They create an office of responsibility. They provide an extensive scheme of Government printing, binding, &c., for the legislative as well as the Executive Departments. At first sight they would seem to be ruled out by the decision of Speaker BLAINE; but of their general tenor was not the House fully advised by the report on the 12th, as well as by the lengthy debates, which followed? Did not the House deliberately consider and reconsider, and finally recommit them; and that, too, with instructions? No member or committee was surprised or embarrassed by this last report of the Committee on Printing. It was acting only perfunctorily and almost formally, in answer to the express call of the House, which gave them special jurisdiction.

The reasoning of the decision of Ex-Speaker BLAINE, therefore, in 1872, cannot be tortured into sustaining this point of order. This last report does not, except by the action of the House itself disturb or crowd out the right of other committees on other questions. It is only by the consent of the House, deliberately given, that the privileges of other committees can be disturbed by this privilege of the Printing Committee to report at any time on other matters besides the "current printing."

The Chair repeats that while he is of opinion that the present case is essentially different from that decided by Mr. Speaker BLAINE, he is clear that the House, having full knowledge of the report now in question, committed the same to the committee. It thereby cured any defect or lack of jurisdiction as an original proposition.

Further, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. DAWES, long a member of several privileged committees, and frequently acting Speaker, was of opinion that the reference of a bill or resolution to the committee gave it a broader jurisdiction than it originally possessed. He could not avoid this conclusion, as it had been held by eminent authority. In reply to Mr. Beatty he said:

I do not doubt that the House can give the committee a new or extended jurisdiction; but in the absence of that, it must be perfectly apparent that the right to report at any time can only be co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the committee; and a reference to the rule creating the committee shows the limited character of its authority, in the absence of any new or additional authority given by the House.—*Globe*, page 2480, second session Forty-second Congress.

Fortified by the reasoning of Ex-Speaker BLAINE in his decision, and by Mr. DAWES, of Massachusetts, in his remarks, as well as by other rulings in other cases in conflict with that decision on other points not here relevant; fortified by the decisions of Ex-Speakers Winthrop and Cobb, which apply to this case even if they go further than they should; strengthened by the peculiar situation of this question, because of its most deliberate consideration by the House and its recommitment to the committee, as well as by the statement of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. WILSON] himself, who made the point of order, that when this recommitment was made the resolution could be reported at any time, the Chair overrules the point of order.

The report is therefore before the House; and the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SINGLETON] has the floor.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. One word, Mr. Speaker. You have quoted me as making a statement that is directly contrary to what I did say. I said the Committee on Printing should not have the right to report at any time; I am in the *RECORD* made to say directly the opposite.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Clerk will read from the *RECORD*. Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I know that the *RECORD* makes me say so, but the *RECORD* is wrong; and as the correction of the *RECORD* is not a question of privilege, I have not had the opportunity to make the correction.

Mr. HOAR. I am entirely satisfied with the decision of the Chair. As I stated yesterday, I raised the point of order, not for the purpose of embarrassing this resolution at all, but simply because it was so grave a matter. The point to which I wish to call the attention of the Chair now is this: I understand that the present ruling is not in conflict with the ruling of Speaker BLAINE, but stands upon its own ground. The ruling of Speaker BLAINE, however, is not the real authority in favor of the position which he took; but the authority is the decision of the House on the appeal from his ruling. Unless I am mistaken, there was no appeal in the cases referred to by the Chair where decisions were made by Speakers Winthrop and Cobb. I am not sure about that, but the Chair perhaps has observed whether that is the case or not. Under the ruling of Speaker BLAINE, in the Congress before the last, his decision derived its authority as a precedent from the fact that it became the decision of the House on appeal, and as such is by the rule expressly required to be recorded at the end of the Journal. I do not say this as contravening anything that the Chair has now said, for I do not understand that the Chair has said anything in conflict with that decision, but rather in accord with it.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair confirmed his decision with what Mr. Speaker BLAINE said.

Mr. HOLMAN. On this question of order I desire to say a single word. There are two other committees of the House, the one intrusted with the duty of raising revenue, and the other of making appropriations to carry on the Government, which committees are, by the rules of the House, invested with the right to report at any time. I believe, however, it is generally understood that they may report at any time only upon the subject-matters of the revenues of the Government and the appropriations to carry on the Government. As this is a question of the very highest importance in connection with the current business of this House, I trust that the ruling of the Chair may be considered to be perfectly consistent with the assumption that those two committees will still possess the right to report at any time only upon those subject-matters which immediately pertain to their deliberation, and not upon any incidental matters which from time to time may be referred to them. I understand that the ruling of the Chair is perfectly consistent with that view, for it is very clear that the House would not desire to confer upon the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee of Ways and Means the right to report at any time upon the multitude of incidental matters not directly connected with the revenues of the Government and appropriations from the Treasury.

Mr. GARFIELD. Allow me to suggest in that connection that it has been repeatedly ruled that the Committee on Appropriations could not report at any time anything but one of the twelve regular appropriation bills; and last session it was ruled by the Speaker that when we had introduced and carried through a deficiency appropriation bill an additional deficiency appropriation bill was not under our privilege; that we had exhausted our function when we had reported one general deficiency bill, and could not claim the right to report subsequently another deficiency bill at any time.

Mr. HOLMAN. The rule creating the Committee of Ways and Means expressly limits that committee to reports upon the subject-matter of the public revenue.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair has not gone further in his decision than the subject before the House requires. When other subjects come up upon which his ruling is required he will studiously endeavor to make that ruling according to the usual construction of the rules.

Mr. BANKS. I desire to say a word or two on this question of the decision of the Chair.

Mr. SINGLETON. I believe I am entitled to the floor, the Chair having decided that the report of the committee is in order.

Mr. BANKS. If the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SINGLETON] will allow me—

Mr. SINGLETON. I must decline to yield further.

Mr. BANKS. Then, for the purpose of getting an opportunity to say what I wish to say, I will appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BANKS] appeals from the decision of the Chair, and the question before the House is, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of this House?

Mr. BANKS. I do not propose in any way to set myself in opposition to the decision of the Chair upon this question. I want, however, to call the attention of the House to one or two facts connected with it which ought to be understood, and upon which, if the statement of the Chair shall be accepted as an absolute rule in all cases, the House will some time find itself in very great difficulty.

The decisions of Mr. Speaker Winthrop and Mr. Speaker Cobb upon this question do not apply, I think, to the business of the House and its rules at the present time. A law has been passed which requires that every proposition relating to the printing of documents shall be referred to a committee, not by the House, but by the officers of the respective Houses. The House exercises no discretion and has no power in effecting this reference. A large class of papers are referred to the Committee on Printing by the Clerk. This was not the law at the time those decisions were made; and therefore, so far as the rules existing then and now apply, the condition of the matter is not the same. When the House refers a matter to a committee—the Committee on Printing or any other—of course that committee has all

the rights upon the question referred to it which are given to that committee by the rules. But in this case the House does not refer these questions to the Committee on Printing; they are referred in one case by the law and in the other by the rules of the House. Rule 100 provides that a large number of cases shall be referred to the Committee on Printing by order of the Clerk. Now, if the House refers a matter of general legislation to the Committee on Printing, that committee upon that matter should be held to the proceedings under the rules affecting all other committees in regard to subjects of general legislation. If this be not the rule now, it ought to be changed. Otherwise many subjects appropriate to the business of other committees will be referred to the special committees invested with the high privilege of presenting their reports at any moment, irrespective of the business which may occupy the House. It is a high privilege, which ought to be limited to privileged subjects of legislation, and the printing of documents presents a question of this character. It must often be decided without delay, and the rule is framed to secure this result. Propositions to change the general laws relating to the general subject of printing are not of this character, and ought not to enjoy this exclusive privilege.

Let me state a case which will show the House that I am right upon this point. There is a great difference of opinion upon the question of currency; and I have observed that gentlemen on all sides and from different sections have been indisposed to admit propositions that should subject the House to a decision of this subject by a majority vote. Now, if the ruling of the Chair be correct, to-morrow morning there may be brought before this House from the Committee on Printing a bill on the subject of currency, or a bill changing fundamental provisions of our law upon any other matter; and the House will have lost the control of the question, because it must be remembered a petition gives a committee jurisdiction of a subject of legislation as completely as the reference of a bill. A member may file a petition with the Clerk; he need not publish it in the newspapers; no member of the House will know what subject is embraced in it; and if that petition goes to the Committee on Printing, or another having the same exclusive right, giving that committee jurisdiction of the subject, as it will under the ruling of the Chair, and that committee having the right to report at any time, the House will be compelled to act upon any subject, no matter what it may be, at an instant's notice without preparation and without any previous consent to the introduction of the matter.

Now, that ought not to be. I do not mean to set this statement against the decision of the Chair; but I suggest to the Chair and to the House that there ought to be some revision of this matter so that every committee shall be held in regard to its privilege to exactly that line of conduct which the House understands and directs to be pursued. I withdraw the appeal.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair would say that he especially avoided any difficulty such as is suggested by the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. BANKS.] The ruling of the Chair is based on the recommitment of this third resolution to the Committee on Printing, with leave to report at any time.

Mr. SINGLETON. I now ask for the reading of the report.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Joint Committee on Printing on the part of the House of Representatives, to whom was referred back one of the resolutions reported by said committee, containing an instruction to the Committee on Appropriations to insert certain sections in the sundry civil bill to be by them hereafter reported to this House, having had the same under consideration, have instructed me to report back the said resolution and bill accompanying it, with the following amendments:

In the second line of said resolution, to strike out the words "instructed to embody," and insert in lieu thereof the words "requested to inquire into the expediency of embodying."

Strike from section —, being by count the ninth section of the bill reported with the resolution, all after the word "for," at the end of the fourth line in said section, down to and including the word "Congress," in the seventh line, and insert in lieu thereof "and during the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress;" so that said section will read as follows:

SEC. —. That from and after the close of the first session of the Forty-fourth Congress the printing and binding of the proceedings and debates of Congress in the same form as they now appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be done by Franklin Rives, of Washington City, for and during the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress, upon the terms stated in his proposal, &c.

At the end of said section, insert the following:

And provided further, That after the expiration of the said second session of the Forty-fourth Congress the printing and binding of the proceedings and debates of Congress in the same form as they now appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be let by the Joint Committee on Printing of the two Houses of Congress by contract, in writing, to the lowest responsible bidder or bidders, after advertising for one month during the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress for bids in at least one public newspaper in each of the cities of Washington, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York, specifying in said advertisements the work for which bids are invited; and the said Joint Committee on Printing of the two Houses shall take bond and approved security in the sum of \$100,000, payable to the United States, for the faithful and prompt performance of the contract entered into by said successful bidder or bidders; said contract to cover the work for the two sessions of the Forty-fifth Congress, and to embrace all the provisions as to the character of type, manner of making up the proceedings and debates, size and binding of volumes thereof, paper to be used, stereotype plates or duplicates, and every other stipulation in relation thereto deemed advisable by said Joint Committee on Printing.

Mr. RANDALL. I do not think that the modifications proposed in this report go to the extent that the House, from the tone of the discussion the other day, intended. There is yet retained a provision that the printing of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the second session of this Congress shall be awarded to a particular individual; in other words, it is proposed by legislation to make a contract with an individual named, excluding competition. Now I would like to

amend that part of the report so as to provide that the printing of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the second session of this Congress, as well as for subsequent Congresses, shall be open to competition. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VANCE] who sits behind me tells me that it will be all right; but in my judgment the way to insure having matters right is to make them right upon the face of the record. I therefore ask the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SINGLETON] to allow me to offer an amendment that the printing of the RECORD for the next session of the present Congress, as well as for future Congresses, shall be open to competition.

Mr. SINGLETON. I will explain the report of the committee, and then the gentleman from Pennsylvania can see whether or not his objection will apply.

Mr. RANDALL. Certainly I shall be glad to hear the gentleman.

Mr. SINGLETON. Mr. Speaker, it will be remembered by the House that the report simply recommends this resolution and the accompanying bill shall be referred to the Committee on Appropriations for consideration. There is nothing to be determined at this time except the simple question of reference.

The first amendment which was made to the resolution by the Committee on Printing in obedience to the instructions of the House was to strike out the word "instructed" and in lieu thereof to provide that the Committee on Appropriations be requested to inquire into the propriety of embodying certain matters in the sundry civil appropriation bill. To that there can be no objection. It seemed to be the wish of the House when the resolution was recommitted that that should be done.

It will be further remembered that by one of the sections of the bill accompanying the resolution the proposition was made to give to Franklin Rives for six years the printing of the Congressional Globe or CONGRESSIONAL RECORD upon terms which he himself submitted. Now that section has been modified to this extent: It is not now proposed to enter into any contract for six years, which the House seemed to think was too long a time and would look like an attempt to bind subsequent Congresses, but that has been modified to the extent that he is only allowed to do the printing of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD during the short session of the present Congress, and when that time shall have expired then the whole matter is left to the control of the Joint Committee on Printing to advertise for bids and let the contract out to the lowest bidder with good sureties for the proper execution of the work. That is as far as the report goes.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania objects to that, and thinks we ought to advertise and receive bids for the execution of this work during the coming short session of the present Congress. It seems to me we will meet with some difficulty in that regard from the fact that we have hardly time now to attend to it.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am unwilling, inferentially or in any other way, to countenance a contract by legislation with any individual that is not open to competition. Secondly, I do not think it right, by implication even, to embarrass the action of the Committee on Appropriations in that respect.

Mr. SINGLETON. I will add but one word.

Mr. RANDALL. I have an amendment to offer.

Mr. SINGLETON. Certainly the gentleman can offer his amendment; but I wish to say one word only in regard to that provision of the bill. It will be found from the testimony which has been taken in this case in regard to the public printing that the proposition which is made by Mr. Rives to do the printing is about \$16,000 less a session than it has been done for; and it was on that ground we felt inclined to accept the proposition with a view to saving to this Government that amount during each session of Congress. But I wish to say in addition that we have no special interest in Mr. Rives or any other individual. We do not propose to favor him above any one else; but as he made the proposition, and we believe it to be a good one and in the interest of the Government to accept it, we therefore embodied it in our report. I know the chairman of the committee, as well as the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. BALLOU] and myself, are all perfectly willing, indeed anxious, that this whole matter shall be thrown open to competition, so that the public printing shall be done at the least possible cost.

Mr. RANDALL. I wish to say to the gentleman from Mississippi that in anything I have said I have not attempted, nor was it my intention, to reflect on the proposition as reported from the committee, because I believe it to be in the direction of economy to the extent, as the gentleman has stated, of \$16,000 a session. But the gentleman will readily see that we should subject ourselves to great criticism if we should attempt even with that reduction to shut off from competition others who might be willing to do it for still less.

I now ask the Clerk to read my amendment. It is to strike out all giving the contract to Mr. Rives, and in lieu thereof to insert the following:

The Clerk read as follows:

The printing of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the second session of the present Congress, as well as for subsequent Congresses, shall be open to competition.

Mr. RANDALL. That is my amendment, and I hope it will be adopted.

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. SINGLETON. I now call for the previous question on the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Mr. BALLOU. I ask the gentleman from Mississippi to yield to me for a moment.

Mr. SINGLETON. I withdraw the demand for the previous question for that purpose.

Mr. BALLOU. Mr. Speaker, I assented to this reference in committee because I was unwilling to oppose anything like inquiry, but I think this whole matter is wrong. The gentleman from Mississippi has stated that what is proposed by Mr. Rives is \$16,000 less, but, according to the statement of the Congressional Printer, his proposition is \$88,000, while Mr. Rives's is \$93,000.

But it is said the Congressional Printer underestimates. Now I think it can be shown that the committee have made some mistakes as well as the Printing Office. In relation to the charge for gold-leaf of \$57,000 it has been said one-fourth of that was wastage, making \$14,000. I understand, however, that there is not more than 20 per cent. of gold-leaf of intrinsic gold value, making the one-quarter less than \$3,000.

Mr. SINGLETON. I wish the gentleman would yield to me for just one moment. I want to say that the gold-leaf has nothing in the world to do with the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It does not touch this question in any shape or manner whatever.

Mr. BALLOU. It touches the matter of transferring the printing of the RECORD to anybody else. And I wish to state this: If there is a profit—and no private contractors would take the work without a profit—why should not the Government have that profit itself? And if the present Congressional Printer does not do the work as economically as it can be done, then there are men in the country who can do it. And why should not the Government make the saving of the profit that comes from this printing?

Mr. Speaker, this whole matter, in my judgment, has been conducted in an unsafe and wrong manner. You, Mr. Speaker, and the honorable chairman of this committee, and the members of committees of investigation of this House could not stand, and none, if they were as pure as the angels of light, could stand and have charges brought against them by those who had enmity and prejudice and selfishness to minister to, while those who were accused were not able to be present and face the charges. And I say that the Congressional Printer has not had the opportunity of standing up before these witnesses and cross-examining them and defending himself. There is not a criminal in the land, however black his character, but would have a better chance than the Congressional Printer has had in this investigation.

I wish to refer to one of the statements made by the chairman of this committee in his speech the other day. He said:

I refer to Mr. Theodore L. De Vinne, of New York. * * * He examined various samples and kinds of work. For instance, he examined the "Dead-Letter Office sale" I hold in my hand, marked X. I will read from the testimony: "Question. Make an estimate of the pamphlet marked 'X' as you believe it would be made by the printers of New York, Baltimore, or Philadelphia, if they had workmen by the piece, for one thousand copies.

"Answer. The paper for a thousand copies, four and one-third reams, at \$3.50 a ream, \$36.83; composition of sixty-six pages, at \$2.70, \$178.20; press-work of five forms, \$5 a form, \$25; binding of a thousand copies, \$6; sum total, \$246.03.

"Q. Is this the lowest price, or nearly the lowest price, for which this work could be done?

"A. It is not; this is the price which would be charged by the better class of printers, being charged at what are known as established rates. There are printers in the city who would do it for a much smaller sum."

The answers to these questions are to the point. Now, what did the Congressional Printer charge? He charged \$645.75!

Now, Mr. Speaker, what are the facts? The charge (\$645.75) by the Congressional Printer for the work above referred to was for 10,000 copies, and is made up as follows—I hold the bill in my hand:

Composition, (double-price matter)	\$332 20
Press-work, 200 tokens, at seventy-five cents, (which covers folding, gathering, stitching)	150 00
Paper, (42½ reams, at \$6.20 1-10)	263 55
	645 75

That is the way in which the total of \$645.75 is made up; and this shows that even our committee as well as the Congressional Printer may sometimes make mistakes. And now let me read another statement from the speech of the chairman of the committee. He says:

Here is the report of the Secretary of the Interior, volume 1, for 1875, of which five hundred copies were bound, at a cost of \$471.30, one hundred bound in the style which gentlemen can see, and four hundred in cloth. The cloth copies, according to the estimates, cost about twenty cents a volume, which would leave the cost of this bound copy at about \$3.90 per volume.

Now, what are the facts? The charge of \$471.37 above referred to is made up as follows:

No composition, it being printed at the same time as the regular congressional edition.	
Press-work, (which covers folding, &c.)	\$93 00
Paper, (31 11-20 reams, at \$6.14 4-5)	193 91
Inserting plate-work	4 40
Binding four hundred in cloth, at twenty cents, and one hundred in half Turkey, at \$1	180 00
	471 37

I mention these things not to intimate that there is any wrong intention on the part of the committee, but to show that all of us are liable to mistakes. And I wish to say here that I doubt not there have been mistakes and perhaps extravagance in some respects in the Government Printing Office. But though search has been made from New York to Washington as with a lighted candle in every place

where it was possible to get proof, yet I assert that though there may have been mistakes, and though in some instances work might have been done cheaper, yet there has not been discovered one cent of fraud, one dollar used illegally by the Government Printer or any of his subordinates. The book-keeping in the Congressional Printing Office may be improved unquestionably; but it is the same system that came to the Congressional Printer when he entered the office; and I believe, as I said the other day, that he is an honest and honorable man.

Since I made my statement the other day, conscientiously and honestly, I have been threatened by an anonymous letter that I have got to be killed off. Well, it does not matter much to me about being killed off; I do not know exactly what it means. But I did not seek this place, and it will be no particular sacrifice for me to resign it. But while I stand here I will stand up for the rights of an American citizen when I believe he is treated unjustly; and I think the Congressional Printer in this secret examination, without the privilege of meeting his accusers face to face and of cross-questioning them, has been treated unjustly. I cannot do otherwise than express the thought of my heart that he is an honest man. And though there may be things to improve, as I doubt not there are, yet he is not to be condemned for fraud or intentional dishonesty in any respect whatever.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. In justice to the majority of the committee, after the remarks of the gentleman from Rhode Island, I deem it proper to make a very brief statement in regard to one charge that is preferred, and that is that the Congressional Printer has not had an opportunity to meet the charges against him. The gentleman himself was present until called away from Washington by pressing business and he knows the truth of what I say. There was no matter affecting the Congressional Printer in regard to which he was left uninformed. Every time any point came up affecting his administration of the Government Office, no matter how trivial, he was placed in possession of the facts and asked to explain or bring forward testimony upon the point.

This was not a partisan or a political inquiry. It was merely a matter of business, and it was treated as a matter of business by the committee.

I hold in my hand here the testimony, and appeal to the gentlemen upon this floor to examine it. Look at the list of the witnesses called. First, there was the Congressional Printer. He said that he could not answer certain questions, and asked the committee to call men from his office to answer in reference to those matters. We did call them. And of the fifty witnesses or thereabouts that we called, about thirty, perhaps upward of thirty, were out of the Congressional Printing Office or were friends of his. The testimony shows this. We had no charges to make. We found a certain state of things existing. We asked the Congressional Printer to explain it. He was unable to explain it. The testimony shows he was utterly unable to explain it. This is clearly and distinctly shown.

Now, Mr. Speaker, one word in regard to the administration of this office, although I do not desire to trespass on the time of the House. The first is to the gold-leaf which has been referred to. The testimony is very explicit that in using gold-leaf there is and must be a large waste. The testimony shows that the waste amounts to one-fourth of the gold-leaf purchased—

Mr. BALLOU. I wish to say, in answer to that, that the cost of the gold-leaf wasted is about 20 per cent. on the intrinsic value of the gold-leaf purchased, but the principal cost of the gold-leaf is in labor. But of the \$50,000 of gold-leaf purchased there is not a loss of over \$400.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. I speak of the amount purchased; and the testimony bears me out in the statement that one-fourth of it comes back in waste; that there is a waste of one-fourth of the gold-leaf which is put on books broadcast and is then scraped off and becomes waste. Now, that waste when brought together, melted, and refined, is about 25 per cent. on every dollar's worth of gold-leaf that is used. That is the distinct testimony of the men who handle it.

One word more. The gentleman has referred to the making of private contracts. The old contract system was iniquitous. It worked wrong to the Government, as I said the other day. But what was the result after its abolition? We find that a greater waste is made by the Government Office than was made by private contracts. We find, too, that the expenditures have averaged \$1,700,000 a year for the last seven years, and that there has been a net loss to the Government of not less than \$500,000 a year. I am making no charges now of fraud or corruption. I simply state facts, and gentlemen can find them by an examination of the report.

Now, the gentleman from Rhode Island has referred to "slight" irregularities in the book-keeping of the Government Printing Office. What did we find during this investigation? Mr. Clapp, the Congressional Printer, was placed upon the stand first, that he might give the committee information in regard to the workings of the office and the book-keeping there. He did so as far as it was in his power, or professed to do so. We asked him all that we could think of in regard to it. Every point that occurred to the mind of any member of the committee was suggested to him, and finally we sent for the cash-books of the office. An examination of the cash-books revealed that large sums of money had not been entered upon these books at all. We found that documents had been sold to various parties, and the cash-books showed no entry of the transactions. From one firm alone

the Congressional Printer has received upward of \$1,000 since the close of this investigation for documents, which he had failed to enter. That was one item alone. I should call that a very serious, not a "slight," irregularity. We found in one column of the cash-books an error of \$200, and that a forced balance was made, and no explanation whatever was given to the committee.

Again, when the cash books were brought to us it was stated that large sums of money from the sale of waste and documents of every kind, all of which should have been put in the Treasury, had not been entered in the books at all. It will be found from the reports of the Congressional Printer that for years past he states that so much had been realized from the sales of waste and documents and deposited in the Treasury. We were furnished a loose sheet of paper, and when traced to the legitimate conclusion it showed that the Congressional Printer had in his hands about \$60,000 of money, not a dollar of which had been placed on the cash-books, and we have no explanation of the fact that is satisfactory to the committee, to the House, or to the country. If that is a "slight" irregularity, I have no idea what a *bona fide* genuine irregularity would be. It will be thus seen that these irregularities are enough to condemn the administration of the office.

The printing of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD has been referred to here. Special inquiry was made by the committee in regard to the RECORD. We found—and mark you, upon this point we examined employes of the Government Printer—that a great number of items and the cost thereof were omitted. For instance:

Blank-books for keeping the accounts, stationery, brooms, rollers, roller-composition, sirup, lye, ice, horse-feed, horse-shoeing, care of horses, repairs to machinery, blankets for presses, oil, benzine, fuel, steam-power, freight, hauling, gas in press and folding rooms, salary of clerk in charge of accounts—

This last item alone amounting to \$1,200 a year—

binding of one hundred copies of four volumes each in sheep, and two hundred copies of four volumes each in calf, the cost of paper for the same, and the difference between the price of leather used and that charged, and other items.

This is but an imperfect list of the matters omitted from the statement reporting the cost of the RECORD, every one of which it was admitted by employes of the Congressional Printing Office should have been charged. The various items I have enumerated, and others not reported, aggregate not less than \$12,000 for a short session of Congress. Now, I have omitted calculating the decrease by wear and tear of type, machinery, &c., which amounts to at least 10 per cent. of the investment. Taxes, insurance, and rent, of course, and probably other items have not been counted. The committee examined this matter thoroughly, and if gentlemen will examine the testimony and the history of the last few years they will find that we were right in our conclusions. Take a long and short session of Congress, combine the two, and you will find that as the proceedings and debates are now printed at the Government office they cost \$50,000 more to the Government than if done by private contracts as proposed by the committee.

Mr. SINGLETON. In reply to what has been said by my colleague on the committee, [Mr. BALLOU,] I wish to say a few words; and first, as to the charge that his friend, Mr. Clapp, has not had a fair chance before the committee. Now, sir, it will be remembered that the gentleman from Rhode Island himself is a member of that committee, and a very zealous and watchful friend of the interest of the Congressional Printer, and if the gentleman had reason to complain of the manner in which the investigation was conducted it should have been made then and there. But no word of complaint or objection ever escaped his lips that I now call to mind, and if the gentleman now rises and says that in the examination of witnesses the investigation was not conducted in fairness to Mr. Clapp, he is putting himself in a position where his negligence is not to be easily explained.

Mr. BALLOU. It is not fair under any circumstance that a man should be accused and not be able to meet his accusers; and this committee has not allowed Mr. Clapp, the Congressional Printer, to be present during the examination of witnesses. Now I am no lawyer and I am a novice in legislation, but I do feel that when a man is accused he should have the privilege of standing up before his accusers and cross-examining them.

Mr. SINGLETON. I hope the gentleman will take his seat and hear me through as I did him. I do not like to be interrupted at every step I take in answering his remarks. I now decline to yield further to interruptions. You will have an opportunity to respond to what I say. I state here that the Congressional Printer was never prevented from being present at the examination of witnesses, never refused the privilege of cross-examining them. I appeal now to my colleague on the committee, the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. VANCE,] to state whether the Congressional Printer was ever excluded from the committee-room, or prevented from examining a witness.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. He never was.

Mr. SINGLETON. I state again that he had the opportunity of coming to the committee-room at all times and of being heard, not only by himself, but, as the correspondence between himself and the committee will show, he had the privilege of bringing counsel with him.

Mr. BALLOU. That was at the close of the investigation.

Mr. SINGLETON. I will read the correspondence between Mr. Clapp and the chairman of the committee, in order that I may forever settle this question as to whether Mr. Clapp had the privilege of being present and examining witnesses or introducing such witnesses as he chose.

Mr. FOSTER. From what page is the gentleman reading?
Mr. SINGLETON. I read from pages 10 and 11 of the report of the Committee on Printing:

OFFICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL PRINTER,
Washington, April 21, 1876.

DEAR SIR: As I have been assured by your committee that I shall have the privilege of reviewing the testimony taken in the printing investigation and of introducing rebutting testimony, and as I am not versed in the laws and rules of evidence, I desire the privilege of being attended by counsel. Will you please answer if that privilege will be granted?
Very respectfully,

A. M. CLAPP,
Congressional Printer.

Now this letter contradicts directly what my friend from Rhode Island [Mr. BALLOU] says. Here is an acknowledgment of a fact which is true that he should have the privilege of reviewing and introducing rebutting testimony, &c. There is a little postscript to this letter which I will read, that I may not be charged with suppressing any part of it:

I have been suffering from sciatic rheumatism for nearly a week past, but hope to be able to get to the Capitol by Monday.

Hon. JOHN L. VANCE,
Chairman House Committee on Printing.

The gentleman says that charges were preferred against the Congressional Printer. What charges were preferred and who preferred them? We were required by the order of this House to investigate the affairs of the Printing Office and the conduct of the Congressional Printer himself. There were no charges preferred against the Congressional Printer. We were simply looking into his conduct and the management of that office, as you would inquire into any other office or any other Department of the Government. There were no charges preferred against Mr. Clapp. The letter in reply to that of the Congressional Printer I will now read:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 24, 1876.

DEAR SIR: I am directed by the Committee on Printing to inform you that they are ready to hear the testimony of such additional witnesses as you may desire to produce. I am further instructed to say that the committee have, at your request, already examined a number of witnesses from the Government Printing Office, but, desirous that no means be left untried to arrive at the truth regarding the cost of public printing, shall be pleased to hear the statement of others. It is necessary that the investigation be brought to a close, and you will therefore bring forward your witnesses during the latter part of the present week.

You are further informed that you can examine the testimony at any time after Thursday morning at ten o'clock, in the committee-room; and the committee desire me to add that you are at liberty to bring before them any reputable member of the legal profession as counsel.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

CHAS. J. WIENER,
Clerk of the Committee.

Hon. A. M. CLAPP,
Congressional Printer.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to call the attention of the gentleman and of the House to the fact that that letter was written after all the testimony had been taken with the exception of one witness. Then the committee proposed to give Mr. Clapp time in which to examine the testimony and introduce witnesses.

Mr. SINGLETON. It does not matter whether it was written before or after. He had full opportunity to be present at all times, and at his request the further privilege was granted of reviewing all the testimony and being represented by counsel in the examination of other witnesses by way of rebuttal.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to know if that is fair play?

Mr. SINGLETON. I so regard it.

Mr. FOSTER. You conduct a star-chamber investigation in secret and you give the man a single day to be heard.

Mr. SINGLETON. You are altogether mistaken about the star-chamber investigation.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. He was invited to be present at the examination of every witness.

Mr. FOSTER. That does not appear from the record.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. I do not care whether it appears or not; that was the fact. He was there part of the time and was never denied the privilege of being there. An invitation was extended to him to be present.

Mr. FOSTER. I desire to understand whether the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SINGLETON] undertakes to prove from this report that the committee gave the Congressional Printer a chance to be present when witnesses were examined.

Mr. SINGLETON. Yes, as far as the report shows anything on the subject.

Mr. FOSTER. I say that the record is to the exact contrary.

Mr. SINGLETON. And I say it is not.

Mr. FOSTER. There is no such proof in the record.

Mr. SINGLETON. I will again refer the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FOSTER] to the letter just read in the hearing of the House, which constitutes a part of the record of the committee's proceedings. From the statement of the chairman, [Mr. VANCE, of Ohio,] corroborated by my own statement, and not denied by any one, it will be seen that whenever he chose to be present at the examination of any witness he was never excluded from the committee-room. He was there on many occasions, as is well known to the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. BALLOU] as well as to the chairman and myself. When his clerks and foremen were examined, he was present at the examination of several of them, and I might say that he prompted them so far as he was allowed to do so. Not only that, but when he

was first put on the stand we allowed him to send for his clerk to make explanations—

Mr. BALLOU. When the gentleman makes a charge—

Mr. SINGLETON. I will not submit to further interruption.

Mr. BALLOU. I ought to answer the charge—

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Mississippi is entitled to the floor.

Mr. SINGLETON. I say that when the Congressional Printer was first on the stand, not being able to explain his transactions, he was permitted to send for his clerk to aid him, and he had him there as a prompter and to put answers into his mouth which he could not make himself.

Now, sir, after all this courtesy on our part—after we have given him every opportunity to make his explanation, and examine witnesses, which he has declined as I will presently show by his letter—to charge that we have not given him a fair chance, is a reflection upon the committee which I think is not warranted and wholly unexpected on the part of my colleagues on the committee. I will now read the response made by Mr. Clapp to that letter of invitation:

OFFICE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL PRINTER,
Washington, April 27, 1876.

SIR: I desire to acknowledge the receipt of the note of your clerk under date of the 24th instant. On consultation with counsel, I am advised that, inasmuch as I am an officer of the Senate of the United States, your committee has no jurisdiction to investigate my conduct in office as Congressional Printer, and that your committee will not pretend to do so.

So far as your inquiries under the resolution of the House of Representatives are concerned, I have no special interest, and therefore I have concluded that I have no duty to perform except to give you any information in my power in regard to the subject under investigation by your committee, which I have already done.

I am, very respectfully, &c.,

A. M. CLAPP,
Congressional Printer.

Hon. JOHN L. VANCE,
Chairman of House Committee on Printing.

The members of this House and the country can judge whose fault it is that Mr. Clapp was not present and did not make his explanations. Here was the evidence all before him; he was permitted to examine the whole of it; he was invited to bring other witnesses there; because we wanted to arrive at the truth; we did not want to blacken the character of any man without giving him an opportunity to explain. Yet he throws himself upon his dignity and appealed to another forum where he might make his plea of justification of his conduct. He peremptorily refuses to come before this committee with his witnesses and attorney as he might have done, and vindicate, if possible, his good name and character from the damaging facts in testimony before said committee. The plain truth is, that there is no explanation to be given; he cannot contradict his own statements; he cannot contradict his own clerks and foremen, who were examined. The only chance for him to escape the penalty of the law seems to be in retreating behind the fact that he is an officer of the Senate; and that I do not believe will avail him. He was never precluded from examining witnesses. Besides that, I repeat, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. BALLOU] was there, and always put such questions to the witnesses as he thought would bring out proper explanations. We, as members of that committee, had no attorney to represent us. We had no feed counsel to prosecute him on the part of the Government. We were sitting there for the purpose of getting at the truth of this whole matter—not to furnish anything for our report except what was strictly true.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. SINGLETON. Yes, sir.

Mr. FOSTER. You say you had no attorney before your committee.

Mr. SINGLETON. We had not.

Mr. FOSTER. Where was Rives?

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. He was never in the committee-room during the examination of witnesses.

Mr. SINGLETON. I corroborate the statement of the chairman, [Mr. VANCE.] He was never present when witnesses were being examined.

Mr. FOSTER. He prompted probably almost every question put.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. He did not.

Mr. FOSTER. He induced the committee to report in favor of giving a contract to him for six years.

Mr. SINGLETON. Well, sir, the gentleman undertakes to state what he does not know, and what is not true in point of fact.

Mr. FOSTER. I know that the committee reported in favor of giving him the contract.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. The gentleman has made an assertion which is not the fact, and which there is not a scintilla of proof to sustain. I say distinctly that Mr. Rives was never present during the examination of any witness; he never came there except at the request of the committee to give information.

Mr. FOSTER. Has not the gentleman been in consultation with him?

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. Yes, sir.

Mr. FOSTER. About this thing?

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. Yes, sir.

Mr. FOSTER. Time and again?

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. Yes, sir.

Mr. FOSTER. That is all.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. Furthermore, I will say that I have been in consultation with Mr. Clapp—

Mr. FOSTER. That is all.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. No, I beg the gentleman's pardon; it is not all; I have been in consultation with Mr. Clapp time after time; with Mr. De Vinne, of New York, time after time; with more men than there are fingers on both my hands time after time, seeking for facts.

Mr. SINGLETON. It is not quite ingenuous for the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FOSTER] to undertake to cast a reflection upon the committee because we have consulted with Mr. Rives in order to find out what we could in reference to the conduct of this officer.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the gentleman call it a reflection to intimate that the committee have been consulting with Mr. Rives?

Mr. SINGLETON. You seem to laugh as if you thought there was something in it.

Mr. FOSTER. O, no; not at all.

Mr. SINGLETON. The gentleman seems to be very much amused and supposed from that fact that he thought he had made a point against the committee.

Mr. FOSTER. I understand Mr. Rives to be a very respectable man.

Mr. SINGLETON. I cannot yield to the gentleman further. I wish to be courteous, but I must decline to submit to further interruption.

I wish to put this matter before the country in its proper light. I affirm again that what we have done has been done in no spirit of bitterness. We have given Mr. Clapp at all times and under all circumstances full opportunity to be heard before us by himself, his attorney, and his witnesses, and to cross-examine the witnesses that have been produced. We have offered him the opportunity to be present with or without counsel; yet he declines to appear and now comes into this House through his friends and declares that we have not dealt fairly with him. It is a mere subterfuge gotten up to hide him from public indignation, to create sympathy in his behalf, which, it is hoped, will cover up his enormities as a public functionary. The public will hold him accountable, whatever may be done here.

I am perfectly willing the whole testimony shall go before the country that it may determine whether we have conducted this examination in that spirit which should animate honest and straightforward men.

But, Mr. Speaker, there is one other thing to which I wish to refer. The gentleman from Rhode Island to-day, as on a former occasion, vaunts the honesty and integrity of the Congressional Printer. I dislike to say anything on that subject, preferring to let the testimony determine the question whether he is honest or not, but when the gentleman declares and reiterates the fact that he is honest and his skirts are clear, I feel I must call the attention of the House to a few of the statements and facts contained in the testimony.

You will find that Mr. Clapp came before the Committee on Printing, and, when interrogated as to whether he had deposits in any bank in this city, his response was that he had not. But I will turn to the testimony itself, lest you might suppose I have not quoted him correctly. I will let his own statements speak, together with answers given by others, to show whether he is honest and truthful or not. I read from page 82 of the testimony taken in this case and accompanying the report of the Committee on Printing.

The Congressional Printer, being under oath, answered as follows:

Question. Have you no deposit in any bank in the city?

Answer. No, sir.

Such is the response which he makes to a question propounded to him by the Committee on Printing.

A few days afterward the cashier of the Metropolis Savings Bank in this city, J. A. Ruff, testified before the committee, and answered in this wise:

Question. What amount of money has he on deposit in your bank?

That question refers to the Congressional Printer, Mr. A. M. Clapp. Mr. Ruff's answer was:

Answer. I think about \$12,000. On March 11, A. M. Clapp deposited \$12,641 05 and on the same day he made a check for \$300. On March 29 he made a check for \$46.81.

Leaving about \$12,300. How does this tally with his statement that he had no deposit in any bank in the city? Now let the gentleman reconcile these statements if he can, and then boast of the honesty and integrity of the Congressional Printer.

Again, we introduced Mr. H. C. Swaine, cashier of the Second National Bank, as a witness, who also bears testimony to the falsity of the statement that Clapp had no bank deposits. Here are the questions and answers:

Question. After examination of the books, what amount at any one time or at various times did Mr. Clapp have on deposit before you became cashier?

Answer. Not exceeding \$15,000 or \$16,000 at any one time.

Q. What amount has he now on deposit?

A. Not exceeding \$1,800.

We next examined George H. B. White, cashier of the National Metropolitan Bank of this city.

Question. What amount of money has Mr. Clapp had on deposit at your bank?

Answer. I cannot say that I have examined carefully into that, but as high as \$10,000, or more possibly, at a time; not many times. I think, probably, hardly at any time more than \$10,000, and not that I know of more than on one occasion.

To the question whether he had any deposits he answered unequivocally that he had none. Mr. Ruff, cashier of the Metropolis Savings Bank, and Mr. Swaine, cashier of the Second National Bank, testified before the committee as stated above, fully contradicting him.

Mr. BALLOU. Is there any evidence that was Government money?

Mr. SINGLETON. I do not yield for further interruption.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Rhode Island is not in order.

Mr. BALLOU. I merely wish to state that there is no evidence these deposits were Government money.

Mr. SINGLETON. The question, it will be observed, did not make any reference to Government money, but was general in character.

I cannot submit to further interruptions.

I wish now, Mr. Speaker, to call the attention of the House to another gross misstatement, to use no stronger term, which was made by the Congressional Printer. I refer to page 85 of the testimony:

By Mr. SINGLETON:

Question. Please state the amount of money you now have on deposit in your safe belonging to the Government, accumulating from the sale of documents, waste, &c.

Answer. Somewhere in the vicinity of \$50,000.

Now, sir, I turn to page 108. The question was asked Mr. Clapp:

Will you permit the clerk of this committee, Mr. Wiener, to go to your office and in your presence count the money?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wiener did accompany him. They went to the office together, as Mr. Wiener testified. And what does Mr. Wiener, the clerk of the committee, say, after he had gone and counted the money? He says:

I counted the sum in the safe and found that it amounted to \$16,257.99.

Mr. Clapp had sworn in the committee-room not many minutes before this examination took place that there was in his safe at that moment a sum in the neighborhood of \$50,000 belonging to the Government; and the clerk of the committee leaves the room with him, goes with him to the office and counts the money, and there finds \$16,257.99.

Mr. BALLOU. Will the gentleman allow me—

Mr. SINGLETON. No, sir; I have been interrupted enough. Such is the evidence of the honesty of this friend of the gentleman from Rhode Island.

I will not characterize the offense of which he has been guilty. Other officials of the country must look into that, and determine whether he is not indictable for a grave offense under the criminal law of the land. But again this honest official, of whom the gentleman talks, has kept in his possession, as he states himself, for about five years large sums of money that belonged to the Government, amounting, as the testimony of his own clerk, Mr. Larcombe, shows, to \$50,000, but which under an examination made by an expert, Mr. Behle, amounts to upwards of \$60,000. And yet there is not one scratch of a pen in any book in his office which shows that there is one single dollar in his hands belonging to the Government. The books of the office have been balanced from year to year. The amounts of money they profess to have received and profess to have paid over are there balanced—and any gentleman can examine them—and there is not a trace on those books of this large amount of money that belongs to the Government of the United States. Such is another evidence of the honesty of the Congressional Printer.

Let me refer to another matter. In regard to this question of gold-leaf it is in proof here—and I ask that members of this House will examine the proof—that the amount of gold-leaf bought by the office during the last seven years there should be no less than \$14,000 of waste which belongs to the Government; and yet, when we came to examine into it, we found there was less than four hundred dollars' worth of that waste of gold-leaf. We sent it over and had it refined at Baltimore in the presence of Mr. Roberts and Mr. Wiener, and it turned out less than \$400, there being a loss to the Government of almost \$14,000 by the neglect, or whatever you choose to characterize it, of this Congressional Printer. Here is additional evidence of the honesty of that gentleman.

I need not read from the testimony in regard to these points. What I have said in reference to them will not be controverted. What I have said in regard to the amount of money in the hands of the Congressional Printer he does not deny, and it is proved by his own book-keeper and by Mr. Behle, the expert who examined the matter. It is settled beyond any controversy.

