CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE.

IN SENATE.

FRIDAY, March 4, 1881.

HON. CHESTER A. ARTHUR, Vice-President of the United States, having taken the oath of office at the close of the last regular session of the Forty-sixth Congress, took his seat.

PRAYER.

Rev. J. J. Bullock, Chaplain to the Senate, offered the following prayer:

Almighty and ever-living God, the Father of all our mercies and the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, whose power no creature can resist, as Thy dependent creatures and as the subjects of Thy moral government it comes to us to make acknowledgment of Thee in all our ways and present our supplications to Thy commandments, ever remembering that all our prosperity comes from Thee. We thank Thee, O God, for all Thy great and continued goodness to us as people, for Thou hast blessed us above all the nations of the earth: Thou hast given us this goodly land as our heritage, a land of light and liberty and of rich abundance. We pray that we may never forget by our ingratitude and disobedience the insatiable blessings of civil and religious liberty bequeathed to us by our fathers and of the wisdom from on high to guide and assist them in the discharge of the duties of their office, and such communication as may be made to it on the part of the Executive:

By the President:

WM. M. EVANS, Secretary of State.

SWEARING IN OF SENATORS.

The Vice-President. The Senators-elect will now be sworn.

As their names are read by the Secretary they will advance to the chair to take the oath of office prescribed by law.

The Secretary called the names of—

Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware.
Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island.
Omar D. Conger, of Michigan.
Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts.
George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.
James G. Fair, of Nevada.
Arthur P. Gorman, of Maryland.

As their names were called the respective Senators-elect, with the exception of Mr. Edmunds, of Vermont, who was absent, came forward and the oaths prescribed by the acts of June 1, 1789, and July 2, 1862, were administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of—

Johnson N. Camdem, of West Virginia.
James M. Cockrell, of Missouri.
James Z. George, of Mississippi.
Howell E. Jackson, of Tennessee.
Charles W. Jones, of Florida.
William Mahone, of Virginia.
Sam. Bell Maxey, of Texas.

As their names were called the respective Senators-elect, with the exception of Mr. Mahone, of Virginia, who was absent, came forward and the oaths prescribed by the act of July 11, 1868, was administered to them.

The Secretary called the names of—

Eugene Hale, of Maine.
Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.
Samuel J. R. McMillan, of Minnesota.
John F. Miller, of California.
John I. Mitchell, of Pennsylvania.
Thomas G. Platt, of New York.
Philetus Sawyer, of Wisconsin.
William J. Sewell, of New Jersey.
John Sherman, of Ohio.
Charles H. Van Vleet, of Nebraska.

As their names were called the respective Senators-elect came forward and the oaths prescribed by the acts of June 1, 1789, and July 3, 1868, were administered to them.

The Senators-elect having been sworn and taken their seats in the Senate, the following Senators were present:

From the State of—

Alabama—John T. Morgan and James P. C. Bag.
Arkansas—Augustus H. Garland and James D. Walker.
California—James T. Farley and John F. Miller.
Colorado— Nathaniel P. Hill and Henry M. Teller.
Delaware— Thomas P. Bayard and Eli Sanford.
Florida—Wilkinson Call and Charles W. Jones.
Georgia—Joseph E. Brown and Benjamin H. Hill.
Illinois—David Davis and John A. Logan.
Indiana—Benjamin Harrison and Daniel W. Voorhees.
Iowa—Samuel J. Kirkwood.
Kentucky—James B. Beck and John S. Williams.
Louisiana—Benjamin F. Jones and William Pitt Kellogg.
Maine—James G. Blaine and Eugene Hale.
Maryland—Arthur P. Gorman and James B. Groome.
Massachusetts—Henry L. Dawes and George F. Hoar.
Michigan—Omar D. Conger and Thomas W. Ferry.
INauguration Ceremonies.