I might follow up these charges against the Congressional Printer and show that in other respects he has been grossly delinquent; that he has received money—the receipts for which accompany the testimony reported—from divers individuals and given his receipts for it which are before this House as exhibits, and yet there is not a particle of evidence on his books showing that that money came into his hands. Do you call this honesty? Will you now vaunt your friend as an honest man in the face of the world with all these facts staring you in the face? If they prove anything they prove just the reverse of what the gentleman from Rhode Island has stated to-day. They prove that there is no honesty, no soundness, no integrity in the Congressional Printer.

If the Congressional Printer and his friends are anxious to have further examination into his acts and doings, ample time will be af-

forded. If he can explain away what he has said himself, or can contradict any of the evidence against him by his book-keepers, clerks, and foremen, let him do it and produce his evidence before this House, and perhaps its decision will be reversed. But I venture the assertion to-day that he cannot get out of these charges unless he is able to shield himself behind the fact that he is an officer of the Senate and not responsible for his acts to this body. But I do not wish to prosecute this matter any further. What I have done has not been done in an improper spirit. I wish it to be distinctly understood that this was no pleasant task to me. I have not been the prosecutor of any criminal for years. I have been a practitioner of law, and have declined to take fees for prosecutions because contrary to my feelings and my heart. I have been defending law-breakers all my life. But here I had no discretion. I had not the privilege of selecting my client. And when a duty is put on me I will discharge that duty in the face of the country, to the best of my ability, even though I should get letters such as the gentleman from Rhode Island spoke of, threatening my life. Let me say that the matter of these letters is too frivolous to be paraded here, too ridiculous to bring to the attention of the House. I have no hesitation in saying, in view of my knowledge of men, if the gentleman has received those letters they have been prompted by A. M. Clapp and his friends, that capital might be made out of these facts. I think the chairman of this committee, [Mr. VANCE,] who has been diligently following this matter up, will bear testimony that his House has been watched time after time to see who went in there to communicate information. And we know that the men holding office under the Congressional Printer are afraid to come before the committee and give evidence, knowing that if they do they will be turned out of their positions. And they have declined to do so because they knew it would be their death-warrant.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I call the previous question.

Mr. GARFIELD. I desire a few moments.

Mr. SINGLETON. I had no desire to debate this question, but was forced to do so by remarks made by my colleague on the committee, [Mr. BALLOU.] I do not wish to have it debated further at this stage of the question.

Mr. GARFIELD. I desire to say a few words at this stage of the question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Mississippi insist upon the previous question?

Mr. SINGLETON. I do.

Mr. GARFIELD. I hope the House will not sustain the demand.

Mr. SINGLETON. I do not wish to be discourteous, and I withdraw the call for the previous question.

Mr. RANDALL. Is the hour up?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is not; ten minutes remain.

Mr. GARFIELD. I desire only to make two or three points on the merits of the proposition, not on the question of what has been done fairly or unfairly about the matter of investigation, although it does appear to me that that sense of Anglo-Saxon fair play which I believe every white man has inherited with his blood—I mean which every Anglo-Saxon inherits from his race—that when a man is accused of anything, and especially of criminal acts, he ought to have a chance to meet his accusers face to face and be permitted to cross-examine them—

Mr. WILLIS. Why do you not include the colored brethren? They are equally entitled to fair play.

Mr. GARFIELD. That right, as I understand, was not given to the Congressional Printer in this investigation; but no matter. I pass all that by to call the attention of the House to the thing which it is now proposed to do, namely, to abolish our present method of printing the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; to take it out of the hands of the Government Printing Office and turn it over to the system of contract. Is that a wise thing to do? If we refer this matter to the Committee on Appropriations we provide that they shall do this thing; it is a recommendation to them to do it. Now, I say that the largest share of the experience of the Government in reference to this matter has been in the way of contract printing, and the largest share of scandal that has ever come out of any Government work in proportion to the amount has been in regard to the printing. No political scandals connected with any one of the smaller expenditures of the Government have ever equaled the scandals which have arisen from this business of public printing. If we have the work done by the Government we will have the business in our hands and under the direct supervision of our committee and inspectors as to the honesty and fairness of the work; but, under the contract system, when we have once made a contract and turned it over to the contractor, it is almost impossible in the very nature of the case that any amount of rascality shall not happen.

Now, I am not saying a word against the party to whom it is proposed to give this contract, but I want to refer to a fact or two. For example, in the years just preceding the war this business of Government printing was done by contract, and I hold in my hand a volume nearly one-half of which is taken up with the report of the dreadful abuses of printing at that time. There was a printer to the House and a printer to the Senate, and by a sublease they gave the work to a third party, and a large sum of money paid was a bonus to that third party. He actually let out the printing to a political editor at 43 per cent., not on the net profits but on the gross receipts. It was a clear, naked gift to a political party for political purposes. It was

sworn to and so testified to that 43 per cent. of the gross profits were a political contribution to a political party.

Now, there is another thing that can happen under the contract system to which I wish to call attention. When the printer was paid so much per thousand ems on one occasion a new font of type was procured, what is known as broad-shouldered type. It takes only two-thirds as many to fill a line as the original type, because under the old rule the counting was so much per type; and the Government had to pay one-third more for composing in consequence of the increased space occupied by the broad-shouldered type, which was an increase of 33½ per cent.; and this was just by the trickiness of certain firms in using certain forms of type; the letters were the same at the time, were broad-shouldered, and occupied more space; and all the tricks of the trade were resorted to. If we recur to the contract system all these old evils will return; and we are called upon now, after three years' experiment of doing the work ourselves, to abandon the experiment and go back to the worst policy in reference to this public printing that we have ever known.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. That does not refer to the printing of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. GARFIELD. I am not now talking of the printing of the RECORD.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. The gentleman can say nothing in regard to the contract system but what will meet my approval, but at the same time the entire cost of printing during the years to which he refers will not cover the excess of charges now in one year.

Mr. GARFIELD. Of course my colleague if he had been here for three or four years would have known that I have been laboring in season and out season in the Committee on Appropriations to cut down the cost of the public printing. The trouble is not in the rate of printing, but in the enormous demands for printing that the two Houses of Congress make.

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. That is not the trouble.

Mr. GARFIELD. Two years ago the Committee on Appropriations brought in a clause in a bill relating to the public printing, providing that the rate in our printing office should not be more than 5 per cent. in excess of the rates paid in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, which is fixed by the printers' typographical union. We carried it through tellers, but were beaten on the yeas and nays. Why? Because the printers' union controlled by their rules the price of labor; and when a member of the Union in some other place comes here he is compelled to obey the rules of the printers' union here.

Now it so happens that a majority of the printers employed in the Government Office belong to the printers' union, and the wages they demand are 50 per cent. higher than they are in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York. The Committee on Appropriations, the time to which I have referred, was overruled because an election was pending and gentlemen did not like to oppose the printers' union. I was confronted here by that printers' union. I was told that that printers' union had marked me for slaughter at home politically, and that if it was necessary to raise money to beat me it should be done by the printers' union. They tried it and failed, and we have been paying about 40 per cent. more here than is paid in other cities. If you want reform, here is the place to make it.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. VANCE, of Ohio. The Government office is paying more for labor now than outside offices in the city of Washington.

Mr. SINGLETON. I now move the previous question.

The previous question was seconded and the main question ordered.

The question was taken on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Printing; and on a division there were—ayes 107, noes 74.

So the report was agreed to.

Mr. SINGLETON moved to reconsider the vote by which the report was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. RANDALL, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported a bill (H. R. No. 3478) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the year ending June 30, 1877, and for other purposes; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, ordered to be printed, and made a special order immediately after the disposal of the naval appropriation bill.

Mr. SEELYE. I desire to reserve all points of order on that bill.

TRANSFER OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. BLOUNT. I desire to call up the naval appropriation bill, but before doing so I will yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WELLS, of Mississippi. I ask consent to introduce for action at this time a bill making certain transfers of appropriations in the provisions for the contingent expenses of the Department of Justice for the current year.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The bill will be read, after which objections will be in order.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions for the contingent expenses of the Department of Justice in the act approved March 3, 1875, making appropriations for the

legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1876, be amended by transferring to the appropriation for miscellaneous expenditures the following sums from their specific appropriations, to wit:

Three hundred dollars from the appropriation for furniture and repairs;
Three hundred dollars from the appropriation for care and subsistence of horses; and
Two hundred dollars from the appropriation for repairs of carriages and harness, making the amount so transferred \$800.

Mr. RANDALL. That bill has been examined by the Committee on Appropriations, and is believed to be correct.

There being no objection, the bill (H. R. No. 3479) was received, read three times, and passed.

Mr. WELLS, of Mississippi, moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. HARRIS, of Georgia, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles; when the Speaker *pro tempore* signed the same:

An act (H. R. No. 2286) to further provide for the building of a custom-house, post-office, court-rooms, &c., in the city of Memphis, Tennessee;

An act (H. R. No. 2452) to extend the time to pre-emptors on public lands; and

An act (H. R. No. 3136) extending the time within which homestead entries upon certain lands in Michigan may be made.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. BLOUNT. I now yield to the gentleman from New York, [Mr. WARD.]

Mr. WARD. I desire to call up the special order, being House joint resolution No. 14, authorizing the appointment of commissioners to ascertain on what terms a mutually beneficial treaty of commerce with Canada can be arranged.

Mr. HALE. I rise to a question of order.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HALE. I desire to inquire of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BLOUNT] if he proposes to call up the naval appropriation bill, in accordance with the understanding which has been had. Some of us have been waiting for days for that bill to be reached.

Mr. BLOUNT. I propose to call up that bill in one hour and a half from this time.

Mr. HALE. This is the first intimation I have had that it was not to be brought up directly after the printing matter was disposed of.

Mr. BLOUNT. Perhaps I should state to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HALE] what was the understanding.

Mr. HALE. I have been in conference with the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BLOUNT] about the matter within ten minutes.

Mr. BLOUNT. The gentleman is mistaken about that. I will say that I do not intend to do anything that is unfair.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is the understanding that the naval appropriation bill will come up in one hour and a half from this time.

Mr. HALE. Supposing the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BLOUNT] yields the floor now, how does this matter of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARD] come up?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. As the Chair understands, the gentleman is about to call it up.

Mr. HALE. Can the question of consideration be raised?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If the gentleman chooses to raise that question.

Mr. BLOUNT. I do not raise it myself.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It is always in order.

Mr. WARD. I hope I may be allowed to proceed, and not have the time consumed in this way.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Does the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HALE] raise the question of consideration between the naval appropriation bill and the subject which the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARD] proposes to call up?

Mr. HALE. I do not desire to yield any rights that I may have. Let me understand what the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARD] proposes. I am opposed to the joint resolution which the gentleman from New York has referred to, as are other gentlemen. If the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BLOUNT] has made an arrangement that the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARD] shall now make his speech upon that subject, and that then the subject shall drop, so that it will stand as it does now, I will have no objection.

Mr. BLOUNT. That is the understanding.

Mr. HALE. Not that it shall be considered as unfinished business?

Mr. WARD. It will stand as a special order, following the appropriation bills.

Mr. HALE. There is to be nothing now more than the gentleman's speech?

Mr. WARD. That is all.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. And at the conclusion of the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARD] the naval appropriation bill will come up.

Mr. RANDALL. I would suggest to the gentleman from Georgia to ask that the House now make an order for a recess from half past four this afternoon to half past seven, the session of this evening to be for general debate on the naval appropriation bill.

Mr. BLOUNT. I intended to do that after the remarks of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HALE. You had better do it now.

Mr. BLOUNT. At the suggestion of several gentlemen I will ask that the House now order that a recess be taken from half past four to half past seven.

Mr. HENDEE. I desire to make a suggestion.

Mr. BLOUNT. I will hear the gentleman.

Mr. HENDEE. I desire to bring to the attention of the House a joint resolution in reference to the acceptance of a statue of Ethan Allen. I have been waiting for several days for that purpose, but other business has intervened. I ask that, if an evening session be ordered, before the House goes into Committee of the Whole this evening upon the naval appropriation bill, I may be allowed to present that resolution for the action of the House and to submit some remarks upon the subject; also, that my colleagues may have an opportunity to submit some remarks.

Mr. BLOUNT. I have no objection to that.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. HENDEE] proposes that if a recess be taken he shall have the opportunity to call up this evening the subject of the Ethan Allen statue.

Mr. O'NEILL. I suggest that we take a recess from five o'clock to eight o'clock, instead of from half past four o'clock till half past seven.

Several MEMBERS. O, no.

Mr. GARFIELD. Is it the understanding that no business is to be done this evening?

Mr. BLOUNT. I said for general debate only.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair desires to state the arrangement, so that there may be no conflict this afternoon or this evening.

Mr. HALE. I wish to qualify a remark I made a moment ago in regard to the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. BLOUNT.] He and I had been talking about this matter, but it was not so lately as I supposed, and afterward he may have had conference with the gentleman from New York, [Mr. WARD,] and was undoubtedly doing what he thought was fair.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair understands the arrangement to be that at the end of the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARD] the naval appropriation bill shall come up; that a recess be taken from five o'clock till eight o'clock, as suggested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. O'NEILL].

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I desire to ask a question.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman will allow the Chair to state the proposition. When the House meets at eight o'clock the joint resolution in regard to the statue of Ethan Allen will come up; and when that is disposed of, the naval appropriation bill will be taken up for general debate only. Is there objection to this arrangement? The Chair hears none.

Mr. BLOUNT. I understood that half past seven was to be the hour of meeting this evening.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. That was modified by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. O'NEILL.]

Mr. BLOUNT. I did not accept the modification.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I desire to know whether the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARD] is now to speak upon a bill fixed for this day?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. He is.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. Then allow me to ask what becomes of the special orders fixed for consideration on days previous to this, and which were not considered on those days? What becomes of those bills? Are they lost?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. They are not lost.

Mr. RANDALL. Not if they were made orders to continue from day to day.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. They are continuing orders from day to day. The gentleman from Kentucky has the right to raise the question of consideration between those special orders and the business of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. Then I desire to ask whether a bill fixed for to-day takes priority of bills fixed for previous days?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair understands that special orders take priority in the order of the time for which they were fixed.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I would like to have this question understood.

Mr. WARD. I think I must call for the regular order.

Mr. RANDALL. I desire to say in reply to the gentleman from Kentucky that there is now being prepared by the proper clerk of the House a list in chronological order of the various special orders; so that to-morrow, when that list is expected to be ready, we shall be able to see exactly what special orders there are and the relation in which they stand to each other.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. Then I desire to put a question to the Chair.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair has already directed the Clerk to make out such a list. It is being made at this time.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. That does not answer my question. I desire to know (and I presume it is a parliamentary question) whether bills which have been fixed for certain days and which were not reached on those days must be fixed for other days; or will they come up in order without fixing anew a time for their consideration?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. If they are continuing orders, it is not necessary to fix another day for their consideration.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I am speaking of bills fixed to be considered from day to day.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The order in which the gentleman is interested is a continuing order from day to day.

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky. I had an apprehension that bills fixed as subsequent special orders were being allowed priority.

Mr. BLOUNT. Before the gentleman from New York [Mr. WARD] begins his remarks, I want it understood at what time the House is to convene this evening.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair understands that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BLOUNT] insists on the proposition for a recess from half past four until half past seven o'clock.

Mr. BLOUNT. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'NEILL. I merely made a suggestion; I did not offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. It will be understood, then, that the recess shall be from half past four until half past seven.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. SYMPSON, one of their clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, without amendment, bills of the following titles:

A bill (H. R. No. 1218) making appropriations for the payment of claims reported to Congress under section 2 of the act approved June 16, 1874, by the Secretary of the Treasury; and

A bill (H. R. No. 2018) to authorize the Exchange National Bank of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to improve certain real estate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, with amendments; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (H. R. No. 2441) authorizing the appointment of receivers of national banks and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. No. 677) granting a site for an observatory to the trustees of the Lick Observatory of the astronomical department of the University of California.

RECIPROCITY.

The House, according to order, proceeded to the consideration of the joint resolution (H. R. No. 14) authorizing the appointment of commissioners to ascertain on what terms a mutually beneficial treaty of commerce with Canada can be arranged.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Speaker, at the present time, when capital seeks investment, interest is reduced beyond all precedent in this country, wages are lowered, immigration decreases, the value of our exports is diminished, and hundreds of thousands of our people are in search of work by which they may earn a livelihood, it is the duty of wise statesmen and sound patriots to do the utmost in their power to promote the return of prosperity by such measures as will best extend the sales of our productions and promote our carrying trade and commerce. Hitherto, intent upon the development of our unparalleled resources, and having a sparse population, we have paid too little attention to external trade and the encouragement of foreign markets for our products, especially for those of our manufactories, the number of which we have stimulated to an extent far greater than is commensurate with the demands of our own population.

There is no more obvious remedy for this state of affairs at present, nor any more sure and stable foundation of our prosperity in all time to come, than the extension of our commercial relations with the adjacent countries on this continent—on the north with Canada, and on the south with Mexico.

EXTENT AND RESOURCES OF CANADA.

We yet seldom appreciate at their great and practical value the importance of the vast regions north of the United States on this continent. Stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, they contain an area of at least 3,478,380 square miles; more than is owned by the United States, exclusive of our newly acquired territory in the far northwest, and not much less than the whole of Europe with its family of nations. No small proportion of these Territories consists of barren and inhospitable regions in the extreme north; but, as a recompense, the arid plains extending through Texas, and thence northward beyond the limits of the United States, are comparatively insignificant as they enter the British possessions, where the Rocky Mountains, being less elevated and having a narrower base, admit the passage of the clouds from the Pacific Ocean, bearing ample rain with its fertilizing influences into the interior of the continent. By the same cause the climate is tempered.

The isothermal line of 60° for summer rises on the northwestern plains as high as the sixty-first parallel, its average position in Europe; and a favorable comparison may also be traced for winter and the other seasons of the year. Spring opens almost simultaneously for a distance of about twelve hundred miles on the vast plains reaching northerly from Saint Paul. Along the valleys of the Red, Assiniboine, Saskatchewan, and Mackenzie Rivers, for more than seven hundred miles north of the limit of the United States, wheat has been grown, yielding most abundant returns, thus indicating a soil and

climate well suited for the crops ordinarily produced in the cooler parts of the temperate zone. Barley, the grasses, and many root crops grow twelve hundred miles north of the same boundary.

These facts are significant proofs of the immense capabilities of the agricultural areas in the interior of the continent north of the forty-ninth parallel. Westward from these regions—yet scarcely inhabited, but of incalculable value in the future—are countries of yet milder climate on the Pacific coast, whose relations to California are already important. On the eastward are the rapidly increasing settlements, enjoying the rich lands and pleasant climate of Manitoba, on the Red River of the North, a stream capable of steamboat navigation for four hundred miles.

It is asserted by those who add personal knowledge of the subject to scientific investigation, that the habitable but undeveloped area of the British possessions westerly from Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay comprises sufficient territory to make twenty-five States equal in size to Illinois. Bold as this assertion is, it meets with confirmation in the isothermal charts of Blodgett, the testimony of Richardson, Simpson, Mackenzie, the maps published by the government of Canada, and recent explorations.

North of a line drawn from the northern limit of Lake Superior to the coast at the southern limit of Labrador exists a vast region, possessing in its best parts a climate barely endurable, and reaching into the arctic regions. This country, even more cold, desolate, and barren on the Atlantic coast than in the interior latitudes, becoming early known to travelers, has given character in public estimation to the whole north.

Another line, drawn from the northern limit of Minnesota to that of Maine, includes nearly all the inhabited portion of Canada, a country extending opposite the Territory of Dakota and States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine, possessing a climate identical with that of our Northern States.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES.

The "maritime provinces" on the Atlantic coast include New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. Geographically they may be regarded as a northeasterly prolongation of the New England system. Unitedly they include an area of at least 86,000 square miles, and are capable of supporting a larger population than that at present existing in the United States or Great Britain. They are equal in extent to the united territory of Holland, Greece, Belgium, Portugal, and Switzerland.

The natural interests of New Brunswick and the adjacent State of Maine are inseparably connected. New Brunswick has an area of 22,000,000 acres and a sea-coast four hundred miles in extent and abounding in harbors. It had at the census of 1871 a population of 285,594, being nearly equal to that of Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, and Colorado. The chief occupations of its inhabitants are connected with ship-building, the fisheries, and the timber trade. Judging from authentic surveys and records, it is scarcely possible to speak too highly of its climate, soil, and capabilities. Few countries are so well watered and wooded. On its unreclaimed surface are large stocks of timber; beneath are coal-fields. The rivers, lakes, and sea-coast abound with fish.

Nova Scotia, a long peninsula, united to the American continent by an isthmus only fifteen miles wide, is two hundred and eighty miles in length. The numerous indentations on its coast form harbors unsurpassed in any part of the world. Including Cape Breton, it has an area of 12,000,000 acres. Wheat and the usual cereals and fruits of the Northern States flourish in many parts of it. Its population in 1871 was declared by the census to be 387,800. Besides possessing productive fisheries and agricultural resources, it is rich in mineral wealth, having beneath its surface coal, iron, manganese, gypsum, and gold.

The province of Prince Edward Island is separated from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia by straits only nine miles in width. It is crescent-shaped, one hundred and thirty miles in length, and at its broadest part is thirty-four miles wide. It is a level region, of a more moderate temperature than that of Lower Canada, and well adapted to agricultural purposes.

The island of Newfoundland has a sea-coast of one thousand miles in extent. It has an area of 23,040,000 acres, of which only a small portion is cultivated. Its spring is late, its summer short, but the frost of winter is less severe than in many parts of our own northern States and Territories. It is only sixteen hundred and sixty-five miles distant from Ireland. It possesses a large trade with various countries, including Spain, Portugal, Italy, the West Indies, and the Brazils.

The chief wealth of Newfoundland and of the Labrador coast is to be found in their extensive and inexhaustible fisheries, in which the other provinces also partake. The future products of these, when properly developed by human ingenuity and industry, defy calculation. The Gulf Stream is met near the shores of Newfoundland by a current from the polar basin, vast deposits are formed by the meeting of the opposing waters, the great submarine islands known as "The Banks" are formed, and the rich pastures created in Ireland by the warm and humid influences of the Gulf Stream are compensated by the "rich sea-pastures of Newfoundland." The fishes of warm or tropical waters, inferior in quality and scarcely capable of preserva-

tion, cannot form an article of commerce like those produced in inexhaustible quantities in these cold and shallow seas. The abundance of these marine resources is unequalled in any other portion of the globe, except where similar conditions exist in the northern Pacific ocean.

ONTARIO AND QUEBEC.

The provinces of Ontario and Quebec, known as Canada, before the union with the Dominion, include an area of not less than 185,115,607 acres, independently of the northwestern regions yet scarcely open for settlement. Their territory is three times as large as that of Great Britain and Ireland, and more than three times that of Prussia. It intervenes between the great northwest and the maritime provinces, and consists chiefly of a vast projection into the territory of the United States, although it possesses a coast of nearly one thousand miles on the river and gulf of the Saint Lawrence, where fisheries of cod, herring, mackerel, and salmon are carried on successfully. Valuable fisheries exist also in its lakes. It is rich in metallic ore and in the resources of its forests. Large portions of it are peculiarly favorable to the growth of wheat, barley, and the other cereals of the North.

Within thirty-five years, or less than the life-time of nearly all who are now hearing me, the population of Ontario and Quebec has increased about fivefold, or from 582,000 to 2,812,367.

THE PEOPLE OF CANADA.

The population of the Dominion of Canada and the other possessions now exceeds four millions, being more than that of Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, and New Hampshire, added together, at the last census. Many of their inhabitants are of French extraction, and a few German settlements exist; but two-thirds of the people of the provinces owe their origin either to the United States or to the British islands, whose language we speak, and who "people the world with men industrious and free." The identity of language in contiguous countries is a fair exponent of the tendency to amalgamation. It generally implies great similarity, if not identity, of religion, laws, and habits, the essential elements of thorough fusion.

NATURAL COMMERCIAL RELATION.

Apart from the artificial regulations by customs-duties, the exchanges of the products of labor between the people of the United States and their neighbors on the north would be as intimate and, in proportion to the population, at least as various and comprehensive, as those of the States of our Union with each other. In fact the commercial relations of our northern, northwestern, and eastern States with the Dominion of Canada, if left simply and without obstruction to the practical test of benefits or profits given and received by the people of both countries, would be more close and intimate than those between most parts of the Union. The great lakes, which for some thousands of miles politically separate us, are themselves among the cheapest and most useful means of intercommunication for the northwestern and eastern States, and, with the majestic river through which their waters flow, have long furnished, by aid of short canals, one of the most important channels of trade and travel from the interior to the ocean, and thence to the chief markets of the world.

Nearly three-fourths of the people of the Dominion inhabit a territory in latitudes south of our boundaries in Maine and Minnesota. Across this region, and especially the peninsula between Lakes Huron and Michigan, is the direct line of communication between the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York on the one side, and Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and all our Territories west of them on the other.

IMPORTANCE OF FREE EXCHANGES WITH CANADA TO ALL PARTS OF THE UNION.

Great as the value of transit through Canada is to our people, similar freedom through our territory is perhaps even more important to the Canadians. Excepting the maritime provinces, the whole of the British North American possessions until they approach the Pacific Ocean is dependent upon the railroads, canals, rivers, and other means of communication in the United States for the shortest routes to the ocean. Fortunately, what is in this respect almost the necessity of the Canadians is one from which must result the employment of our people and profit to our forwarders on such a scale that it will confer conspicuous national benefit upon us if we do not prevent the natural interests of the people from attaining due and harmonious development. More than that, the great natural, permanent system of exchanges is between the North and South; their productions being necessarily distinct, and modern civilization having rendered them practically necessities of life to the people of each region.

Regarding the subject from a broad and national point of view, it is instructive to see how great and varied are the advantages that would result to all parts of our country from free intercourse with the neighboring nations. The northern and southern parts of our continent possess special and distinct advantages for producing commodities with which each can purchase those of other sections. The Northern States, for instance, need fear no competition with Mexico or Cuba in manufactures or agriculture. These countries would purchase, in increased quantities, our manufactures, cereals, meats, and fish, while we in return should consume more of their sugar, coffee, fruits, and other tropical productions. The agricultural productions of Canada are almost identical with those of the Northern States, but would be exchanged for our own manufactures, and for the products of warmre-

climates, in part those of our Southern States and in part of regions yet farther south, whose products would thus be brought through our territory, and afford employment and profit to our people, with advantages to all the countries which would be parties to the arrangement. Our agriculture, manufactures, and carrying trade would alike be benefited, and the natural operation of the laws of trade would necessarily confer corresponding benefits on those for whom our work would be done and with whom our exchanges would be made.

The trade between the northern and southern parts of this continent must attain enormous proportions. It is very desirable for our people that it should as soon as possible be developed to the utmost. Its natural course will be through the central or intermediate States, creating in them commercial interests of a magnitude which it is almost impossible now to calculate. The mutual benefits thus given and received would be perpetually diffused and circulate in every vein and artery of commerce and manufactures throughout the Union and be accompanied with the gratifying knowledge that they were derived from the prosperity of our neighbors in other countries.

RECIPROCITY APPROVED BY LEADING STATESMEN OF BOTH PARTIES.

As the naturally interdependent commercial relations of the United States and Canada arise from geographical and climatic causes which are permanent and unchangeable, and the cost of labor and the interest on capital in both countries are, reckoning from a series of years, nearly alike, they have from the beginning of our history attracted the attention of our leading statesmen without distinction of party.

During the Presidency of General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren, when writing in 1829 to Mr. McLane, then our minister at the court of St. James, referring especially to the North American colonies, said:

The policy of the United States in relation to their commercial intercourse with other nations is founded on principles of perfect equality and reciprocity. By the adoption of these principles they have endeavored to relieve themselves from the discussions, discontents, and embarrassments inseparable from the imposition of burdensome discriminations. These principles were avowed while they were yet struggling for their independence, are recorded in their first treaty, and have been adhered to with the most scrupulous fidelity.

The exceptional character of our natural commercial relations with Canada has also been duly observed by some of the most eminent advocates of what is termed a "protective" policy. One of the chief arguments in its favor is that against admitting the products of "pauper labor" to compete with those of our own citizens. It has no force in reference to a contiguous country, from which people can pass to the United States in a few moments or at most a few hours. The other argument of the same class of theorists is derived from the importance of a "home market." But a "home market" is the market nearest home, and this is furnished by the respective countries to each other at every point of their coterminous territory.

Mr. Clay, who was called the father of the "protective" system, duly appreciated these facts, and from his stand-point added valuable testimony to the uniformity of opinion among American statesmen in his time, and his conviction as to the policy by which he desired our country to be guided.

The Government of the United States—

He said—

has always been anxious that the trade between them and the British colonies should be placed on a liberal and equitable basis. There has not been a moment since the adoption of the present Constitution when they have not been willing to apply to it principles of fair reciprocity and equal competition.

As time has passed and the country on both sides of the frontier has become more closely inhabited, farms, villages, and cities taking the place of the primeval wilderness, the value of the intercourse of the people has immensely increased. When Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren deemed it important the population of Canada was insignificant. It is now larger than that of all the six New England States added together.

The interests involved and the benefits each country can confer upon itself by due emancipation of its industry are so many and obvious that they will continually demand discussion until they are fully settled on the basis of perfect freedom and our trade with Canada is as unrestricted as that of our different States among themselves. It is our duty to regard these questions practically, avoiding alike on one side the inconsiderate haste which might result from political sentimentality, and on the other the influence of the absurd and pernicious dogma which carried to its logical results would put an end to all trade, individual as well as national, that whatever is profitable to others must be injurious to ourselves.

THE MAGNITUDE OF CANADIAN TRADE.

The modern increase of facilities of communication by canals, railroads, bridges, steamboats, telegraphs, and the press, assisting the transfer of merchandise, the travel of passengers, and the free interchange of thought between the United States and the Dominion, add to the policy enunciated by Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren a value we cannot estimate too highly. The commercial spirit and resolute enterprise of the Canadians is shown no less by the attractions they have presented to immigration and the consequent increase of their population than by the fact that with a population small in comparison with that of many nations in the Old World they already rank as the fourth power on the globe in the extent of their merchant shipping, taking precedence in its extent and quality of all countries except Great Britain, the United States, and Germany.

The aggregate of the foreign trade of Canada in 1872-73 and 1873-74 was about two hundred and seventeen millions, each year, being considerably more than one-sixth of all the imports and domestic and foreign exports of the United States. The aggregate of our foreign trade in 1875 was \$1,219,434,544. If it had been as large as that of Canada in proportion to the population of the two countries, it would have exceeded \$2,400,000,000.

OUR TRADE WITH CANADA.

Notwithstanding the adverse laws in both countries, preventing a free exchange of the products of the industry of their people, thus depriving Canada of her natural prosperity, injuring the business of many of our States, and most seriously impeding the progress of those parts of our country which are near the Canadian frontier, our exports of articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of the United States to Canada, according to the report of the Treasury Department, amounted in 1873-74 to no less than \$42,505,914, being more than twenty times as large as those to China, whence we draw so large a proportion of our imports, and larger than our exports of a similar character to any country in the world excepting only Great Britain, Germany, and France. Our exports to Canada of goods of foreign origin in the same year amounted to \$4,589,343, and the total trade with her to at least the vast sum of \$85,253,168.

Taking the official statistics of Canada as the test of our exports to the Dominion, the value of our exports was much larger, those entered for consumption there having amounted to \$54,279,749, and our imports to \$35,061,117—the aggregate trade having been \$90,524,000.

In 1874-75 the aggregate of our domestic exports to Canada, as shown in the Report on Commerce and Navigation, including the additions on page 416, was \$49,906,285, and the trade between the two countries amounted altogether to \$86,256,925.

An examination of our exports to Canada shows that her value as an outlet for our manufactures has long been much underrated. This has, no doubt, arisen in part from the fact that we compute the amount of our exports from our own custom-house statistics. These are the best sources we have of information as to our imports, on which accuracy is exacted because they are subject to duty; but there is no such urgency as to our exports. They pass from our side of the lines without much attention from our officers. Modern political economists and statisticians have observed the operation of the same rule in various countries, and regard it as an established axiom that "the amount of export is always less exactly registered than the amount of import because with the former duty is but rarely levied." This rule applies with peculiar force to the ordinary data furnished by the official reports of the commerce and navigation of the United States so far as they refer to Canada.

In 1874 the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics asked the attention of the national Legislature to this subject and repeated his request in 1875. He found it impracticable, if not impossible, to obtain full returns of merchandise exported to the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Our custom-house returns on the Canadian border are necessarily defective, in part for want of legislation requiring persons exporting merchandise by railway-cars or other land-vehicles, which have long been used in the transportation of merchandise across the Canadian borders to file full manifests of such merchandise with the collector of the customs as is required in the case of all exports to foreign countries in vessels. It has been found on close investigation into the facts that in both countries the accounts of imports from each into the other are the more accurate, because "the customs-officers of both are constantly on the alert to see that no dutiable merchandise crosses the border without paying its prescribed impost."

Upon the basis thus irrefutably laid down, it is found that the value of articles of domestic production exported from the United States to Canada in 1874 was \$11,424,566, and in 1875 no less than \$15,660,281, in addition to the amounts shown by our own official records. This enormous amount of over \$27,000,000 consisted chiefly of the products of the manufacturing industry of our people, and I desire to direct to it the special attention of those who fancy an extension of reciprocal trade with Canada would be injurious to the manufacturing population of the United States.

LARGE IMPORTS OF OUR MANUFACTURES.

One of the most efficient and beneficial means of protecting our manufactures would be to encourage the demand for them in Canada. Including the amounts given in the statement of the quantities and values of our domestic exports in the official records of the Bureau of Statistics, and the additions corrected from the reports furnished by the Canadian commissioners of customs, our exports last year of our own productions to the Dominion included books and stationery to the value of \$794,846; cotton manufactures, besides raw cotton, \$1,591,844; musical instruments, \$639,027; leather and its manufactures, \$789,428; tobacco and its manufactures, \$1,673,366; refined sugar and molasses, \$1,988,733; manufactures of iron and steel, \$6,833,649, besides other manufactures to the value of many millions. Our imports during the same year from all parts of the Dominion of her staple productions of wheat and flour amounted only in value to \$363,317.

If we can export our manufactures in such large quantities to Canada when impeded by her present tariff, it cannot be disputed that we should increase our sales of them if they were admitted at lower rates of duty, and yet more if they were admitted free of all duty whatever.

THE FORMER TREATY.

The treaty of 1854 provided for a reciprocal trade between the United States and the British North American possessions in certain articles, consisting mainly of the unmanufactured productions of the farm, forest, mines, and fisheries. It was for several years mutually satisfactory, but under the pressure of debt and the need of increased revenue the Canadians raised the duties on manufactured goods to such an extent as to destroy its natural effects in promoting many branches of the industry of our people.

The Legislature of the State of New York passed concurrent resolutions complaining of the tariff thus exacted by Canada and demanding a revision of the treaty, but expressing approval of the principle of reciprocity and a desire for an extension of its application. It was seen that unrestricted trade between the United States and Canada must be mutually beneficial for the same reasons as make it desirable between New York and Pennsylvania or any of the other States in the Union.

The resolutions of the State of New York asserted that "free commercial intercourse between the United States and the British North American possessions, developing the natural, geographical, and other advantages of each for the good of all, is conducive to the present interests of each, and is the only proper basis of our intercourse for all time to come;" and, in pursuance of the request of the State of New York, that its Senators and Representatives in Congress should take such steps as would regulate the commerce and navigation between the two countries in such manner as to render the same reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory, I moved in the House of Representatives that the President of the United States should be authorized and required to give notice to the British government that the treaty of commerce then existing, as to the British North American colonies, would be terminated at the earliest date legally permitted, but that the President should be authorized to appoint three commissioners for the revision of said treaty, and to confer with other commissioners duly authorized therefor, whenever it should appear to be the wish of the government of Great Britain to negotiate a new treaty between the governments and the people of both countries, based upon the true principles of reciprocity, and for the removal of existing difficulties.

RECIPROCITY APPROVED BY CONGRESS.

The preamble declared that inequality and injustice existed in our present intercourse with Canada, subversive of the true intent of the treaty, owing to the legislation of Canada after the treaty had been adopted, and that it was desirable that friendly relations should be entertained between the United States and the British North American provinces, and that commercial intercourse should be thereafter carried on between them upon principles reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory to both parties.

A motion to lay the preamble and resolution on the table was rejected by a vote of 76 to 73. Thus the House refused to terminate the treaty unconditionally. A notice simply to abrogate the treaty was voted down, and the preamble, which asserted that commercial intercourse between the United States and the British North American provinces should be hereafter carried on between them upon principles reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory, was adopted; and the resolution would also have been carried if a few members who together with their constituents were conspicuously in favor of and especially interested in the utmost possible freedom of exchanges between the two countries had not been induced to believe that they would obtain better terms by postponement to the next session of Congress. But the postponement was only adopted by a majority of 5 out of 159 votes.

Just before the time for reconsideration arrived the war feeling had attained increased intensity, and the exigencies and temper of the occasion threw all commercial considerations temporarily aside.

CANADIAN TARIFF.

Since that time the Canadian tariff has undergone great and liberal changes. Very many of the articles on which we charge duties almost prohibitory are admitted free of all duty into Canada, and her old tariff of 25 or 30 per cent. has been reduced to a general rate of 17½ on manufactures, and can no longer be a subject for complaint of injustice on our part while we charge 40 or 60 per cent. We now approach the whole subject under new and favorable auspices.

OBSTACLES TO COMPLETE RECIPROCITY.

As the exports of Canada consist chiefly of raw productions of the farm and forest, of which we export little for actual consumption in Canada, the admission of these articles free of duty by each country into the territory of the other is not the most just or desirable form of reciprocity. To place our trade with the Dominion on a satisfactory basis, manufactures also should be admitted free of duty from each country into the other. But to effect this it is necessary that no higher duty should be levied in one country than in the other on iron, silk, wool, and the other materials of manufactures. Without this the country admitting them at low duties, or without any, would manifestly be able to undersell the other if it continued such duties as it might deem necessary for its revenue or prudent for the protection of its labor against the competition of countries under different social and monetary conditions.

The best arrangement of reciprocal trade between the two countries must include more or less the manufactured as well as the raw pro-

ductions of each, thus giving mutual encouragement to various and differing industries on both sides of the line and permitting labor in each to adjust itself to the most advantageous employments. The United States have never yet made decisive efforts to secure the benefits thus within their grasp.

If such a system of reciprocal exchanges could be extended to manufactured productions, both countries would assuredly profit. The first effect might seem detrimental to special interests in both, but a natural equilibrium would soon establish itself, producing conditions under which capital and labor would be applied to the best advantages. It would be found that each country can produce better and more cheaply for the other than the latter can for itself, and under such circumstances each would obviously be the gainer by mutual exchanges. It is the nature of trade that it will not long be continued unless all the parties gain by it. Both as producers and consumers the people of each country would profit by such an economical adjustment of affairs.

As many manufactures in both countries are made of materials imported from various parts of the world, it would manifestly be impossible to establish a completely free system of commercial intercourse with Canada, except under duties not only corresponding but also equitably divided on the productions of other countries. This is the chief obstacle to any fair, mutually advantageous, and complete arrangement of reciprocity between us.

If, for instance, wearing-apparel, of which we formerly sold large quantities to the Canadians, were included in a list of free exchanges between us and them, without any more fundamental and comprehensive change, Canada, by admitting free of duty wool, or, if she chose, cloth and the other articles used in making the apparel, could undersell us so far as to drive us out of our own markets. The principle thus illustrated is applicable to almost all other manufactures. The materials for manufactures of wood, wool, and iron are already brought into Canada either free of all imports or under nominal duties for the purpose of encouraging cheap production. There is nothing to prevent their being admitted wholly free. Under these circumstances the Canadian manufacturers would have an unjust advantage over those of our own country. On our side we might reverse all this by a lower tariff or a system of bounties. But if the materials of manufactures were admitted on the same terms into the United States and the Dominion and an equitable distribution made of the revenues, the manufactures of each might safely and profitably be admitted into the other. In fact, with our larger capital and more advanced manufactures we should have an advantage in the competition, while it would also inure to the benefit of the Canadian people.

INTERESTS OF OUR MERCHANT FORWARDERS.

Manufactures are not the only form of industry which is worthy of consideration. The interests of our merchants and forwarders, as well as the people of Canada, are seriously injured by the present obstacles to their intercourse. There is a great difference between a bonded system and a system of perfect freedom, as to exports or imports. The annoyances, vexations, and delays necessarily attached to any bonded system are often sufficient in this day of easy communication to turn away business from its natural and best center. It is also to be remembered that hitherto the Government of the United States has not thought it expedient to refund duties on the re-exportation of foreign merchandise in less quantities than the original package, thus creating an obstacle, often amounting to prohibition, to the jobbing and retailing of goods.

That the mere adoption of the same rates of duties in the United States and Canada on articles imported from other countries would not be politic is evident on the ground that customs-revenue is chiefly collected in a few ports, although ultimately paid by the consumers, often in very remote parts of the country.

A CUSTOMS UNION SUGGESTED.

All these difficulties might be solved by adopting the principles embodied in the Zollverein or Prussian confederacy of the German states, with such modifications as may be found expedient between ourselves and the Canadians. By this course both can obtain all the commercial advantages of union without political entanglement, leaving each country free to practice in its own self-government such rules as it believes to be most in accordance with the genius of its people, and best adapted to promote its own interests.

Previous to the adoption of the Zollverein, it had been the misfortune of Germany to be divided into a large number of independent states—most of them of petty dimensions and small population—every one having distinct custom-houses, tariff and revenue laws, often differing very widely from those of the neighbors surrounding it. Sometimes one part of a state was separated from its other parts, and was as a commercial island encompassed by states having different laws. The condition was such as would have existed in New York or any other of our States, if each of the different counties had been commercially divided from the rest, and the inhabitants of one county could not, without paying heavy imposts, pass into another with a horse, ox, or load of grain, the product of their own farms, or take imported goods into any of the counties adjoining their own, and the difficulty continually increased on passing through additional counties. Thus the inland trade of Germany was subjected to all the restrictions that are usually laid on the intercourse between distant and independent states.

PRINCIPLES OF THE ZOLLVEREIN.

The principle of the Zollverein or customs union is that there shall be entire and unrestricted freedom of imports, exports, and transit among all the states which are its members. The same duties are collected on the outside frontier of the states thus united. Within that line all trade is as untrammelled as within our present Union. An equitable distribution of the revenue thus obtained is made among all the states of the confederation.

The Zollverein is comprehensively defined to be the association of a number of states for the establishment of a common customs law and customs line with regard to foreign countries, and for the suppression of both in the intercourse of the States within the border line. There would be no impediment by discriminating duties on the importations for Toronto if made via New York or Boston. If the merchants of Chicago found it to their interest to purchase at Montreal, they could do so; and buyers from the new province of Manitoba might buy and sell at Saint Paul, Du Luth, Saint Louis, or New Orleans, as freely as at Halifax or any city in the Dominion. The merchants of British Columbia would buy and sell in the markets of San Francisco as freely and with as little hinderance as in those of their own country. All means of transit would be entirely open to the people of both countries, and those most conducive to the public welfare would take the trade. Internal-revenue laws could, so far as necessary, be made in conformity with the principles of the Union. There could be fair and complete competition everywhere within the confederation, and full scope could be given to the development of natural advantages wherever they would bring profit to the merchant and save needless labor of the people or yield remunerative employment to them.