The persons entitled to admission on the floor of the Senate Chamber, having been admitted and reserved for them, the President, Hon. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, entered the Senate Chamber, accompanied by the late President, Hon. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, and Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Bayard, and Mr. Anthony, members of the committee of arrangements. Mr. Anthony, as chairman of the committee, seated on the steps in front of the Secretary's desk, and the late President and the members of the committee were seated on his right and left.

The President. The Sergeant-at-Arms will now execute the order of the Senate relative to the inaugural ceremonies of the President of the United States.

Those for the Senate Chamber proceeded to the platform on the central portico of the Capitol in the following order: The marshal of the District of Columbia and the marshal of the Senate Co-Court. Ex-Presidents and ex-Vice-Presidents. The Supreme Court. The Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate. The Clerk of Arrangements. The President and the President-elect. The Vice-President and the Secretary of the Senate. Members of the Senate. The Diplomatic Corps. Heads of Departments. Members of the House of Representatives and Members-elect, governors and ex-governors of States, officers of the Senate and officers of the House of Representatives. All other persons who have been admitted to the floor of the Senate Chamber. The President-elect delivered the following:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Mr. GARLAND. Mr. President, I am requested to state that the Hon. William B. Allison, of Iowa, is confined to his room by indisposition.

INAGURATIONAL ADDRESS.

Fellow Citizens: We stand to-day upon an eminence which overlooks a hundred years of national life—a century crowned with peril, but proving that, like the triumphs of liberty and progress, its path was strewn with the blood of our fathers. As they closed the onward march, let us pause on this height, for a moment, to strengthen our faith and to renew our hope by a glance at the pathway al"ong which our people have traveled.

It is now three days more than a hundred years since the adoption of the first written Constitution of the United States—the articles of confederation and perpetual union. The new Republic was then at war with dangers on every hand. It had not conquered a place in the family of nations. The decisive battle of the war for independence, whose centennial anniversary will be gratefully celebrated at Yorktown, had not yet been fought. The colonists were struggling not only against the armies of a great nation, but against the settled opinions of mankind; for the world did not then believe that the suppression of a government could be safely intrusted to the guardianship of the people themselves. We cannot overestimate the fervent love of liberty, the intelligent courage, and the saving common sense with which our fathers made the great experiment of self-government. When they found, after a short trial, that the confederacy of States was too weak to meet the necessities of a vigorous and expanding Republic, they boldly set it aside, and established a national Union, founded directly upon the will of the people, and endowed with full power of self-preservation and with ample authority for the accomplishment of its great objects.

Under this Constitution, the boundaries of freedom have been enlarged; the foundations of order and peace have been strengthened; and the number of our people, in all the better elements of national life, has vindicated the wisdom of the founders and given new hope to their descendants. Under this Constitution, our people, long ago, made themselves safe against danger from without, and secured for their mariners and all the equality of rights on all the seas. Under this Constitution, twenty-five States have been added to the Union, with constitutions and laws, framed and enforced by their own citizens, to ensure the manifold blessings of local self-government.

The jurisdiction of this Constitution now covers an area fifty times greater than that of the original thirteen States, and a population three times greater than that of 1787.

The supreme trial of the Constitution came, at last, under the tremendous pressure of civil war. We ourselves are witnesses that the Union emerged from the blood of battle with a fire of conflict purified and made stronger for all the beneficent purposes of good government.

And now, at the close of this first century of growth, with the inspirations of its history in their hearts, our people have lately reviewed the condition of the Union and legislated with due regard to the conduct and opinions of political parties, and registered their will concerning the future administration of the Government. To interpret and to execute that will, in accordance with the Constitution, is the paramount duty of the Executive.

Even from this brief review it is manifest that the nation is resolutely facing to the front, resolved to employ its best energies in developing the great possibilities of the future. Sacrificing whatever has been gained to liberty and good government during the century, our people are determined to leave behind them all those interests which are not of the nation, but of the moment.

No doubt this great change has caused serious disturbance to our southern communities. This is to be deplored; though it was perhaps unavoidable. But those who resisted the change should remember that, although we are a people of institutions, there is no middle ground for the issue. It is against the law of God and nature to have one race between slavery and equal citizenship. There can be no permanent, disfranchised peasantery in the United States. Freedom can exist only as long as the law of God is respected. The new Constitution, places the smallest obstacle in the pathway of any virtuous citizen.