SKETCH OF THE GERMAN ZOLLVEREIN.

The German Zollverein began in 1818, considerably more than half a century ago. Its progress is a sufficient proof of the excellence of the principles it embodies and of the mode by which they are carried into effect. The enlightened state of Prussia was the originator and leader in the movement, by forming a commercial union with a few minor states; the whole population thus included being at first only nineteen millions. The experience of the benefits thus created is so satisfactory, that the best publicists of Europe believe that Prussia thus conferred upon the German people advantages scarcely inferior to those she initiated by the diffusion of education and intelligence. It not only promoted the industry and prosperity of the allied states more than any other measure or sets of measures that their governments could have devised, but it was found that the increase of wealth and population thus arising created an additional demand for foreign products.

Whatever opposition there is to unembarrassed intercourse with Canada proceeds mainly from a fear lest it might revolutionize our tariff or injure our revenue. It is well to remind the alarmists who raise this outcry that such results are no necessary consequence of an American Zollverein. So far as the Zollverein of Germany is a precedent, such apprehensions are entirely groundless. As Prussia was the largest and most populous country when the Zollverein was begun, her tariff was adopted; and owing to increased prosperity and the consequently increased consumption of tax-paying articles, the revenue of Prussia rose about 30 per cent. in the four years next following the amalgamation of the North German and South German states into one grand union on the 1st of January, 1834.

In 1865 the benefits of the German Zollverein had become so well proved and appreciated, that instead of the three original states or duchies it included fourteen, with a population of nearly 36,000,000.

The solidity and cohesive power of the Zollverein were decisively tested in the war which began between Prussia and Austria in 1866. The governments of the North German states included in the union sided with Austria, and it was feared that a dissolution of the Zollverein would ensue, but, says one of the historians of the time, the extraordinary spectacle was presented that while "its component parts were waging open war with each other, its custom-house authorities remained in their functions in the general name and received and divided the revenue moneys in the general name, a spectacle which surprised nobody in Germany, but caused general astonishment abroad as something quite incomprehensible. German nationality, and the inner conserving power which animates the Zollverein received hereby the most glorious confirmation."

After the war of 1866 the German states to the south of the river Main, having preserved their independence, were not under any obligation to renew the Zollverein, but preferred to continue members of it. In 1867 a new Zollverein treaty was concluded between the states of the North German Confederation and the North German states, the scope of which extended to the whole of Germany except Austria. Even with Austria a liberal and comprehensive treaty was effected in 1868, mutually reducing duties on both sides and abolishing all transit duties and nearly all those on exports.

A traveler who has crossed the outer line is freed from the vexations of the *douanier* in every part of Germany, and may proceed without interruption from Belgium to the frontier of Russia, and from Tyrol to the Baltic, a distance of seven hundred or eight hundred miles, including a population of 70,000,000.

MUTUAL BENEFIT OF A CUSTOMS UNION.

Until the Canadians are ready for annexation to the United States by their own appreciation of republican institutions, no solution of the commercial questions at issue between us and them can be complete

except by means of a customs union. I, for one, am not desirous of incorporating in our political union 4,000,000 of people who desire a form of government essentially distinct from our own. But it by no means follows that we and they should not mutually develop in harmony our material interests and regard them and the character of our respective populations as a basis on which such future political arrangements may be made as time may prove to be wise. The quality of grain or lumber and the desirability of selling or purchasing manufactures are utterly independent of the political preferences of the producers or consumers, and on neither side can natural prosperity be promoted by chronic commercial jealousy.

It is evident that the policy I advocate would tend to lessen the hostility of differently instituted governments, while it would not interfere with the political institutions of any, and that a strong bias toward the most friendly relations on other points must naturally arise upon the basis of mutual pecuniary interests and intimate social intercourse.

THAT "BALANCE OF TRADE."

Meeting upon their own ground the theorists who regard "a balance of trade in our favor" as the chief test of the benefits of commercial exchanges with any single country, I find that, according to the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, there appears to have been during the thirteen years when a treaty for the reciprocal exchange of grain, lumber, and many other natural productions existed, a balance in our favor amounting to some \$83,000,000, and that ever since the termination of the treaty until 1874, when the pressure on our affairs tended to force sales at low prices, there has been a balance against the United States in the trade with the Dominion. So much for the present exclusive policy in comparison with the more liberal but incomplete system under the treaty, judging them from the ordinary stand-point of many protectionists.

Since the termination of the treaty the proportion of the trade of Canada with this country in comparison with the whole foreign trade has been reduced from 52 to 35 per cent., until the necessities of our people compelled them to part with the products of their labor at reduced prices.

The tariff of Canada is moderate as compared with our own; but, in connection with our taxation of many materials, it is enough to have caused some important branches of manufacture, notably those of wood-screws and musical instruments, to be lately transferred by our own citizens to the other side of the northern frontier, where they are not only established for the supply of the people of the Dominion, but, if we persist in our present course, will undoubtedly at no distant date compete on terms favorable to the Canadians in neutral markets with the products of our own labor on a very extensive scale and in many various manufactures.

THE REAL BALANCE.

While it is desirable to encourage as far as we are able the sales of our manufactures to Canada, it is always to be remembered that the trade between that country and the United States is to a considerable extent one of transit or carrying to other countries, and thus what is called "a balance" against us, which is really an advantage, may exist, because it may merely represent what we have bought from one country to sell at a profit to others. If our merchants buy the bulky productions of Canada to the extent of many millions and carry them through our own country to our sea-ports, they give employment to our laborers, create a demand for the products of our farmers, and cause the expenditure and employment of vast sums of money among our traders and capitalists, while the articles thus carried and exported stand to our credit and profitably swell the balance in our favor in other countries, being at least as valuable in our exchanges with the rest of the world as if they were gold or silver.

The Canadians, understanding this natural operation of the simple laws of business and carrying it into their affairs of state, have, with an enlightened self-interest, attempted to diminish what might by more short-sighted economists be called "the balance in their favor," by admitting our wheat, flour, corn, oats, barley, pease, and many other productions entirely free of all duty. They would like the exchange to be much more—as some of our doctrinaires would call it—"against them." The more of our wheat, corn, and flour they buy, or, in other words, "the larger the balance against them," the more their shipping and canals, and with them their merchants and the rest of their population, prosper. We take the other course, and by way of fancied "protection" levy a duty of twenty cents a bushel on their wheat, fifteen cents on their barley, ten cents on their oats, 20 per cent. on their flour, and from 10 to 20 per cent. on their pease.

Under the treaty, the quantities of grain exchanged between the two countries were almost exactly equal. In 1874 our exports of grain and breadstuffs to the Dominion, exclusive of barley, for which we pay Canada a better price than she can find elsewhere, amounted to \$16,477,674, while the imports of the corresponding articles were \$3,473,352, showing what is called "a balance in our favor" of \$13,004,322; our exports of grain and breadstuffs to Canada, as thus shown, being, in consequence of our duties on her products and her exemption of ours, more than four times as large as our imports from her. This "balance in our favor" shows that we expel the trade in certain classes of products from our shipping, railroads, elevators, and warehouses with incalculable injury to all classes of our people and force it into Canadian channels. This is more fully shown by the official

reports of Canada, where it appears that in the same year nearly twenty-one millions of bushels of grain were certainly exported from that country, being between six and seven millions of bushels more than her imports.

Thus we see that the purchases of grain by Canada are for re-exportation, either directly or for such consumption as leaves a corresponding surplus on her own side for exportation. No bonded system regarding grain from Canada can afford such facilities for profits by our merchants, millers, carriers, and others as would arise from free and untrammelled trade in it.

WE DRIVE AWAY THE TRADE WE MIGHT ATTRACT.

The enlargement of the Canadian canals, with a view yet further to draw away from this country the transit of its own productions and trade in them is at the present moment going on, and that on a magnificent scale. In 1855, the year after the treaty went into operation, as soon as routes and markets of the United States were opened freely to the grain, flour, and timber of Canada, the trade by way of the Saint Lawrence was \$18,469,528, or not much more than half its amount in the previous year. The decrease was \$15,203,600, and a corresponding amount was transferred to other carriers, for the Canadian trade in the United States increased in the same time \$15,856,624, or from \$24,971,096 to \$40,827,720. In view of these facts, the urgency of removing from those who are employed on our railroads, rivers, and canals the restrictions imposed on them by duties on Canadian grain, and placing them on an equal footing with their foreign competitors, cannot be reasonably disputed.

If we bought from Canada every bushel of wheat that she now exports to other countries, the demand in those countries would remain the same. The difference would chiefly be that after paying for it in the products of our labor, we should send it or its equivalent to the present consumers and that we should do the business and make the profits now made by the Canadians. If there should be what some call "a balance against us" with Canada, it would be more than made up through the amounts placed to our credit by our sales to other countries.

AN INCREASED SUPPLY OF PROVISIONS.

Mainly for those agricultural productions which are not "perishable" and will bear transportation the markets of the world at large regulate our own. The prices alike of grain and dairy products are transmitted by cable and eagerly examined by the dealers in them on this side of the Atlantic. The free admission of these articles into this country will stimulate industry without reducing general prices, not only through increasing the business of our railroads, canals, rivers, and sea-ports, but by furnishing them to consumers as nearly as possible to the places where they are produced, and by passing them through the hands of the fewest intermediate dealers. There are also many agricultural products—notably animals and fresh meats—which might profitably be exchanged by Canada for our manufactures, thus furnishing an increased and cheaper supply of provisions to our people, who, under the system I advocate, would pay for them in the products of their looms and workshops.

Even as to these articles many errors are current. It appears from the tables published by the Bureau of Statistics that last year our imports described as animals from the British American colonies amounted to \$1,987,231, and those of meats, butter, cheese, poultry, lard, &c., to \$533,886; a total of \$2,521,117. An outcry is raised that our farmers are oppressed by these inundations of provisions. But their amount is little more than equal to our exports of meats alone to Canada. Their amount is no less than \$2,457,904. Of animals, meats, butter, cheese, lard, and tallow only our exports to the same country were \$4,398,060, or about two millions more than our imports.

FREE TRADE IN COAL.

It would be improper to pass without examination our trade with Canada in coal, an article which is one of the essential elements of manufactures, and in the North becoming daily more and more one of the prime necessities of human life. It is found in abundance on the sea-coast of Canada, whence it is advantageously exported to the New England States and New York. But it is not found in the interior and well-settled parts of the Dominion. They depend on our mines for a supply, and obtain it, free of all duties, principally from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Ohio. Anthracite coal is extensively imported into the maritime provinces. Altogether, regarding the subject from a national point of view, our imports of coal last year from Canada amounted to \$697,673, and our exports to her were, as shown by our own returns alone, \$2,034,527. The imports, taking a series of years, are nearly stationary; but our exports increase enormously, and in the last three years were \$7,272,964, not far from four times as large as in the three years from 1863 to 1867. Under these circumstances any imposition of duty on coal from the Dominion is evidently unjust, favorable only to petty local interests at the cost of important communities and contrary to the spirit in which each part of the Union should regard all the others.

WE PAY OUR OWN TAXES.

Among our largest imports from Canada, timber is probably on the whole the one most necessary to our citizens. It forms a part of every house in city and country. It is directly or indirectly a part of almost every manufacture, and the cost of the home of every workman in the manufacturing parts of our country depends upon its price. Consid-

ered with regard to the tariff and its "protective" character, lumber is unlike any other article. Our iron-ore being inexhaustible, the production of that metal may be stimulated to any extent. The more there is made of it the more can be made. The same is true of manufactures of wool and cotton, or of those articles themselves. Looms, sheep, and cotton plantations can be almost indefinitely multiplied. But, for all intents and purposes, a high price for lumber is not only a tax on the people, but stimulates present production with the absolute certainty of speedy, spendthrift, exhaustion of the supply. By duties on Canadian lumber we simply exhaust our resources and pay for drawing what we need from places remote or difficult of access when we might get it easier elsewhere. It would be even more reasonable to dig holes and fill them up again than to indulge in this delusive and extravagant legislation.

There has been a too common belief that by duties on the productions of Canada we make her people pay our taxes. Perhaps the fallacy yet lingers in some minds. The fact that we have destroyed our importations of wheat and flour from Canada, and that she now sends her surplus together with much of our own to other markets, may convince of their error some of those who have imagined she must depend upon us for the sales of her productions. It was argued when the treaty was repealed and a duty was imposed on Canadian timber that we should buy it as cheaply as ever. Instead of this consummation, it has been found that our importations became nearly threefold as large as before, and that the prices in Canada doubled, showing clearly that we pay the duty and injure every branch of industry in which northern timber is a material.

The well-known fact is that we are rapidly exhausting our supplies of timber in the Northern States. The demand for it increases at the rate of 25 per cent. a year, and even those who are interested in high prices and immediate sales of what is left of it admit that in twenty years building timber will be extremely scarce, and that in many parts of the country, yet supplied in part from their own soil, it will have entirely disappeared. It is stated on good authority that no less than 63,928 establishments, employing 393,378 persons and using material to the value of \$310,000,000 a year, were engaged in 1869 in manufacturing articles entirely from wood, in addition to 7,439,840 persons partly employed on wood and using that material yearly to the value of \$554,000,000. In some instances, following the example of more experienced nations, premiums are given to those who plant certain areas with forest trees. Yet in the face of all these facts we, under the name of "protection," betray the public interests into the hands of a few monopolists, and condemn our people to pay large rewards for the too rapid destruction of our remaining forests. In considering these facts it is desirable to remember that under a free system of exchanges Canada would be paid for her lumber in the products of our labor.

PUBLIC OPINION ON TRADE WITH CANADA.

The value of an extension of trade with Canada is duly appreciated by all thoughtful commercial men. The National Board of Trade passed resolutions and petitioned Congress in its favor. The New York Chamber of Commerce regards it as "specially desirable, on political as well as economical grounds, that all unnecessary hinderances should be removed from the commercial intercourse between the United States and the great Dominion which borders our northern border for so many thousands of miles," and "strongly recommends the proper authorities at Washington to enter into such treaty stipulations whenever the Canadian authorities may be found ready to meet them on a basis of perfect fairness and equity." The boards of trade in Boston and Chicago, and many other similar associations, have earnestly expressed the same views. Various State Legislatures, notably that of New York, have passed resolutions to the same effect. Proof that the importance of the interests involved is fully appreciated, and of a willingness to negotiate, abounds in Canada.

CANADA WILLING TO NEGOTIATE.

In 1873 the Dominion board of trade presented a memorial to Earl Dufferin, the governor-general of the Dominion, expressing a "sincere and cordial desire" that he would "be pleased to make such representations to the imperial government as will procure the appointment of a commission to meet and confer with a similar commission on the part of the Government of the United States, (if such commission has been or shall be appointed,) for the purpose of framing and negotiating such a treaty of reciprocal trade as will be for the mutual advantage and benefit of the trade and commerce of the Dominion of Canada and the United States." The Canadian minister of customs, the privy council, and the governor-general fully concurred in these views, and the governor, in council, formally promised that "should the Government of the United States comply with the wishes expressed by the National Board of Trade, the subject will receive the fullest consideration of the government of Canada." There is good reason for believing that no change has been made in their views.

During the present year a leading member of the Dominion board of trade, at its annual meeting, expressed the general sentiment of those who were present by saying, "We are anxious to deal fairly and liberally with our neighbors, and on condition that they meet us in a liberal spirit." A resolution was passed, declaring "that this board is of opinion that it is very desirable that a treaty of reciprocity in trade with the United States, on a comprehensive, liberal, and fair basis, should be obtained; and is also of opinion that the initiatory

steps thereto ought to come from the Government of the United States, seeing that it was by their action that the old treaty was abrogated." Thus there is ample proof that commissioners would be promptly appointed to meet and confer with our own.

While we now possess a most valuable market and increasing market for our manufactures, it is quite as certain that its continuance depends on the duties levied by the Canadian tariff. A large proportion of the manufactures we export so extensively to the Dominion, conspicuously many of iron, copper, brass, lead, cotton, &c., are admitted free of duty or at almost nominal rates of 5 or 10 per cent., and those charged at higher rates than 17½ per cent. are few in number and insignificant in quantity. The Canadians have it in their power, and it could be no just cause of complaint by us, to adopt our own scale of duties. The effect of such a step could not fail to inflict serious injury on our manufacturers, many of whose products would soon be excluded from the Canadian markets, which it is for our interest to open yet more widely.

CONTRAST CANADIAN WITH HAWAIIAN TRADE.

The importance of our present and future commercial relations with the Hawaiian Islands has been ably discussed. I have not underestimated nor will I now depreciate it. But it shrinks into seeming insignificance in comparison with the value of the trade between the people of the United States and Canada. In the same year when our exports of cereal productions to the islands amounted to the value of about \$45,000 those to the Dominion were of the value of over fourteen millions, our exports of cotton and its manufactures to the islands were about \$16,000, and of iron and steel, including woodenware, were nearly \$20,000, while those of the same classes to Canada were over one million one hundred thousand and over six millions, respectively, exclusive of woodenware. The exports I have specified to Canada are exclusively of our own productions, the aggregate of which to Canada was about ninety times as large as that of all our exports to the Hawaiian Islands during the same time. Without pursuing the comparison further it is absolutely unquestionable that, if our commerce with the Hawaiian Islands is worthy of special attention, that with the Dominion of Canada is almost immeasurably more so; and the comparison loses nothing of its force either commercially, politically, or in a military point of view if we consider the limited area of the islands and the vast territory of the Dominion coterminous with our own to be inhabited by people sprung from ourselves or, like ourselves, from the foremost nations of the Old World and whose number will be computed by hundreds of millions.

ENCOURAGEMENTS TO SMUGGLING.

While the moderate rates of duty exacted by the Canadian tariff enable us to make large exports of manufactures, they also permit goods from other countries to be imported on the same terms. Silks, broadcloth, plate, watches, jewelry, &c., are charged with a duty of only 17½ per cent. The boundary between the two countries not only extends across the continent, but the shore-line is increased for thousands of miles by innumerable bays, affording great facilities for defrauding the revenue. At other places a smuggler can go in the day or night from one side of the frontier to the other laden with jewelry, laces, or other expensive goods literally as easily and with as much security as a traveler can pass from one farm to another or through the unbroken forest. It is stated that stores, kept by enterprising merchants, are built on the imaginary or mathematical line separating the two countries, and that goods bought in each are sold freely to all customers; the merchandise itself changing places from the shelves on one side to those on the other at those hours and opportunities when it is impossible for a custom-house officer, however vigilant, to watch what may be done inside the building. No wonder, then, that the Secretary of the Treasury should have found "the difficulty attending a proper surveillance of our northern frontier" of sufficient importance as to direct special attention to it in his last report as being "under existing circumstances very great, if not in some respects insurmountable." To guard these lines with moderate security an enormous increase of the revenue service would even now be absolutely indispensable. In the four collection districts of Vermont, Champlain, Oswegatchie, and Cape Vincent, having a frontier line of more than three hundred miles, after deducting for a few officers employed in permanent service at the principal ports and minor stations, "there remain," says the Secretary of the Treasury, "but fourteen as a preventive force, or less than one man for every twenty-one miles of frontier."

As the frontier regions become more populous and goods brought from one country to the other meet with readier sales, these difficulties will be incalculably increased and it will be absolutely impossible to prevent immense quantities of valuable goods from being illicitly brought across the line without payment of any duty.

In addition to these suggestive facts it is to be remembered that some of the most liberal and advanced statesmen in Great Britain, not content with the present anomalous relations of the mother-country and the colonies, entertain the project of a Zollverein or customs-union between them. The people of these countries have as undoubted rights to free-trade with each other as the citizens of our different States now enjoy among themselves.

But, if the difficulties attending our present tariff are now "in some respects insurmountable," what would they become if the same freedom of trade as exists between the States of the Union were also a

matter of fact between the different parts of the British Empire? There is no complete remedy but such a customs-union as I have suggested between the United States and the Dominion.

COMMISSIONERS WOULD REPORT IMPARTIALLY.

In proposing the appointment of commissioners to confer with other commissioners duly authorized by the government of Great Britain, or whenever it shall appear to be the wish of that government to appoint such commissioners, to investigate and ascertain on what basis a treaty of reciprocal trade for the mutual benefit of the people of the United States and the Dominion of Canada can be negotiated, and to report the results of their investigation to the President of the United States, there is no bias toward any special form of reciprocity. They may or may not approve of such a customs-union as under existing circumstances seems to me the best and only perfect solution of the embarrassments attending the present commercial relations of the two countries, as it would effect a great saving in the revenue service, abolish smuggling, give complete freedom of transit to the people on both sides, and by a continuous and harmonious development of their resources encourage social intercourse and prepare the way for whatever other institutions their intelligence and mutual good-will might hereafter suggest and approve. But between such an arrangement and the present condition of trade there are many intermediate steps. It ought not to be difficult to agree upon the basis of a common tariff on all articles, such as silks, laces, brandies, wines, jewelry, &c., the importation of which is taxed only for revenue, and in regard to which no irreconcilable differences of politico-economical theory arise, or to determine the terms of equitable division of the revenue collected from them in common. If this only were done, the most extensive smuggling from which the revenue of the United States suffers would be stopped, and our own public Treasury would be the gainer by many millions. Some at least of the manufactures and raw products of each country could be admitted to free exchange with those of the other.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

Beyond these considerations, or rather as their basis, are the plain and well-known facts that the prosperity of our people and our strength as a nation depend upon their unrestricted exchanges of the products of their labor more than upon any other material cause, and that the relative positions of the United States and the Dominion render similar commercial relations no less valuable to our citizens and the Canadians; that if permitted to develop themselves harmoniously, according to the unrestricted wishes of the people, the mutual interests of the two countries are even more important than those of many of our own States, and that whatever would directly benefit so large a number of them must be profitable to them all and should be desired by all.

Whatever arrangements may be made might properly include various regulations necessary for the freedom and convenience of our commercial and social neighborhood and intercourse, such as a uniform system of extradition, light-houses, copyrights, postage, patents, telegraphs, weights, measures, and coinage.

The principles I am desirous of seeing brought into active use are simply those expressed nearly a century ago by Girard, Franklin, Deane, and Lee in a treaty of commerce between France and the United States, in which they, on the part of this country, agreed to avoid "all those burdensome prejudices which are usually sources of debate, embarrassment, and discontent," and to take as the "basis of their agreement the most perfect equality and reciprocity," "founding the advantage of commerce solely upon reciprocal utility and the just rules of free intercourse." Thus all petty, acrimonious debates as to whether one party would make more or less than the other would cease. All would be merged in considerations of plain and palpable benefit as far as it is between States and individuals in the Union.

It is undeniable that the government and people of Canada are desirous of meeting in a friendly and liberal spirit whatever efforts we may make toward extending our trade with them. Thus apparently the means of benefiting a large and suffering portion of our population are open to us by giving them employment through an extended market for their productions. How much this is needed may be estimated from the statement of the Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report, that our domestic exports to all countries decreased in value \$70,149,321 last year. By opening trade with Canada we should also furnish our people with a more abundant supply of the necessities of life and some of the materials for manufactures. The purpose of the resolutions now under consideration is simply to ascertain, after full and careful investigation by intelligent citizens of the United States, how far and through what measures we can best bring into actual practice the opportunities which are placed within our reach by the circumstances of the times and by immutable nature, or rather by Providence itself.

Mr. BLOUNT. I rise to move that the rules be suspended and the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering the naval appropriation bill.

BALTIMORE CITY WAR CLAIMS.

Mr. O'BRIEN, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill (H. R. No. 3480) to provide for the recomputation of the accounts between the United States and the city of Baltimore growing out of money expended by said city for the use and benefit of the United States dur-

ing the war of 1812 with Great Britain; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. BANKS, by unanimous consent, submitted the following resolution; which was read, considered, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Committee on Rules be directed to consider and report what change, if any, is required in the rule of the House which gives to certain committees therein named the right to report at any time.

COURT OF CLAIMS.

Mr. DOBBINS, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill (H. R. No. 3481) extending the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims of the United States, and for other purposes; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Patents, and ordered to be printed.

PALMETTO GUARD.

Mr. MACKEY, of South Carolina, by unanimous consent, presented the memorial of the Palmetto Guard of Charleston, South Carolina; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

The memorial is as follows:

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, April 29, 1876.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The memorial and petition of the undersigned, officers and members of the centennial committee of the Palmetto Guard, a military company at Charleston, South Carolina, respectfully show:

That they are preparing and erecting a suitable monument at Charleston in memory of the battle of Fort Moultrie, successfully fought against a British fleet on the 28th day of June, 1776.

That said monument is to be surmounted by a figure in bronze of a Continental soldier replacing the flag of the fort, which had been shot down, and they pray your honorable body to cause to be delivered to them for said purpose bronze cannon-metal of the weight of forty-five hundred pounds.

They have been advised and understand that there is on hand of captured or disabled cannon ample quantities of such metal belonging to the United States, and they ask that so much of it may be devoted to this patriotic purpose.

GEORGE L. BUIST,
BENJAMIN C. WEBB,
JULIUS J. WESCOAT,
and others.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

Columbia, South Carolina, May 1, 1876.

I cordially indorse and approve the above request. Such an act of grace would produce the most beneficial results to this State and to the country.

D. H. CHAMBERLAIN,
Governor, South Carolina.

CONTINUANCE OF COMMITTEE-CLERKS.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am directed by the Committee on Accounts to report the following resolution and to ask that it be adopted.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of State be, and they are hereby, allowed to employ a clerk for the period of thirty days, and the compensation of said clerk be fixed at \$4 per diem.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Indiana. I am also directed by the same committee to report the following resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice be, and they are hereby, allowed to retain the service of a clerk for the period of thirty days from the expiration of the last term.

The resolution was adopted.

PAINTED OR STAINED GLASS.

Mr. O'NEILL. I ask unanimous consent to present the memorial of citizens of Pennsylvania, asking for an amendment to section 2505 of the Revised Statutes, relative to the importation of painted or stained glass for religious purposes, for reference to the Committee of Ways and Means, and also that it be printed in the RECORD.

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

The memorial is as follows:

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, respectfully represent:

That under the revenue laws of the United States religious societies from 1861 to 1874 enjoyed the same privileges as philosophical, educational, scientific, and literary societies and institutions;

That the word "religious" was omitted from the act of June 22, 1874, and from section 2505, schedule M, title 33, Revised Statutes of the United States.

Your petitioners therefore pray that this inequitable and invidious discrimination against religious societies and institutions and against the cause for which they are organized and established be removed, and that an act be passed to insert the word "religious" after the word "scientific" and before the words "or literary" in section 2505, schedule M, title 33, Revised Statutes of the United States.

SAM. H. WELSH,
EDW. Y. BUCKLEY,
LAWRENCE LEWIS,
and many others.

ENROLLED BILLS.

Mr. HARRIS, of Georgia, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the following titles, when the Speaker *pro tempore* signed the same:

An act (S. No. 258) to amend the charter of the Capitol, North O Street and South Washington Railway Company;

An act (S. No. 293) authorizing the commissioners of the District of Columbia to cancel and annul the condemnation of ground in square 762, in the city of Washington, for a public alley and for other purposes;

An act (S. No. 679) relating to interments in the Congressional Cemetery; and

An act (S. No. 764) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to allow Mrs. Minnie Sherman Fitch to receive, free from duties, a wedding present from the Khedive of Egypt.

DISABLED NAVY-YARD EMPLOYÉS.

Mr. GOODE, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill (H. R. No. 3482) to provide for the relief of navy-yard employés who shall be disabled while employed in the line of their duty; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. BLOUNT. I move the rules be suspended and the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the bill (H. R. No. 3375) making appropriations for the naval service for the year ending June 30, 1877, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to; and the House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. CLYMER in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the order of the House the committee now proceeds to the consideration of the naval appropriation bill.

Mr. BLOUNT. I move by unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill for information be dispensed with.

There was no objection, and it was ordered accordingly.

Mr. PHILIPS, of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, there is an old legend of the seven wise men of Greece which tells of the finding of a golden tripod in the nets of a Milesian fisherman. The Delphian oracle was asked to whom it should be given. The answer was, to the wisest man. The fisherman's patriotic pride led him to offer it to his own countryman, Thales. He declined it with modesty, and offered it to Bias of Priene. Thus it passed in succession through the hands of the seven wise men until Solon dedicated it to Apollo as alone worthy to be called "the wise."

But the true moral to be drawn from the fabled history of this Apollo even is that he who gave oracles to all the world was not wise enough to look into his own fortunes; for he gave up all in the vain pursuit of the inexorable Daphne.

Learned men are often unwise; they are impractical. It was a severe but not ill-founded judgment pronounced by one, when he said if he had a province to punish, he would send a philosopher to govern it. That practical wisdom which shall in these days look through the mist and fog of speculative philosophy and attenuated theory and discover the true condition of the country and the prime causes of its troubles and dangers would indeed entitle its possessor to the designation of "the wise."

In this presence I would not even enter the lists to contend for such a prize. Doubtless it would prove the unreachd paradise of my earthly despair. And yet there are some facts lying so near the surface of our financial embarrassment that the shortest vision may discover them. Amid the jarring, conflicting opinions unfortunately existing here and obstructing legislation, the only important monetary measure we have been able thus far to adopt is the so-called silver bill. During its consideration it occurred to me as one of the strangest complexities of the times that even silver money should be distrusted and discredited. Certainly it is an old-fashioned money, and the people like it. It is historic. Our fathers prized it. And I am persuaded, if the American Congress could divest itself of that notion which might not inaptly be termed the financial alchemy, that must first transmute everything into gold-interest-bearing bonds before any principle can be reduced to practical utility, we would have made an advance in the effort to bring back the appearance, if not the substance, of the good olden times. For the moral effect of some legislation is better than its intrinsic merit. Confidence and stability are important factors in monetary matters. Fear is the worst element in all panics. Hope is the life-power that moves all enterprise and anchors all prosperity.

After the accumulation in the Treasury of \$10,000,000 in silver, at a loss to the Government of \$1,000,000, the people demanded its utilization by forcing it into circulation. They would be glad to see this circulation still further promoted by securing to the citizen who may have bullion the right to go to the mints, under governmental regulations, and have coined his silver bullion on payment of the seigniorage. Yet some of us do not think it either the part of wisdom or sound policy to assume either the responsibility of directing the Secretary of the Treasury to execute the blundering legislation of the republican party in the resumption act or to authorize him to issue more gold-interest-bearing bonds to buy up a depreciated and fluctuating silver metal which, under the refinement of prevailing jobbery, might inure more to the benefit of the "bonanza" kings than the people. For one, I cannot give my consent to involve the Government in additional bonded indebtedness until all honest, determined effort be made in other directions for financial relief. The curse of this country to-day is its bonded debt. We are a nation under bonds. The great mass of the American people are but hod-carriers to build pal-

aces for the nabobs who clip coupons from public and local bonds. And I apprehend that if the inner springs of the movement to-day from certain quarters in favor of abrupt, immediate resumption could be seen, the fact would be disclosed that the bondholders are not so much in favor of specie payments as a wise public policy as they are to secure gold, the most valuable of all coins, in payment of their bonds, for which they paid in greenbacks an average of about sixty-five cents on the dollar.

The republican party set the example of issuing bonds at a high rate of interest. While England on her debt of \$4,000,000,000 pays \$120,000,000 annual interest, we on our \$2,200,000,000 pay \$132,000,000.

This bad example of the Government in issuing high-interest-bearing bonds, non-taxable, produced results of a most vicious, hurtful nature, often lost sight of in our inquiries into the true philosophy of the financial embarrassments of the American people. It not only drew from less productive investments in industrial pursuits the capital of the country, visibly checking its development, but it hid these investments from taxation, leaving the industrial producing classes to bear the whole burden of supporting the Government.

Nor was this all. It set in motion a like pernicious practice throughout the States and their local subdivisions, stimulating frenzied speculation in bonds, inciting the people and bribing officials to issue State, county, and municipal bonds bearing exorbitant rates of interest for the most ordinary and extraordinary objects. A somewhat careful study of this question discloses a most appalling state of affairs in this country. One of its most startling phases is the marvelous ratio of increase of municipal indebtedness in the past few years. The census computation for 1870, little reliable at best, gives no premise from which any safe deduction can be approximately made as to the condition of this class of debts to-day. The census for 1870 gives \$330,867,714 for this debt. In the last eight years the increase has been fearful. In New York City it has been increased fourfold. Philadelphia has doubled her debt. Saint Louis has gone from \$5,500,000 to \$16,500,000. Chicago has trebled her debt. The debt of Baltimore has increased 69 per cent., Allegheny City 500 per cent., and Albany 250 per cent. Boston has jumped from \$13,000,000 to \$43,000,000. Cleveland has quadrupled. Detroit has doubled. Louisville has doubled. Milwaukee has nearly trebled. Newark has gone from \$2,110,300 to \$5,600,000; New Orleans from \$14,000,000 to \$22,000,000. Portland has trebled. Providence has multiplied sevenfold. Richmond has doubled. Rochester has increased fivefold; Pittsburgh four and a half.

So that in these nineteen cities alone where the aggregate debts in 1867 were not \$100,000,000 they are to-day in round numbers \$332,000,000, a net increase of \$232,000,000 or 232 per cent., being within \$367,714 of the computation made in the census of 1870 for the entire indebtedness of all the cities and towns of the Union.

There are eighteen other cities with an aggregate debt of \$105,342,570, to wit:

Augusta, Georgia.....	\$1,751,000
Bangor.....	2,484,000
Brooklyn.....	17,432,000
Charleston.....	5,514,814
Cincinnati.....	15,547,000
Columbus, Georgia.....	572,800
Elizabeth, New Jersey.....	5,402,000
Galveston.....	872,000
Indianapolis.....	1,454,500
Jersey City.....	14,230,850
Memphis.....	3,985,500
Mobile.....	2,863,109
Newark.....	8,716,000
Pittsburgh.....	12,753,335
San Francisco.....	3,421,000
Savannah, Georgia.....	3,668,063
Saint Joseph.....	1,380,900
Saint Paul.....	1,231,262

The aggregate debt of all the other cities and towns, from the best data at my command, may be approximately estimated at \$250,000,000. The whole municipal debt therefore is about \$687,342,570. The average interest is not far from 7 per cent. per annum, which would be \$48,113,979 annual tax on this debt alone. The county debts are not far from \$225,000,000. The State indebtedness I put at \$450,000,000. The aggregate of this threefold indebtedness is therefore \$1,362,342,570. The debt of the District of Columbia is \$23,143,000. The national debt on the 1st day of April, 1876, was \$2,224,671,860.41. The entire bonded debt of the country is consequently \$3,610,157,430.41.

In the foregoing calculations no account is taken of the vast amount of bonded indebtedness of those business corporations which embrace in a sort of governmental form miniature communities of men; nor does it embrace the contingent liability of the States and municipal corporations, which may have to be paid, and which in the commercial world so much affects their credit; nor does it embrace individual indebtedness.

Furthermore, the American people, unlike the English and French, are not the holders of all their obligations, so that the interest money paid by the debtor to the creditor class passes from one citizen to another, whereby it is kept in circulation in their midst; but from the most authentic statistics, freed from exaggeration, it may be asserted that our foreign debt is not far from \$15,000,000,000; so the volume of interest money to meet these obligations annually flowing out from our shores never returns to bless us; while our cisatlantic creditors are the favored class, who either by adroit legislation or man-

agement make little contribution to appease the tax-gatherer who comes with such unflinching regularity, through sunshine or shadow, in our adversity as in our prosperity.

When we consider the interest on this \$36,000,000,000 of debt, to which must be added our annual public expenditures, which, exclusive of interest on the national debt and the Pacific Railroad bonds, is \$335,638,201.16, and the expenses of conducting the State, territorial, county, and municipal governments, we can begin to see what becomes of the earnings of the producing classes of this country, and how little they have left to live on. It must be borne in mind, too, that no corresponding benefit has accrued to the material interests of this country on the issue of this mountain of bonds. No \$36,000,000,000 of money was applied to its development and enrichment. The bulk of the debt is the inheritance of a wasting, desolating war. Of the \$1,300,000,000 State and local indebtedness it may be asserted with the grave assurance of truth that not fifty cents on the dollar was realized to the people who have the taxes to pay. The other half went into the pockets of the "ring men," or it was shamefully squandered upon unremunerative enterprises and corrupt jobbery. The General Government itself most wantonly, if not corruptly, paid an unconscionable percentage of its bond issues to syndicates and favored agents.

When, therefore, Mr. Chairman, a western man stands here who knows how the tax-gatherer year by year takes from the husbandman and laborer of his district his whole year's planting and harvesting and labor to pay the coupons on such bonds; when we tell you that while, in our judgment, the plain reading of the Constitution, interpreted by the light of the debates of its framers, recognizes gold and silver as the legal tender; when we concede that it is the traditional money of the democratic party and the money of value in the recognition of the commercial world—and we long for its day of stability among us—yet in the light of inexorable facts neither the patriotism nor the judgment of the West is to be challenged when we say that the power lodged in a single man, the Secretary of the Treasury, by the resumption act of January 14, 1875, authorizing him to issue additional gold-interest-bearing bonds to enable him to go into the markets of the world to buy at any price the gold requisite to execute that act by the 1st of January, 1879, is not only a dangerous power but, if arbitrarily exercised, would drive the people to despair, if not revolution.

Nothing so arouses the desperation of our nature as the dread of starvation at the hearth of our household. How many homilies are read us nowadays from certain quarters, on the necessity and propriety of maintaining our foreign credit. I sometimes feel like that proverbial wit of illustration, Patrick Malloy, who had just laid in a fat pig and a jug of the "O, be joyful" for "swate Christmas," when a friend called and announced the arrival in town of a relative from "Ould Ireland." Pat said "Dem his eyes, I don't want to see any furrin relations; theys always hungry and dry buggers." I could almost wish sometimes we had no foreign relations. They are a hungry set, crying for gold. We have public men and politicians in this country who seem to think that the whole financial policy of the country ought to be based on the enhancement of the value of our foreign-held obligations. It was this that in 1869 induced Congress to change the 5.20 bonds to gold bonds, thereby defrauding the people out of millions of money.

The first duty of an American Congressman is to the people of his own country. If there be one especial case where the maxim "Charity begins at home" could be applied with all consistency and propriety it is in our legislation. A government accredited abroad at the sacrifice of the home comforts and manhood of its own citizens is but a giant monster, which, while it commands the attention of the world, tramples down its own subjects, and in its very presence the spirit of true liberty pales and dies.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Judge KELLEY, said on this floor not long since that "the American people are patient asses." They certainly have been patient; but Josh Billings said he had known a mule to wait twenty years for a good chance to kick a man's brains out; and, if this disposition of the mule be inherited, may not his "illustrious ancestor" some day ere long turn his heels upon those who have been so severely testing his patience with burdens grievous to be borne and kick them out of time and place.

See what these people have borne. Since 1863 there have been collected from them by way of internal revenue, \$2,086,590,703.88, and since the close of the war \$1,928,441,762.43; customs receipts since the war, \$1,910,445,897.25—making an aggregate paid by these people, directly and indirectly, into the public Treasury in the last ten years, \$3,838,887,659.68. If we were to add to this the sums which the officials actually gathered from the people and stole, like one of Wilkie Collins's heroes, Captain Wrag, who, when he stole money from his employer, entered it in his private book account as a "self-presented testimonial of merit," the amount would exceed \$4,000,000,000, nearly enough to have paid off the entire public debt if the Government had been frugally and honestly administered.

OUR EXCISE LAWS.

It is an instructive lesson suggestive of how far beyond all intention of the founders of the Government we have traveled in these latter days to read Madison's discussion in the *Federalist*, (No. 45.)

vindicating the Union against supposed danger to the State governments from its powers. He says:

If the Federal Government is to have collectors of revenue the State government will have theirs also, and as those of the former will be principally on the sea-coast and not very numerous, while the latter will be spread over the face of the country and will be very numerous, the advantage in this view lies also on the same side. The eventual collection under the immediate authority of the Union will generally be made by the officers and according to the rules appointed by the several States.

He had no conception of the realities of this day, when the Federal officials permeate the whole domain of the States, thronging the highways and scouting the bypaths, overawing with the insolence of power the citizen and overshadowing and challenging to interference the authorities of the States. Under our excise laws a system of espionage and oppression has sprung up which is a disgrace to our civilization, and finds a parallel only in the revenue system enforced with such cruel and heartless exactness by the English upon the poor, helpless, fallen Scots.

Revenue exactions seem to have been especially aimed at the article of tobacco. It has been thought wise by those charged with devising ways and means for the Government to hedge in this product with such refinements and complications and to load it down with such burdens that the ordinary agriculturist cannot comprehend it or steer clear of its breakers or scarcely hazard its cultivation. Even those whose office it is to interpret and enforce it are often puzzled, and have no uniform system for its application. So the plain, honest, man whose study is how to plant and cultivate, when to cut and how to cure, is often amazed to find himself in the iron hands of a deputy United States marshal, and arraigned in the criminal's dock for the violation of a crude statute of which he is as ignorant as the subjects of Caligula were of the laws hung so high no one could see to read.

But too recently I saw arraigned in a United States court, under an indictment for manufacturing and selling tobacco without a license, an old man. On his head had fallen the frosts of more than three-score winters. He was an old settler. From the western slopes of the Alleghanies, over half a century ago, perhaps, he had caught the glimpses of that star of empire which beckoned him westward; and he heeded its invitation. With no fortune but a brave heart and a strong arm he penetrated the wilds of the western bank of the Mississippi, beat down the wild-brier and bull-nettle, and where not long before the smoke curled up from the Indian wigwam, he pitched his tent, felled the forest, and hewed out his humble home. Unambitious of the world's glory and its ignoble strifes, he sought alone that peace and happiness which spring from honest industry and a competency.

As had been his custom for many years, he planted a few acres of tobacco on this homestead where he had reared his family. To one of his neighbors he had sold fifty cents' worth of tobacco. Learning in a few days that he had violated a law of the United States statutes, like an honest man he went to his neighbor to make restitution. But the greedy eye of the lurking spy was on him, and he was arrested. When his case was called this venerable old man stepped inside the bar and with a voice and face every tone and lineament of which bespoke the truth more eloquently than the advocacy of any counsel, he told his plain, unvarnished story, which was corroborated by his neighbors. The judge looked upon him with a pitying eye; but the cold, unrelenting rigor of the revenue law was such that no mercy was there, and the verdict of guilty went upon the record.

This is but one of many such instances illustrative of a bad law and its worse enforcement, by which the little homes and their all are swept from the poor, unsuspecting, and uninformed. Let it be modified. Let there rest upon our public statutes no law that has not in it the elements of mercy and reason. Let us strike down in our whole revenue system the prize-money of the spy and informer, who are but sleuth-hounds to scent the heels and beset the homes of poor farmers and workingmen. This is not the game for which in our public enactments we should set the fowler's net. If one-half the vigilance displayed by these hirelings in hunting down, without discretion or humanity, honest men had been exhibited in other directions, the pampered parasites of the Government, who have rioted for years in palaces of splendor and luxury under the very eye of power on stolen money, would long since have adorned niches in a felon's cell, instead of the drawing-rooms and parlors of stilted society.

No higher evidence of the viciousness of the present internal-revenue system could be adduced than the fact that with four taxable articles the officers and employes for its enforcement number 3,734, exclusive of deputy collectors, at an expense in the last fiscal year of \$5,606,000; penalties collected from the people under it amount to \$331,933,000.02; the amount paid to informers, exclusive of moieties, is \$231,317.94.

YANKEE SHREWDSNESS.

Dr. Bull Run Russell, wishing to express delicately the corrupt habits of a certain prince of India, wrote: "He is a very able man with strong commercial tendencies which are developed to benefit his own interests." So the long dominant element in this Congress, possessing unquestioned ability, have legislated to benefit most their own interests.

In 1870 when a tax was imposed on incomes and salaries the amount of internal revenue collected from the different States was more nearly equal; but with its abolition the following table shows how the great bulk of this burden rests upon the South and West:

Amount of income paid in 1870 and 1875.

States and Territories.	1870.	1875.
Alabama.....	\$595,700 17	\$115,689 37
Arizona.....	15,616 43	10,263 06
Arkansas.....	369,254 10	75,377 44
California.....	4,602,439 31	2,938,033 26
Colorado.....	73,910 34	70,531 82
Connecticut.....	2,564,477 14	627,717 96
Dakota.....	8,715 61	10,040 18
Delaware.....	451,985 70	260,331 03
District of Columbia.....	514,482 20	112,226 69
Florida.....	106,318 42	184,777 59
Georgia.....	1,144,241 35	388,226 84
Idaho.....	65,424 05	19,136 00
Illinois.....	18,364,366 66	17,634,636 71
Indiana.....	5,045,023 82	4,633,789 05
Iowa.....	1,377,981 34	1,040,217 69
Kansas.....	343,231 15	133,685 86
Kentucky.....	9,887,623 73	9,025,587 88
Louisiana.....	2,981,524 02	606,264 38
Maine.....	807,224 36	107,473 15
Maryland.....	5,438,472 91	2,760,736 57
Massachusetts.....	10,684,090 19	2,708,014 29
Michigan.....	2,918,987 30	1,931,224 80
Minnesota.....	467,879 15	228,362 45
Mississippi.....	224,792 49	96,967 92
Missouri.....	6,004,278 11	4,594,875 31
Montana.....	103,555 55	23,666 10
Nebraska.....	308,501 51	292,472 30
Nevada.....	188,027 45	58,803 30
New Hampshire.....	632,407 38	529,359 55
New Jersey.....	4,075,359 85	2,363,469 41
New Mexico.....	46,627 22	22,666 19
New York.....	36,361,550 38	15,238,881 81
North Carolina.....	1,398,719 95	1,630,423 58
Ohio.....	19,568,743 80	14,662,720 17
Oregon.....	329,212 01	47,939 64
Pennsylvania.....	16,748,704 05	6,157,960 04
Rhode Island.....	1,282,376 69	231,978 00
South Carolina.....	412,039 59	122,277 92
Tennessee.....	1,470,859 57	861,645 28
Texas.....	390,054 33	258,297 29
Utah.....	46,296 41	34,899 68
Vermont.....	352,316 65	58,582 18
Virginia.....	5,496,351 39	7,660,921 20
Washington.....	83,272 63	21,146 60
West Virginia.....	756,967 15	508,868 20
Wisconsin.....	2,363,015 03	2,722,076 75
Wyoming.....	25,879 82	11,942 11
Total.....	167,560,107 49	103,771,664 60

From the State of Missouri alone, with a population of about 2,000,000, there was collected in 1875 \$4,594,875.31, while the whole six New England States, on an aggregate population of about 3,500,000, paid only \$3,989,810.75, less by \$603,064.02 than one western State.

SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS.

On the 18th day of June, 1874, an act of Congress was passed exempting from taxation all deposits in associations known as provident or savings institutions on sums not exceeding \$2,000. This exemption is not confined, as under the law of 1866, to that class of institutions having no capital stock and doing no banking business, but is extended to those of like name having a capital stock and declaring dividends. Under the operation and cover of this law the six New England States in May, 1875, on an invested capital of \$13,291,767, had a deposit account of \$432,077,436, making an aggregate of \$445,369,203, of which there was taxable only the sum of \$70,625,228. The single State of Missouri had in such banks a capital of \$9,226,683 and deposits \$35,723,844, making an aggregate of \$44,950,527, while her taxable sum for the same period was \$48,192,328.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his late report shows that the average amount of capital held by these banks and bankers, not national, in May, 1875, was \$200,316,008; that the average amount of their deposits in the same month was \$1,346,014,813; the total of capital and deposits in the same month was \$1,546,330,911. The amount of the taxable capital and deposits of these banks and bankers during said six months was only \$780,494,076, or a little more than three-quarters of a million of dollars, while the amount of the actual capital and deposits of these same institutions was in round numbers \$1,546,000,000. The Commissioner says:

It will also be apparent from the table how unequally this taxation is distributed among the States. Thus upon a given amount of capital and deposits the tax on California as compared with Massachusetts is as ten to one, on Michigan as compared with the same State as sixteen to one, on Virginia as compared with Vermont as five to one. The city of New York, possessing of taxable capital and deposits \$50,000,000 less than Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut combined, pays a tax three times as great as these States. While these same States, having capital and deposits three times as great as California, pay about one-half the tax thereon that is paid by California.

No wonder New England in the aggregate is so true to republicanism when republicanism is so true to her.

'T is their duty, so all the learned think,
To 'spouse the cause by which they eat and drink.

As she looks first at her bank account and then at her tax receipt, she might well exclaim, "*Mutare vel timere sperno*"—I scorn to change or to fear.

TARIFF.

Not content with all this, she joins hands with the Key-stone State and a few recruits scattered over other States, armed and equipped as they are with every offensive and defensive weapon, bright and gleaming with the burnish of syllogism, antithesis, and sophism, to bolster up and continue that relic of barbarism called a protective tariff, but which it will be hard to persuade a plain man, not a participant in its monopoly, is not a license to nine millions of people to rob thirty-one millions.

A half a century ago the argument of the high tariffites was that our American manufactures should be protected during the country's infancy, but when the country was maturer and its position among the commercial powers of the world was assured, then the fostering hand of the Government might be withdrawn. Well, this Republic is now one hundred years old—a rather tough old infant, and with teeth so sharp and keen as to make it a little unpleasant, I should think, for it to be tugging at the paps. But the Vulcan of the iron-works of Pennsylvania, Judge KELLEY, whose transcendent ability enables him to serve a bad cause as well as a good one, comes forth to forge a new argument to take the place of the old worn-out one. He argued on this floor not long since that when the Government was young, dependent, and undeveloped a free trade might be needful; but when it had grown into full manhood, and its mines and manufactures pervaded, then protection was an absolute necessity! Both of these arguments and theories cannot be true. And a plain, fair, free-thinking man will more than suspect that when the one has served its purpose, if it be at once abandoned for another, both are probably impudent shams and pregnant falsehoods.

A tariff for revenue may be tolerated as a sacrifice of individual interest for the maintenance of Government, but when its object goes beyond that to build up individual interests at the expense of the many, it is a perversion of the very objects of just Government and a travesty of democratic institutions whose chief element is equality of right.

The highest right pertaining to property is the right to freely exchange it for other property.

When therefore, a farmer on his own homestead, with his own hands, raises more corn and wheat than he consumes, and under the privilege which is his goes to a foreign market with this surplus and exchanges it for what he needs most for home use, such as woolen cloth, that cloth is as much the product of his toil and sweat as though he had produced the raw material and fabricated the cloth; and when he is stopped on his return trip at our port of entry and told that he must pay a duty on this cloth of 50 per cent. for the purpose of protecting some home manufacturer, he can never be made to understand that it is a "blessing in disguise." When the poor mechanic or day laborer has worked hard all day for his one dollar or dollar and a half, and goes home to find his little ones shaking and burning with malarial fever, and he must go to a druggist and pay \$2.20 for an ounce of sulphate of quinine instead of \$1.56, only because two companies in the State of Pennsylvania are engaged in its manufacture, he can never be made to feel happy and content as he returns home to sit with superfluous stomach chewing the cud of Judge KELLEY's philosophy on the blessings of a tariff to the poor man. Doubtless if the judge's constituents had had erected near by a butcher-stall when it rained meat over in Kentucky, he would have cited precedent and "drawn the thread of his verbosity" for the establishment of a port of entry for foreign meat in Bath County! This phenomenal shower undoubtedly did interfere with "home industries," for it is said that every "mother's son" of the fifteenth amendment quit all manner of work and sat down to rejoice, and sang—

I tells you, niggah, once for sho',
Dis chile work neber any mo';
For you kin jes look to the groun',
Where de Lord frows de mutton down.

Journals like the Bulletin belabor us with essays to prove that protection cheapens the price of commodities. If its tendency be to reduce prices to a starveling grade, why is it that the manufacturer clamors for its continuance? If there be one characteristic of the American more conspicuous than another, it is that he does not expend his energy and talent willingly except in the line of his personal aggrandizement. If a duty of 25 per cent. should cheapen the commodity in the same ratio by the *argumentum ad absurdum*, a duty of 100 per cent. ought, upon the same parity of reasoning, to make it sell for nothing. And if protection so modifies the price of the commodity, where is the manufacturer's profit? And why does he contend for a system that promotes competition and low prices? Surely in all the years since 1842, if the tariff alone reduced prices, Congress had not been beset by the protected classes for its continuance. If, notwithstanding the duties imposed on every article imported from abroad, the importers can yet enter into competition with our home manufacturers reducing the prices owing to the abundance of foreign material, the cheapness of labor, improved mechanism, and skilled labor, combined with like causes at home, what might we not witness if the embargo of impost duties were removed? If it be true that a high tariff be essential to protect the life of our industrial interests against European pauper labor and superabundant material, it is a curious process of ratiocination by which it is explained how our manufacturers of calico and other articles are boasting of becoming exporters and selling in the markets of Europe.

Beyond all question protection possesses a reducing power in a given direction. If any one doubts it let him look into the statistics of

OUR AMERICAN SHIPPING.

In 1860, before the present tariff system, the heart of every American citizen beat high with patriotic emotion as he went upon the high seas and wherever his eye turned beheld our flag streaming from the masthead of every ship floating our commerce. Then the tonnage of our vessels entered and cleared with cargoes at our ports from and to foreign countries was 12,086,209, while the tonnage of the foreign vessels was 4,977,916. But to-day our flag has almost disappeared from the seas. In the fiscal year just passed the tonnage of American vessels had shrunk to 7,310,589, while that of the foreign vessels had increased to 16,278,728; so that, while ours has fallen in these fifteen years 40 per cent., the foreign vessels have increased 250 per cent. The protectionists say the reason for this is that "our capital finds more remunerative employment in some other business." Pray tell me where is that remunerative business?

In the year just closed there have been eight thousand prominent failures in business with the spectacle of half a dozen States in default on their interest, unable to meet their obligations. Paralysis seems to have seized all enterprise; pauperism is crowding our almshouses and driving virtue mad with squalor; the ruthless plowshare of social caste, worse than feudalism, is plowing its way through the land, while on either side of the widening chasm are to be seen our debtor and creditor classes, the one gaunt with famine and mute with despair, the other plethoric with bonds, eager with greed and clamorous for immediate resumption and more protection. And though our western fields bloom and groan under loads of golden grain, and the cotton-fields of the South wave as if all Dixie floated with white banners, tokens of peace to the country, yet all is gathered and turned over to the tax-gatherer and to monopolizing tariffs. The truth is the money wrapped up in bonds and in the so-called provident banks is hid away from assessors, so that the whole burdens of government fall upon landed estates, personal property, and the industrial interests of the country. This it is that makes capital timid. This it is in part that hoards money in banks. It skulks from the tax-gatherer. It shrinks from investments in property the value of which no economist can foretell a year. Protection on lumber and iron and all the materials of construction has hushed the din of busy industry in our ship-building docks and made the shores of England resonant with the cheerful hum of the employed artisan and mechanic.

Publicists and financiers may read us essays on the laws of nations and trade until our ears are tired with the monotony of their maxims; but the plain road after all is that taken by the Committees on Appropriations and Ways and Means to bring at least moderate relief to the people of this country. The one checking the lavish expenditure of public money, breaking down the idea that the governmental departments are a sort of eleemosynary institutions for the support of political "dead beats," our diplomatic service fat places for partisan parasites who beset the Federal board for crumbs and honors, administering the Government on the broad idea of frugality without parsimony, efficiency without prodigality; the other recognizing the necessity of a large yielding revenue system to meet the country's indebtedness, yet laboring to restrict our excise and custom laws to a revenue basis, thus unloosing the iron grasp of tariff monopolies, allowing other industrial interests a breathing-spell, and inspiring the producers and laborers to look beyond the scanty confines of their present paltry fortunes to a day when he who sows shall reap and he who plants shall eat the fruit of his labor.

The American Congress, in view of the weight of debt on the people, have one plain, unflinching duty before them, to see that it is not increased. No maudlin sentimentality nor that spasmodic, emotional, gushing philanthropy and patriotism which somehow seizes all parties on the eve of a presidential election should betray us into bequests of millions on millions more of money that must be wrung like teeth or drawn like blood from a suffering, struggling people. Extravagance and corruption have filled the whole land with a plentiful harvest of "pious prostitution and reverend rascality." Severe and solemn is the duty of the hour which demands that we should bring back the country to that condition of public virtue in which we shall have patriotism for partisanism, liberty with law, and government without oppression.

Mr. HOUSE obtained the floor, but yielded to Mr. ROBBINS, of Pennsylvania, who moved that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. HOLMAN having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. CLYMER reported that the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union had according to order had under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 3375) making appropriations for the naval service for the year ending June 30, 1877, and for other purposes, and had come to no conclusion thereon.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The hour of half past four o'clock having arrived, under the order made this morning, the House now takes a recess until half past seven o'clock this evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House re-assembled at seven o'clock and thirty minutes p. m.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman from Vermont [Mr. HENDEE] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. HENDEE. Before offering the resolution in relation to the acceptance of the statue of Ethan Allen, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. FREEMAN.]

TARIFF.

Mr. FREEMAN addressed the House on the bill in relation to the tariff reported by the Committee of Ways and Means. [His speech will appear in the Appendix.]

FINANCE.

Mr. HENDEE. I now yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire, [Mr. BLAIR.]

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. Chairman, the most absorbing and important political issue of the day, excepting the condition of the South and the purposes of her leaders, is the industrial and financial condition of the whole country.

As in all confused discussion of questions, the determination of which is within the limit of human powers and required by human necessities, so in this, one of the chief difficulties arises from the fact that fundamental truths are overlooked or ignored, and the combatants strike wildly at phantoms in the air, false theories and issues abound, and secondary questions are elevated into undue importance, when careful examination of elementary principles and reflection upon them, until they are clearly comprehended, would lead all sound minds to the same conclusions.

I conceive that the real contest now raging in this country is not between those who differ as to the when and the how of returning to specie payments—that is, to coined property as the best visible representative of abstract value, and its most accurate and unvarying measure in contracts and exchanges—but between all who believe that value requires a concrete measure, in order that mankind may transact the business of life, a belief which is a part of the soul, an innate idea clearer than an axiom, and illustrated by the spontaneous and necessary practice of the human race in all ages, both in the barbarous and in the civilized states, under all forms and under no forms of government, because independent of and more necessary than any government to the existence of men, is a material standard of value, which in itself possesses value as a commodity; and those, on the other hand, who deny totally this theory of all time, and claim that real money is not intrinsically property, but a mere token or sign, endowed with power to cancel debts by positive law, which enforces its mandate by denying further remedy in the courts. In other words, it is a dispute as to the real nature and uses of money and of exchange.

PRIMARY TRUTHS.

I beg pardon for calling attention to a few primary truths. First, to the universal law of labor. Compliance with this law alone creates value. Labor is that which confers values. Without it few commodities would exist at all, and those which did would lack essential worth; and the relative value of all depends upon the quality and amount of intellectual and manual labor bestowed upon them. Kindly nature furnishes the clay and straw, but we must apply labor or starve. Skill results from practice, and hence every man devotes himself to the production of some particular thing and not of everything in general. This is the division of labor.

Again, resulting from compliance with this universal law and the further truth that labor belongs to the laborer, because man is not a slave, is the essential and inalienable right of every man to the ownership of that which his labor has produced and to dispose of it as his inclination or wants require. Now the primal wants of mankind are food, clothing, and protection from the elements. These are in the highest sense necessities, for without them life cannot exist; and there is a great diversity of employments and productions for the purpose of supplying these wants. And as no man has produced or can produce all that is necessary to enable him to live, men must exchange the produce of their industries. Here lies the fundamental idea of convertibility. It is found imperfectly in exchange by barter, that is, the exchange of articles which have no common measure of value, and which are the immediate objects of desire between the parties; as, for instance, when a farmer desires to exchange the produce of his fields with the manufacturer of cloths who is in want of food. The inequality of the relative value of the things to be exchanged compelled the invention of money. I refer to real money, which is property, and not a creation of government; gold and silver being universally used as such by civilized people, because they have the quality of absolute convertibility among all nations. That is, a man having any kind of property can convert it into gold and silver, and that silver or gold will buy any property whatever in any country. But we should not lose sight of the fact that it is an exchange of properties just as much as where men swap horses or oxen or farms. In every honest trade or sale ever made there was, or was designed to be, an exchange of values, which had been produced by equivalent amounts of labor at some time applied to the commodities exchanged. If a horse is exchanged for \$100 dollars in gold, then if the sale is a fair and just sale, the average cost of producing and training horses of like quality is just the same as the cost of producing \$100 in gold coin.

Gold and silver are selected as the commodities which shall be used as the measures of values, because of their great worth in small

bulk, their scarcity requiring protracted labor to obtain them, their durability, malleability, and beauty, which render them desirable in the arts, for personal ornaments, and many other uses, all combining to give these metals uniformity of value and especially as money.

Now these precious metals do not cease to be property because they are converted into money, nor is the act of Government coinage necessary to make them money. Government can make them legal tender, and thus increase somewhat their usefulness; but they are money by virtue of their own nature and the universal assent and sanction of mankind.

A piece of gold is worth as much before coinage as afterward, less the charge of the Mint. Even if demonetized by act of government—that is, deprived of its quality as a legal tender—it will still continue in use somewhere among mankind as money, simply because it is made money by virtue of its own nature and its adaptation to the necessities of society. Thus it is apparent that real money may be defined as that form of property which is by its own intrinsic qualities adapted to facilitate the exchange of commodities in general, and therefore, by consent of mankind, applied to that use.

CREDIT.

But it is found by experience that credits must exist in the very nature of things.

Capital is a very broad term, and in one sense it embraces all the factors of production, land, implements, muscle, brain, in short all the elements of power applied to the creation of property. But the ownership of capital is often in the aged, the sick, the retired, the incompetent, in those who lack either the capacity or disposition to use it, while, on the other hand, those possessing capacity, endurance, and enterprise lack the accumulated wealth or capital which is the necessary foundation of business. These parties meet. It is natural and often indispensable for us to put faith in each other; it is generally kept. Here, then, is the foundation of credit, which is the transfer of an actual property for a promise or an act of the mind.

Now all that gives value to the promise when it is used as a medium of sale or exchange is confidence that it will be performed. Another promise replacing the first is not performance, although, if confidence, which is a state of the mind, remains unshaken, the credit may be extended by the substitution of the new promise for the old one. But it is apparent that the promise must some time be kept by an actual payment or redemption in actual property for that originally received, otherwise the creditor or his assignee is wronged and confidence, the basis of all credit, must disappear. Contracts are not always kept, and disputes arise as to their obligation; hence society establishes courts of justice, and these fortify our faith in each other by compelling performance, and thus serve as a most essential basis of credit. The judgments of courts must be paid, not in promises, but in property, if it can be found from which to obtain satisfaction. And here again arises a new necessity for the existence of money, or fixed measure of value known to the civil law, in which its decree may be intelligibly expressed and by which it can be satisfied, which measure of value is called legal tender. This should of course be and, when things are in their normal state, is gold or silver, the money of the world. Sometimes temporarily a nation is obliged to substitute for its own indebtedness and that of its citizens a promise to pay, instead of an actual commodity, as a legal tender, as, for instance, the greenback for coin. The greenback is a promise. Like that of an individual, its value depends wholly upon its being performed—paid; and it is only in that faith that it circulates among the people. The act of Government making it legal tender cannot give a permanent value to it. Replacing it with a new promise, whether a bond or otherwise, will give it no more value. Nothing but payment or belief in payment can give a permanent value to a promise. Payment in lies is poor stuff, no matter who tells them.

I trust the House will pardon me for the liberty I have taken in calling attention to these, as they appear to me to be, self-evident truths, because they are directly contravened by the teachings of able men upon this floor and throughout the land—teachings which, although they may be popular for a time, are in my judgment of pernicious effect upon the business and honesty of the country; and I beg leave to examine more closely the doctrines of the advocates of a paper currency not redeemable in coin.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF FINANCE.

"The American system of finance," so called, is to my apprehension substantially the same, whether expounded by the distinguished and eloquent gentleman from Pennsylvania or by the subtle and analytical intellect of the gentleman from Illinois, or by Mr. Britton A. Hill or General Butler in their able expositions of their views of the principles of finance and the proper application of those principles to the affairs of this country.

The substance of all their theories is, first, the abolition of property in any form as a medium of exchange and circulation, and, second, the substitution therefor of some cheap material, which, being stamped with a mark or inscription by which it may be identified and being made a tender by law for the satisfaction of debts both public and private, shall be money, and, by force of the statutes of the land, the only real money of the American people. Gold and silver will be demonetized, and will continue to exist only as wheat, corn, horses, houses, and lands exist; that is, in the form of commodities. They

could still be bought and sold, and by common consent could still remain in use as money; but they would not be money. Their transfer from hand to hand would be mere barter or exchange.

Now, under the system of finance which has thus far obtained upon earth, it will be observed, as already shown, that whenever men trade with each other, if there is any difference in the values of the properties exchanged to be adjusted, that difference is paid in actual money, which is just as much property as potatoes, iron, or tin, or that a credit is given for the balance that may be due; that is, a promise to pay it is accepted instead of the actual delivery of property at the moment of the principal transaction. The credit is simply payment deferred. Thus each party gets an equivalent value in property or in a promise, the performance of which is relied upon, and is therefore treated as property. But this new system abolishes both property and promise from the legal-tender circulation of the country. It substitutes for them an act of law compelling the creditor to receive a thing worthless in itself, having no substantial value except what lies in the law making it a legal tender. The new legal tender is to be no promise to pay, nor is it to be a commodity having any value in itself except what lies in the fact that the creditor is compelled to receive it or lose his claim absolutely. It is the same as to say that one grain of corn shall be legal tender for a farm, two grains of corn for two farms. Chips, shells, paper, bits of tin, iron, silver, copper, zinc, or gold, or any other substance capable of being marked or of receiving a durable impression can be made money by act of law, having a paying power according to the amount which the law shall prescribe without regard to the value of the thing selected to perform this function as a commodity.

A piece of silver which is now of the value of \$1 could be made legal tender for one hundred or one thousand; a five-dollar gold piece could by law be transformed into one or ten thousand dollars by act of Congress, while a bit of tin no larger than the ear of a mouse could be made a legal tender in full satisfaction of a debt of millions of dollars actual value in the coin currency of the world, according to the astonishing pretensions of this "new national system of finance," as it is reverently called by its advocates. It is better than the miracle of the alchemist performed. It does not, for it needs not, transmute anything into gold: for gold as money is no better than brass. It does better. It creates out of nothing, and, if made universal, would enable one of our enterprising Yankees, if he could get trusted for the universe, to pay for it with a wormy wooden nutmeg, provided it had received the Government stamp.

That I state the position of the advocates of paper currency, irredeemable in any kind of commodity by the Government correctly will be seen from the following extract from the speech of Hon. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, delivered on this floor January 29, 1876:

Money is a legalized agent, invented to facilitate the exchanges of property and products and to pay debts. To be fitted for the performance of these functions it must have uniform credit and equal legal powers in the payment of debts throughout the jurisdiction of the government instituting it and putting it into circulation. These properties or powers are imparted to it by the law making it a tender in the payment of debts, and are in no degree dependent upon the quantity or quality of the material by which they are expressed. The only thing that gives one substance the preference over another for the material of money is its superior convenience. It has no material value but only an immaterial or legal value.

And again, in Hill upon Absolute Money, page 47, the author says:

This national money should not have any intrinsic value whatever, nor should it bear the character of a "promise to pay," since in either case it would become a purchasable commodity, and the money of the nation must not be purchasable.

In his address before the New York Board of Trade, delivered October 14, 1875, Hon. Benjamin F. Butler says, page 19:

Third. I want that dollar—

Speaking of the dollar which he would introduce in his system of finance—

stamped upon some convenient and cheap material of the least possible intrinsic value, so that neither its wear nor its destruction will be any loss to the Government issuing it.

Fourth. I also desire that the dollar be made of such material, for the purpose that it shall never be exported or desirable to carry out of the country. Framing an American system of finance, I do not propose to adapt it to the wants of any other nation, and especially the Chinese, who are nearly one-quarter of the world.

Fifth. I desire that the dollar so issued shall never be redeemed. I see no more reason why the unit of measure of value should be redeemed or redeemable than the yard-stick with which I measure my cloth or the quart with which I measure my milk should be redeemed.

This issue, then, is fundamental. It must be settled. Here, sir, is the pivot upon which turns the whole financial question now agitating the country, and there never can be real business prosperity until the people have thought this thing through and out.

The advocates of the present financial system of this and of all nations assert that money is tangible property, the equal in value of that for which it is exchanged, and that where paper is a substitute for money it contains the promise of such value to be paid in true money on the part of the source of issue; and the confidence that such promise will be kept is all that gives permanent value and currency to any kind of paper or promissory circulation.

They assert that the proposed elimination of the promise of the Government to pay will destroy the value of any paper money which the American or any other government can issue. On the other hand, the advocates of absolute money deny this and claim that the promise is unnecessary, and the Government stamp and compulsory laws making paper legal tender for debts will make the paper the same or better than coin for all monetary purposes.

WHICH IS RIGHT?

Which is right? The answer to this question settles the whole discussion. Now, it is idle to say that Government has not the physical power to create a new legal tender, out of any substance or out of no substance whatever, for existing debts. It can abolish the courts and all legal remedies. It can repudiate its own obligations and decree universal liquidation of all debts, both public and private. The nation, by constitutional or other legislation, can prohibit the contraction or payment of any indebtedness whatever; that is, the power resides in sovereignty to confiscate all property of the citizen. But the question is not as to its power, but as to its right to destroy. I assert that the creation of a legal tender which the creditor is bound to accept in satisfaction of his debt, which tender is neither actual property having dimensions and salable value in the market and money of the world, of the same nominal and real worth as his demand, nor the promise of Government, nor of a bank, nor of any other party whose promise the law does not make equivalent to performance, is repudiation and confiscation, and nothing else. The creditor may be thus robbed of his existing debt contracted in good faith upon a promise to pay, but the operation will stop there. No man can be persuaded again to part with his property on trust. He will resort to barter, excepting so far as he relies for payment upon the force of honor, and credit will forever cease among men.

It is no reply to say that the greenback is a promise not redeemed, but is still accepted as a measure of value and medium of exchange, though fluctuating and far below the value of gold. Nothing gives the greenback the least value to tempt men into new commercial transactions but the belief that it will be paid. It is simply a broken promise, not bearing interest. The fact that the time when it will be paid is unknown depreciates but does not destroy its value, because there is still faith in the promise of the Government; and meanwhile it is available as a legal tender to discharge existing debts. It is true also that the fact that it bears no interest causes less depreciation than in case of an ordinary debt, the time of payment of which is uncertain and which bears no interest, for the legal-tender quality of the greenback keeps it in constant circulation. No man possesses a given bill longer than he is obliged to. He pays it out to cancel an interest-bearing debt which he owes, or lends it to some one who will pay him interest, and who in his turn cancels a debt, or engages in business with it as capital, the profits upon which he hopes will be more than equivalent to the rate he pays for its use. Thus, although payment is deferred, yet the ability and intention of the promisor to pay is not questioned, and there is but small depreciation of the Government promise; and whenever the time of payment is made certain, and is so nearly reached that the greenback can be profitably held as an investment, for the margin between its existing value and coin it is sure to be hoarded for the sake of this interest and gradually to appreciate to par value with coin, regardless of the amount of bills to be redeemed. Satisfy the holder of the greenback that he will be paid in gold dollar for dollar at a fixed time, and every one of them will be already funded except what the demands of the country keep in circulation as a medium of exchange.

But it is wholly incorrect to draw the inference, as the advocates of the "great American system" do, because the dishonored promise of the Government still floats that mere paper would do so, and I reiterate what I have already said to show why it cannot and the crime it would be to make the attempt. Every sale, or exchange, or commercial transaction whatever is an exchange of property or values supposed and agreed by the parties to be equal. It is so in the nature of things. It can be nothing else. Legislation is powerless to make it anything else. It would be an exchange of equal supposed values if there were no civil government whatever and a legal tender was impossible. The civil law can create nothing. It merely facilitates a transaction which would still be necessary and would still be the same if civil laws and courts for the enforcement of obligations were unknown. A sale or exchange is the same whether perfected among savage tribes or among civilized nations with laws prescribing a legal tender and courts to vindicate the sanctity of contracts, and will remain unchanged in the great millennial future when the machinery of government shall be abolished by the moral and intellectual perfection of the race. Individual men always have made and forever will make their agreements, and from the nature of man it will always be the case that each party will endeavor to get in property the equivalent of that with which he parts, both articles being measured by comparison with each other or by some common standard or measure of value. It is always the same, whether it be an exchange of similar or diverse articles, or miscellaneous commodities, or for that commodity known from the nature of its uses as money. The man who sells his horse for \$100 may just as properly be said to purchase the money as to sell the horse; one article is bought and sold just as much as the other; and this relation of buyer and seller is the only essential one known in commercial affairs. All other relations and agencies, the laws, customs, and rules of trade, banks and bank bills, commercial paper, coinage or governmental authentication of money or paper promises to pay, the courts, and all other machinery of commercial transactions, are only subordinate and concomitant facilities for the performance of that which, if none of these things existed, would otherwise be performed, though with greater labor and embarrassment, and imperfectly at the best.

Labor and the adaptation of the thing upon which it is expended

to the uses of man alone giving value, the Government can do it only incidentally in the way of protection against violence and fraud. The law can no more create a dollar in value than it can make a horse or a watch. It cannot give exchangeable value at all. It may arbitrarily regulate, although it has no right to, but it cannot create property. It has no right to interfere with property at all, except in furtherance of the general purposes for which governments are instituted among men, of which the protection, and not the arbitrary destruction, of the right of property is one of the chief. Now, when the Government steps in, and finding the relation of debtor and creditor universally existing among the people, says that wood or tin or paper shall be dollars, and that the tender of these worthless tokens shall extinguish debts, it simply confiscates by force. It utterly destroys that inalienable right of property which all just government is organized to protect, and becomes the robber of every creditor in the nation, and of every man who is not already insolvent; for every claim will be canceled by the same act.

Then, with confidence destroyed, who would trust his fellow-man or his country again, to be paid in nothing? It would drive society at once to the manual exchange of commodities, and contracts payable only in specific articles. And how easy for an unwilling debtor to divest himself of the specific article long before execution could be obtained by the tedious processes of the courts, and which must be satisfied in the specific article which the contract called for, because the legal tender of the country would be worthless. Commercial paper and bank currency would be utterly destroyed, because neither can exist unless convertible by law and by decree and execution of the courts into some legal tender having value as, or payable in, a commodity. Property would be destroyed, society would be reduced to barbarism, and ultimately the country would be depopulated, or rather, realizing at once the enormous villainy of the deed, the whole nation would rise and crush its perpetrators, re-establish honest government, and restore to circulation as the standard measure of values the honest dollar of our fathers.

DEALINGS WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

Besides, even if a currency which is neither property itself nor a promise to pay property could be made to circulate in our own country by reason of the fact that people must buy and sell, and that whatever will pay debts will have some value for that reason alone—an aspect of the subject to which I will call attention hereafter—how could our transactions with foreign nations be carried on? We should have no use for gold at home, except as an article of merchandise. We should require it for exportation as a commodity; but the demand for it as coin, as well as a commodity, in all the rest of the world would cause its constant exportation, whether the balance of trade was for or against us. The country would be emptied of its precious metals as fast as they were dug from the eternal mountains. What should we do, then, if the markets of Europe were closed against us by the chances of war, by foreign tariffs, or other causes which might prevent us from selling our commodities abroad, and thus obtaining those productions of other lands which are indispensable to the comfort and happiness of our people, and the possession of which constitutes a not inconsiderable part of the enjoyment of civilized life? How in case of insufficient production within our own borders, where we must buy or starve, and we have no gold, the money of the world, to sell?

The balance of trade against us, wherewith should we pay the interest and principal of that portion of our national debt now owned abroad? That, however, would probably be extinguished in the original act of confiscation, by virtue of which this vaunted system of finance is to be introduced. Grant, contrary to the fact, that in time of peace, so long as the balance of trade is in our favor, we should not export coin; but the time now is and must long continue, and in the exigencies of national life will often return, when the balance of trade will be against us. What then can we do without coin, or paper which promises coin and is convertible into coin by law and in fact? Accidents of climate and a thousand causes may deprive us of exportable commodities. Suppose, as is sure to be the case, that in the centuries to come we are involved in wars with the empire silently consolidating on our northern border, or with Mexico, with island confederations, or among ourselves; suppose that our mining regions are wrested from us and the existence of the Government seriously threatened, or that for any cause the immediate necessity for the precious metals, to enable us to purchase abroad the means of warfare, should become indispensable to the existence of the American nation; how would you get them with no credit, no coin in the country, and with nothing to export? Would your worthless tender avail at such a crisis, when delay would be destruction? Would you not then require either coin or credit—either the world's money or a market for your national promises, your bonds, payable in the money of the world at a future day? But perpetrate one such act of repudiation as is the very corner-stone of this vaunted "American monetary system," and the American flag would not sell for ten cents in coin, and the Government could not borrow enough on its bond to pay the disgraced Irishman who, in his generosity, might fill up its dishonored, self-dug grave.

No civilized nation can segregate itself from the rest of mankind and remain civilized. God has made of one flesh all the nations of the earth. Commercially there is but one nation, and this truth is

inexorable. That only is money which all commercial mankind recognizes as such. Political edicts may transiently interfere with nature, by establishing a legal tender which is not universal money, nor convertible into it by the holder, but the ruin which follows demonstrates the truth of the main proposition.

Urgent political necessity may override business necessity, and compel this to be done, as was the case in our country, but there is no other excuse. All that a nation has it will give for its life. Unless justified by such necessity it is a crime, and when, for such cause, an inconvertible legal tender exists, there is no possible extrication from industrial ruin but in a steady return to the money of the world and compliance with the laws of trade.

THE LEGAL-TENDER QUALITY.

But it is said that the proposed currency would have value, because being a tender for all debts, public and private, it would pay taxes. But what could Government do with the stuff? Having once repudiated its debts by issuing such a currency, who would voluntarily become its hired servant or its creditor again? Why, if such a currency is valuable without payment immediate or remote, should taxes be levied at all? Why not print more of it and abolish taxation, thus saving the dear people that burden which Franklin said was the only thing certain to the lot of humanity but death?

Let us apply this theory to the present condition of the country.

The national debt, including greenbacks, is about	\$2,200,000,000
The sum total of all debts, State, county, municipal, and personal, has been estimated at	13,000,000,000

Making in round numbers about	15,000,000,000
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It is proposed to pay this and do the business of the country with mere paper tokens, which are neither commodities, nor money, nor the promise to pay money. When, then, shall the system be introduced? If now, I propose to show that it is bald repudiation; if after payment of the national debt, that it is and will be irrelevant for many years and could never be introduced at all. By existing law, which cannot be avoided without a breach of public faith already pledged most solemnly both at home and abroad, the entire public debt is payable both principal and interest in coin. Now, if the public faith is kept, the whole problem will have been already solved, the country will have already discharged its obligations on a coin basis and will be free from debt. I take it that, whatever theorists might desire, if we should be able once more to place our currency and our business upon a specie basis all the powers and persuasion of this world would fail to delude the American people from their fast anchorage to coin as a measure of value. And if this "American system" of finance is only designed for introduction after the resumption of specie payments, and the national debt is paid, according to the contract between the country and its creditors, it is only an *ignis fatuus*, wholly irrelevant to the discussion of our present difficulties, and it is a matter of indifference to the American people whether this system might or might not work well in Utopia, or even on earth under conditions which do not and for generations cannot exist in this country, or whether it is a mere vision, or the dream of a poet, a philosopher, or an ass. No; it is idle to say that the advocates of this system mean to pay the debts or the interest on them in coin. Their remedy is designed to relieve the people of their debts by application to the present situation. The first step is indicated in the pending bill, sections 9 to 11 inclusive, and on page 6 of Mr. CAMPBELL'S speech, before quoted, as follows:

Sections 9 to 11 inclusive provide for the issue of Treasury certificates in payment of the debts and current expenses of the Government, which certificates shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, (except when it is provided that payment shall be made in coin,) and interchangeable at the option of the holder with registered Government bonds, bearing such equitable rate of interest as will distribute property and products to labor and capital according to the labor or service performed in production.

Now, these Treasury certificates or tokens are never to be paid, for they are not promises to pay. They are merely pieces of paper of convenient form and suitable texture for circulation, labeled with figures indicating that the Government has received value for them, and the amount of value which the creditor must give up when they are tendered to him. There will thus be thrown upon the country \$2,200,000,000 of these certificates, unless we repudiate the \$700,000,000 owned abroad, without any juggling ceremony whatever. The national-bank system and currency will be annihilated, because the national bonds which are their basis will be sequestered. The greenback will be canceled. The country will then be left with no circulating medium whatever save these \$2,200,000,000 of nothing—absolutely nothing but so much paper material, clothed arbitrarily by law with the power of extinguishing debts when tendered for that purpose. It will be of no earthly value except to pay debts, and those who thus receive it from this paternal Government can do nothing at all with it except to pay their own debts, as they have themselves been paid, or lend it to borrowers who desire to get it for the same purpose.

The amount of national-bank notes and of greenbacks, including fractional currency, is \$762,000,000; and this sum stands to-day at not more than eighty-eight cents on a dollar in gold, and much of this is not required by the business of the country. There is in actual circulation among the people to-day only \$532,000,000. Of the remainder \$60,000,000 is in the Treasury and \$170,123,699 is lying in

the banks. If now for these \$762,000,000 of unpaid promises we substitute three times that amount—that is, the whole national debt—of token legal-tenders, which are never to be paid, what will be the effect upon the dollar or circulating medium of the country? There will be more than three where there is now one worth eighty-eight cents in gold; and if the new currency was an unredeemed promise to pay a dollar in gold, instead of no promise at all, even then the inevitable effect would be to liquidate every debt in the country at less than thirty cents on a dollar. But these Treasury certificates are not to be payable—that is, redeemable—at all in anything, and as soon as they have once served their purpose of confiscating the debts of the country and have destroyed the existing relations of debtor and creditor and ruined America forever, I would like to ask any sane man to give a reason why these billets of death will be worth anything at all.

It is no reply to this inexorable destiny to say that the "system" contemplates the convertibility of this trash into the form of a bond with principal and interest payable in the same trash. Nor is it of any use to endeavor to escape the conclusion that this currency would be worthless by saying that only so much as might be necessary to perform the business of the country would be issued. Such is not the theory itself, but sometimes its advocates take to this subterfuge when driven to the wall. France is said to have \$33 of currency *per capita*. We have 44,000,000 of people, and at the same rate require \$1,452,000,000. But, it is said, we are far more active as a people, our industries more diversified, and our population spread over a territory as large as all Europe, so that we absolutely require more than \$2,000,000,000 of circulation, which, strangely enough, by this ingenious reasoning, amounts to just about the same as the national debt, which it is so much easier to repudiate than to pay.

DEPRECIATION.

But suppose that only \$700,000,000 of this robber currency should be issued, and that we should try to do the business of the country upon it and never pay the currency itself. The Government, however, will receive it for taxes, and of course pay it out to pensioners and public servants, and for all running expenses. Would or would not this currency depreciate? How can you make the people believe that a currency is good for anything when you tell them at the same time that it will never be paid? Surely legal-tender currency which the Government promises to pay in coin is no worse because of the promise of the Government. Divest your present legal tender of the promise of the Government, and it remains just what you propose to issue. If now the present legal tender is so far depreciated, and, as all concede, has played such fantastic and ruinous tricks with trade and business in the past, how is it possible to expect the new legal tender to approximate the standard value of gold, affording a safe and steady measure of value for the business of this country and ultimately of the world? No, it is self-evident that the new currency would not appreciate above the value of the greenback; and such is the constitution of the human mind that ordinary mortals will consider the solemn promise of a great, honorable, and wealthy nation to pay its honest debts as worth something. Repudiation, or the elimination of that promise from the new currency, will depreciate its value (if it should have any) somewhat at the outset, and you would be absolutely obliged to replace that depreciation with a still further issue, which would increase the evil like a salt-fish diet in the desert.

Next, having once paid and cheated the public servants, by putting upon them a currency which will not enable them to live in your employ, you must raise their salaries and increase taxes for the defrayment of all the expenses of government. And then there is the interest on the public debt, foreign and domestic, payable in coin, for I am now supposing that you merely replace the national-bank bills and greenbacks with your new tender; your tariff dues, as well as internal revenues, under this new order of things are to be payable in this depreciated and depreciating token tender, and with it you must buy your gold, already banished by your new "system" from the American market. You will have to increase the issue on that account. Thus from year to year taxes would inevitably increase, more paper tokens would have to be issued as long as any one would receive them. Pensioners would be robbed, at first partially, in the end utterly. The public service would be destroyed. As the Government would have no power to collect taxes in anything but this paper folly, it could get nothing wherewith to make purchases in foreign markets in any of the great exigencies of peace or war when the possession of or power to get coin by taxation would be indispensable to the existence of the nation. Under such a system of finance this country would require nothing further than a mule-skin for a winding-sheet and room enough on the back door of a mad-house to write its appropriate epitaph. It demands no reach of intelligence to see that the abandonment of the right to levy and collect taxes in coin—that is, in actual property—is the abandonment of the right of taxation itself. If taxes cannot be collected in that which the world will accept as money we are no longer a nation, and the further application of this delusion by the heavily-burdened governments of the States would effectually extinguish their local sovereignty and at once dissolve all forms of civil government in the land. There would be no remedy but instant revolution.

I have not dwelt upon the miseries which would be inflicted upon the people at large by the continual and unavoidable depreciation of

any legal tender not redeemable in actual property, either gold or other commodities. The bitter experience of this generation, even with a currency redeemable in coin, but upon which payment has been deferred, without, however, shaking the confidence of the people in the ultimate performance of the national pledge, ought to be a sufficient suggestion of the ten thousand times greater calamities which would follow such a deed of ill-designed repudiation as this scheme proposes to the American people. If the evils of a depreciated and irredeemed paper legal tender adopted under compulsion of war are not already sufficiently patent and destructive to warn us from the adoption of a system infinitely worse, having all the elements of calamity and dishonor which the financiers of the infernal regions could devise for us, it is useless for my feeble powers to attempt the impossible task.