The anticipated race has already made remarkable progress. With unquestioning devotion to the Union, with a patience and gentleness not born of fear, they have "followed the light as God gave them to see the light." They are rapidly laying the material foundations of self-sufficiency, widening their circle of intelligence, and beginning to enjoy the blessings that gather around the homes of the industrious poor. They deserve the generous encouragement of all good men. So far as my authority lawfully extends, they shall enjoy the full and equal protection of the Constitution and the laws.

The true enjoyment of equal suffrage is still in question; and a frank statement of the issue may be hazardous. It is alleged that, in many communities, negro citizens are practically denied the freedom of the ballot. In so far as the truth of this allegation is admitted, it is answered that, in many places, honest local government is impossible. There are grave allegations. So far as the latter is true, it is the only palliation that can be offered for opposing the freedom of the ballot. Bad local government is certainly to be deprecated; but to violate the freedom and sanctity of the suffrage is more than an evil—it is a crime which, if persisted in, will destroy the government itself. Sudden, but just, wills are not to be called upon to be high treason to compass the death of the king. It should be counted no less a crime here to strangle our sovereign power and stifles its inspirations of its history in their hearts, our people have lately reviewed the condition of the Union and legislated with due regard to the conduct and opinions of political parties, and registered their will concerning the future administration of the Government. To interpret and to execute that will, in accordance with the Constitution, is the paramount duty of the Executive.

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But the danger which arises from ignorance in the voter, cannot be denied. It covers a field far wider than that of negro suffrage and the suppression of the race. Their steady demand for knowledge makes the danger that it lurks and hides in the sources and fountains of power in every State. We have no standard by which to measure the disaster that may be brought upon us as a nation, when the voice in the citizen when joined to corruption and fraud in the suffrage.

The voters of the Union, who make and unmake constitutions, and upon whose will hangs the destinies of our government, should not be the spectators of its destinies. The power of the truth to so convince the coming generation of voters, who are the sole heirs of sovereign power. If that generation comes to its inheritance blinded by ignorance and corruption, they become the accomplices of that error, is one which the Constitution is designed to prevent and to protect.

The census has already sounded the alarm, in the appalling figures which mark how dangerously high the tide of illiteracy has risen among all the classes of our population. In the South this question is of supreme importance. But the responsibility for the existence of slavery did not rest upon the South alone. The nation itself is responsible for the extension of the slave-trade, and is under special obligations to aid in removing the illiteracy which it has added to the voting population. For the North and South alike, there is but one remedy. All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States and all the visible forces of the government should be used to meet this danger, by the saving influence of universal education.

It is the high privilege and sacred duty of those now living to educate their sons and grandsons; by intelligence and virtue, for the inheritance which awaits them.

In this beneficent work, sections and races should be forgotten, and patriotism should be unknown. Let Congress exercise the power which declares that “A little child shall lead them;” for our own little children will soon control the destinies of the Republic.

My countrymen, we do not now differ in our judgment concerning the controversies of past generations; and fifty years hence our children will not be divided in their opinions concerning our controversies of the present. Neither shall their sons bless their fathers, nor their fathers bless their sons; for the Union was preserved, that slavery was overthrown, and that both races were made equal before the law. We may hasten or retard, but we cannot prevent the final reconciliation. Is it not possible that we may make a peace with time, by anticipating and accepting its inevitable verdict?

Enterprises of the highest importance to our moral and material well-being, and offering the chance of time and obtaining the present moment to work for our country’s safety and welfare, have been deferred, the battles of dead nations, move forward, and in the strength of liberty and the restored Union, with the grander victories of peace. Their prosperity which now prevails is without a parallel in our history. Fruitful seasons have done much to secure it; but they have not done all. The preservation of the public credit and the resumption of specie payments, so essential and least the administration of the Constitution, are the power of the Nation; and the Executive Department.