There is reason to think that the gentlemen who have devised and advocated this system of so-called "finance" are misled in their judgment as to the magnitude of the financial evils which surround us and do not sufficiently realize the immense powers of payment and recuperation with which we have been endowed by a bountiful and benign Providence; and in their desperation, born of deep sympathy for the great prostration of business interests in some portions of the country, they have been tempted to seek escape from honest obligations at the expense of good faith, not designing, however, to recommend to the people a dishonest deed. They have really made themselves believe that this system could, by its magic and mystery, perform the impossible thing; and what wonder then if large numbers of men, to whom the study of finance is unknown, have embraced their plausible and comforting theories?

I devoutly wish that I could believe and act with them. I, too, am largely a debtor, and, if possible to see hope in their views, I should sleep far better o' nights myself. But I do not think that a disposition to exaggerate and overbeware the difficulties of the situation is beneficial or justifiable, and hence I feel called upon to pay some attention to doctrines upon the subject of

INTEREST

advanced by the honorable gentleman from Illinois. If his views are correct, it is an absolute impossibility for the business of the country to go on upon any system of finance. He informs us that the increase of property is not over 3 per cent. per year, and proves it by the statistics of the census. I will not contradict his premises, since I am not aware of the existence of reliable data to the contrary. He says that the average rate of interest paid in the country is not less than 8 per cent., which estimate is none too high. I also agree with him that, in my judgment, this is more than it ought to be, and that the true interests of borrower and lender would be promoted by a large reduction of the rate. I further agree that there now exists a large mass of contracts in all parts of the country, and probably this is particularly true of some portions of the West, where the inevitable result of these high rates, if they continue to be exacted, will be ruinous to the debtor and perhaps to the creditor also where his eagerness for high interest has tempted him to invest in hollow securities.

But allowing this to be so, what remedy has he to offer as an honest man? Unless the parties can agree, or the debtor can replace the existing with a cheaper loan, is there any other remedy but such as is found in the law of the land, either in the statutes of usury or bankruptcy, or in the enforcement of the obligation of contracts? The day fixed for the resumption of specie payments can be postponed if necessity requires it to be done; but is the legal existence of a large debt and a high rate of interest, as matter of contract, a reason for the introduction of a national swindle, under the specious name of the "American system of finance?"

But it should be remembered that the law of demand and supply regulates to a great extent the price of the use of money, or the rate of interest, as it does all the relations of value; and that during a period of universally high prices the rate of interest must necessarily be enhanced. On the other hand, when prices fall and things are adjusted and in their natural condition, whoever has good security to give can raise the money from some other source, or agree upon more favorable conditions with his creditor, and thus realize that reduction of interest which the times require.

As before stated, it is claimed that the average increase in the value of property in this country is not over 3 per cent. yearly. Does it follow as a logical conclusion that the rate of interest upon hired capital can be no more than 3 per cent. without ultimate loss to the borrower? Certainly the experience of men for generations has taught them otherwise in this country. I know of no State in the Union where the legal rate of interest has been less than 6 per cent. during this century; nor can the rate which the borrower can afford to pay be judged by a general and inflexible rule. So much depends upon the ability and good fortune of the borrower and the nature of the business in which the hired capital is expended that it is very difficult to see how the rate of interest can be regulated by the average increase of the specific property of the country. It would appear to be far more reasonable to suppose that the safe average of interest could be inferred rather from the increase of the valuation of the entire property of the country, for the reason that interest is the price of the use of property employed in the production of other property, and thus contributes to the enhancement of general values rather than to the multiplication of specific things.

Usually interest is paid upon capital employed in the more lucrative ventures and more productive business of the country, from which greater returns can reasonably be expected than would be indicated by the average increase of specific agricultural property; and it should be borne in mind that the average profits of agricultural pursuits, while surer, are less in amount than in other branches of industry; but the gentleman's method, as will be seen hereafter, even ignores the profits of the farmer, which he may invest in stock, bonds, and various other ways too numerous to mention.

The gentleman from Illinois overwhelms us with terrors born of false premises. He makes from the census an inventory of the farms and production of agriculture in 1850; and calling horses and mules \$32.50 per head, neat cattle \$12.80, sheep \$1.31, swine \$4, wheat per bushel \$1, corn and rye 50 cents, and oats 33¢, improved land \$16.09 and unimproved land \$8.04 per acre, he finds a total valuation of \$4,267,751,473. Each item of property being valued at the same price in 1870, he finds a total of \$6,288,115,219, or an average income or increase of 3 per cent. for each of the twenty years, after making what he considers a just allowance for the destruction of property and interruption of industry by the war. Now, if the gentleman's calculation had led him to compare the actual value of this property in 1850 with the actual value of all similar property in the country in 1870, there would have been greater probability of approximate, although not complete, accuracy in his conclusions. By comparing values thus, which I insist is the only proper way in a reasoning process—which in its very nature can be nothing but a comparison of values or prices—the census shows the following result:

	1850.		1870.	
	Number.	Value.	Number.	Value.
Horses and mules...	4,896,050		8,270,785	
Neat cattle.....	17,778,907		23,820,608	
Sheep.....	21,723,220	\$544,180,516	23,477,951	\$1,525,276,457
Swine.....	30,354,213		25,134,569	
Bushels of wheat...	100,485,944	100,485,944	267,745,626	431,618,439
Bushels of corn and rye.....	606,259,917	303,129,958	777,863,344	583,397,508
Bushels of oats.....	146,584,179	48,861,393	282,107,157	94,035,719
Acres of improved land.....	113,032,614		188,921,099	
Acres of unimproved land.....	180,528,000	3,271,042,469	218,813,942	9,262,803,861
Total.....		4,267,720,330		11,897,331,984

Being an increase of more than 278 per cent. in twenty years and 14 per cent. yearly. This is the true lesson to be obtained from the census reports if anything is taught by the gentleman's method. But in my judgment the result in any case is wholly unreliable, because it is utterly impossible to ascertain how much of the increase, both of specific property and of valuation, is due to the employment of hired capital, labor, immigration, inflation of the measure of value, and many other factors which have entered into the complex problem. We know the rates of interest which experience has induced mankind to establish by positive law, by custom of localities, and by agreement of parties; and the law of demand and supply operates with substantially the same results in fixing the price of the use of capital that it does in determining the price of any other element of production.

It is singularly inconsistent in the gentleman from Illinois, after making the tables of the census the foundation of his own argument, to turn round and accuse the source of his own information of unreliability and its authors almost of crime, as he does in these words:

The rates, as given in the census reports, are obtained by placing a fictitious valuation upon the several descriptions of property named.

It is accusing his own witness of lying whenever the testimony conflicts with his theory, at the same time that his own case depends upon the veracity of the same witness.

But there is no more reason to dispute the fairness of the estimated values than of the enumeration contained in the census. It undoubtedly contains in both respects the best data available. But even if values were inflated in 1870 as compared with 1850, in what way does that circumstance justify the views of the gentleman from Illinois? If our dollar was inflated, so was the interest. If the dollar was easier to get in 1870, so was the interest paid upon it, and the higher rate does not indicate necessarily a greater burden upon industry.

We pay interest upon just such a dollar as we hire. Interest fluctuates with prices, and will inevitably fall with them. In fact, interest during the last fifteen years has not held throughout the country so high a rate as the general prices of commodities, compared with what they were before the war. This fact is within the knowledge of every business man.

FALLACY.

Again, there is another most notable fallacy in the gentleman's deduction. He claims in twenty years an annual increase of 3 per cent. in the value of the agricultural wealth of the country. Now, what does that represent? Why, just what the borrowers have made and added

to the permanent value of their own wealth, after supporting their families, the Government, and payment of losses of the war by the billion, and these ravenous rates of interest besides. Thus, if his illustration is good for anything at all, it proves that the foxy farmers have filched 3 per cent. annually out of the unfortunate Jews and usurers of the land; and this is again proved by the well-known fact that never was the great interest of agriculture so prosperous as it has been for the last twenty-five years. I admit that the result is ludicrous and that his whole argument is false, but I am not responsible for it.

COMPOUND INTEREST.

Startling and sensational statements as to the magic powers of compound interest at various rates and for long periods have been made upon this floor which, whatever may be designed by their authors, are calculated to alarm debtors, to increase their disquiet, and kindle the latent fires of repudiation and communism, by creating the impression that all experience is unreliable, and that they are being devoured by voracious creditors, and as most creditors are also debtors, that in short they are eating themselves. For instance, it has been supposed here that had America been purchased in 1607 for \$1 and payment secured by bond payable with interest annually compounded in 1876 at 10 per cent., the amount would be—I have not verified the calculation—the very snug little sum of \$136,000,000,000; five times as much as the country will sell for to-day. Captain Smith or Newport, whichever it was, has therefore been ruined, or would have been if he had run in debt a dollar for this continent.

It is very much like supposing that if Adam and Eve had continued to multiply and replenish once in two years until the present time, and all their descendants had lived and had been equally prolific, then, saying nothing about twins and triplets, there would now be actually alive upon the earth a quantity of human beings in solid measure of more than thirteen and one-fourth times the bulk of the entire planet; and if all these people had been thrifty and saved one cent a year and invested it at 10 per cent. compound interest, the amount in currency at eighty-eight cents in gold would buy not only all the real estate there is in this world, but ten times as much as there is in the universe at double the Government price for public lands, and leave enough to do the entire sewerage for the main streets connecting the fixed stars and to pave the milky way with well-cut diamonds of the first water, nine feet cube, three thousand miles wide, (excluding sidewalks to be made of condensed rainbows three billion to the square yard,) and a distance of 996,834,329,648,196,314,983 thousand million billion trillion miles long. And I believe there would be considerable left in bank even then.

But the truth is that Captain Smith ought not to have run in debt for his continent unless he was going to pay for it within twenty years. Even a debt of record outlaws in that time. Then he would have got it for less than \$15, interest and all; and it does seem as though one dollar, especially in paper money, was cheap enough for such a farm as these 3,600,000 square miles, even at 10 per cent. compound interest. Almost any one would be willing to hire one dollar if he had a chance to make such an investment, yet the claim is made that he could not afford to, and this fanciful trash is sent broadcast over the land labeled mathematics, in order that the unthinking may not see the lie which such mathematics most certainly do tell. Really, has not the use of this 3,600,000 square miles of soil been worth something during the last three centuries? And if the rents and profits and net increased value had been invested in a sinking fund at the same rate of interest, it seems to me decidedly probable that Captain Smith and his heirs could pay up for the old place and have something laid by for a rainy day. It must be conceded that the down-trodden debtors of the Smith family have done well in this country on the whole.

The principle of interest upon interest does not exhibit its startling power for many years. It is in the interest upon the interest upon interest, and so on and on, which conceals the dynamic fiend of high interest at short intervals unpaid for long periods. Nearly all interest-bearing debts are discharged within the term of the statutes of limitation. If not, and year after year the debtor adds the interest to the principal, it becomes like the conflagration, which, while yet a spark, might have been extinguished by the breath of a babe, but neglected too long, raging, devouring, destroying, becomes a terrible master, where it had been an obedient slave, and even an indispensable blessing. Interest is rent upon capital in the form of money, and, like rent, should be paid when due, as it is often the only income of its owner. To him it may represent the necessities of life, just as to the borrower the use of capital hired may be essential to the transaction of that business from which he sustains himself and family. If not paid when due, it becomes a new debt or capital, for the detention and use of which there should be compensation.

Let any laboring-man count up the net savings which remain to him when wages are at the highest he has ever known, and then calculate whether he can provide for the contingencies of life and the decrepitude of age if obliged to invest his hard-earned and more hardily saved pittance at 3 per cent. What is true of his dollar is true of every other dollar. The experience of ages has given capital not far from 6 per cent. as a fair compensation for money used as an element of production. Whoever cannot employ it profitably at that rate should not contract debt at all unless unavoidably. He should rather, if in debt, go and sell all that he has and begin anew. No wiser

economic saying was ever uttered upon the shores of time than the erratic exclamation of John Randolph of Roanoke, upon this floor, when, in the midst of a prosy debate, he sprang to his feet from a profound reverie, crying at the top of his shrill voice:

Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker! I have found the philosopher's stone: It is pay as you go; it is pay as you go.

But we are in debt, and the path of liquidation is thorny and difficult. Still it is better to be honest with ourselves even if it disturbs our complacency. There is no patent method which pays debts by miracle. We must toil and save. We must rely upon our brains and muscles in the field of productive industry, and, circumscribing our undertakings within the limits of our own capital and capacity, let usurious money-lenders and moonshine speculations alone, attend to legitimate business, cultivate the home virtues, and the employments of common life. Be content with a humble lot. The day laborer in this happy land feeds at a table which would have tickled the palate of Alexander. Here nothing is so independent, nothing so honorable as honest toil; so grand a thing it is to be an American citizen. No man, unless already involved in heavy business, is obliged to follow any pursuit which requires him to borrow his capital, and no man should, without reasonable prospect of satisfactory return. And, as a rule, our people will not pay ruinous rates of interest long. Interest must fall and will fall as soon as confidence returns, and capitalists must seasonably heed the signs of the times; they should do so at once, otherwise production, now crippled, will cease, and general ruin stalk abroad. It is not to be wondered at, however, that the threat of repudiation, which is the inevitable consequence of the adoption of paper tokens for metallic currency, or convertible promises to pay, has startled capital and destroyed confidence. But for this, I believe that capital in abundance would be ready for investment all over the country in good securities at very low rates of interest to-day, and high loans could readily be replaced with others, and save many a farm and homestead which will now go to the block.

The remedy for excessive interest is in our own hands. What is needed is a steady head and a firm hand and comprehensive views in applying it. But appeals to the wild and communistic elements, which are latent in every society, exaggerated and agrarian declamation, will yield the fruit of anarchy and despair. But it is our duty to take a much broader view of the subject, for rates of interest will be adjusted by other causes when they are once set in motion.

THE REAL DIFFICULTIES.

The real difficulties of the situation remain, and it is our duty to address ourselves to the alleviation of the actual condition of the country. We have now a circulation of \$371,827,220 in greenbacks, the Government's dishonored promise to pay, not bearing interest; \$45,000,000 of fractional currency, the same in nature; and \$346,479,756 of national-bank notes, redeemable in and therefore of the same value as greenbacks; making \$762,523,690 in existence as a medium of exchange among the people. All this is worth about eighty-eight one hundredths of each dollar, and the greenbacks are a legal tender for all debts, public or private, except interest on the public debt and duties upon imports.

The existing contracts of the country, with exception of the national debt, have nearly all been measured at their inception by the dollar in currency, that is, eighty-eight cents in gold or less. Now, the problem which staggers the statesmen and business men and everybody in this country is on the one hand how to pay twelve cents on every dollar more than was originally received by the debtor and, on the other hand, how to transact the business of the country with a value measurer which is constantly fluctuating, and which, being already dishonored, will ultimately become a dead loss by depreciation unless the public faith in its redemption in coin is preserved intact.

But the loss of the currency is not the chief injury to be apprehended; its fluctuations operate precisely the same, only much more extensively, as would arbitrary and unforeseen changes in all the standards of weights and measures throughout the country on every day of the week, so that a man who had contracted to deliver bushels of sixty pounds might discharge his contract with forty pounds, or if in a pound of sixteen ounces he might be called upon to deliver thirty-two, or if for yards of cloth of thirty-six inches he might be called upon to deliver in yards of forty-eight inches or twenty-four; add to this the high percentage of profit which dealers demand to cover the increased risk of doing business, and which is in the nature of higher premiums for greater hazard in rates of insurance, also the perpetuation of the paralysis of production, industry, and commerce which already exists in consequence of the false relations of values growing out of variations in the standard used among the people, and from all these will inevitably result the destruction of the business and property of the country, as the process of depreciation and fluctuation hurries us with accelerated force to the bottomless pit of financial ruin. It is utterly impossible to remain stationary. Public confidence in a fixed measure of value, or in that which is least liable to variation, and which is therefore adopted by all nations as such, and that all commodities, credits, and values will continue to be measured and paid and estimated by that standard, is the thing to be attained.

Now, public confidence is a state of mind. The mass of movable

capital in the country, or that which is available for investment, is in the hands of those who believe that they will lose it if they part with it for investment in production, unless the country returns to a specie measure of value in the transaction of business; because a coin is the nearest possible tangible representative of the abstract value called a dollar, so that practically it and the coin are the same. The world, with its accumulated wisdom, drawn from reason and experience, both sweet and bitter, is with them, and capitalists can wait, and will wait, choosing to foreclose their mortgages, apply their securities and lose interest for a while, rather than risk the destruction of their principal in that final conflagration of all property which would follow the introduction of the American system of finance, or from a prolonged refusal to return to the standard of coin. Confidence, then, must be restored in the minds of those who have capital to lend. It is not sufficient to convince those heavily pressed with debt that more printed money is or is not a good thing.

Business cannot revive until men see that it is safe to invest more money and make new contracts; that they can buy and sell upon credit with reasonable hope that their capital will not be destroyed and that their labors will not be in vain. Producers must have hope of reward, as well as mere lenders. This faith in the future can never revive until the return to a coin standard, by resumption of specie payments, is placed beyond reasonable doubt. The time when is less material. If the people believed in it and it were possible to make this new patent system work, that would be a different case; but the very fact that they do not believe in it and that you cannot make them believe in it is the one unanswerable objection to the attempt to agitate and introduce the scheme. Confidence and belief are the same thing, and it would be the work of generations to supplant the existing faith of mankind in the precious metals as the only safe measure of values. It is impossible to eradicate this sentiment of the soul. Confidence, which is only another name for credit in business, is most emphatically a plant of slow growth; and there will be no such thing as prosperity ever again known in these United States until the American people resolve by an overwhelming public sentiment to place all business transactions upon the world's basis of value. Meanwhile the losses of the nation by the inactivity of production are enormous. It is counted by billions since the panic of 1873, when the bubble burst and we found ourselves face to face with the troubles which beset us still.

Probably every year we now lose at least the amount of the national debt by enforced idleness of the people. What intolerable distress all this implies imagination is powerless to conceive. There is no way for debtors to extricate themselves but to repudiate, and that is ruin, or to get to work once more, which cannot be accomplished until the coin standard is placed in process of ultimate restoration, and continual, although it may be slow progress in that direction, is absolutely assured and is recognized as a fixed fact by the nation.

OUR GREAT DIFFICULTY.

Right here we meet with our great difficulty. While they who see the true state of the case are combating upon methods of returning to specie payments, the confidence that it will soon be done or that it will be done at all until after years of calamitous experience and universal bankruptcy does not return, because the question between specie and the paper token is still undecided. The public mind is still confused by the plausible and entrancing charms of these sirens of the great American system of finance. If at once all political parties, by conventions held in every State and by unanimous resolution in Congress, would declare their fixed determination to return by safe and careful steps and by wise measures, especially considerate and just in their operation upon the debtor class, to a coin standard of values, and that meanwhile there shall be no step backward, no further inflation of the currency, no pernicious efforts to destroy the national-banking system, no effort to set up the Government as the great banker of the nation and make the amount of the circulation dependent upon the will of a partisan majority of Congress, the necessities of faction, or the howlings of a communistic mob, confidence would return, and our troubles would cease.

I believe the decisive battle is yet to be fought, and that more attention should be given in these debates to the discussion of the fundamental principles of finance. It is assumed that they are too intricate for popular apprehension. But either truth or delusion will prevail, and the American people are wonderfully intelligent and quick to comprehend their own interests. The subject is abstruse in itself. It can hardly be otherwise when men of great powers of mind arrive at directly opposite conclusions relating to our financial condition, its remedies, and the proper methods of their application.

The ultimate question which arises in the mind of the capitalist and of the business man is, will the people choose a mere paper token without value, or coin, as a measure of value? Will they choose repudiation or the observance of the public faith? The fact that there is such a question at all is what prostrates business and buries innumerable homes in gloom. And this great, broad question, embracing all others, the people will settle by virtue of the instinct of honesty, whenever it is fairly and fully presented, so emphatically that agitators will not be able to find the chasm wherein their theories disappeared.

It ought to be possible for this Congress unanimously to set this question at rest by action dictated by an expansive patriotism which

should eliminate the financial issue from politics. Any measure which provides for the gradual funding, payment, and cancellation of the greenback, at least until the amount is reduced to \$300,000,000, and for the necessary and gradual accumulation of gold in the Treasury and in the national banks, and which, by virtue of the means it provides rather than the profession it makes, is a pledge of the nation to resume specie payments, which involves the restoration of the coin standard of values, and which insures that result within a reasonable time, even though the exact date be not specified, ought to and, I trust, would command the support of a majority of all parties in Congress, as it most certainly would of the country.

Although, as I said before, the only possible extrication of those heavily in debt lies in the restoration of business activity, of production and markets for production, which can only be found among those who, having themselves been enabled to produce, have something wherewith to buy; and although the restoration of confidence depends absolutely upon an assured return to a specie measure of values, yet I do not consider it indispensable that any fixed time be specified. But there must be measures taken and laws enacted which will lead inexorably and constantly, though not too rapidly, to the specie standard, and when enacted they must be let alone by Congress and enforced by the Executive.

We have now a date fixed for resumption. The method provided by law to enable the Secretary to resume is by sale of bonds at par, bearing interest at 5 per cent. on ten years', 4½ per cent. on fifteen years', and 4 per cent. on thirty years' time, and none of these bonds can be sold at par in gold. With no more gold in the Treasury than is required for the ordinary uses of the Government and no authority to reduce the volume of the currency gradually by funding, the Department must be extremely embarrassed, and probably must fail to resume without additional legislation. If such legislation is denied, how will it be possible to keep faith with the public, to whom we have pledged resumption on the 1st day of January, 1879?

It is hardly too much to say that the hesitation and delays of this Congress to promptly grant power to the Secretary of the Treasury to buy gold by the sale of bonds which can be sold, and to fund the legal tender while the abundance of idle capital will permit this to be done at advantageous rates, already constitute a breach of the public faith, for the loss of time and opportunity has greatly decreased the probability that resumption can be accomplished at the time now fixed by law. It is no excuse for us to say that the law of January 14, 1875, is imperfect. It was good as far as it went. It was the utmost that could then be accomplished. It was supposed to confer sufficient power to effect its purpose. It was invaluable as the expression of the sentiment and pledge of the nation to the restoration of specie payments. As the act of 1869 was a solemn promise to pay the public debts in coin at some time, so this was an equally solemn pledge to pay so much of it as then should be due on the 1st day of January, 1879.

This pledge is the law of the land. It was a promise to supply the means by enacting the measures found to be necessary. It is a breach of public faith not to do so at once, since experience has shown that further legislation is required. But two and one half years of the four during which it was proposed to prepare diligently for resumption remain, and we have less gold now than when the law was enacted. Meanwhile we squabble—we do not intelligently maneuver—for position in the great presidential contest close at hand; and, while the clamor grows for the repeal of the date of resumption, nothing is proposed to be substituted which shall necessarily produce resumption at all.

What would be the effect upon business and credit to repeal the act of 1869? Still more disastrous would it be to repeal the resumption act and provide nothing in its place. It would be a substantial repeal of both acts, and would be notice to the world, and still worse to ourselves, that the word of the American people is not better than that of a common thief.

Bad as the state of the country now is, the repeal of the resumption act with nothing substituted in its place will destroy all credit and make our condition far worse. It is our duty first to supply all needful legislation with intent to carry out our solemn pledge. It is soon enough to extend the time when its near approach shows that an extension is necessary. There will be three sessions of Congress after this and two and a half years' time prior to the date now fixed by law for resumption; but it is legislative shystering, by our present neglect, to compel the breach of our solemn pledge. We well know that to attempt resumption and fail would cover our country with a pall; it would ruin this generation; and there will be good sense enough extant when the time comes not to commit suicide. But if we go resolutely and honestly to work in these Halls and at the other end of the Avenue to make the necessary laws the people will concentrate their energies upon the accomplishment of the great event. Confidence will be restored at once, and the two years next to come will witness such a revival of industry and increase of our credit at home and abroad, as will either enable us to resume at the time indicated or after an extension very slight at furthest and wholly free from shock.

It is then a duty, not merely the dictate of expediency, to provide the means as rapidly as possible and resume at the earliest practicable moment. Men will understand it. There will be a policy permanent, safe, and we shall be on our way to the golden gate. It will be certain

that our measure of value cannot fluctuate in any substantial degree. It must gradually rise to par with coin. It might even so exhilarate and stimulate the nation, which is really a giant bound with gossamer, as to bring about resumption before 1879. Sell bonds of small as well as large denomination, payable principal, with low interest, in gold, on very long time, in the best market possible, which is the home market; but sell them somewhere, and accumulate gold. A circulation of five hundred millions cannot be floated without three hundred millions of coin in the country. We have less than one hundred and fifty millions, of which twenty millions is silver. We ought to accumulate fifty millions or more yearly, and fund all the circulation not required by the wants of trade besides. Meanwhile our people would economize; capital would flow out into all the now stagnant currents of business once more.

Our teeming soil and the glittering treasures of the mountains will contribute inexhaustibly to returning prosperity. Every branch of industry will revive, and the despondent debtor will see light breaking in upon his pathway through all the varied avenues of profitable production. Real, and nearly every kind of personal property will rise in value at once, for values to-day are below the standard of gold, and the restoration of the old and tried measure of value will by the stimulation of prices more than pay the margin of 12 per cent. which the debtor fears to lose in passing from currency to coin. Resumption of the coin standard is chiefly an effort of the national will—a mental operation. It is the inexorable resolution to resume, and providing the ways and means to do it. The country demands a bold, strong act; it should be proposed at once; the path is plain.

TARIFF AND SPECIE PAYMENTS.

But I desire to offer some considerations upon the connection of the tariff with the resumption of specie payments.

I believe that this subject is at the bottom of the whole question of resumption. Resumption by the Government merely is comparatively easy. The heavy margin of loss to debtors, which lies between the measure of currency and that of gold, is the real difficulty. Almost every debt not payable by its terms in coin has been contracted by a measure of not over eighty-eight cents in gold for a dollar; and justice would be attained by making eighty-eight cents in gold a legal tender for every dollar of debt contracted at that or a lower measure in currency. If at the same time every new contract made on or after July 1, 1876, was measured, that is, made payable by coin, all business would be at once upon a specie basis. Eighty-eight cents in gold is all that creditors would receive if they were paid in full to-day; and with property depreciated below coin values, as they were before the suspension of specie payments, this is certainly sufficiently burdensome to debtors. Creditors would really get into their hands more property in satisfaction of their debts than if paid in gold values when business is active and prices are in their normal state, and an amount in gold which at interest would increase more than the 12 per cent. before resumption will be reached.

But such are the complications of the subject, and the conflicts of interest, opinion, and prejudice, that no measure of this kind will be adopted by the country, and the only solution is to take such measures as will enable producers to work out this large margin of 12 per cent. between currency and coin. And here we behold a wonder indeed. Just at the very time when all experience and common sense dictate a very large addition to our average tariff upon all foreign articles which compete with American industry and labor, we are met by a proposition to reduce the tariff. It seems as though, not satisfied with mere ruin, the statesmen who attempt a scheme like this were emissaries of a foreign nation, and were anxious to seize the moment when we are prostrate to take our life.

After the disasters of 1837 and 1857 we found relief by raising the tariff. We saved the country in 1862 by increasing the tariff. We have since too largely reduced it while the consequences of the war still remain, and now, just at the time when we ought to adopt a tariff almost prohibitory, this branch of Congress, under its acknowledged leadership, undertakes to legislate in the interest of free trade, so called, which is really the slave trade of American industry. True, a very high tariff checks importations and lessens the revenue derived from them; but, on the other hand, by its magic influence upon home industry and wealth, its irresistible stimulus to wages, immigration, and home markets, the taxable property of the country is increased in far greater proportion.

Foreign importations have drawn from us more than \$1,000,000,000 in gold—the balance of trade against us since 1863—almost every dollar of which might have remained in America under a higher tariff, for American industry ought to be so protected as to supply American wants. An increased and properly adjusted tariff would increase the wealth of the country within two years more than the entire 12 per cent. of the margin of increased indebtedness which must be paid in passing from the currency to the coin dollar. The debts of the country, public and private, are estimated at not more than \$15,000,000,000, of which 12 per cent. would be \$1,500,000,000. The entire production of the great interest of manufactures in the United States in 1870 was estimated at \$4,232,325,442. Under the present stagnation of industry, which, unless experience is a lie, would disappear under the fostering care of a high tariff, the value of manufactures of the country cannot be more than 60 per cent. of that which it would be in what are known as good times—that is, when every one is at work—

which makes a difference of \$1,692,930,176 in the cash value of the annual production in a single department of American industry; actually more than enough to enable the debtor class to pay the difference between their debts in paper and in coin, and almost enough to pay our entire bonded debt.

When we consider the impulse which a high tariff, by increasing wages, would give to immigration and to the value of agricultural production, by creating a more active and extensive market at home without decreasing the demand for our breadstuffs abroad, and the revival of labor all over the country; the construction of great lines of railroad communication along our northwestern and southwestern borders, which would be resumed with confidence if our people only could see that Congress was determined that American producers should be protected by American law, who can doubt that under a judicious increase of the tariff the people would lift up the burden of specie resumption like a strong man rising from sleep, and that the face of honest toil would once more beam with the sunshine of hope?

But no such prospect is before us now. This Congress has been urged by the leaders of the majority of this House not only to reduce the ordinary imports upon foreign articles competing with those of American manufacture, but even by a counter-craze to heavily tax almost the only indispensable articles for which we must depend wholly upon foreign nations, tea and coffee, the common solace of all. The men who cry out for free trade and gold dollars at the same time are cannibals, eating both their ancestors and their descendants, and yet howling for more population. They murder industry while they double its burdens. If there is no stop put to this insanity, the financial funerals of the money-centers of the country will ere long toll in fitting correspondence to the wail of the mechanic by the silent factories of New England, from the husbandman on the mortgaged prairies of the West, and from the devastated cotton and sugar plantations of the South.

But wiser men will come after us, and another Congress will lay the foundation for the permanent maintenance of specie payments by an increased tariff for the protection of American production.

NATIONAL BANKS.

There is one other important factor whose agency in the process of resumption is of great consequence, although not indispensable, to success, in regard to which I crave permission to offer a few additional observations. I refer to the national banks. They control to a great extent the movable capital of the nation and can greatly facilitate the process of resumption. The fate of business men is largely in their hands. They are now strong. They have passed through years of great prosperity, and they owe to the country which has fostered and enriched them now, while it is passing through the crisis from currency to coin, the most equitable, elevated, and patriotic action. This aid should be given by extending to business men every possible indulgence consistent with safety, by reducing rates of interest and discount, and by fortifying the hands of Government continually and in every exigency which may arise.

Not only duty but self-interest demands this course of conduct upon their part. Their continued existence as banks of issue may depend upon the exercise of an enlarged liberality to the debtor and business classes in this time of their utmost need. Based as they are upon the unimpeachable credit of the Government bonds and the personal liability of stockholders, and at the same time subject to action at law, as the Government is not, for the collection of its notes and promises when dishonored; non-political in their organization and influence; free from partisan control, which might adapt the volume of currency to its own purposes and to the ruin of business if it was issued directly from the Government to the people, the national banks have furnished to the country the safest and best circulation it has ever known except gold and silver. It is an act of great injustice to these banks, and, since they must for years remain an integral part of our money system, a great injury to the nation, to endeavor, as is so frequently done, to create prejudice against them by producing the impression that their profits have been greater than those of ordinary banking under the former system established under the laws of the States, and that they are merely licensed beasts of prey.

The national banks have first been obliged to buy the Government bonds and pledge them to secure their circulation, in the same way that the State banks were accustomed to pledge interest-bearing securities as the basis of theirs. The State bank issued circulation to the amount of one, two, and in some cases even three times its capital, the national bank only 90 per cent. of the amount invested in Government bonds. As banks of issue, both derived their profits from the interest upon their notes loaned. In no event could the Government, any more than the States, have any interest in the business of either system as banks of deposit, that being a purely private business, except to exercise the power of taxation upon deposits, which the Government has done with great profit to the revenues, while the State governments impose upon their capital an average tax of 2 per cent., and the aggregate of State and Federal taxes upon these banks is 4 per cent. upon their capital.

It appears from the official reports of the Treasury Department of the current year that the bonds bought by the national banks of the Government and held by the Government as security for the redemption of their notes in circulation as money were worth, on the 1st day

of November last, at par, \$361,498,112, and that, if the banks were destroyed and the bonds again distributed among the stockholders, they would sell in open market for \$425,840,533. The total value in currency of the yearly interest on these bonds was \$22,264,312. Now, this interest, it should be observed, is upon a principal bought and paid for by the stockholders and should be paid to them just as it would be if they were not engaged in banking at all.

The banks pay an annual tax of 1 per cent. of their circulation, or \$3,253,482, which leaves the banks \$19,010,830 in currency as the net amount of interest derived from their bonds; and I again call attention to the fact, which, unaccountable as it may seem, vast numbers of people overlook, that this interest is the same as that which the stockholders would have received if their money had been invested in real-estate mortgages or other securities, irrespective of their connection with any banking corporation whatever.

Upon the bonds deposited with the Treasury, the banks receive 90 per cent. of their par (not their market) value, in national-bank bills, or, November 1, 1875, the sum of \$325,348,260. They are required to deposit 5 per cent. of this—\$16,267,413—in the Treasury as a redemption fund, leaving only \$309,080,847 for actual use for banking purposes. Eight per cent. is assumed by the honorable gentleman from Illinois as the average interest received on this, which will produce an income of \$24,726,467. Add to this the actual interest received from Government upon the par value of the bonds and the total amount derived from bonds and circulation is \$43,737,297. The interest at the same rate upon the capital invested in the bonds would produce an annual income of \$34,067,042, and deducting this from the combined income of the banks from bonds and circulation and we have \$9,670,055, or 2½ per cent. upon the market value of the capital as the amount of profit realized by the stockholders yearly more than they would derive from the same value of capital invested in other business or securities returning ordinary rates of interest.

I copy the following table from the last report of the Comptroller of the Currency:

Interest on \$309,080,847 of circulation, loaned at 8 per cent. \$24,726,467
Interest on United States bonds, (\$768,870 currency, \$18,530,554 gold) 19,299,424
Premium at 16 per cent. on \$18,530,554, gold interest 2,964,888

Total 46,990,779
Less tax on circulation 3,253,482

Total profit on capital employed 43,737,297
The total capital loaned directly at 8 per cent. would earn 34,067,241

Difference which represents profit on circulation 9,670,055

As above stated, the average taxation by the States upon the capital of the banks is over 2 per cent., which it will be perceived nearly cancels the profit upon the circulation realized beyond the amount they would receive if their capital were otherwise employed, and hence it is that so many banks are now surrendering their circulation, and either winding up or relying upon their business as banks of deposit, which has no connection with their functions as national banks of issue, and in which any association of men, firms, or private persons may engage without authority from the Government. I invite attention also to the following table from the same report, showing corresponding ratio of dividends for the last six and a half years in the several geographical sections of the country and the average ratio for the whole period:

Ratio of dividends to capital and surplus semi-annually.

Date.	New England States.	Middle States.	Western States.	Territories.	United States.
1869, September 1	4.4	4.3	5.3	5.1	4.5
1870, March 1	4.3	4.1	5.6	4.4	4.3
September 1	4.2	4.0	5.0	4.0	4.1
1871, March 1	4.2	4.0	5.5	4.7	4.2
September 1	4.1	3.9	4.8	4.3	4.1
1872, March 1	4.1	4.0	4.7	4.4	4.2
September 1	4.0	3.9	4.9	4.9	4.2
1873, March 1	4.1	4.0	4.7	4.5	4.2
September 1	4.1	3.9	4.2	4.5	4.1
1874, March 1	3.8	3.7	3.9	4.1	3.8
September 1	3.9	3.8	4.3	4.5	4.0
1875, March 1	3.8	3.9	3.8	4.4	4.0
September 1	3.8	3.7	3.9	4.2	3.9
Average	4.1	3.9	4.5	4.4	4.1

The law requires the banks to carry one-tenth part of their net profits semi-annually to the surplus fund, which is not allowed to be drawn out in dividends, but is to accumulate until it amounts to 20 per cent. of the capital, and is to be first applied to payment of all debts and losses. This will be observed to include not merely one-tenth of the profits upon circulation, which is the only privilege derived from the Government that the banks enjoy, but also, what is far more important, one-tenth of the profits derived from their function as banks of deposit, which is a privilege or business indispensable to society and in which everybody is free to engage. This surplus is very large and in June, 1875, amounted to \$133,169,095, or

about 32 per cent. of the capital invested. This represents the accumulation since 1863, including that of State banks, merged in national, owned by two thousand and seventy-six banks, and is very largely derived from the loan of the deposits of their customers, and not from their circulation, as we have seen from the preceding analysis, and which they would still receive if the circulation was taken away from them.

The following table taken from the public records exhibits the number of banks, amount of surplus, and its semi-annual increase from 1863 to 1875:

Date.	Number of banks.	Amount of surplus.	Semi-annual increase.
July, 1864	467	\$1,129,910	
January, 1865	638	8,663,311	\$7,533,401
July, 1865	1,294	31,303,566	22,640,255
January, 1866	1,582	43,000,371	11,696,805
July, 1866	1,634	50,151,992	7,151,621
January, 1867	1,648	59,992,875	9,840,883
July, 1867	1,636	63,232,811	3,239,936
January, 1868	1,642	70,586,126	7,353,315
July, 1868	1,640	75,840,119	5,253,993
January, 1869	1,628	81,160,937	5,329,818
July, 1869	1,619	82,218,576	1,048,639
January, 1870	1,615	90,174,281	7,955,705
July, 1870	1,612	91,689,834	1,515,553
January, 1871	1,648	94,705,740	3,015,906
July, 1871	1,733	98,332,204	3,626,464
January, 1872	1,790	101,573,154	3,240,950
July, 1872	1,853	105,181,943	3,608,789
January, 1873	1,940	111,410,249	6,228,306
July, 1873	1,968	116,847,455	5,437,206
January, 1874	1,976	120,961,268	4,113,814
July, 1874	1,983	126,239,308	5,278,040
January, 1875	2,027	130,485,641	4,246,333
July, 1875	2,076	133,169,095	2,683,454

The great increase in the years 1865 and 1866 is owing to the conversion of State institutions into national banks, and represents accumulations of those institutions in previous years, and hence is not properly a portion of the earnings of national banks as such. The dividends declared from time to time, averaging 4.1 per cent. semi-annually, with the addition of this surplus and the interest accumulating upon it, held as above stated as a security for the solvency of the banks, represent the profits of these institutions in the departments both of issue or circulation and deposit.

The total average earnings of the banks during the last six years has been a little less than 10½ per cent. upon their investment. Such a business as this is sufficiently profitable; and if its returns were purely in the nature of interest upon money loaned by individuals it would be just cause of complaint by the business interests of the country; but the great care and responsibility, as well as the labor required in the proper management of the complex and important affairs of a bank of deposit and issue, fairly entitle capital so engaged to some extra compensation. The trouble in the country today is not that the banks are strong, nor is it true that they have become so by reason of the excessive gains they have made from the business interests of the country; on the contrary, if they were weaker affairs would be far worse. But it is because an inflated currency, a spirit of wild speculation and reckless extravagance, and a reduced tariff have prostrated industry, destroyed markets, and banished confidence from the marts of trade. Thus it is seen that by the wise foresight of the great men who framed the national banking law, the circulation of the country is founded upon a basis which cannot fail.

The entire wants of the country, which before the war demanded a circulating medium of about \$400,000,000, including coin, are probably upon a coin basis not far from \$500,000,000 or \$550,000,000, of which \$300,000,000 in greenbacks, by the present law, will continue in circulation after as well as before their redemption in gold; or they may be replaced by national-bank notes by subsequent legislation. The redemption of the bank-notes which, January 1, 1876, amounted to \$346,000,000, is secured by the total surplus and the market value of the bonds, (beside the personal liability of the stockholder to the extent of his stock,) making in all \$569,000,000, to carry the sum of \$346,000,000 of bills then in actual circulation, and the provisions of law are such that it will be impossible ever to destroy the safety of the national-bank bill. It is difficult to conceive of a system which could combine in a greater degree security and elasticity. Since the national-bank note is based upon the bond of the Government expressly made payable in coin, the people must defend the integrity of the Government, thereby protecting the solvency of the bond in order to maintain the value of the note which they use as their money. Thus it is clear that the national-bank system presents the same strong appeal to patriotism which is so eloquently urged as an argument for the direct issue of currency by the Government. Beyond this the personal liability of the stockholders would be available even if the Government should fail, an event which would utterly destroy a government currency, for any subsequent government would enforce personal liability upon contracts of a bank existing under the one destroyed.

ALL MONEY MUST BE PAID FOR.

Should the present system be replaced by direct issue of paper tokens, or even by the greenback currency, which, being a promise to pay by the Government, is therefore valuable, it has thus far been impossible for me to understand how individuals will get it without paying for it, and paying interest upon the capital it represents to individual lenders. These lenders must first pay for it, and thus part with that which would draw interest if retained. Having paid for the Government issue themselves, they will be likely to take interest when they part with it, unless they receive payment in property at the time.

There seems to be desired a vast system of Government banking, which must, until human nature changes, cost in salaries and stealings and mismanagement, far more than would be saved to the Government as the interest withheld upon the entire circulating medium. The Government will pay out these tokens directly to bondholders, public servants, and other persons who have demands against it. It will thus become their property. Will they part with it until it is paid for with other property equally valuable, or if loaned, until fully secured with interest? How, then, has this process benefited any one? Certainly it has not, unless the issued currency is worth less than the medium in which the nation was under obligation to pay, in which case something would be saved by robbing the creditors of the American people. Some have a vision, too, of saving interest upon capital by the Government opening broker's offices in every city, village, and corner grocery of the country, and delivering money which it is never to pay to everybody who is short, either with or without security, it makes no difference which; for in the first place the money would have no value, and in the next, if it had, the result would be that in many cases the Government would be cheated in securities; by fraud or incapacity of the innumerable agents it would be obliged to employ in transacting a business now performed by more than two thousand banks, and a multitude of brokers and private bankers which no man can number; by making investments, ascertaining responsibility of borrowers, and managing and collecting loans; and the Government would soon find itself a party to every lawsuit and controversy in the country, foreclosing mortgages, selling out securities—in short, transacting the private business of the American people.

DUTY OF THE NATIONAL BANKS.

The banks suffer with all classes in this time of depression and gloom. They are rapidly surrendering their circulation. More than \$33,000,000 are already given up, and the best authorities anticipate the surrender of at least five millions monthly until business revives. Yet such are their resources that they cannot fail; but their financial strength and power of ready combination place them in a position to uphold both public and private credit in this emergency, and by so doing they may endear themselves to the people and perpetuate the system in the confidence of the country. It is an opportunity which both wisdom and patriotism must prompt them to embrace; a duty which they are under strong moral obligation to discharge, and neglect of which will insure their condemnation in the public judgment and lead to the final destruction of the system itself. The national banks exercise, under restrictions of law, in trust for the people, a portion of the sovereign power; that of furnishing a part of the current money of the land. Such a trust cannot be managed and enjoyed merely as a profitable privilege for private gain. Those who control these institutions are bound to remember their high functions and their semi-official relations with the Government and to the whole American people. They should cherish broad views and elevated sentiments; they should pursue that financial policy which shall disarm unfriendly criticism, relieve the burdens of industry, liberate the wheels of traffic and production, and place the financial condition of the country upon the indestructible basis of an elastic currency interconvertible with coin.

Every bank holds the chartered right to exist for twenty years from its inception, provided it does not violate the conditions of the organic law; and the current threat of their abolition against their consent is impossible of execution without the destruction of vested rights. It is, therefore, far better for the peace and prosperity of the country that the people should so understand it. Honest statesmanship owes, and will ever pay, candor to its constituency. The system will remain, certainly until this crisis is past, and we must deal with it as one element of the situation; and should these institutions rise with the occasion, they are our chief reliance; but should their conduct be antagonistic to the public good, should they degenerate into mere corporate Shylocks, illustrating anew the old saw that corporations have no souls; should they crush the credit and business of the country, by grasping enforcement of their claims and destruction of securities by ruinous rates of interest extorted from the necessities of prostrate industries, which should be fostered and stimulated by forbearance and by largely reduced rates of discount, it will be, and ought to be, found most difficult to restrain the people from the indignant abolition of the entire system, regardless of consequences to the banks as well as to themselves.

There is every reason to believe that the dictates of patriotism and enlightened prudence will prevail, and that the national-bank system will prove hereafter, as hitherto, a powerful bulwark in the maintenance of our credit at home and abroad. Considering the great

service which we may justly require and expect of these banks in carrying business and credit steadily and at reasonable rates during this season of depression, it would be well for us to consider that it would be a process of years to accomplish the substitution of any other agency to transact the banking business of the country. What other agency can be devised, or, if devised, can be agreed upon?

FORCED LIQUIDATION OF THE BANKS.

The liquidation of the banks involves the collection of all their loans, amounting now to more than \$1,000,000,000; and there is not a business man in the country who does not know that this process, arbitrarily enforced, involves the sacrifice of his property, pledged as collateral security, for a song, and general bankruptcy, by which enormous masses of property would fall into the hands of the banks. It is no sufficient reply to this to say that the loan and discount department of the banks could continue in operation after compulsory withdrawal of the national circulation; for while some of the heavy city banks might continue simply as banks of deposit, yet the great mass of these two thousand money centers, scattered all through the country, in these hard times, would be prostrated by the loss of the small margin of profit on circulation, and, preferring to rely upon the interest of their bonds only, would retire from the risks of business and cease to exist at all. And what then? After ten years of uncertainty, anxiety, and ruin, what will be substituted in their stead? All the problems which now perplex us will remain. The national debt will remain. Gold value will still be the measure of the world, and the same inexorable necessity of conformity to it will remain, and, after the loss of ten years of production and the destruction of the hopes, energies, and happiness of a generation, we or our children shall begin once more in sadness at the foot of the hill.

I am under special obligation to you, sir, and to the House for this extended courtesy, but I shall seldom trespass upon the attention of this honorable body.

Our country has completed the first century of her history, and now turns with gratitude, courage, and hope to the solution of the great problems and to the achievement of the grand possibilities of her illustrious destiny. Seven terrible years of blood won her independence from the world, and the tremendous internecine conflict of this generation has decreed the integrity and sovereignty of the American Union. We are a nation. A few men who have learned nothing while the foundations of the great deep were broken up are still harping of State rights and sovereignty. Should their physical lives be spared until the tramp of judgment sounds, they would mistake it for the bugles of Beauregard signaling the bombardment of Sumter and the war of 1861. But these men are of the dead past. To them there is no future. Their voices will soon grow husky with time and their forms will disappear with their long-departed theories in the peaceful bosom of our common mother.

The nation is a unit. The man who now knows a North, a South, an East, or West, is a traitor in his heart. The future of this country is not in the hands of traitors or fossils. Inexorable destiny has made every man free, and our destiny is greater than we know. But our fate now lies in the just settlement of the great economic questions of the day. The laws of eternal justice will assert themselves, so will the fundamental principles of industrial economy, for they are founded in morality and necessity. They will be vindicated by the prosperity or destruction of the nation, according to the election it shall make of integrity or fraud as the touch-stone of its policy. The credit of the honest man is sure, and the nation can carry its burdens for generations only by preserving its reputation for scrupulous good faith. Neither can we preserve the high sentiment of patriotism in the citizen if there is a taint of dishonor upon the now bright shield of our national integrity.

No matter what clamor may fill the air for retrenchment, reform, and purity in the civil service, the great basic question before the country is, Will the American people keep their word and tell the truth by their deeds? Can the stream rise higher than the fountain? And will a people who vote to defraud their creditors be likely to maintain elevated morality in a government purely representative? All reform, all hope of permanent reform is in the essential honesty, self-sacrifice, and vigorous enterprise of the common people of the land. Every citizen, in private as well as in public station, is responsible; and while he denounces with unsparing tongue and pen all venality in high places, let him reflect upon his own life, and see whether he has not cheated his washerwoman or needlessly enforced his mortgage upon some poor man's cow. The man who finds none but villains in public or private life may thank God for the mercy, or luck, which has thus far enabled him to cheat the gallows of himself.

The retrenchment and reform which alone will bring permanent relief to this country are radical. They must be everywhere. Denouncing others, we must not forget ourselves; but listening to the still small voice of conscience and self-review, begin the renovation of the Republic in the bosom of the family and the silence of the individual heart. As a whole, the American people have never failed to manifest exalted sentiments and heroic devotion to all that ennoble human nature both in peace and in war. Financial adversity is now testing them in its fiercest fires. But let no man despair of the Republic. The integrity of the nation is sure, its courage indomitable, its resources boundless, and its prosperity, glory, and perpetuity are built upon the eternal rock.

STATUE OF ETHAN ALLEN.

Mr. HENDEE. I offer the concurrent resolution which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives, (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of this Congress be presented to the governor, and through him to the people of the State of Vermont, for the statue of Ethan Allen, whose name is so honorably identified with our revolutionary history; that this work of art is accepted in the name of the nation and assigned a place in the old Hall of Representatives, already set aside by Congress for the statues of eminent citizens; and that a copy of this resolution, signed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, be transmitted to the governor of the State of Vermont.

Mr. HENDEE. Mr. Speaker, in 1864 Congress passed an act setting apart the old Hall of the House of Representatives for the reception and protection of statuary; and the President of the United States was authorized to invite each State to furnish the statues of two deceased citizens illustrious in the civic or military history of the State.

Rhode Island was the first to respond, and placed therein the statues of Roger Williams and Nathaniel Greene. Other States have, in a most worthy manner, complied, and now Vermont asks to be represented in that group and to be allotted its proper place in that historic and memorable Hall. My State has, through its governor, now passed over to the Government the marble statue of one of her deceased citizens illustrious mainly in its military history—Ethan Allen.

It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, to be appropriate and worthy of this House to pause in its deliberations for a while and forget for the moment the business of the hour that it may look back into the history of the struggle which made us the happy, united, and prosperous people we now are.

In accepting this statue from my State it is well, I think, to contemplate and speak briefly of the life, character, and services of so distinguished a citizen as it represents. Ethan Allen was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on the 10th day of January, 1737. He lived in that State until 1769, when he moved to Bennington, Vermont, being thirty-two years of age. In order, Mr. Speaker, to acquaint this House more fully with the services of Allen, I may be permitted to refer briefly to the early history of my State.

The territory now the State of Vermont, was originally claimed both by New York and New Hampshire and a portion of it by Massachusetts. Settlements commenced in 1724 under grants from New Hampshire. Under these grants land was cleared, houses erected, and neighborhoods created. The grants were issued under royal authority and were purchased mostly by men from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. The lands occupied by the very first settlers were granted by the provincial government of Massachusetts, but by a decree of King George II made on the 5th of March, 1740, this portion of the State was found to lie north of Massachusetts and was made a part of New Hampshire. About this time Benning Wentworth was commissioned as governor of the province of New Hampshire, who continued to make further grants which amounted in 1754 to fifteen townships. In 1761 these grants had extended over a territory of more than one hundred townships each six miles square, and many actual settlements had been made and the inhabitants were increasing in number and improvements were progressing in proportion.

The government of New York, wishing to secure to itself the profits of these lands, became alarmed and determined to stop all further proceedings on part of the New Hampshire government. And in 1763 Lieutenant-Governor Colden, of New York, issued his proclamation, in which he asserted jurisdiction over all the territory from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay. He based this act upon the grants made by Charles II to the Duke of York in 1664 and 1674. The effect of this proclamation among the settlers was to make them restless and doubtful as to the validity of their titles; and, to inspire confidence in the soundness of the New Hampshire titles, the governor of that province issued a counter-proclamation, setting forth that the grant to the Duke of York was obsolete and that the grants made by New Hampshire would be confirmed, even if the Crown should alter the jurisdiction. The inhabitants were exhorted by the governor to be industrious and diligent in cultivating and improving their lands and not to be intimidated by the threats of New York. The settlers became quiet and believed, as they had a right to, that, though the jurisdiction should be changed, their titles and the right to possess the lands they had purchased would remain undisturbed. New York appealed to His Majesty by petition for jurisdiction over the disputed territory, and on the 20th of July, 1764, he ordered that the western bank of the Connecticut River form the boundary line between New York and New Hampshire. This created no particular alarm among the settlers, as they believed, having purchased and paid for their lands and secured deeds under grants from the same Crown that had now changed the jurisdiction, that their titles were good and that they should not be compelled either to abandon or repurchase their lands, and, entertaining this belief, they were willing to submit to the authority and laws of the colony of New York. Now the trouble commenced; for the government of New York called upon the settlers to surrender their charters and repurchase their lands under grants from New York. Some complied, but most asserted in firm language their rights and refused absolutely to obey. They determined to resist all efforts to dispossess them of

their lands, and for that purpose various associations were formed among the settlers. Appeals were made to the Crown, messengers sent to England, and many other steps taken to protect their rights and to secure to themselves permanent and indisputable titles. In the mean time suits of ejectment were brought in New York and judgments obtained against the settlers; but they resisted the decisions being carried into effect by various devices and sometimes by force.

The struggle went on in different ways until about the year 1769, when Ethan Allen came to reside among the grants and located at Bennington; and from this time forward his life was an active and remarkable one. Being an honest and just man, he at once joined the settlers in opposition to the authorities of New York. He first attempted to have the rights of the New Hampshire grantees protected by the courts; several cases were tried, but in every instance the settlers were defeated. These trials occurred in Albany, New York, and Allen was there in person. Before leaving Albany he was advised by the attorney-general to go home and advise his Green Mountain friends to acquiesce in the decrees of the New York courts and make terms with their new landlords and was reminded of the old proverb, that "Might often prevails against right." Allen coolly replied to him that the gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills, meaning, evidently, that though the land-jobbers of New York were the gods of the valley of the Hudson they were not the gods of the green hills of Vermont. He returned to his home and a convention of the settlers was immediately called, in which it was decided to defend their rights and property which they possessed under the New Hampshire grants against the usurpation and unjust claims of the governor of New York by force, as law and justice were denied them. They carried their resolution under the leadership of Allen into execution. As they were resisting the laws of New York they were indicted as rioters, but the officers of the New York courts who were sent to arrest them, as one has said, were successfully resisted by force and were severely chastised "with twigs of the wilderness."

In order to render the opposition more effectual a military association was formed, and Ethan Allen was appointed commander. The association was composed entirely of the settlers, and from that time forward they were known as the "Green Mountain Boys." They were a brave, noble, and honest band of men, and while contending for a known right knew no fear, and dared to resist the unjust and oppressive laws of New York and its officers. They were denominated the Bennington mob by proclamation of the governor of New York, and by the people were resolved to be lawless banditti, and at different times rewards of £50 and £100 were offered for the arrest of Allen, and smaller sums for those associated with him; but all this availed nothing, as Allen kept up the resistance, and the New York land-jobbers, as they were termed, never succeeded in securing his arrest.

The sufferings and hardships of these early settlers were most severe and unparalleled. Houses were burned, crops destroyed, homes made desolate, and yet they resisted the authority of the laws and successfully maintained their organizations and retained their possessions until the close of the controversy which was ended by the prorogation of the New York Assembly in April, 1775, which never met again, being superseded by the revolutionary authority of the Provincial Congress. Thus far Allen had been contending for his own rights and those of his neighbors without commission or pay and as a private citizen.

It will be seen that Allen was engaged in contending with the authorities of New York for the supremacy of his rights and those of the other New Hampshire grantees for about six years. At this time war was imminent with England. The people had determined to throw off the yoke of tyranny and sue if need be at the point of the bayonet for liberty.

Allen loved liberty and now seemed to approach the time when the occasion for which he was born was before him. The time when he would be allowed the privilege and honor of striking a blow at the enemies of the principles he so much cherished and to vindicate his rights as an American citizen. He believed that—

When God from chaos gave this world to be,
Man then he formed, and formed him to be free.

At a meeting of a few citizens of Hartford, Connecticut, held about the 27th of April, 1775, it was decided that Ticonderoga, a fort on the New York shore of Lake Champlain, must be taken, and Benedict Arnold asked the privilege of attempting its capture, but the command was finally awarded to Colonel Allen, though Arnold appeared, presented his commission, and demanded the right to take charge of the expedition; but the men, most of them Green Mountain Boys, refused to serve under Arnold, and threatened to abandon the expedition unless commanded by Colonel Allen. Arnold yielded, but was allowed to serve as a volunteer. Allen had under his command about two hundred and seventy men, two hundred and thirty of whom were "Green Mountain Boys." On the 9th of May, 1775, he had marched from Castleton, Vermont, to a point on Lake Champlain opposite the fort. In the night he crossed the lake in small boats but was able to land only eighty-three of his men in time. The morning was approaching, and his men were drawn up in three ranks, when Allen thus addressed them:

Friends and fellow-soldiers: You have for a number of years past been a scourge and terror to arbitrary power. Your valor has been famed abroad and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me from the General Assembly of Connecticut to surprise and take this garrison now before us. I now propose to

advance before you and in person conduct you through the wicket-gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes; and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily poise your firelocks.

Every man poised his firelock, and Allen at the head of the center file marched them immediately to the gate of the fort. He entered, driving the sentry before him, who gave the alarm; but Allen in an instant had possession, and demanded the surrender of the fort amid the huzzas of his men. Captain Delaplace, who was in command, soon appeared, and demanded by what authority, when Allen replied, in that sentence so familiar in every New England home, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Delaplace remonstrated; but Allen, with drawn sword, again demanded the surrender of the fort, and it was surrendered.

This was the first great event in the military life of Allen, and I should say the crowning event; and it shows him to have been a man of executive ability, boldness, courage, and perseverance—a man who could command and at the same time inspire confidence and fidelity in those under him. The speech delivered to his men before they moved on the garrison though simple was effective. It touched the pride as well as the hearts of his followers, and under the lead of Allen they knew no fear as they, too, believed that his commission was from a source higher than that of any earthly tribunal. Allen afterward said of this event:

This surprise was carried into execution in the gray of the morning of the 10th of May, 1775. The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior luster, and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl and wished success to Congress and the liberty and freedom of America.

Mr. Speaker, this great event, one of the first successful blows of the Revolution, occurred on the 10th of May, 1775.

One hundred and one years from that very day, the 10th of May, 1876, this Congress and all the people of this great land and the whole world beside were invited to Philadelphia, the birth-place of our Republic, to witness the opening ceremonies of our magnificent International Exposition. An event, sir, which must and which does inspire every true American with that love of country, that devotion to principle, and that hatred of oppression which so filled, moved, and made victorious the hero of Ticonderoga.

Early in the fall of 1775, the little army which was commanded by Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, were ordered into Canada, and Montreal became one of the objective points. Allen, who was still at Ticonderoga, was requested to accompany the expedition. He went, and attempted, in connection with Major Brown, to capture the city of Montreal, which was guarded by royal soldiers. Allen was to cross the river Saint Lawrence a little to the north of the city, and Brown a little to the south. Allen executed his part of the plan, and on the night of the 24th of September, 1775, crossed the river in canoes, taking with him one hundred and ten men. Brown failed to co-operate, and the result was, of course, disaster. I will not here give details, but will content myself with saying that Allen made a desperate fight. The battle commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted till near night, when Allen was forced to surrender, and, with his men, was taken prisoner.

Allen was in captivity for two years and eight months, and his treatment and sufferings for a portion of the time were of the most severe character, and worthy only to be inflicted by a half-civilized nation. He was placed in heavy irons, and taken on board a man-of-war, and sent to England. He was threatened with and expected nothing short of death as his punishment. Yet he was brave, independent, and never for an instant yielded his convictions that he had been fighting for a noble and liberty-deserving people, and a cause which must ultimately give freedom and independence to his native country. Allen was at times rough in his language, and was not what is now known as the polished gentleman. He was plain, blunt in expression, but determined in his purposes, and a man who could not be induced by threats or the offer of bribes to do a mean or wrong act, or for a moment to abandon his principles or become a traitor to his friends or country. As proof of this I will only call attention to one instance which occurred during his captivity. It was after he had been brought back to America, but before he had been exchanged, and at a time when he had no expectation of release.

A British officer of high rank sent for Allen, and when he appeared the officer addressed him thus:

Your faithfulness, though in a wrong cause, has nevertheless recommended you to General Sir William Howe, who is minded to make you a colonel of a regiment of new levies in the British service, and I propose that you go with me and other English officers to England and there be introduced to Lord G. Germain and probably to the King.

He also proposed to Allen "that he should be clothed equal to such an introduction and that for his services as such colonel he should be paid not in paper rags but in hard guineas. He further said to him that he should join General Burgoyne and assist in the reduction of the country, and when that was accomplished, which was certain to be done, he (Allen) should have a large tract of land either in the New Hampshire grants or in Connecticut, it would make no odds which, as the whole country would be forfeited to the Crown." To this, Allen replied:

That if by faithfulness I have recommended myself to General Howe I should be loth by unfaithfulness to lose the general's good opinion; besides that, I viewed

the offer of land to be similar to that which the devil offered Jesus Christ: to give Him all the kingdoms of the world if He would fall down and worship him, when at the same time the miserable soul had not one foot of land upon earth to give.

After this Allen was admitted to parol in New York, and about the 1st of May, 1778, he was exchanged for Colonel Archibald Campbell and set at liberty. He immediately started for Valley Forge, where he was welcomed by General Washington with peculiar marks of approbation and regard. Allen at once offered his services in behalf of his country. He obtained leave to visit his home in Bennington, Vermont, which he called the "capital" of the "Green Mountain Boys." He arrived there the latter part of May amid great rejoicing, and under order of Colonel Herrick fourteen cannon were fired, thirteen for the United States and one for young Vermont.

While Allen was a prisoner his State or the people of the grants asked admission into the Union of States, but they were resisted by New York, and so fierce became the contest, and so uncertain the result, that on the 15th of January, 1777, the people of Vermont, through delegates in convention assembled, declared themselves independent. They took this bold step with the same spirit and determination that moved the colonies in declaring their independence.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, Vermont made a declaration of independence. It was short and decisive. I will give it:

This convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents, in the several towns on the New Hampshire grants, in public meeting assembled, in our own names, and in behalf of our constituents, do hereby proclaim and publicly declare that the district of territory comprehending, and usually known by the name and description of the New Hampshire grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared forever hereafter to be, a free and independent jurisdiction, or State; to be forever hereafter called, known, and distinguished by the name of New Connecticut, *alias* Vermont.

That the inhabitants who at present are, or who may hereafter become residents, either by birth or emigration, within said territory, shall be entitled to the same privileges, immunities, and enfranchisements as are allowed, or may hereafter at any time be allowed, to the inhabitants of any of the free and independent States of America. And that such privileges and immunities shall be regulated in a bill of rights and by a form of government to be established at the next session of this convention.

From this time forward until her admission into the Union, in 1791, Vermont was as independent as are the United States to-day, and yet she was vigorously and continually pleading at the door of Congress for admission, and New York was as continually and vigorously opposing her.

As soon as Allen was released he took a hand in this contest which Vermont had inaugurated for admission as one of the States of the Union.

In February, I think, 1778, Governor Clinton, of New York, issued a proclamation in which he said that that government "would vigorously maintain its rightful supremacy over the persons and property of those disaffected subjects"—referring to the people who had heretofore defended the New Hampshire grants and who had now declared themselves independent.

Colonel Allen published an address to the people in answer to this proclamation, in which he claimed it was mere "sophistry" and designed "only to deceive the woods people."

He closed his address by the following appeal to his followers:

You have experienced every species of oppression which the old government of New York, with a Tryon at its head, could invent and inflict; and it is manifest that the new government are minded to follow nearly in their steps. Happy is it for you that you are fitted for the severest trials! You have been wonderfully supported and carried through thus far in your opposition to that government. Formerly you had everything to fear from it, but now little; for your public character is established and your cause known to be just. In your early struggles with that government you acquired a reputation for bravery; this gave you a relish for martial glory, and the British invasion opened an ample field for its display, and you have gone on conquering and to conquer until tall grenadiers are dismayed and tremble at your approach. Your frontier situation often obliged you to be in arms and battles; and by repeated marchings, scoutings, and manly exercises your nerves have become strong to strike the mortal blow. What enemy to the State of Vermont, or New York land monopolizer, shall be able to stand before you in the day of your fierce anger!

Allen and his friends continued these efforts for admission annually before Congress, when, in 1780, or thereabouts, Colonel Robinson, a British officer, wrote Allen two letters proposing that he should join the British cause or assist "in uniting America to Great Britain, and thereby restore the happy relations which have been so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed." In short, he asked Allen to become a traitor to his cause and his country. To these letters Allen made no reply, but inclosed them in a communication to Congress. In his communication Allen justified the course of Vermont in declaring herself independent, in the strongest terms, and to show his determination to establish that independence, and at the same time his desire for peace, and that Vermont should be admitted as one of the States, I will read a part of his letter to Congress:

I am confident that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say, I am fully grounded in opinion, that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them. For Vermont would be, of all people, most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of the united claiming States, and they be, at the same time, at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. When Congress considers the circumstances of this State they will, I am persuaded, be more surprised that I have transmitted them the inclosed letters than that I have kept them in custody so long, for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont as Congress is that of the United States; and rather than fail, I will retire with the hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large.

From what I have said and read it will be seen that Allen was a bold, determined man, and though sometimes rash, a most successful leader. The masses were ever wont to go where he might see fit to lead.

Allen was afterward made brigadier-general of the militia of Vermont, and rendered great service to his State and country. I will not go further into detail only to say that Allen finally settled in Burlington, Vermont, where he died February 12, 1789, at the age of fifty-two years. His remains lie buried near Burlington, Vermont, on a high point of land overlooking Winooski village and the valley of the Winooski River, one of the most beautiful and fertile valleys in New England.

The people of Vermont have always had the highest regard for the memory of Ethan Allen, and now that regard is attested by the act of the Legislature of that State authorizing the placing in one of the public halls of the nation at its capital his statue. The statue is of marble and is most beautiful in design and impressive in attitude and expression. It is creditable to the artist, and he may well be proud of it as a work of art. It was executed by Larkin G. Mead, a native of Vermont, whose reputation as an artist in foreign countries as well as in his own is of the highest character. The statue speaks for itself.

In our struggle for independence Allen took an active and decisive part. He was moved in this not by that love and morbid ambition to be heard and known of his fellows, which so much actuates men of the present day, but by that sense of justice and patriotism which brought into active service the best and most effective men of his time.

Mr. Speaker, we of to-day know of each other by being associated together officially and socially, we know our neighbors by daily contact in business. We judge the world and the times and the great men of the age by what we observe and know and we judge with commendable accuracy, but as to men of the heroic age we must appeal to history.

Allen was of that age, and from its history we are justified in saying that he was one of the pioneers of liberty and manfully wielded his powers and weapons in hewing the way for the progress, happiness, and independence of these United States. He helped to found the colonies from which the States sprung and to plant in their soil the seeds from which has grown this great country with its institutions, its prosperity, and its model free government.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, Vermont honors the name of Ethan Allen by placing his statue in the Old Hall of this Capitol, which to-day floats the flag of a free and united country, for which he fought and under which he led his little band of "Green Mountain Boys" to victory. In that hall among others are the statues of Washington, Greene, Roger Williams, Lincoln, Sherman, Trumbull, and Winthrop, the fathers and defenders of this magnificent Republic, and now Vermont contributes to that group a fit companion, a monumental representation of one whose memory and deeds it will ever cherish with that enduring regard and affection which has no common limit.

Allen was a man of spirit, power, indomitable will and courage, and yet was kind, just, and remarkable for his anxiety and efforts for any in trouble. He was a terrible foe to traitors, and his hatred for those who would abridge the rights and liberty of the American citizen had no limit; and let me say that Vermont has that love for the name of Ethan Allen which approaches near to reverence. Her sons of to-day partake of the same sentiment, patriotism, and courage which filled the breast of Ethan Allen, and the Government which he fought to create the Green Mountain Boys of to-day, if need be, will fight to protect and perpetuate. He taught a lesson and lived a life which has been read and reread until every true Vermonter is led to exclaim, "Let no man speak ill of Ethan Allen."

Mr. Speaker, Colonel Allen fought for a principle—the equality of all men before the laws. With his copatriots he helped to secure and make fast that principle and to establish that independence in this broad land which has been recognized by all governments for a full century.

Yes, sir, Ethan Allen was present at our national birth, of which this is the centennial year, and every Vermonter, yes, every American citizen, will recognize the appropriateness of the time sought by my people to make this presentation of his statue to this great Government.

One hundred years ago Allen was one of Vermont's most honored and devoted citizens, and at that time was giving his manly and heroic services for her protection, with a faithfulness, with a zeal, with an unselfishness and patriotism known only to that age.

That was the first period in our history that "tried men's souls." The second was in 1861-'65, when the same power which moved and sustained the patriots of '76 moved, sustained, and carried to victory the patriots of 1861.

When Allen was fighting to establish a free government, and to give it the ensign of liberty, the "stars and stripes," little did he think that in less than a century the grandsons and great-grandsons of the men who fought by his side would strike at the life of his and their country and ignominiously trail that ensign in the dust.

He did not once think, sir, that any generation that should follow his of American birth could produce a people that would without cause attempt to destroy the noble work of their fathers; but such is history. And I may be pardoned for saying here, I think, what

the historian has long since truthfully recorded, that the Green Mountain Boys of 1861 carried into the battles for the preservation of the Union the same spirit, the same courage, the same faith in a just Providence, and the same patriotism that did the Green Mountain Boys of 1776 into the revolutionary war for the creation of this magnificent and permanent free government and the establishment of liberty throughout our entire domain.

Mr. Speaker, the green hills and rich valleys of Vermont are to-day inhabited by men and women whose sires and grandsires were the original settlers and pioneers of the New Hampshire grants, and I might say many of them are the direct descendants of the historic Allen family. And what are they? I answer, an intelligent, industrious, sober, honest, and brave people, who know but one allegiance, that to their native country; but one flag, that the "stars and stripes;" and but one god, and that the God of their fathers.

Mr. Speaker, on the 14th of May, 1778, Congress recognized Colonel Allen's services, and honored him by passing a resolution granting him a brevet commission of lieutenant-colonel in reward of his fortitude, firmness, and zeal in the cause of his country, and now let the American Congress honor his memory and that of the Green Mountain Boys who stood side by side with him in the country's peril by the unanimous adoption of this resolution.

Mr. JOYCE. Mr. Speaker, I venture to assert that no act of this Government during the past fifteen years of our marvelous history brings out in a stronger or clearer light the hopeful and buoyant character of our people, and the perfect confidence felt at all times by the loyal men of the North in the strength, integrity, and perpetuity of the American Union, than the law providing for a national gallery of statuary, in which "each and all the States" should be represented.

In the midst of that gigantic civil war, when the people of nearly one-half the States of the Union were in arms against the Government, and while General Grant, backed by the whole North, was striving with varying fortune to grasp the prize which McClellan, and Burnside, and Pope, and Hooker had, after the most desperate conflicts, failed to obtain, Congress, on the 2d of July, 1864, passed an act which declared that—

The President is hereby authorized 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.

On the 27th of November, 1872, the people of my State, in order to avail themselves of the benefit of said act and have Vermont properly represented in that illustrious collection of American statuary, by their Legislature, passed an act declaring that—

The governor of this State is authorized and requested to contract, in behalf of the State, with Hiram Powers, for a statue in marble of the late Jacob Collamer, and with Larkin G. Mead, for a statue in marble of Ethan Allen, and said statues, when completed, to be placed in the National Statuary Hall in Washington.

It was the sublime conception of a noble and patriotic soul that first suggested the plan of inviting "each and all the States" to bring the statues of their illustrious citizens to this national gallery, that our whole country might be represented in this imposing and majestic assemblage of the worth and valor of the early days of the Republic. By it the history of this vast country during the first hundred years of its existence, wild and grand as it is, will be concentrated and made manifest in that hall to the people of all nations and all ages.

This tribute of gratitude and homage, although in forms more simple, has always been paid to the chivalrous hero and patriot statesman by those for whose rights and liberties they have labored and died. The brazen pillar and marble shaft, together with the life-like statue, wrought and adorned by genius and art, have perpetuated their names and images and immortalized their brave and virtuous deeds. It is the decisive and imperishable evidence of the people's appreciation of true heroism and exalted worth, which they demand shall be transmitted perfect and unchangeable to posterity.

If "Illum such honors to her heroes paid," how fitting and appropriate that America, the last born among the nations, the secure abode and guarded dwelling-place of liberty protected by law, should not only imitate but excel all the nations of the earth in honoring and revering the memories of those through whose valor in the field and intellectual power in the council we are to-day the model republic and the leading sovereignty among the powers of the earth.

We learn from history's vast store-house of crystallized human observation and experience that divine Providence has always raised up men, prepared the way, and shaped the affairs of mankind for the birth and advent of any great and important occurrence in the history of our race. When Heaven interposed, in the person of our Saviour, for the salvation of a lost world, Augustus Caesar sat among the seven hills of Rome and waved his supreme scepter of power and authority over a world prostrate at his feet.

Yet, a babe is born in a manger in the little village of Bethlehem, in an obscure province of his empire, whose kingdom has eclipsed all the splendors of the Cæsars, and shall have no end.

Leonidas and his two hundred brave Spartans at the pass of Thermopylae, checked by their stolid valor the victorious armies of Persia, as they were sweeping like an avalanche from the orient, and saved for a time the tottering republics of Greece; and in later years

Boszaris, whose "sword won the battle for the free," drove the Muselman invader from her sacred soil and inspired her people with a new hope and courage.

The honor and heroism of Scotland were vindicated and her liberties preserved, in the hour of her direst peril, amid defeat and victory, by Wallace at Sterling and Bruce at Bannockburn.

Tyranny and despotism were driven from Switzerland and a perpetual republic established among her silver lakes and Alpine peaks by the patriotic sacrifices and illustrious valor of William Tell.

History while teaching by examples often repeats itself, and so when King George the Third finally committed himself to the fatal policy of taxing his American colonies without permitting them the right of representation, England was the first power in Europe and her jurisdiction covered the earth; "her flag was its symbol, and the hiding place of its power was within dark and frowning tiers of artillery; it compassed the earth with an iron belt of glittering bayonets; it spoke in the voice of the morning drum, and stalked with the nightly sentinel along the battlements of impregnable castles."

The "embattled farmers" at Lexington and Concord "fired a shot heard round the world;" Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys demanded the surrender of Old Ti. in "the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," and England lost her colonies, was shorn of her strength, and came near being reduced to a second-class power among the nations of the earth.

Vermont has now made her first contribution to the national gallery, and the statue of Ethan Allen, bold, commanding, and majestic, a credit to the youthful sculptor and an honor to the State, stands there amid the wondering and admiring throng, in an attitude of defiance and power.

The order of exercises to be observed on this occasion is prescribed by custom, and in accordance therewith I shall proceed to speak in the briefest manner possible of the life and character of the man whose effigy the people of Vermont, through their Representatives, now deliver to the care and custody of the General Government.

Of the early history and boyhood days of Ethan Allen we know but little, except that it is said he was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on the 10th of January, 1737, and, following the impulse of his daring and adventurous spirit, removed to the New Hampshire grants when in the prime of life and cast in his lot with that liberty-loving, independent, and struggling people.

The first settlement within the present limits of the State of Vermont was undertaken by the government of Massachusetts in 1724, when they built a fort in the town of Dummerston, on the east side of the Green Mountains; but no sooner was this done than New Hampshire claimed that her jurisdiction extended to within twenty miles of the Hudson, which covered the fort and reached many miles to the westward.

To put an end to the conflict of jurisdiction between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, King George II immediately directed Benning Wentworth, then governor of New Hampshire, to drive off all intruders and take possession of the fort.

In 1749, the famous town of Bennington, on the west side of the mountain, was laid out, and its settlement commenced by order of Governor Wentworth.

The claims of Massachusetts and New Hampshire having been partially disposed of, New York now came forward and laid claim to all the territory as far east as Connecticut River, by virtue of a previous grant from the Crown of Great Britain, and proceeded to turn off all clearers of the land and cultivators of the soil. She at once established courts of justice over the disputed territory, and caused decisions to be made in favor of those who claimed the lands under her authority. She refused utterly to acknowledge the title of the settlers to their lands, and compelled them to either lease them, with all their buildings and improvements, or purchase them from those whose usurped rights and titles they repudiated. The result was the settlers refused to vacate, and the new claimants commenced actions of ejectment in the courts of New York, obtained judgments, and attempted to remove the settlers by force. In the midst of all these collisions and conflicts Ethan Allen, then about thirty-two years old, removed from Connecticut to the grants, and at once took a very decided stand in favor of his fellow-settlers and against the usurpations and encroachments of New York. The mind shudders to contemplate what the consequences might have been in this state of affairs between the New York authorities and the settlers on the grants had not Providence interposed and turned aside the impending evil by calling both parties to unite their efforts against a common foe.

The daring achievement which flashed the name of Ethan Allen, like a meteor athwart the nation's sky, was the first act in a drama which changed the whole history of this country, and gave to the world a nobler humanity and a purer and more enlightened civilization. That sublime deed of voluntary and self-imposed duty, performed by Allen and his devoted followers, emitted a spark which exploded the world's magazine, and lit up the whole universe of God with a light whose dazzling brilliancy shall continue to increase until earth shall be from her center hurled, and the dark shadows of time shall melt away into the glorious brightness of a heavenly eternity.

The colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were settled by a race of men composed of the very cream and essence of European

society, and whose equals have not been known in the world's history. From this stock came the seed which caught root amid the rocky wilds and snow-capped hills of the Green Mountain State, and there, surrounded by domestic violence, menaced by the savages of the forest, and rocked by the throes of a revolutionary convulsion which shook every throne in Christendom, grew up a race of men who loved liberty and hated oppression and tyranny; who were born and reared in the vitalizing atmosphere of rugged virtue and honest industry; a race which has never deserted its first love, and has never, thank God, disgraced the name or brought discredit or shame upon a noble ancestry. They were men who sincerely and religiously believed that "resistance to tyrants was obedience to God;" "that the gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills." They were an uncomfortable race to coerce into any line of conduct not agreeable to their sense of duty and of right. No blandishments could seduce them and no threats intimidate them; they could endure the heat of summer and the frosts and snows of winter; they were as handy with the pen and upon the stump as they were with the rifle and the sword; they had strength and manly courage, with will and conscientious convictions, to back them up; they were a perfect leprosy, and worse than the plagues of Egypt, to old King George, and Burgoyne said they were "the most wild, active, and rebellious race that he knew on the whole continent."

With New York upon one side, and New Hampshire upon the other, seeking to rob them of their birth-right, Great Britain upon the north threatening them with slaughter and fiery vengeance, and the Continental Congress treating them as the illegitimate offspring of an illicit intercourse; smarting under their wrongs, writhing under the scorn and insults heaped upon them, and ready to retire to the rocks and caves of their native mountains and wage unceasing war with humanity at large for what they knew to be their rights, it is no wonder that, when the news spread through the valleys, over the hills, and along the shore of their beautiful lake, that the blood of their fathers and brothers had been shed by a hiring soldiery; that the long expected and anxiously looked for moment had arrived; that the spirit of American liberty had received its first baptism of blood and fire at Lexington and Concord; that the tocsin of freedom had been sounded and the flag of Independence unfurled—was it any wonder, I say, that from every log-cabin and cave upon the grants should have burst forth the inspiring and defiant notes of Ethan Allen's war-song?

Tradition has it that the following lines were composed by Colonel Allen when gathering his clans. However that may be, there can be no doubt but they breathe the spirit which inspired the hero in his determined opposition to British tyranny:

Ho—all to the borders! Vermonters come down,
With your breeches of deer-skin and jackets of brown,
With your red woolen caps, and your moccasins, come
To the gathering summons of trumpet and drum.

Come down with your rifles!—let gray wolf and fox
Howl on in the shade of their primitive rocks;
Let the bear feed securely from pig-pen and stall—
Here's a two-legged game for your powder and ball.

What seek they among us? The pride of our wealth
Is comfort, contentment, and labor, and health,
And lands which, as freemen, we only have trod,
Independent of all save the mercies of God.

Come York or come Hampshire—come traitors and knaves;
If ye rule o'er our land, ye shall rule o'er our graves;
Our vow is recorded, our banner unfurled;
In the name of Vermont we defy all the world!

The moment colonial valor had struck the first spark of American liberty, Allen began to look with longing and anxious eyes upon Fort Ticonderoga. The capture of that fortress, he knew, would not only give him vast quantities of arms, ammunition, and stores, but would break the cordon of forts extending from Canada to the Hudson River, secure the possession of Lake Champlain, and enable him to protect the settlers upon the grants from the power of England and her savage allies.

The forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point had always been regarded as of the most vital importance by the French and English respectively, as each had held possession of the country, because they constituted the gate-way between Canada and the colonies. Consequently this region had been the scene of hostile strife and bloody battles for two centuries.

Only a few months before the affair at Lexington and Concord, General Gage, then in command of His Majesty's forces at Boston, had determined to repair and re-enforce both of these forts, but in his fancied security, arising no doubt from his contempt of the colonists, he had neglected it.

This fact, and the condition of the forts and number of the garrisons, was known to Allen, to Samuel Adams, and Joseph Warren, and also to two or three members of the provincial legislature of Connecticut, who took a deep interest in the welfare of the colonies, who at once adopted measures looking to their capture, whenever hostilities should commence, which was then hourly expected. On the 19th of April the bloody scene on Lexington Common and the skirmish at Concord Bridge set the whole country in a blaze, banished all hopes of a reconciliation with the king, and put the patriots of America in a defensive attitude to the Crown and power of the mother country. Eight days after this every man in the colonies and upon these

grants had a full knowledge of the situation, and the previously arranged plans for the capture of these forts were put into practical operation. Upon the personal responsibility of Silas Dean and David Wooster, of New Haven, \$1,000 was raised to pay the expenses of the campaign, and Edward Mott and Noah Phelps were sent to the frontier towns to spy out the land, and, in connection with Allen, to start the expedition.

Full of hope and burning with holy zeal in the cause dear to their hearts, these men proceeded northward, arriving in due time at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, with sixteen men. Here they were joined by Colonel Easton and John Brown, with men enough from Massachusetts to swell the whole number to forty men all told.

Not halting at Pittsfield, only to collect up their men, they pushed on to Bennington, where they found Allen, who had already been notified of their coming, ready to receive them, with the squad of Green Mountain Boys which he had called together. At Bennington a council of war was held, Allen appointed commander, the place of rendezvous fixed at Castleton, and all the plans laid and matured for the capture of the forts. On the 7th of May an intrepid band of two hundred and seventy men, all of whom except forty-six were Green Mountain Boys, had collected at Castleton, with Allen at their head, devoted, soul and body, mind and spirit, to the accomplishment of this bold and daring design. All was now ready, Allen was in his glory, and the men impatient for the word. Captain Herrick was sent with a detachment of men to Whitehall to capture the younger Skeene, together with all the materials collected at that place, and then join Allen with the main body at this point. Major Douglas was sent to Pantton to secure all the boats that could be discovered, and return to Shoreham with all possible dispatch, as upon his success chiefly depended the means of transporting the troops across the lake. Word was sent to Remember Baker to co-operate with the expedition from his position at Otter Creek, while Major Beach was sent to Rutland and adjoining towns to arouse the settlers and gather in the volunteers, which duty he faithfully performed, traveling on foot a distance of sixty miles in twenty-four hours, and reported to Allen in time to aid in the capture of the fort.

The present is not the time and this is not the place to enter into a critical analysis of the life and character of the hero of the Green Mountains; suffice it to say that at the time he took command of this expedition he was thirty-eight years old and, as has been well said, was in every sense a remarkable man. His physical organization and character eminently fitted him for the task upon which he was about to enter, and his whole life seemed to have been spent in rendering him more fit for it. In frame he was gigantic, in disposition bluff, petulant, willful, daring, jealous, and tenacious of his individual rights and those of his fellow-settlers; he added to these qualities a sincere and pure patriotism that never cooled or grew dim, and a courage and sagacity equal to any emergency.

"Out of his fiery zeal and fierce struggles, in the end," came the State of Vermont and the establishment of all her boundaries. He was the pet and idol of every man upon the grants and the scourge and terror of their foes. The beach seal and the skin of the catamount were the instruments of his vengeance; and usurping magistrates and bogus tax-collectors fled the borders at his approach. His presence was commanding and his soul deeply imbued with the spirit of liberty. He was thoroughly acquainted with the wants of his people and the wrongs and insults they had suffered. His whole life had been one of strife and contention while battling for the right. Through his prowess and negotiations Vermont became neutral ground during the war, by his strategy the desolating scourge was averted from her people, and through his statesmanship she was at last admitted into the Union.

It is no wonder then that this man in the spring of 1775, when the light in the steeple of the old South church called freemen to arms, should be found thoroughly disciplined and "ripe for treason, stratagems, and spoils."

On the 9th of May, Allen with his little army of two hundred and seventy men, moved cautiously through Sudbury, Whiting and Shoreham to a point called Hand's Cove, on the eastern shore of the lake, arriving there under cover of darkness. Here new difficulties awaited them. Douglas had not reported with boats, and Captain Herrick had not then arrived with his new levies of men, designed as reinforcements; hour after hour passed, and yet no boats appeared; Allen chafed and roared like a caged lion, and the men, as soldiers always do when kept still, swore like the army in Flanders. Daylight was now approaching and unless the assault was made upon the fort at once, they would be discovered by the garrison, and the entire object of the expedition be defeated, for they could no more capture the fort, except by surprise, than Satan could carry the battlements of heaven by storm. At last one old scow, scarcely able to hold itself above water, is brought from Pantton, and another captured from a negro, and the two are found to constitute the only means of transporting these Argonauts in search of the golden fleece on the other side.

Into these two frail barks Allen loaded himself and eighty-two of his courageous and desperate men; the old boats, heavy laden, sink deep in the soft blue waters, while the bronzed and weather-beaten Vermonters, with strong arms and stout hearts, with vigorous strokes drive them toward the opposite shore. As they near the shore the misty outlines of the fort loom up in the gray of the morning, like some grim giant waiting to crush them at a single blow; and just as

the first faint light of the approaching day becomes visible above the summits of Killington, Pico, and Bristol, the keels of the old scows touch the western bank, and Allen and his men spring eagerly upon the beach.