The prosperity which now prevails is without a parallel in our history. Fruitful seasons have done much to secure it; but they have not done all. The preservation of the public credit and the resumption of specie payments, so essential and least the administration of the Constitution, are the power of the Nation; and the Executive Department.

The chief duty of the National Government, in connection with the Union, is to coin money and to declare its value. Grave doubts have been entertained whether Congress is authorized by the Constitution to make any form of paper money, and a legal tender. The present issue of United States notes has been sustained by the necessities of war; but such paper should depend for its value and currency on its convenience in use and its prompt redemption in coin at the will of the holder, and not upon its compulsory circulation. These notes are not money, but promises to pay money. If the holder demands in coin, the note shall be honored.

The refunding of the national debt, at a lower rate of interest, should be accomplished without compelling the withdrawal of the national bank notes, and thus disturbing the business of the country. I venture to refer to the position I have occupied on financial questions, during a long service in Congress, and to say that time and experience have strengthened the opinions I have so often expressed on this subject. The finances of the Government shall suffer no detriment which it may be possible for my administration to prevent. The prosperity which now prevails is without a parallel in our history. Fruitful seasons have done much to secure it; but they have not done all. The preservation of the public credit and the resumption of specie payments, so essential and least the administration of the Constitution, are the power of the Nation; and the Executive Department.

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The VICE-PRESIDENT appointed Mr. PENDLETON, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, and Mr. TELLER as the committee.

The committee met, pursuant to order.

Mr. CONKLING. I move that the Senate do now adjourn until Monday next at twelve o'clock.

Mr. HOAR. Is not that an unusual motion, to adjourn two days after having ordered such a communication to the President as has just been authorized?

Mr. CONKLING. One of the days is Sunday.

Mr. HOAR. Well, it might be proper while the committee are gone to-morrow, yet the President may have a communication to make to us to-morrow that will require us to be here. I hope the adjournment will be until Saturday.

Mr. CONKLING. I feel very certain that it will be more agreeable to the Executive that the Senate shall adjourn until to-morrow and not until Monday. I have no desire to move a substitute for the proposition of the Senator from New York, but I have reason to know that it will be agreeable to the Executive that there should be a session to-morrow.

Mr. CONKLING. Had the Senator from Ohio made that statement to me before he offered his resolution and had it acted upon I think I would have ventured to object to its consideration. I made an inquiry of him intending to elic it exactly that which he has now stated. I think that the Senate understands to be the circumference of the President. Therefore I change my motion and move that the Senate now adjourn and then it will meet to-morrow.

Mr. PENDLETON. I suggest that we had better fix the hour of meeting next to-morrow by resolution.

Mr. CONKLING. Then to satisfy all Senators, first I move that the hour of meeting of the Senate, until otherwise ordered, be twelve o'clock to-morrow noon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York offers the following order:

Ordered, That the daily hour of meeting of the Senate, until otherwise ordered, be twelve o'clock to-morrow noon.

The order was agreed to.

Mr. CONKLING. Now I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at one o'clock and thirty-two minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned.

SATURDAY, March 5, 1881.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. J. DULOCK, D. D.

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

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair has certain petitions which have been placed in his hands to present to the Senate. They are petitions praying for special legislation. The Chair is of the opinion that such petitions cannot be received at an extraordinary session of the Senate. He finds that there are precedents to the effect that such petitions should be received and laid upon the table.

Mr. HARRIS. I suggest that the petitions be laid upon the table until such time as the Senate shall meet in legislative session.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The last decision to which the Chair refers is to this effect:

It is not in order to present petitions or memorials praying for special legislation at a session of the Senate specially called by the President, in the recess of Congress, and which the Senate could not, without the cooperation of the House of Representatives, mature. (Special or called session of Senate, March 13, 1873.)

Under this decision it would not be in order for the Chair to present the petitions at the beginning of the legislative session. The Chair is of the opinion that such petitions should be received and laid upon the table.