The line is silently and quickly formed; young Beman is at the front to act as guide and devote the first act of his young life to his country, and link his name in history with Allen's. Every hand clutches firmly and closely his trusty rifle. Every heart throbs with high hopes and stern resolves as they gaze upon the grim walls of the frowning fortress and the brazen mouths of hostile cannon, which at the least sound of alarm would vomit forth a storm of fire which would sweep them from the earth.

Only about one-third of the men are across, but delay is impossible; the assault must be made at once; the undertaking is dangerous, and the result doubtful. No man should be compelled to go against his will; the order is given that those who are willing, single-handed, to beard the lion in his den, to storm the fortress, to join this forlorn hope, to rush to glory or the grave, should poise their firelocks. Instantly every gun is poised, and Allen knows he has no cowards in his band.

One word before the order is given to forward, and the lion-hearted leader mounts the log: "Vermonters, I have summoned you from your homes and led you into the very jaws of death; we must this morning quit our pretensions to valor or possess ourselves of this fortress; this covered way to yonder fort will be to us the path to immortality or the grave; up that dangerous steep I propose to lead you; if we fall a sacrifice, liberty and our country demand it. The loved and helpless ones in yonder cabins among the hills implore us to be brave and drive these ruthless invaders from our soil and our homes. I hear the voice and cheerfully obey. I feel the inspiration of this moment, and hasten to seize the prize: and trusting in the God of battles and the justice of our cause, follow me and I will lead you to deeds which shall make this day immortal, cover the Green Mountain Boys with imperishable glory, and make their names the watchword of liberty, while a tyrant shall remain to disgrace the image of his Maker, or pollute the earth with his presence."

His words are finished; the hero draws his sword; the order comes to "right face!" every man is in his place, and every heart beats responsive to the hero's will. Cautiously, silently, but swift as lightning he leads them on, while the youthful hero, Beman, points out the devious way. The frightened and astonished sentinel at the gate, as he meets the fiery gaze of Allen, snaps his musket, which God prevented from being discharged, and flies to the fort for succor and alarm. When he gets to the inner gate, he attempts to bar it against the approach of Allen and his men. Deacon Amos Weller, of Rutland, with the body of a giant, was in the front file. "Uncle Amos, put your shoulder to this gate!" shouts Allen, ere the line had come to a halt. Uncle Amos obeyed, and in a moment more down came gate, sentinel, Uncle Amos and all, thundering to the ground. They are now within the fort, and Allen, in his wild excitement, rushes for the officers' quarters, while the men come leaping in through the casemates and the gate, and quickly form in a hollow square upon the parade.

"Where is the officer of this fort?" cries Allen. "Let him come forth and instantly surrender, or I will sacrifice every man in the garrison." With blanched cheek and trembling limbs, Delaplace hurriedly opens his bed-room door, and with pants in hand and drawers but partly on asks by what authority he makes the audacious demand for the surrender of the fort. "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" roared Allen, in tones which awoke the echoes in the far-off Green Mountains, while his sword quivered and trembled over the head of the frightened Briton.

As might be supposed, after such a demand, by such a man, in the name of such a power, no more parley could be held; and the fort, with two officers, forty-eight men, rank and file, one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, together with a large amount of arms and ammunition, was instantly surrendered, and Ethan Allen and Old Ti were from that moment immortal.

Soon after the capture had been made, Seth Warner came over with the remainder of the force, and Allen found himself in this British stronghold at the head of two hundred and twenty-six men, of whom one hundred and forty were from the New Hampshire grants and known far and wide as Green Mountain Boys, seventy were from Massachusetts, and sixteen were from Connecticut. With so small a force it was necessary to be constantly on the alert, and Warner was sent off instantly to take Crown Point, which he did next day, capturing eleven men and sixty-one serviceable cannon. The conquest having been made reasonably secure, the old dispute between Allen and Arnold, which had been compromised at Castleton, broke out again; but it was at last arranged by a sort of joint command, under which St. John was seized and all British craft on the lake captured. The enemy having been swept out on the north, Ethan Allen went away to receive the plaudits due to his exploits. He was accorded the honor of a public reception on the floor of the Continental Congress, and a similar mark of public gratitude was accorded him by the provincial congress of Massachusetts. The whole land rang with his name and fame. "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" became a watchword and a pean.

In the midst of his glory Ethan Allen organized an expedition to take Montreal and Quebec. At the outset of this enterprise he was

taken himself, and the next two years and seven months he spent as a prisoner in British dungeons and war vessels. Most of the time he was in irons, and hardly ever was he treated as a prisoner of war. In British eyes he was an audacious rebel, and the wonder is he was not hanged. But at last he was exchanged at the Staten Island station, and was at home again in the American lines at New Brunswick, New Jersey. Congress sought to recompense him for his sufferings by voting him a commission as colonel in the Continental Army. He accepted it; but it does not appear that he ever joined the army. As the hero of Ticonderoga his military career began and ended, and his restless, adventurous life came to an early close in 1789 from an attack of apoplexy.

From the capture of Old Ti. down to the close of his life Allen devoted himself wholly to the work of quieting the titles of his people to their lands, settling their disputes, protecting them by force and strategy from the ravages of the war, and by his boldness, sagacity, and dashing policy overcame all opposition and prepared Vermont for admission into the Federal Union, which was finally accomplished two years after his death.

Such in brief, Mr. Speaker, is the history of the man and of the capture of that renowned fortress which, although not vast in the number of men and value of property captured, yet was transcendently important when it is remembered that it was the first offensive and aggressive movement on the part of the colonists and the first grand success in the long struggle for independence which followed. It formed a barrier against the intrusions of the treacherous Canadians and savage Indians on the north; it gave the colonists confidence in themselves and secured them the respect and esteem of mankind; the name of Allen and his Green Mountain Boys became the patriot's battle-cry, and will live in song and story as long as heroic deeds and noble self-devotion to the cause of liberty and free government shall command the veneration and homage of our race.

In the wealth and abundance of Vermont's great names and glowing examples I can but feel that the selection made by the people of my State of the men to represent them in that mute but eloquent group is peculiarly apt and fortunate.

While Ethan Allen nobly represented one extreme of Vermont character and reputation Jacob Collamer as fully and worthily represented the other; and together they embodied and combined the patriotism, learning, culture, daring, intelligence, pluck, advancement, and civilization of the people of that State during the first century of their political existence.

The statue is certainly one of the boldest designs and finest specimens of art produced by American genius and skill. It represents the hero at the moment when, standing upon the stair-case with his left arm thrown across his breast and his right hand grasping his huge blade, he announced to the astonished and affrighted Laplace the high authority by which he demanded the immediate surrender of the fort.

The people of Vermont prize this statue, not only because it is a true and vivid representation of their early champion and patron saint, but because it was conceived and executed by one of her own talented and worthy sons.

"The sculptor's chisel cannot delineate his qualities of mind and heart," or produce that voice which, amid gloom and despair, echoed from Maine to Georgia as it called the men of the Green Mountains to arms in the cause of freedom and independence, but it will, at least, "remind the observer of one whose life was made illustrious by distinguished services rendered in the dark day which ushered our nation into being."

Vermont presents this noble effigy of her son as worthy the companionship of the most illustrious dead by which it will be surrounded and as her rich offering to the nation's sacred treasure. In the name of that gallant people we bring it here and place it beside those of the men who knew and trusted him in the dark and bloody days of the Republic. The spirits of heroes and statesmen welcome him to that august presence, and the bronze and marble lips greet him as he steps forth to take his place among that immortal band. It is well that they should be placed here in the nation's Capitol, in the very center of the strength and majesty of the republic and in the hall which has so often echoed the voices of the ablest orators and statesmen in the land.

The simple ceremonies we perform to-day will soon be forgotten and those who engage in them will pass away, but the hero we honor and the principles his marble is intended to commemorate will live forever.

In coming years it will be the Mecca, and our children will gather there to renew their loyalty and gain fresh courage and a new inspiration for the high and sacred duties of life; there they will recount the deeds of heroic valor of Allen and his brave men, and in that sainted presence rekindle the holy fires of liberty and patriotism which flashed forth on the 10th of May, 1775, at Old Ti. What Vermont heart shall ever grow so callous as not to warm when he beholds it? What American will not be strengthened when his eyes shall rest upon it? And as we stand in that consecrated hall and look upon that towering and majestic form and those that surround it, God grant that it may always inspire us with the same love of liberty, devotion to duty, and contempt of danger in the cause of right which have enshrined the name of Ethan Allen in the hearts of the American people and placed his statue in the nation's niche of fame.

Mr. HENDEE. I move the previous question on the adoption of the resolution.

The previous question was seconded and the main question ordered; and under the operation thereof the concurrent resolution was unanimously adopted.

NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. BLOUNT. I move that the rules be suspended, and that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to resume the consideration of the naval appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. CLYMER in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. No. 3375) making appropriations for the naval service for the year ending June 30, 1877, and for other purposes.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Mr. PIPER. Mr. Chairman, migration, considered as to its causes and effects, presents analogous and even identical characteristics in all ages and in all countries. On every page of history we find accounts of the wanderings of patriarchal tribes and barbarous hordes, and since the dispersion of the peoples by the confusion of tongues, human families have been moving over the earth, from north to south, from east to west, impatient and unwearied, until they succeed in finding a territory suited to their tastes and wants, which becomes their adopted country, the theater of their future development. When once transplanted to a propitious spot, they take root, grow, and perpetuate themselves as a distinct people. Inspired with a desire of improving their condition, actuated by a love of conquest or of gain, or impelled by a spirit of enterprise, these hardy pioneers become the founders of colonies, which, by gradual accretions, grow to be powerful nations.

Careful and judicious observers have proved that these movements took their start from the elevated region of Central Asia, the supposed cradle of mankind. Its nomadic inhabitants, in process of time and to escape the evils of overpopulation, poured out in swarms through its solitary passes and spread over the countries of the Eastern Hemisphere. From this center came the Huns, the Tartars, the Mongols, and other Asiatic tribes which devastated Europe and whose exploits are recorded by the Roman and the Byzantine historians. These conquests, originating through love of plunder, were also inspired by the fierce pleasures of war and of senseless devastation.

But there were other migrations much more peaceful in their nature, and of these the most prominent were the expeditions to strange and unknown countries conducted by the Phenicians and Carthaginians in ancient and by the Iberians and the Anglo-Saxons in modern times. As for many centuries the means of locomotion were limited, the progress of these early movements was slow, being made principally by land, while the naval adventures sent out in ships of diminutive size were comparatively few in number.

This circulation of tribes and companies continued for many thousand years; but at last the human race settled down in permanent occupancy of certain well-defined limits, and now, toward the close of the nineteenth century, the globe is portioned out among four distinct races, destined hereafter to keep separate and apart.

THE FOUR GREAT RACES OF MEN.

The four great races of mankind—the white, the yellow, the black, and the red—in their migrations have divided the earth among themselves in unequal proportions. The white race, excelling in strength, activity, and intelligence, and possessing a high degree of civilization with its predominating forces, has conquered three-fifths of the habitable globe, leaving the remaining two-fifths for the semi-civilized yellow race, the savage African, and the perishing red man. The white race has been endowed with qualities especially fitting it for possessing and occupying the earth to the exclusion of all other classes of mankind; it seems to be instinctively cosmopolite, disseminates itself easily in places propitious to the whites, and does not recoil before the heats of the torrid zone.

The members of the Anglo-Saxon branch, possessed of high and undaunted courage and gifted with muscles of iron, have been remarkably successful in founding colonies; and this success can be attributed chiefly to their great adaptability to self-government. They absorb within themselves all other families of the same race, and those who refuse to assimilate are either driven out or wither and decay under the overshadowing influence of a more active civilization.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN RACE.

Assimilation and absorption constitute the essential characteristics of the people now inhabiting our country. The Spaniards made settlements in Florida, the French in South Carolina and Louisiana, the Swedes on the Delaware, and the Hollanders in New Amsterdam; but all these once prosperous colonists have become absorbed by their more active neighbors, and now it is hard to distinguish between the descendants of the phlegmatic Dutchman or the simple-hearted Swedes and those of the Britons. San Augustine, in Florida, the oldest town in the United States, is little better than a ruin, and the only cause of the prosperity of Charleston and New York is the infusion of the more vigorous blood of the Saxon and the Celt. Again, in 1763 a chain of French forts and trading-posts extended from the Niagara to the mouth of the Mississippi, but the descendants of the old French colonists have so intermingled with the settlers from the more

northern parts of Europe that very little distinct trace of the Gallic blood can be found.

The early emigration to the Western World was conducted on the society and land-company system, and hence arose many of the difficulties both internal and external in the colonies, among which may be mentioned the obstinate endeavors of the German settlers to preserve the customs of their old homes and their resistance to English schools; but now they have assimilated and cannot be distinguished from the descendants of the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt. The Constitution of the United States was intended to combine in one harmonious whole these dissimilar colonies; but, had the system of colonization by societies continued, no one can tell into how many discordant and belligerent States our country at the present time would have been divided. Providentially the system changed. Through the general distress caused in Europe by the wars of the French revolution and the consequent disruption of society and of families, the emigration by individuals commenced. The subsequent extensive application of steam both to land and sea carriage increased the means of locomotion, and by bringing together the natives of different countries in large masses tended to break down the barriers of language and prejudice. In this way the people of our country have formed a race of their own—the Anglo-American—speaking the same language, the English, but combining all the best qualities of the different white races now assimilating and forming a homogeneous whole.

The energy of the Anglo-American race is remarkably observable when the decay of the red man is studied; this subject needs no amplification, for the fact is fully proved from the circumstance that at the present time our Government is embarrassed with the difficulties of the treatment of the Indian tribes, and cannot decide which of the many plans proposed shall be adopted to delay their extinction and render it the least painful.

THE AFRICAN A DISTURBING ELEMENT.

Through man's avarice and the desire to facilitate the opening of the boundless forests and the cultivation of the rich virgin soil, the African was stolen from his native jungle and transported to the colonies of the New World—a fatal measure, sowing dragon's teeth; and no Cadmus could have anticipated the crop of armed men which actually sprung up in the irrepressible conflict between the sections of our once happy country, bringing on a civil war the like of which the world had never before seen and inflicting heavy penalties both upon the white and the black man. And this happened, not because the African was by nature aggressive and a disturber of the public peace, but from other causes. Indeed the negro was peculiarly docile, impressionable, and emotional, readily accommodating himself to our habits, civilization, and religion. But the real cause of his being a disturbing element in the body-politic arose from his physical differences and his incapacity of assimilation with the white race, and hence he was held in bondage by the superior man. If he had belonged to our own race, does any one believe that his shackles would not have fallen off when the Declaration of our Independence was promulgated?

IMPOLICY OF INTRODUCING THE CHINESE.

With these warnings and examples before us, it seems astounding that men—some actuated by mistaken humanitarian ideas, others impelled by a greedy desire for gain—will insist on importing Chinese into our country, since this short-sighted policy will only bring ruin and destruction upon us. We are all familiar with the mental and physical characteristics of the African, but very little is known about the Chinese except by residents on our Pacific coast. A careful study, however, of their peculiarities will show that they are unfit to become even residents of the American Republic.

THE CHINESE AT HOME.

The Chinese are of a sickly white or light-yellow color, with coarse, glossy, lank, black hair, and thin, scanty, black beards. Their eyes are invariably black, and apparently oblique, owing to the internal corners being more acute than in the white race. Their faces are remarkably round, with high cheek-bones and small, much depressed noses, and thick lips. The women are disproportionately small in size, and, with their broad upper face, low nose, and linear eyes, possess little beauty, and in fact are quite the reverse of handsome.

These are the characteristics of a subject, servile race; and the Chinese in fact for over six hundred years have been slaves of the Tartars, to whom even in remote times they paid tribute. Unable to relieve themselves by their own exertions from their cruel enemies, they called in the assistance of Kubla Khan and his fierce Mongols; but by this course they simply placed themselves under a more arbitrary oppressor, who subjugated them with cruel slaughter. During the ensuing century several insurrections broke out, only to be quelled with great loss of life; but at last the Mongols were expelled.

The Chinese, however, were not able to maintain themselves before the Tartars, and the warlike Manchus with a small force subdued the entire country, devastating the sea-coast and effectually crushing out all resistance. As a sign of submission, the Manchus compelled them to adopt the national Tartar mode of shaving the front of the head and of braiding the hair in a long one. This order was resisted, and many suffered decapitation rather than part with their hair, but the mandate was gradually enforced, and for two centuries this degrading sign of conquest has been one of the distinguishing marks of a Chinaman. This condition of abject servitude still exists, and the present rulers, from the Emperor downward, ex-

ercise irresponsible autocratic powers, making the government an absolute despotism of the worst kind.

THEIR INGRAINED DUPLICITY.

Consequently the effect upon the subject race is highly injurious and destructive of all moral qualities. The arbitrary power of the officials has rendered falsehood absolutely necessary as a means of escape from oppressive burdens, unjust punishments and extortions. The rapacity of the magistrates compels the people to resort to every kind of subterfuge, and hence the spirit of duplicity has become ingrained in the Chinese, who exhibit all the vices of a people forced to resort to low cunning as a means of carrying out their schemes. In order to retain the mastery, the Manchu rulers have established a system of surveillance and isolation, and the natural effect has been to crush out all honorable feeling among the Chinese. A cold selfishness is the prime motive of their actions, and all sense of justice, truth, honesty, and natural affection is destroyed.

IGNORANT, SUPERSTITIOUS, AND ATHEISTS.

The Chinese are also an ignorant people, as the practical difficulties of their language are very great. There are at least 25,000 different characters sanctioned by polite usage, while the entire number is placed as high as 261,000. The burden of remembering so many complicated symbols whose form, sound, and meanings must all be understood, is so great that a life-time is consumed in acquiring an education, and the result is valueless. Only three men in one hundred and only one woman in a thousand can read works written in the classic style. The books teach little worth knowing except maxims of morality long reduced to actual practice by the western nations, but neglected and forgotten by the Chinese; and the histories only furnish a warning against the results of a false system and a vicious policy.

They are grossly superstitious, believing in the efficacy of magical arts of the most revolting description, and they have no religion except the worship of the tablets of Confucius and of their individual ancestors. Having no moral sense of right and wrong, they are practical atheists, determined suicides, and systematic infanticides. They do not observe any weekly day of rest, and, in their worship, beat gongs, ring bells, explode fire-crackers, and burn paper petitions. They use praying-machines and expend immense sums in the repair of temples and in the purchase of idols in which they do not believe. Their form of oath consists in cutting off a chicken's head—a symbol that a like fate awaits the false witness—but there is no solemn appeal to a supreme being who will punish him either here or hereafter.

This description is not overdrawn, for a prominent missionary who has been living in close intimacy with this people for over forty years likens Chinese society to a stagnant pool fermenting in its own feculence, whose torpor is only disturbed by the monstrous things its own heat generates, and becoming more and more polluted casts up nothing but mire and dirt.

RANCOROUS HOSTILITY TO FOREIGNERS.

The most striking traits of the Chinese, however, are exhibited in their intercourse with other countries, and their odious superstitions have been proved beyond the possibility of doubt by their bitter, ineradicable hostility to the western nations and especially by their savage attacks upon foreign residents.

The Chinese Empire, surrounded by lofty snow-covered mountains, impenetrable jungles, and artificial walls, has from time immemorial been the symbol of bigoted exclusiveness. With these barriers, the intercourse with foreigners, confined to the frontiers and the sea-coast, was merely commercial, and was conducted on principles degrading to the pride of the western nations; and history furnishes a curious and melancholy record of ill-requited obsequiousness before insolent barbarian lackeys. The early embassies were subjected to humiliations and the ambassadors were guarded like criminals, treated like beggars, and entertained like mountebanks. In later times, the grievances became more serious. The loading of ships was delayed, goods were stolen, crews were maltreated, underlings were extortionate, and access to the high authorities for complaint and redress was denied. The dealings with foreigners were conducted in the spirit of a government proclamation that the *fankwei*—that is, the "foreign devils"—are like beasts and not to be treated like the natives.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES EXTORTED BY FORCE.

The modern relations between China and the western nations have been almost exclusively commercial, but the treaties were not negotiated by pure diplomacy, they were rather extorted by an overpowering exhibition of force. The principal disagreements arose from the persistent refusals of the officials to redress grievances, and their obstinate denial of access to the Emperor. From these causes a state of war continued from 1836 to 1860, when, in consequence of the capture of Peking and the sacking of the Emperor's summer palace, the Chinese granted to foreign ambassadors the right to reside at the capital, and also opened twenty-one ports to trade. During this period of twenty-four years of war several commercial treaties were negotiated by Great Britain, the principal belligerent, and other powers, including the United States, were admitted to similar privileges. These treaties, however, were wrung from the Chinese by fear, and were not obtained through a sense of reciprocal advantage, since all they desire is to work out their own destiny in their own way—that is, simply to retrograde and to relapse into barbarism. They made small concessions to avert great demands, and their whole struggle was and continues to be against making any concessions at all.

THE BURLINGAME TREATY.

After this effectual chastisement of their barbarian arrogance, the Chinese, with characteristic duplicity modified their policy, and dreading the return of the fleets and armies of the western nations, adopted the plan of conducting negotiations at the capitals of the Christian powers, and to effect that purpose sent out Mr. Anson Burlingame and two Chinese envoys of the second rank on a roving diplomatic mission. From this source originated the famous Burlingame treaty of 1868, the effects of which have so recently been complained of. Under this treaty the citizens of the United States residing in China enjoy the same privileges in respect to travel and residence as may be there enjoyed by citizens and subjects of the most favored nations, and reciprocally the Chinese in the United States are entitled to similar privileges.

But, although the language of the treaty is identical in establishing the rights of the citizens of one country in the dominions of the other, yet the actual concessions are by no means identical; for in China the citizens of the most favored nation have no rights of residence except within certain narrow limits at the treaty ports, while in the United States citizens of all nations can reside where they please and travel anywhere without molestation. The treaty also provided for the introduction of railroads and telegraph lines, but this concession could only have been intended for the benefit of speculators and not of the people of the United States.

After concluding this treaty at Washington the mission proceeded to Europe; but in consequence of the profound distrust of Chinese professions entertained by the western nations Mr. Burlingame was unsuccessful in further negotiations, and the pretended objects of the embassy were effectually frustrated by his sudden death under circumstances casting suspicion on his Chinese colleagues.

THE TIEN-TSIN MASSACRE.

A few months had hardly elapsed after Mr. Burlingame's sudden death when this incredulity of Chinese professions was strikingly confirmed by the news of the horrible massacre at Tien-Tsin, June 21, 1870. This fearful tragedy deepened the impression of the ignorance and superstitions of the Chinese, of their dark and hideous crimes, and of their bitter hatred of foreigners. The atrocities of this outbreak were almost too fiendish for belief. Aided and abetted by the authorities, the Chinese mob murdered and then mutilated the French consul and several French priests, civilians, and servants, burned down the consulate, the mission church and hospital, and tortured the Sisters of Charity to death in the most horrible manner, cutting their bodies into small pieces and distributing the fragments among the rioters. Over twenty Europeans perished in this ferocious onset which, since its causes are still operative, may at any time be repeated. No regret or sorrow was felt by the Chinese; and the murderers who, under the pressure of a threatened retaliation, were executed for this savage crime, have been canonized as martyrs in a holy cause. Since then, with the evident motive to incite the populace against foreigners, large highly-colored pictures representing this massacre have been exhibited at Chinese fairs, and threatening placards are continually appearing on the walls of Peking and the treaty ports. Attacks on missionaries and consuls are of frequent occurrence, and a general apprehension is always prevailing that a widespread plot for the extermination of all foreigners is on the eve of breaking out.

THE CHINESE IN CALIFORNIA.

Having described the characteristics of the Chinese in their own country, I shall now direct attention to that race on our Pacific coast.

At the present time there are in California 150,000 Chinese, of whom 50,000 live in San Francisco; and the steamers from Shanghai and Hong Kong are weekly bringing over immense numbers in addition. The alarm excited by this invasion is wide-spread, and the aid of Congress is invoked to put a stop to this influx of semi-barbarians now threatening to outnumber the white population of the Pacific coast, imperiling their best interests and endangering the existence of free institutions. Entertaining a deadly hatred of the whites, being of a distinct race, they can never become homogeneous with the people of our country. They will neither learn our language nor adopt our manners, customs, and beliefs, only eighty converts of doubtful Christianity being the result of twenty years of missionary labor in San Francisco. Pagans in religion, they hold in contempt the oaths and solemn proceedings of our courts of justice, and establish secret tribunals of their own, enforcing their decrees even to the taking away of life. With the exception of a few merchants the great mass pay no taxes, and the burden of their support in asylums, hospitals, and prisons falls upon our citizens.

FREE INSTITUTIONS ENDANGERED.

From ignorance they are unable to perform either civil or military duties. They cannot serve as jurors in the courts, as soldiers in the Army, or as sailors in the Navy. Should the country be invaded they would be perfectly useless for purposes of defense, and the enemy would have in them a corps of cunning spies more than ready to sell their information. They will not conform to sanitary and police regulations, and live miserably, crowded together in filth and wretchedness, eaten up by horrible diseases. From their carelessness in handling fire terrible conflagrations break out in their over-populated dens and devastate the neighborhood.

THE CHINA QUARTER ABOMINATIONS.

The China quarter in San Francisco has driven off the old white residents from the vicinity, and put a stop to improvements; it is a hiding-place for shame, filth, crime, disease, and abject poverty, and every town on the Pacific coast is cursed with similar abominations.

They have no domestic life worthy of the name, the sacred relations of husband and wife being almost wholly disregarded. The women are nearly all slaves in condition and prostitutes by vocation, and the men, substantially the bondsmen of the six companies, are abandoned and dangerous criminals, opium smokers, and gamblers.

DESTRUCTION OF LABOR INTERESTS.

They have monopolized menial labor and many of the lighter mechanic arts, thus depriving American boys and girls of opportunities of employment, closing the avenues of labor, and driving many to enforced idleness and want, resulting in confirmed poverty and crime. They have robbed women of work which afforded them an honest and virtuous independence and have compelled many to resort to doubtful means of support. They have taken the place of tens of thousands of white men who would have immigrated to the Pacific States and who would have bought farms, built houses, raised families, and supported numerous dependents.

The fatal and unwise policy of corporations in importing and employing Chinese of the lowest caste has turned in our direction a stream of undesirable immigrants which, unless checked, will in a short time overflow the Pacific coast and reduce that region to a condition of barbarism. Had these corporations employed white laborers, at the present time in the Pacific States there would be thousands of homesteads occupied by able-bodied fathers of families, cultivating the soil and building up for the railroads an immense business in the transportation of farm products. Instead of securing these substantial and enduring benefits, these corporations imported a vast army of Asiatics, who remit their earnings to China and send to that country for the clothes they wear and even for the food they eat. Instead of introducing permanent settlers, these companies brought in upon us the very lowest of the low classes of a semi-barbarous people with ineradicable vices and prejudices.

WIDE-SPREAD ALARM ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

The people of the Pacific coast regard these hordes with fear and alarm, believing that superiority of race and intelligence will probably not be able to resist such overwhelming superiority of numbers. They love their own wives and children, their own families and homes, their own country and laws, better than the interests of Asiatic aliens, and insist that, if the trade with China cannot be secured except at the expense of the comfort and happiness and welfare of the American people, it must be relinquished, no matter how profitable it may be to a very few. They have of themselves endeavored to remedy the evil by the passage of laws calculated to prevent the introduction of lewd and debauched woman, convicted criminals, and helpless paupers, while permitting the immigration of persons who will add to the industrial classes of the community.

THE ADVERSE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

But the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the passage of laws concerning the admission of citizens and subjects of foreign nations belongs to Congress, and not to the State Legislatures; and the anticipated injurious effect of the California statute is illustrated by hypothetical cases which the court admits are highly improbable and not likely ever to occur. It may here be remarked that this objectionable State immigration act does not differ in principle from similar statutes in force in reference to poor-law-settlement cases, nor are the powers of the commissioner of immigration as extensive as those of magistrates under the professional-thieves acts or under the laws prohibiting the carrying of concealed deadly weapons.

It does seem singular that, while our own dangerous classes, who have a constitutional right to a trial by jury, can by summary conviction be imprisoned in jails and workhouses, yet foreign criminals, paupers, and lewd women must be permitted to land on our shores in defiance of the police authorities of the separate States. Every law of this description leaves a wide margin of discretion within which the magistrate can act, and it is not to be presumed that he will decide arbitrarily and without good reasons; yet, under the rigid criticism of the California statute, it might be supposed that no Chinese common prostitute could be considered a lewd woman, unless, like in the case of high dignitaries under the canon law, the evidence of seventy witnesses to each separate act of incontinency was produced.

Again it is argued that, if such State laws were to be enforced against the subjects of Great Britain, our Government would become involved in difficulties leading to war or a suspension of intercourse. But the cases are not parallel, for the rights of emigration as between Great Britain and the United States are reciprocal, while immigration to China is entirely forbidden, except at a few ports where foreigners even when admitted must reside within certain narrow limits, like wild beasts in a cage. Much just criticism might be expended on this decision; but, as the opinions of the United States Supreme Court, however injurious in their practical effect, should be respected, the people of the Pacific coast will obey the mandates of the highest tribunal of the land without murmuring, at the same time praying Congress, which it has been decided has the sole power over the subject, to act promptly and apply an efficacious remedy for these evils. And what that remedy should be, I shall now endeavor to show.

PROPOSED REMEDIES.

In a previous portion of these remarks I have proved by incontestable evidence that the Chinese are bitterly hostile to foreigners, and desire nothing but to maintain a policy of isolation; that every treaty without exception has been wrung from them by force, and that even the Burlingame treaty, far from being a spontaneous expression of good-will, was in reality inspired by fear, was a device to ward off greater evils, and was ratified with reluctance.

Anson Burlingame, although nominally a plenipotentiary from China, was in every respect a representative of Christian civilization, and in reality accepted the position with the mistaken idea that he could bring the empire under the influence of a more liberal policy. He left the diplomatic service of the United States and entered into that of China only after consultation with the representatives of the western nations. The mere fact of his appointment he looked upon as proof positive that Chinese exclusiveness had been broken down, and being misled by erroneous information as to the character and extent of the Tae-Ping rebellion, in his enthusiasm he believed that the mass of the people were about to become Christians and were ready to assimilate with the white races.

Hence, while acting as it were as an intermediary between the peoples of the East and of the West, he seems to have been governed by the idea that by granting to the Chinese advantageous terms, even without receiving reciprocal benefits, they would in a short time abandon paganism, embrace Christianity, become less rancorous toward foreigners, and, in brief, would willingly adopt the manners and customs of western civilization. This policy was based upon the chimerical view that they would be influenced by this unselfish generosity and would spontaneously imitate the example set before them by the Burlingame treaty. But Mr. Burlingame was completely hoodwinked by the Chinese, who in this instance exhibited their characteristic duplicity. The treaty in reality amounted to a claim to resume the grants of land previously made to foreign nations for commercial settlements and was only another instance of barbarian arrogance. It was not ratified for two years, and serious doubts were for a long time entertained and expressed whether it would ever be ratified at all by the Chinese.

MODIFICATION OF THE BURLINGAME TREATY.

Mr. Fish, who in the interim had succeeded Mr. Seward as Secretary of State, would have been perfectly satisfied if the Chinese had postponed forever the exchange of ratifications. He evidently believed that the "favored-nation" clauses contained a one-sided compact, benefiting the Chinese only, and the fair inference can be drawn from his published diplomatic correspondence that he was grievously disappointed when the treaty was finally ratified. On his entrance into office in 1869, Mr. Fish appears to have taken into serious consideration the propriety of withdrawing altogether from the engagements contracted by his predecessor—the negotiation having been a grave blunder involving future embarrassment. However, from a variety of causes, unnecessary to dwell upon, he thought it best to trust to the chapter of accidents; and this "let-alone" policy has ended by convulsing the Pacific coast.

At the present time, I have no doubt, he regrets his inertness and would be only too glad of an opportunity to retrace his steps, if just grounds for such action should be afforded him. And there are abundant reasons to justify him in such a course. The Chinese themselves, in not protecting resident foreigners from the fury of mobs, have violated the treaty over and over again, and under similar provocations we ourselves should at once have abrogated a treaty with any other, even more powerful, nation. It seems singular that so much forbearance should be exercised toward the Chinese and that such a tender regard for their feelings should be displayed by us. We would not, for one instant, allow such a one-sided treaty to govern our relations with Great Britain, and the enforcement by that power of Chinese restrictions upon trade and travel would result in complete non-intercourse and even in hostilities. Why, then, should we submit to such indignities from a semi-barbarous infidel nation?

The rulers of China are totally incapable of compelling their subjects to observe the commonest rights of hospitality toward American and other foreign residents, and diplomatic intercourse with them is confined on the one side to repeated formal appeals for redress for savage, brutal attacks upon consuls, missionaries, and civilians, and on the other side to cunning apologies and confessions of inability to restrain the animosities of the populace.

The Burlingame treaty, I therefore contend, should be modified by reducing it to a mere commercial convention, giving the Chinese the right of residence in this country for the purposes of trade only; or an additional article might be inserted reserving to the United States the right to regulate, restrict, or prevent the immigration or importation of Chinese subjects. Negotiations should immediately be instituted coupled with an urgent pressing suggestion that the proposed terms must at once be accepted. Such a course would direct the attention of the Chinese government to the troubles from which we are suffering, and that empire may voluntarily offer to apply a remedy. No interruption of harmonious relations need be anticipated, for the ruling princes of China are just as unwilling to lose their subjects as we are indispensed to receive them, and almost any measure whereby this immense outflow from the empire could be stopped would be cheerfully adopted.

NECESSITY OF A MORE RIGID ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW.

But with the usual delays of diplomacy such negotiations would consume considerable time, and meanwhile coolies, criminals, and lewd women will continue to pour in by steamer and ship loads, and some immediate step must at once be taken to resist this vast tide of pagan Chinese. For this end the immigration acts now on the statute-books, although not furnishing an entirely effective remedy, must be more rigidly enforced.

The personal examination as to the voluntary emigration of coolies, required to be made by consuls in oriental ports, is very imperfectly conducted, and the certificates are very carelessly granted. In consequence of this neglect large gangs of cooly bondsmen, virtually the slaves of their employers, are brought to our Pacific coast. In fact, it is asserted our consuls sign the certificates of voluntary emigration upon the representations of the master of the vessel, without any personal examination. And it is also difficult to believe that such droves of coolies could come over and land on our shores unless our consuls had been remiss or had connived at illegal emigration. They also neglect to inquire whether Chinese women coming to this country have entered into agreements for a term of service for lewd and immoral purposes; and through this remissness our Pacific States are flooded with prostitutes, inflicting ruin both as to body and soul upon the rising generation.

Our consuls at oriental ports should therefore be kept under more rigid supervision, and a failure on their part to enforce the cooly-immigration acts should be promptly followed by dismissal in disgrace or by other more severe punishments.

The penalties of the law should also be enforced against all persons importing cooly bondmen and lewd women. This matter is within the control of the United States, and the district attorneys should be compelled to act promptly and vigorously under pain of dismissal. A few convictions of the most prominent offenders against the immigration acts would serve as a wholesome warning to all others.

In our own ports the collectors of customs are careless about inspecting arriving vessels and excluding women imported for immoral purposes and other obnoxious persons. Through this dereliction of duty, whether from heedlessness or connivance, or in defiance of the statute, the landing of Chinese paupers, criminals, and lewd women is of constant occurrence, and the only method of checking this evil, of which we have the most conclusive evidence, is to compel the collectors to perform their duties, and in default thereof to inflict a heavy penalty upon them.

To effect this purpose, the House should promptly pass the act amending the immigration acts which has been ordered to be reported from the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. HOUSE. Mr. Chairman, as the struggle between the two great parties for the control of this Government with all its vast patronage and power approaches, and another presidential election begins to cast its shadow before us, it behooves every man who desires the prosperity and happiness of all sections of the country to pause and calmly survey the situation before the voice of reason shall be hushed in the uproar of the conflict, and the suggestions of patriotism silenced by the demands of party.

If there ever was a time in the history of our country when its supreme welfare demanded the best efforts of its friends of all parties and all sections to exorcise the demon of sectional hate, it is now. It was not reasonable to expect that after a long and bitter sectional struggle, which culminated in a gigantic civil war, the combatants would become friends in an hour or a day. War is not the nursery of fraternal feeling, and time is required to heal its ghastly wounds and to restore the friendships it has sundered and the affections it has alienated. But more than fifteen years since the first and more than eleven years since the last gun was fired have elapsed; and if we ever mean to be friends it is time for the honest and thoughtful men of both sections to consider the questions that disturb our peaceful relations from the stand-point of reason and patriotism; it is time for crimination and recrimination to cease and let the matter be discussed as becomes men who have a common country, a common ancestry, a common history, and a common destiny.

Will the period never arrive in American politics when bitterness and jealousies between the North and the South shall cease to be factors in our presidential elections? Shall the dead-line of sectional hate forever divide us? Can those who were enemies in war never learn to be friends in peace? Is there no process by which the victor can be induced to trust the vanquished, or the conquered to look kindly upon the conqueror?

These are questions upon the solution of which depend the restoration of the American Union in the spirit in which it was originally formed by our fathers and the transmission of its blessings to the generations that are to come after us.

The North still distrusts the South, and views all her actions and utterances with a critic's eye and a jealous scrutiny; watches her—

As a lion's whelp,
That gnaws, and yet may break her chain.

The South regards the North as still willing to oppress and slow to forgive.

These are facts which it is neither wise to ignore nor honest to conceal. We sometimes, in moments of sentimental patriotism, call each other brethren; but the ease and facility with which an un-

guarded word can raise the devil of sectional hate in our bosoms shows that there are still live coals beneath the ashes of the war. The fact that the candidate for popular favor thinks it profitable to light the torch of his ambition at this funeral pile demonstrates the presence of a large residuum of unfriendly feeling in the hearts of the people. The man who has made politics his study, and place and position the goal of his aspirations, is not likely to appeal to a feeling which does not exist, to waste his time in drawing drafts on a bank that has no funds, or in sweeping the cords of an instrument that yields no music. His shrewdness and sagacity, whetted and sharpened by long and interested study of the peculiarities of the people, their habits of thought and feeling, will always save him from the idle and hurtful task of calling spirits from a vasty deep that contains none. When, therefore, I see the ablest and most distinguished leaders of a party making inflammatory appeals to the people, based on the assumed prejudices of one section against the other; when I see them, on a deliberate calculation of the chances of success, choosing this road to the Presidency, I must be excused for coming to the conclusion that they are operating outside the pale of popular sympathy. The people harbor these unfriendly feelings; otherwise candidates for their suffrages would never base the hope of success upon an appeal to them. However much this state of affairs may be deplored, we cannot shut our eyes or stop our ears to what is too obvious to be avoided or evaded. Centennial gush and declamatory patriotism may gloss it over, but these spasmodic and ephemeral exhibitions of fraternal feeling are but the prismatic hues that shimmer on an iceberg when the rays of a winter sun fall upon its cold bosom.

That a majority of the people of both sections desire a restoration of peace and fraternity, that in their moments of cool reflection they feel convinced that the welfare of the country is not promoted by the indulgence of angry feeling and bitter words, but the interests of both sections demand a cessation of the unseemly quarrel, I have no doubt. But it is so difficult to abandon leaders whom we have been accustomed to follow, to break up party associations of long standing, that many whose intentions are good, whose purposes are pure and unselfish, are borne along by the force of circumstances in a course of action which their sober reason cannot approve and their deliberate judgment condemns. But the time has come when if politicians in their crusades of hate and denunciation do not represent the people, they must make it known to the country through the ballot-box, by consigning to the shades of private life all these disturbers of the peace. Sectional feeling may be fomented and fostered until it becomes chronic, when time, which heals many wounds and re-unites many sundered ties, will be impotent to bring us together, and revolving years will only witness the gulf widening which divides us.

The man who willfully promotes the indulgence of sectional animosity and represses the growth of fraternal feeling among the people, relying upon the use of the sword by the majority to keep the minority in subjection, is a despot at heart, false to all the teachings and traditions of American history, and a foe to the Constitution of his country. The strongest bulwark of a republic is not to be found in forts and arsenals and armaments, but in the affections of the people for the government. We sometimes dispute about the term to be applied to our Government to designate its character, some asserting that we are a nation, others that we are a republic, and others that we are something else. But it matters not what terminology may be employed to characterize our form of government, whether we call it a nation, a republic, a confederation of States, a democracy, *quocunque nomine gaudet*, if it is not founded on the affections of the people it bears within its bosom the seeds of decay and the elements of dissolution.

Do we expect or intend that the process of alienation shall always continue; that there is to be no end to mutual distrust and sectional antipathy? If not to continue forever, when do we propose to change the situation, and how? If sectional hate is a national blessing, let it be promoted by all means. Let us hail its most active propagators as the best friends of the country, and crown them with the highest honors of the Republic. Let us hate each other with all the powers that God has given and the devil has perverted; let epithets that hiss with scorn, words that burn with passion, denunciations that scream like shells through the air, be exchanged between us as fast and thick as bullets flew upon the bloodiest battle-fields of the war. The more we hate each other the stronger the Government will become. Trade will revive under it, commerce will spread her sails on new seas, confidence will be restored, and general prosperity will revisit all the people. The national debt will be borne with cheerfulness and paid without difficulty. Under its benign influence the South will recuperate and grow rich and the great and wealthy North will reap from her re-established trade with the South the golden harvests of other years. The representatives of foreign nations who come to our Centennial will regard the grand display as a national joke, and, lifting their hands in admiration at our discovery of a new way to prosperity and happiness, will exclaim, "Behold how sweet and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in perpetual strife."

Ah, Mr. Chairman, if we have only exchanged a war of the sword for a war of words, the passions of belligerents for a settled hate that cannot be appeased, the Union has only been restored in name,

and the mighty conflict waged, professedly to save it, a terrible and melancholy failure. A union pinned together only with bayonets and compressed alone by the strong arm of a powerful government, while the hearts of the people are at perpetual war with each other, is not the Union our fathers formed and is not worth preserving. It is an abuse of the English language and a fraud upon mankind to call it a union. A union of what? A union of the majority to trample the rights of the minority beneath their feet; a union of the victors to divide the spoils, it may be; but the Union that Washington loved, and that Jackson said must be preserved, it certainly is not.

What rational motive can the northern people have for cherishing vindictive and unkindly feelings toward the South? What material interest is advanced by it? What arm of the Government is strengthened by it? What feature of the national character does it render more lovely? What page of our history as a people is it expected to illustrate or adorn? Whose interest requires that it shall go on, and who can possibly reap any benefit from a field thus sown in tares? No one but the selfish demagogue; and as long as the people permit their sectional prejudices to be used as a ladder by which ambition may climb to power, so long will the busy feet of the unscrupulous partisan be seen ascending its rounds.

It has been many long, unhappy years since the minds of the northern and southern people have been sufficiently calm to understand each other, and to appreciate with judicial fairness each other's motives. They did not understand each other when the war commenced; if they had appreciated the situation, humanity requires us to believe that both sides would have paused long before plunging the country into all the horrors of that terrible struggle. I shall always believe—though in this I may be mistaken—that if the voice of the border States, even after the secession of their southern sisters, had been heeded, the war might have been averted. There was the calmest voice that rose above the storm of passion that preceded active hostilities. They knew that their territory would be the battle-field, and upon them would fall the heaviest blows of the war. They were not responsible for the war, whoever else may have been. They exhausted every effort to avert it. They were sincerely attached to the Union, and anxiously desired its preservation. But the war came, against their protest and despite all their efforts to prevent it. And whatever may be thought of the course they saw fit to take, when they were forced to fight on one side or the other, this much may be said in vindication of their motives: They cast their fortunes with the weaker side, and did not seek to save themselves or their property by taking shelter under the protection of the heaviest artillery and with the most powerful army.

But these things belong to the past, to which I do not propose to refer any further than to draw lessons for the present and warnings for the future. If sectional strife has once hurried us into the miseries of war, let us see to it that it never does it again. Let us cease to travel a road beset with so many dangers and that once led us through so many horrors.

Mr. Chairman, he who seeks to perpetuate strife between the sections who engaged in the war insults the grave of every Federal soldier who offered up his life to save the Union and robs the victory won by Federal arms of its chief and only glory. For what purpose was the war waged by the Government of the United States?

When McDowell's well-appointed Army, with flying banners and rolling drums, marched from Washington, it was expected that the rebellion would be crushed as soon as the Federal Army could come up with it, and that the national flag in less than a month would wave over the capitol at Richmond. The man who at that time would have been bold enough to suggest a different result would have been arrested for disloyalty. The result of the first great battle of the war is well known. That magnificent Army that marched out under the inspiration of the gay romance of war soon learned that war was no holiday pastime, and broken and scattered fell back upon the capital in wild dismay. Consternation reigned in the streets of Washington, as the confederate army was hourly expected to enter and take possession of the city. President Lincoln had called for seventy-five thousand troops to put down the rebellion. General Scott, having suggested that it would take three hundred thousand men to suppress it, was charitably set down as in his dotage. The North now began, for the first time, to realize the magnitude of the enterprise on which they had embarked. For the first time they felt that the necessity was upon them to husband all their resources, to make as few enemies and as many friends as possible. Hence, soon after this disheartening and humiliating rout of their Army, on the very next day, I believe, the venerable John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, who had made a noble and patriotic, though unsuccessful, effort to compromise the differences between the sections and thus avert the threatened catastrophe of war and dissolution, came forward in this House and offered the following memorable resolution:

Resolved, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the constitutional Government and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged upon our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

This resolution passed the House with only two, and the Senate with only five, dissenting voices.

There is no mistaking the profound concern and painful apprehensions that pervaded both Houses of Congress when this resolution was passed. They stood in the presence of a hitherto unappreciated and unrealized danger that appalled them. Their utterance was a cry of agony from the national heart. They declared that they would banish from their hearts all passion and resentment and would only recollect their duty to the whole country; they disclaimed all intention to oppress or subjugate or conquer the South, and, in clear ringing tones, intended to be heard from one end of the country to the other, and with all the solemnity of an oath, they proclaimed that they were waging war for no other purpose than to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired. If, in the hour of great national danger, with an enemy "in arms around the capital," Congress could thus speak in language too plain to be misunderstood and too impressive to be forgotten, now that those enemies have long since laid down their arms and the supremacy of the Constitution has been established from the Gulf to the lakes and from ocean to ocean, may I not invoke the banishment of all passion and resentment and the recollection of the duty of all men to the whole country, not forgetting the *dignity, equality, and rights* of the several States in a re-established Union? May I not make the invocation in the names of the brave men who were induced by the promises and pledges contained in that resolution to march to the field of battle and a soldier's grave?

Mr. Chairman, Fort Donelson, one of the great battle-fields of the war, is situated in my congressional district. It was upon that memorable field that General Grant won his spurs and entered upon that career of distinction which made him Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army, the hero of the war, and finally President of the United States. On a commanding eminence, overlooking the town of Dover, where the battle was fought, is located a national cemetery, where a grateful country has collected the bones of her brave defenders. During my canvass, being in the vicinity, in company with a friend I visited the spot. A wounded soldier, who had charge of the place, received us with courtesy and politeness, and we were permitted to drive within the inclosure and survey the scene. It was as lovely an autumn day as ever smiled upon the earth. From a lofty staff in the center of the grounds the American flag floated gracefully in the breeze. At the base of the hill the beautiful Cumberland, like a belt of silver, glided on its peaceful way. No iron-clad monitors now thundered upon its bosom, and the surrounding hills, no longer swept by the storm of battle, seemed quietly dreaming in the golden light that bathed their summits. Just in sight were the confederate rifle-pits. The winds and rains and storms of intervening years had filled them nearly even with the surface of the earth, and trees as large as a man's body had grown upon the spot where they were dug. I looked upon the graves that lay around me with no other feeling than that of reverence and respect. The grave that contains the ashes of one who had faith enough in his cause to die for it, whether his cause and mine were the same or not, could never fail to command from me the homage due to integrity of purpose and lofty courage. As I walked amid those graves I asked myself the question, "Did these men die in vain? Is the Union they fought to save never to be restored save in theory and in name? Is the sectional strife that preceded and produced the war to still pursue this unhappy country like a sleepless and remorseless Nemesis?"

But the place and its associations called up in my mind thoughts of other men. They, too, with that sublime faith in the justice of their cause which forms the martyr's crown and the hero's passport to immortality, had found a soldier's sepulcher. But no grateful government had gathered their bones into magnificent cemeteries, adorned with all that wealth can command or taste suggest to beautify those cities of the dead. Thousands of them sleep far away from the homes of their childhood, in the deep bosom of forests, where human footsteps rarely tread. The birds of the wild-wood sing their morning and evening hymns above their unrecorded graves. No monumental marble stands sentinel at the spot where they sleep and no ancestral oak shall ever throw its welcome shadow above their heroic dust. By many their names are cast out as evil and hands are not wanting that would write the word "traitor" as the epitaph upon their tombs. But no amount of detraction can shake my faith in their integrity and no temptation of power or position ever make me false to their memories. My blood must turn to water and my heart become as cold as death can make it before I can consent to assail their motives while they lived or insult the humble graves in which they sleep. I know they were actuated by purposes as pure, by a courage as high as ever followed any banner or illustrated the annals of any land. It is not only uncharitable but unjust to regard every man who followed the fortunes of the lost cause as a conscious traitor, devoid of honor and unworthy of trust. Reason rejects such a view of the subject as absurd, justice stamps it as untrue, and the muse of history will decline to transfer it to her immortal page. Questions that rallied so many thousands, as well educated politically as the American masses, to the battle-field for their solution must have had, did have two sides to them. Is it, then, fair or rational for the strong and victorious party to assume that their vanquished antagonists had neither reason nor plausibility on their side, but were actuated in all

they did by hearts regardless of all social duty and fatally bent on mischief? I would say to the entire northern people, if my humble voice could reach them, that history has furnished no example where large masses of men have periled life, property, home, wife, children, all that man loves most fondly, all for which he dies most willingly, in a cause which they believed to be wicked and unholy. Believe as firmly as you please that their judgment was at fault and that their views were wholly erroneous. We do not ask you or expect you to believe as we believed on the dead issues of the war.

Our opinions are generally the outgrowth of education and association. If, then, your brother, differently educated, differently located, and differently surrounded, has, in your view of the case, erred in his judgment or action, charge not upon him his error as a crime, not to be forgiven in this world or the next. Put yourself in his place, and answer at the bar of conscience whether under similar circumstances you might not have done the same thing. Go a step further. Let him put himself in your place, and answer honestly how you would have him regard and treat you. "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

But it is sometimes urged as a matter of complaint and an evidence of disloyalty that the people of the South have joined what is termed the secession democracy. I invoke the attention of every candid and intelligent northern republican to a few suggestions on this subject. I will take my own case, not referring to myself in any spirit of egotism, but because my case illustrates that of thousands of others.

From my political infancy, I was a member of the whig party, to the day of its dissolution, and acted and voted against the democratic party in all political contests before the commencement of the war. When the war was over I returned to my home, with no other purpose, intention, or desire than to obey the laws and strive as best I could to make an honest living. Very soon, a sweeping act of disfranchisement was passed by a body known in the nomenclature of the times as the Brownlow Legislature. In the county where I live, containing a voting population of about five thousand, not more than two hundred white men were allowed to vote at all. The power given to the governor in the appointment of registration officers was arbitrary and absolute. If such officers dared to register voters whom the executive did not wish registered, the registration was set aside and the recalcitrant officials removed and others appointed in their places. Thus, virtually, the right of the citizen to vote depended upon the will of the governor. Under this system, the voting in my county was done by the recently-enfranchised colored people. I have stood upon the streets of the town where I live, and seen as many as two thousand of these colored voters, marching to the polls in solid column, under the leadership of a carpet-bagger—a stranger to our people, while scarcely a tax-payer in the county was allowed to approach the ballot-box.

It is true I had been conquered, the cause I had espoused had been lost, and the banner I had followed through the storm of battle had been furled forever, but I still had the instincts, the feelings, and the sensibilities of a man who was born free—and all candid men must admit, whatever they may think of the propriety or justice of the law in question, that the system was not very happily framed or managed to induce me to become a member of the republican party. By what to us seemed a providential disagreement between the leaders of the republican party in Tennessee, that State, sooner than her sisters of the South, passed from under the yoke, and in 1870 was enabled to call a convention of her representative men who framed a constitution which conferred upon every man in the State, white and colored, the right of suffrage. During those dark years of proscription and passion you of the North can never know with what anxiety and apprehension we watched the infuriated march of the dominant party over the barriers of the Constitution in the direction of our subjugation. From the serried ranks of that party scarce a gleam of magnanimity could be discerned or a word of kindness and generosity heard. The only voices raised in our behalf, pleading for the guarantees of the Constitution, for oblivion of the past, came from the democratic party. They expressed confidence in our plighted honor, they held out the hand of greeting, and spoke to us words of kindness.

The Freedmen's Bureau was established as one of the inventions sent to plague us, the agents of which robbed the colored man with one hand and scattered the seeds of distrust between him and his former master with the other, thus destroying any system of labor by which we might hope to repair our waste places and rebuild our shattered fortunes. The carpet-baggers descended upon us like the locusts, and the scallawags sprung up among us like the lice of Egypt. These things may have been blessings in disguise, but they were so well disguised that we ought not to be censured if we failed to perceive just where the blessing came in. Could Louisiana be expected to lift her long, bony hands in token of gratitude for the gift of a Kellogg, a Packard, and a Casey; Arkansas to throw up her hat for the republican party for the inestimable boon of a CLAYTON and a McClure? Could Mississippi be called on to sing peans of praise for the reign of Adelbert Ames, the son-in-law of his father-in-law; Alabama to kneel in thankfulness at the shrine of a Busted and a SPENCER, or Georgia to sing hosannas in the wake of a Bullock and a Blodgett?

Would you expect old Virginia, standing amid the graves of her illustrious dead, to sing the song of jubilee over Underwood and Wells; or North Carolina to be thankful for the distinguished honor of having Holden to rule over her; or Tennessee to kindle bon-fires

for the services of those loyal men who composed a legislature without constituents and entailed upon her tax-payers a debt under which they are now staggering? Or poor old South Carolina, in rags and wretchedness, trembling with the palsy of reconstruction through every limb of her wasted body, to throw her arms around the republican party for fastening upon her the vampires that have sucked her blood and the vultures that are picking her carcass? No, gentlemen, of the republican party, you have none to blame but yourselves for the unanimity with which the white people of the South have allied themselves with the democratic party. Your leaders in the hour of our sore trouble, humiliation, and despair denounced us as rebels and traitors, having but two rights, one to die and the other to be damned. You inaugurated, confessedly outside of the Constitution, a system of reconstruction that has made some portions of the South a waste howling wilderness, and that which once rejoiced and blossomed as the rose a desert and a solitary place.

I am not now animadverting upon your motives. I am speaking of results. Had your statesmen possessed the magnanimity, the broad and comprehensive patriotism, the grasp of the situation which would have lifted them above the passions and resentments of the hour, how different would have been the result to you as a party and to us as a people. If you could have said to the mutilated and bleeding South, "We have been enemies in war, let us be friends in peace. You have fought us like brave men, long and well, but we are victorious and can afford to be generous. You give us your word of honor that you accept the situation, we believe you—we are willing to trust you. Take your war-wasted country into your own hands and build it up. All the aid that we, who now control this powerful Government, can give you in restoring prosperity to your section shall be freely given. We believe you have grievously erred, but it is human to err. The past is in the eternal past, let us make the future as bright and happy as time and our joint efforts can make it, and we bid you God-speed in all your undertakings to build up your ruined fortunes." If the republican party could have risen to this height, they would have been to-day far stronger in the South and the whole country far more prosperous and happy. But instead of this policy which the situation demanded and a wise statesmanship would have adopted, the colored man, but recently emancipated from slavery, necessarily ignorant of all system of Government, was, with a stroke of the pen, enfranchised; the power to control the destinies of great States placed in his unskillful hands, while the intellect and culture of the South were forced into the background, a course which has entailed upon both races curses from which it will take them years to recover.

I am aware that at the close of the war the republican party manifested great solicitude for the welfare of the emancipated slaves. Of this I do not complain. It was the duty of the Government to see to it that the negro was protected by the laws of the country. But it was a great mistake to assume that the emancipated slave and his former master were natural enemies, and that the efforts of the master would be directed to the maltreatment and oppression of his former slaves. The behavior of the colored people during the war forms a record of which as a race they may well be proud. Their conduct under the trying circumstances that surrounded them disappointed both the northern and southern people. It was expected at the North that they would, under the accumulated wrongs of years, eagerly rush, when the means were put into their hands, to take vengeance on their oppressors. At the South it was feared that, inflamed by appeals to their passions, they would use their newly-acquired freedom by seizing the torch of the incendiary and filling the land with all the horrors of a vindictive and licentious insurrection. But they did neither. In thousands of instances, when the master was out in the confederate army, the faithful negro remained at home with the wife and children until the close of the war, protecting and supporting them. This course on the part of the colored race demonstrated two things: First, that the northern people had misconceived the extent of the sufferings of that race under the institution of slavery, and had consequently exaggerated the wrongs which they had to avenge; and secondly, that the colored man had more principle and honor than the southern people had given him credit for. Left to themselves, without the baleful influence of the bureau, the carpet-bagger, and the premature bestowal of the ballot, the two races at the South would have adjusted themselves in their new relations to each other far more speedily, harmoniously, and satisfactorily. The conflicts that have taken place in the South between them, greatly exaggerated for party effect and earnestly deprecated by the mass of our citizens, have had their origin and inspiration, for the most part, in the evil agencies thrust by the system of reconstruction between the white and the colored people of the South.

It was an unfortunate day for the colored man when the advancement of party interests or the suggestions of a misguided zeal for his welfare required him in his ignorance and inexperience to be transformed into a politician. It was putting into his hand an edged tool with whose use he was wholly unfamiliar, and it is not strange that he should have wounded himself in handling it. The whole race, manipulated by the cunning hand of the carpet-bagger, went ever *en masse* to the republican party, and became under the influences that controlled them the oppressors of the white race among whom they lived and whose friendship and good-will every instinct of interest would have led them to cultivate, if they had been left to choose their own course. They could not hope to live forever under the shadow

of United States bayonets or to remain for all time in a state of quasi infancy as wards of the Government. All these agencies must needs be withdrawn at some time, and the colored man be thrown upon his own resources to shape his own destiny. Even the carpet-bagger in time

Would fold his tents, like the Arabs,
And silently steal away,

after he had stolen everything else he could lay his hands on. It was the most natural thing in the world that the colored people should have formed an alliance with the republican party. With their feelings alienated from the southern people by their unfortunate surroundings—not able to detect and most unlikely to suspect the motives of those who controlled them, filled with gratitude to the republican party for their newly-acquired freedom, ignorant of politics and parties—it would indeed have been strange if they all had not rushed into the arms of that party. But a division of political sentiment among them is only a question of time. As they become educated and learn to think, they will inevitably divide. And it will be an auspicious day for them when this division takes place, when they become factors in the success of both parties, thus interesting both in the maintenance of their rights and the elevation of their race. The South is more directly interested in the education of the colored man than the North; for, as he lives in the South and casts his vote there, it is among the southern people that his political power must be felt for weal or woe.

Although we believe that the negro was clothed with all the rights of citizenship too soon for his own good and for ours, no one proposes to undo what has been done or to deprive him of the rights he enjoys under the law. As he has been made a citizen by law, let him be made one in fact, by enlightening his mind and teaching him to think for himself. If one man does the thinking for a thousand they will be mere instruments in his hands, and like dumb driven cattle, obey his voice. But let each be taught to think for himself, and the constitution of the human mind will insure a diversity of opinion. Already the more intelligent of the colored race are beginning to perceive the unwisdom of thrusting citizenship upon them immediately after their emancipation, the failure of the reconstruction measures to promote their welfare, and the advantage to them of cultivating friendly political relations with the people among whom they are destined to live.

In the recent national convention held by the colored people at Nashville, Tennessee, the ablest speech made before that body was delivered by Senator C. S. Smith, of Alabama, a colored man and delegate to the convention. Among other things, he said:

Now, every intelligent man will bear me out that it would have been far better for the General Government, upon the emancipation of the negro, to have given the black man a spelling book rather than the ballot-box. One of the great mistakes which the Government made in its reconstruction policy was to invest the colored people of this country, just emerging from slavery, with the rights of citizenship. I am honest in my convictions. But complaint never remedies an evil. As I remarked before, when these poor colored men were left to paddle their own canoe they drifted out to sea without a pilot, rudder, or compass. Then came the carpet-baggers, adventurers, and robbers, who cast about and took the colored man into their piratical craft and became his leaders.

And again he says:

I give the republican party a place in the third heaven of my gratitude and affections, but I will tell you the republican party has failed to restore law, peace, and order in this country, and it has failed to relieve the distressed in time of need.

He further proceeds:

I am surprised at the obstinacy of colored men, who shut their eyes to facts. Turn your backs upon those things which are real, blindly follow the lead of party and not principle, follow the lead of men that have damned us in the past and who will damn us in the future, and you will have cause to deeply regret it. Let us strike hands with the independent conservative element of the South.

The Nashville Daily American, in whose columns the speech was published and from which I have taken the above extracts, says of the manner in which the speech was received:

As he closed he was greeted with deafening applause. Members of the convention congratulated him, and men, both white and black, rushed upon him from behind the bar and from the galleries and took him cordially by the hand.

Much has been said and written of the outrages committed by the white people of the South upon the colored people, and our whole population have been represented as indulging toward the emancipated slaves a feeling of vindictive hate and merciless persecution. Outrages have occurred in different localities of the South, very much to the regret and against the wishes of the order-loving people of our section. If, under the trying circumstances surrounding both races, conflicts had nowhere occurred, and outrages have been nowhere committed, it would have been a standing miracle in the history of human affairs. The wonder is, not that now and then, and here and there, these lawless demonstrations have been made, but that they have not been more general and frequent. Why, then, bring against a whole people a sweeping charge of inhumanity and lawless violence for occasional excesses, which are the necessary incidents and the legitimate outgrowth of the situation?

I again call on all fair-minded men of the North who love truth and justice to put themselves in our place. Suppose you had been conquered, your property destroyed, your families reduced to poverty, your homes made desolate; and after you had surrendered your arms and given your paroles of honor, the control of your States had been taken from your hands, an ignorant population, your former slaves, put in control of your State governments, you disfranchised and al-

lowed no privilege, save that of paying taxes to support a government carried on by these ignorant and irresponsible voters, manipulated by adventurers, strangers to you, who left their own section of the country for their country's good and your oppression; in a word, suppose you had been called on to pass through the fiery crucible of reconstruction. I ask every honest man in the North, do you think you would have been able to so control all classes of your population that no outrages would have occurred, no outbreaks have taken place? Go feel what we have felt, go suffer what we have suffered, go submit to what we have submitted to, and then judge us as you shall hope to be judged at that great bar where no subterfuge can hide the truth and no self-righteousness evade the fiat of inexorable justice. We have lawless men among us; so have you, so have all communities and all States. None of us can afford to be weighed in millennial balances.

I believe as firmly as I believe I am standing on this floor, that if our positions had been reversed, and you had been placed in our situation and we in yours, there would have been as many, if not more outrages with you than there have been with us. Our war experience was far different from that of the North. Our people who remained at home, and those who went to the field were subjected to a discipline of hardship and a trial of patience that the northern people, who were growing rich all the while, and the Federal soldiers, who were well supplied with all the necessities, and even such of the luxuries of life as the camp would allow, knew nothing of. And there would have been many more outrages in the South but for the high courage of our people, who, thus trained in the severe school of privation during the war, determined that they would suffer and be strong, and endure manfully all the multiplied evils that beset them, in the hope that a better day would dawn upon them.

The problem between the races will work itself out, and all the sooner and better if the fanatic and the demagogue can get their own consent to leave the matter to the parties more immediately interested in its solution, under the guidance and supervision of a Divine Providence whose counsels we cannot inform and whose methods we cannot improve.

But it is said that the people of the South have shown their disloyalty to the Government by electing to Congress men who were engaged in the rebellion, and by way of derision this is called the ex-confederate House of Representatives. No man occupies a seat upon this floor who is not by the law of a republican Congress made eligible thereto. When you removed the political disabilities of those southern men who occupy seats upon this floor, for which I give you all credit and honor, you by that act proclaimed to the world that there was no reason in your opinion against their filling any position of trust or honor to which their fellow-citizens might see fit to elect them. Whom did you expect the southern people would elect to Congress when you passed your amnesty bill, and by repeated private acts removed the disabilities of such as had been in rebellion? With comparatively few exceptions, the men of intellect and cultivation in the South were all engaged in the rebellion in either a civil or military capacity. The people of their section were in full accord and sympathy with them. They belted on their swords and knapsacks in obedience to or with the full approbation of their fellow-citizens among whom they lived. Why, then, when the war was over, when a republican Congress had by their amnesty acts said there was no longer any cause for treating these men as unworthy or unsafe to hold office, should you suppose that their fellow-citizens would regard them as only fit subjects of proscription and unworthy of promotion? The people of the South did not, and do not now, so regard the men who went to the front, and for four long and bloody years imperilled their lives in a cause which not only they, but those for whom they fought, believed to be right. Nor do the people of the South regard the southern man who honestly and from principle adhered to the Union during the war as unworthy of their confidence and support. They fully recognize his right to his opinions, and respect him for a conscientious adherence to them. This class of high-minded and honorable men must not be confounded with the scalawag. Nor do our people withhold their respect and support from the Federal soldier, nor the honorable northern man who settles among us as a citizen, and does not come to spy out our liberties and defame our character. Let these be carefully distinguished from the carpet-bagger.

But there is a class of men born in the South whom our people despise, and for whom they feel a contempt which they do not seek to disguise. They are men who, in the earlier days of the war, when the confederate flag floated in the breezes of victory, shouted more loudly than any one else for the South, but who, when the night of misfortune gathered around us, took advantage of the darkness to desert their associates, and with loud professions of loyalty to the Union and love for the old flag leaped into the arms of the stronger side, simply because it was stronger. They were actuated by the same motive which impelled Judas to desert his Master and form a conspiracy with the Jews to put him to death—with this difference in favor of Judas, he had conscience enough left, when he had time to reflect upon the baseness of his act, to throw away the money that bought him, and to go out and hang himself—while the scalawag still lives, holds on to the price he was paid, cries for more, and much to the annoyance, in many instances of his new-found friends, clings like a barnacle to the republican ship.

When they came to you with denunciations of their former associ-

ates and love for the old flag on their lips, you would have been more respectable as a party in the South if you had said to them, as John the Baptist said to the Pharisees who crowded to his baptism on the banks of the Jordan, "O, generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee the wrath to come?" They joined you for the loaves and fishes; cut off their rations and they will turn upon you and rend you. They belong to a race whose instincts lead them to wag the tail and bark, whether the bone that wins their hearts is thrown from a northern or a southern hand. You may think a man of this character more trustworthy, one in whose hands the honor and glory of this country would be more safe than with the man who faced you in the red hour of battle upon the fields of Gettysburg and Chickamauga, who followed the fortunes of the confederacy, until, surrendering his arms at Appomattox, he dropped a tear upon the grave where his cause was buried, gave his parole of honor to fight no more, and turned his melancholy footsteps toward his ruined home. But I beg leave to differ with you. In the hands of the man who gave up fortune, abandoned his home, welcomed hardship and suffering, endured the fatigue of the long march, the monotony of the camp, the horrors of the hospital, the peltings of the storm in the lonely bivouac, and faced the dangers of the battle-field, the flag of this country would be far safer than in the hands of all the deserters that ever bent the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning. One drop of his blood would enrich the veins of a thousand scalawags. If you expect our people to elect such creatures to represent them here, they will earnestly ask you to excuse them. They have too much respect for the honorable representatives of the republican party upon this floor to force such an association upon them.

But it is said that the people of the South not only believed during the war that they were right on the issues involved in the struggle, but that they still think so. Well, suppose they do. What difference does it make what any man's opinion may be to-day upon the abstract question of who was right or wrong in the war. All agree that the questions, whatever they were, whatever of right or wrong, of merit or demerit they possessed, have been forever settled, and settled against the South. If there is even a moderately well-informed man at the North who believes that the southern people intend or desire or hope or dream of reviving those issues or that conflict, his ignorance of the truth upon that subject is so dense that I should despair of evidence or argument ever being able to reach him. The idea is so absurd that I would feel absurd myself in adverting to it, if it was not frequently used by the demagogue to arouse his constituents and excite their distrust of us. Our people no more think of resurrecting those questions than they would think of exhuming the bones of those who fell in their defense from the lonely grave-yards where they are crumbling into dust. Their abstract opinions upon those points have no more to do with their fealty to the decision which the supreme arbiter, the sword, has made in the premises, than would their opinions upon the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

There are not in all the South, outside of her lunatic asylums, fifty men whose opinions are of sufficient importance to be known five miles from their homes who do not believe and feel that it is their duty and their interest and the duty and interest of the people of their section to bear allegiance to the Government of the United States with all the good faith that honest men can exercise and to remand all such questions to the impartial judgment of history, to whose decrees both sides must submit whether they are willing or not. Before that august tribunal where the causes of nations are determined we shall file our record, expect to be represented, and ask to be heard. We desire that posterity shall do simple justice to our motives and that our memories shall not pass to the generations that are to come after us coupled with disgrace. We mean, as far as in us lies, to preserve unchanged and un mutilated the materials out of which the historian shall construct our side of the story of the war. We should certainly be lost to all sense of honor and unworthy the name of men if we could consent, in silence and without a protest, to pass into history so covered with infamy that our descendants would blush at the mention of our names and deny the ancestry from whom they sprang; and this is the whole of it.

The effort to go through the minds and hearts and consciences of the southern people with a lighted candle to ascertain if there are lurking in their hidden recesses any opinions or sympathies or feelings that a loyal man ought to have expelled is a vain and futile undertaking. Since the world began neither the ingenuity of hate nor the omnipotence of power has ever been able to invent a process by which the mind can be manipulated and its thoughts controlled or the heart entered and robbed of its memories. This is hallowed ground on which God has decreed that no tyrant shall ever set his foot. No legislative enactments can reach it, no sheriff with his *posse comitatus* can search it, no detective can explore it, and no army invade it. It is a fort that cannot be taken, a citadel that cannot be stormed, for the angels of God stand guard upon its parapets and their flaming swords turn every way to defend its approaches.

What we think of the past, how many tears we shed on the graves of our dead, how sacredly we enshrine their memories in our hearts, are questions which belong to us, and to no one else. What we think of the present and what we propose to do in the future are questions that affect us and our children and you and your children.

Mr. Chairman, since I have had the honor of a seat upon this floor I have been a silent but not uninterested spectator of what has trans-

pired around me. I have witnessed with pain and deep regret exhibitions of unfriendly feeling toward the section of the country which I in part represent. The very first week of the session was signalized by an assault on the part of a distinguished gentleman from whom I had expected better things. I had been led to believe that he was a gentleman of broad and liberal views and felt kindly toward the unfortunate people of my section, who, if they have sinned, have also suffered much. I had been induced to think that he was too magnanimous to strike a fallen foe and too chivalrous to make an attack where he knew no antagonist could meet him on equal ground to make a defense. But when I saw him ransacking the grave-yards of the war for material with which to blacken the character of a whole people and to arouse passions that every instinct of patriotism demanded him to repress, I was reluctantly compelled to change my opinion of him.

While the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BLAINE] was pouring out his torrents of bitter denunciation against Jefferson Davis, I could not avoid running a parallel in my mind between his course and that of another no less distinguished statesman of the republican party. When the pale prisoner of Fortress Monroe lay manacled upon the cold floor of his dungeon, bearing in his feeble and emaciated body the sins of his whole people, Horace Greeley, actuated by an impulse which will form a crown of glory to his memory forever, went through a storm of indignant opposition, opened the prison-doors and bade the captive walk out unfettered into heaven's glad sunlight once more. Sir, if I wished to erect a monument to moral heroism, I would lay the foundation-stone upon the spot where Horace Greeley signed the bond of Jefferson Davis! It is by such acts as these that the bitter memories of the war will give place to fraternal feeling.

And here, in passing, let me say of Horace Greeley that he alone of all the leading statesmen of the republican party at the close of the war seemed possessed of those comprehensive ideas of statesmanship, those broad and liberal views which subsequent events have shown were demanded by the situation. The reverberations of hostile cannon had scarcely died away amid the blue mountains of Virginia when he seized the silver trumpet of peace and sounded the reveille of reconciliation. O that the republican party in that critical hour, when statesmen were so much needed, had possessed more Horace Greeleys among its leading men! How much happier, how much more prosperous would this country be to-day! In the light of his illustrious example how do the exploits of the mere politician and partisan pale their ineffectual fires. On the ante-bellum issues and the issues of the war no man, perhaps, in all the North could have been found more distasteful to the southern people than Mr. Greeley. Yet, when the war was over and he came to us with sympathy in his heart, words of kindness on his lips, and the olive-branch in his hand, our people forgot the antagonisms of other days and gave him their support for the highest office in the Republic. This ought to be some evidence to the northern people that our hearts will respond to kindly treatment and that we are willing to bury the past.

When this Congress first convened, a few old war-broken soldiers who were in the rebel army, laboring under the delusion that the war was over, that they were American citizens, that they had a country, and this was its Capitol, came to Washington to run for office. Some of the minor positions were given to them, and so intense seems to be the feeling even against those who occupied the position of private soldiers, that a resolution was introduced with the manifest object of excluding them from all appointments. It matters but little, Mr. Chairman, with the masses of our people whether a few crippled rebel soldiers succeed in picking up here and there a crumb that may fall from the Government table or not. It is the spirit displayed, the rule of action sought to be established by inducing this House to solemnly pass a resolution of the character indicated, that is objectionable. Those men are American citizens or they are not. If they are, then this resolution is unjust and improper; if they are not, and are not worthy to be, so declare, and leave them beyond the pale of citizenship to shiver forever in the cold blasts of loyal scorn or to roast in the furnace of loyal hate. A nominal restoration to citizenship is simply a mockery, if persecution is to follow in the footsteps of pardon and the subjects of national clemency are to become the victims of national spite.

Men who claim to have been loyal in the South cannot present a respectful demand against the Government for payment of losses without provoking the declaration upon this floor that every man in the South who lost a mule during the war has come here to ask the Government to pay him for it, when every member on this floor knows full well that unless the claimant establishes his loyalty and his losses by competent evidence he cannot receive a cent, and in many cases, when both points are proven, he will never get a dollar unless a vigorous constitution should prolong his life to the next centennial. I have heard of cases where the loyalty of the party and the losses sustained have been proven by the most indubitable testimony before the Departments, but without the claimant's knowledge a secret detective has been dispatched, has gone silently and with noiseless step, returned with an adverse report, which the claimant is not allowed to see and which he has, therefore, no opportunity to refute, but on the faith of which his claim is pigeon-holed, there to sleep until Gabriel blows his trumpet, when all the dead shall arise. As long as this patent-right justice is administered to southern claimants, no fears need be entertained of very extensive raids upon the Treasury,

unless the tribunals organized to reject claims should prove unfaithful to their trust. The Rhadamanthian justice which decides against the claim and then, with a show of decency, hears the claimant is admirably adapted to shield the Treasury from all claims—the just as well as the unjust. Congress ought to declare that no claim south of the Ohio River shall ever be paid or erect some tribunal where men can have a fair investigation made of their demands and their causes determined not on the irresponsible opinions of a detective—the correctness and honesty of whose conclusions are placed beyond the reach of attack or correction by being concealed in a Department pigeon-hole—nor yet on the utterances of politicians, made in the interest of party, to meet the exigencies of a campaign. I do not desire, I am sure, to see any claim paid which, under the law, ought not to be paid. But the present mode of disposing of the cases of claimants against the Government for war losses in many instances is simply a burlesque on investigation and a mockery of justice.

But my object, Mr. Chairman, was not to discuss this matter of claims against the Government, but to refer to the spirit manifested on the other side of this House toward everything emanating from the South. These repeated flings at our people, these centennial bouquets thrown from the other side of the House to this as fragrant reminders by our republican brethren on this floor of their great admiration for the ex-confederate element over this way, though the pastime may be fun to them, are not as agreeable to us as they seem to suppose. How the welfare of either section is to be promoted by such exhibitions of sectional animosity I have never been able to see. What is the object of it? Is it to degrade us in our own estimation and to call the blush of shame to our cheeks, that our assailants may enjoy our confusion? If so, the unprofitable task might as well be abandoned. It is not to the vain carpet-knight, who struts in all the glory of political regimentals after the war is over and who never smelt sulphur in his life save when his anxious mother rubbed it on him for the itch, that we propose to submit the censorship of our actions or the purity of our motives.

We are here as members of Congress to represent our constituents and to discharge our duty to the country according to the best of our ability. Does any republican upon this floor believe that when the members from the South who were engaged in the rebellion went to the Clerk's desk and took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States we did it with the intention to break it whenever a favorable opportunity might present itself? Do the northern people believe or are you endeavoring to make them believe that we have entered the American Congress for the purpose of subverting the Government or being disloyal to its interests? Do you wish to make the South disloyal? Are you unwilling for her people to return to their allegiance and bring with them all that they can contribute to the future prosperity and glory of the country? We know we took up arms, not, as you say, to destroy your Government, but to establish one of our own, in its constitution and all its essential features similar to the Government of the United States; that when you endeavored to force us back we fought you with all the power and resources we could command. All the world knows this; you know it; we know it, and do not and cannot deny it. But this is past; it cannot be altered. What do you propose to do about it? Do you never mean to forgive it? Do you intend forever to throw into our teeth the hissing words of rebel and traitor and to hold us up to the world and hand us down to your children and ours as infamous beyond the reach of mercy or the arms of charity?

I will tell you what we are willing to do, what we have anxiously desired to do ever since the smoke of battle faded from the last field where we met in the stern clash of arms. I do not propose to gush or centennialize on this subject, but to state the proposition with all the frankness which its gravity and importance demand. When the war closed, President Johnson sent General Grant, the victorious leader of the Federal Army, on a tour of inspection through the Southern States to ascertain and report to him the animus and disposition of the southern people. On the 18th of December, 1865, General Grant made his report, in which, among other things, he said:

I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have heretofore divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections, slavery and State rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union, they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal—arms—that man can resort to.

And he says further, in the same report:

My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government within the Union as soon as possible; that while reconstructing, they want and require protection from the Government; that they are in earnest in wishing to do what they think is required by the Government not humiliating to them as citizens, and that if such a course was pointed out they would pursue it in good faith.

Such was the testimony of General Grant as to the wishes and temper of the southern people in the very year of the close of the war. It was true in every particular, and I here aver upon this floor that there has never been a day or an hour since that truth was written when the southern people were not willing, ay, anxious to do whatever they thought "the Government required, not humiliating to them as citizens." Such is the temper, such the wish of the southern people to-day. We are anxious to discharge in good faith all our duties as citizens, to contribute as far as we are able to the glory of the American name and the stability of the Government of the United States, but spare us the bitter cup of degradation and a surrender of

our manhood. To rob us of this would not enrich you and would make us poor indeed. Waive this demand which manhood forbids you to make and us to yield, and the past can be buried forever. Upon this platform we can meet and shake hands over the graves of our soldiers, and under the auspices of a restored Union march on together in peace and fraternity to grander achievements than we have ever known and a future far more glorious than our past.

Stripped of her wealth, and, I fear, growing poorer every year; crippled by the war, depressed in spirit, staggering under the weight of accumulated debt, the South looks and longs for peace as anxiously as ever the mariner looked for the star by which he might guide his wandering bark aright when "night and the tempest had gathered around him." If any one section of this country has a deeper interest than another in the restoration of fraternal peace and the stability of good government, the South is that section. If the northern people cannot bring themselves to the point of trusting the honor and relying on the pledges of the South, they certainly cannot be unmindful of the fact that her interest in keeping the peace is fully equalled by her inability to break it. But we have no desire to break it. If the flag that floats over this Capitol is not our flag, we have none; if this is not our country, we have none; we are aliens in the land of our birth and exiles in the homes of our childhood. Here the bones of our ancestors are buried, and here we expect our dust to sleep when our weary feet stand still upon the thorny road we have traveled. This country must be the home of our children; they will have no other home, no other country but this; here they must live, here die, and here be buried. For party purposes our loyalty may be doubted, and our names sought to be dishonored and detested, but if the time should ever come when a foreign enemy shall invade these shores and this country needs stout hearts and true to defend it, all will then see in that hour of trial and national danger—

Whose dripping blade and stalwart arm
Will hew a red circle in the line,
And fence their country's flag from harm.

Mr. Chairman, the national conventions of the two great parties will soon convene, when one or the other will nominate the man destined to preside over the affairs of this great country for the next four years. It will be a contest fraught with momentous interest to the whole country, but particularly to the suffering South. Her people will look to it with a concern more painful and profound than they could regard any mere party ascendancy. The struggle will possess enough of doubt and uncertainty on both sides to impress each one of the parties with the necessity of husbanding all their resources and putting forth all their strength. From this fact let us indulge the hope that each will be induced to nominate for that high office its best and broadest man.

I do not sympathize with the desire which I have heard expressed by some of my political friends that the republican party may nominate some narrow and sectional partisan, whose extreme and illiberal views may constitute an element of weakness to him in the contest. The situation is far too grave, and the consequences of the election of such a man will be far too vital and disastrous to my section, for me to regard his nomination with any other feeling than that of sincere deprecation. If the democratic party should fail in the coming contest to elect their candidate and victory should again perch on the republican standard, I earnestly trust that the best, the most national, the most just, the most honest, and the most liberal man in all the republican party may be elevated to the Presidency.

The interests of every section of the country demand as the Chief Executive Magistrate the services of a statesman who will stand on an elevation where party will not obscure his vision or passion warp his judgment, and who, by the exercise of a liberal policy and a broad charity toward every section of the country, will make each State feel that it is a State and a component part of the American Union. I hope he will have the breadth of mind to see that one section of this country cannot be given over to ruin and desolation without blasting the other; that the blow which kills the South must also paralyze the North; that he will hold the military subordinate to the civil authority; that he will fill the high places of the Government with statesmen of undoubted integrity and worthy of the high positions to which he may assign them; and that he will appoint to office honest and honorable men in every section of the country, and not a hungry horde of political buccaners, who will prey upon the people and consume their substance. May no corrupt rings, bloated with Treasury pap and wallowing on the green pastures of executive patronage, be allowed to rob the Government and to degrade the public service, and may the atmosphere that pervades his entire administration be so pure and healthful that official integrity shall again become the rule, and not the exception, in positions of trust and honor. Such a President the country needs, and to such an administration good men of all parties will give their hearty co-operation.

God gives us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor—men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue,
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking!
Tall men, sun crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty, and in private thinking.

During the delivery of the remarks of Mr. HOUSE the hour allowed under the rule expired, and his time was extended by unanimous consent, on motion of Mr. HEWITT, of Alabama.

Mr. DAVIS obtained the floor, and yielded to

Mr. JONES, of Kentucky, who moved that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. JONES, of Kentucky, having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. CLYMER reported that the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union had had under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 3375) making appropriations for the naval service for the year ending June 30, 1877, and for other purposes, and had come to no resolution thereon.

Mr. CLYMER. I move that the House now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and accordingly (at ten o'clock and forty minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following memorials, petitions, and other papers were presented at the Clerk's desk under the rule, and referred as stated:

By Mr. ADAMS: The petition of W. D. McLean, James Stevens, and others, of Cohoes, New York, envelope manufacturers, printers, and stationers, for such legislation as will relieve them from injurious competition by the Government through the Post-Office Department in the manufacture, transportation, and sale of envelopes, postal cards, &c., to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. BASS: Remonstrance of T. Guilford Smith and 200 other citizens of Buffalo, New York, against the passage of the Morrison tariff bill, to the Committee of Ways and Means.

By Mr. BLISS: The petition of Ann Vashage, widow of Adolph Vashage, late a private of Company L, Ninth New York Volunteers, for a pension, to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHITTENDEN: The petition of Mrs. M. Hart, for a pension, to the same committee.

By Mr. CROUNSE: The petition of members of Grange 424, Patrons of Husbandry, Jefferson County, Nebraska, for a return to former postage rates on third-class matter, to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. HOPKINS: Resolutions of the Pittsburgh Coal Exchange, protesting against the construction of a bridge over the Ohio River at the foot of Elm street, Cincinnati, Ohio, and urging the passage of a law which will prevent the construction of bridges over navigable waters that will in any manner interfere with navigation, to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. LAWRENCE: The petition of J. W. Timberlake and other citizens of Logan County, Ohio, that the Indian Bureau shall not be transferred from the Interior to the War Department, to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. MACDOUGALL: The petition of 1,173 late Union soldiers of Iowa, for the passage of a law granting bounty land to Union soldiers, to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MCFARLAND: The petition of George W. Huntsman, of Hawkins County, Tennessee, for a pension, to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers relating to the claim of Pleasant H. Starnes, late a captain in the Eighth Tennessee Cavalry, for pay as a captain from the 17th day of September, 1863, to the 7th day of April, 1864, to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, the petition of Mary A. Andes, widow of Adam Andes, deceased, a private in Captain Hartsell's Company, Lillard's Regiment, United States Army, in the war of 1812, to the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions.

By Mr. POTTER: The petition of John C. Hawley, that the Secretary of War be directed to enroll his name as a veteran volunteer as though he had enlisted as such under the provisions of the joint resolution of Congress approved July 13, 1864, providing for the re-enlistment during the continuance of the rebellion of veteran soldiers whose term of service was then about to expire, he being prevented from re-enlisting by reason of his being held as a prisoner of war by the rebels, to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. STENGER: The petition of 10 citizens of McConnellsburgh, Fulton County, Pennsylvania, against making any change in the tariff laws at the present time, to the Committee of Ways and Means.

IN SENATE.

FRIDAY, May 19, 1876.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. BYRON SUNDERLAND, D. D.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings.

Mr. MORTON. May I inquire if the court is not to meet at twelve o'clock to-day?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. It is; but the Chair supposed the Journal could be read, unless some Senator objected.

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes; let the Journal be read.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let both journals be read.