Mr. CONKLING. I move that the petitions be laid upon the table until such time as the Senate shall meet in legislative session.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The last decision to which the Chair refers is to this effect:

The petition which the Vice-President has received in the hands of the Vice-President, to bring forward at the beginning of the legislative session.

Mr. CONKLING. I suggest to my honorable friend from Missouri to make that as a suggestion, not as a formal motion.

Mr. COOK. It makes it as a suggestion, that they be retained by the Vice-President to be presented when the Senate meets in legislative session.

Mr. CONKLING. Nobody, I imagine, objects to that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection the petitions will be so retained.

WINTFED SCOTT HANCOCK.

Mr. HOAR. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of a resolution which I send to the desk, which I am sure it will give every member of the Senate pleasure to support.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That Winfield Scott Hancock be entitled to the privileges of the floor of the Senate during his stay in Washington.

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

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

Mr. BLAINE. I gave notice some weeks ago in the Senate that at the spring session I would offer a resolution upon a subject then under discussion; and I now offer the following:

Resolved that a special committee of five Senators be appointed by the Chair to take into consideration the mode of voting for President and Vice-President of the United States, and the mode of enacting and certifying the same, and to report such propositions for change in the laws or Constitution as may seem to them expedient. That said committee have power to sit during the recess of Congress, and that they be directed to report on or before the second Wednesday of January, 1882.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to considering the resolution at this time?

Mr. DAVIS, of West Virginia. I suggest to my friend from Maine that he allow the resolution to lie on the table and be printed. That would be the better course, I think.

Mr. BLAINE. I have no objection to that course if there is objection to considering the resolution now.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie on the table and be printed.

NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. PENDLETON. The committee which was appointed yesterday to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of this body had convened and was ready to receive any message which he might be desirous to make, have performed that duty, and the President notified them that he would communicate to the Senate to-day at three o'clock. I move that the Senate take a recess until three o'clock.

WITHDRAWAL OF DUPLICATE CREDENTIALS.

Mr. FERRY. If the Senate will allow me, before he submits his motion, I desire to offer a resolution.

Mr. PENDLETON. Certainly.

Mr. FERRY. I ask for the following:

Ordered, That the duplicate credentials of Hon. Oakes D. Conk be withdrawn from the files of the Senate.

Mr. DAVIS, of West Virginia. I should like to ask the object of the order.

Mr. FERRY. The original is on file, and the duplicate is not necessary, and the order is simply to withdraw it. Certainly there can be no objection, as the original is on file. I will say to the Senator that it may be a gratification to my colleague to obtain the duplicate, and the original being on file, I trust the Senator from West Virginia will not object to this order.

Mr. DAVIS, of West Virginia. Do I understand that there are two sets of credentials?

Mr. FERRY. Two sets are on file, the original and the duplicate. I simply ask to withdraw the duplicate, leaving the original. Certainly there can be no objection to that.

Mr. DAVIS, of West Virginia. There is no objection to that.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection the order will be agreed to. It is agreed to.

RECESS.

Mr. PENDLETON. I now renew my motion to take a recess until three o'clock.

The motion was agreed to; and (at twelve o'clock and twenty minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess until three o'clock.

At three o'clock the Vice-President entered the Senate Chamber, and was greeted with applause by the galleries, as had been Mr. BLAINE on his entrance a few minutes before.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senate will come to order.

Mr. ANTHONY. Mr. President, I presume that the galleries are filled with strangers, who are unacquainted with the rules and orders of the Senate. They should be made to understand that any manifestation of approbation or disapprobation is an insult to the body, and will lead immediately to the galleries being cleared.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at-Arms will see that order is maintained in the galleries.

EXECUTIVE BUSINESS.

Mr. O. L. FREEDMAN, one of the secretaries of the President of the United States, appeared below the bar of the Senate and said:

Mr. President, I am directed by the President of the United States to present to the Senate a message from the President, written:

Mr. CAMERON. I move that the Senate proceed now to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to. The consent of the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After one hour and forty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at four o'clock and forty-five minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned.