

By Mr. TARSNEY: Petition of W. F. Crafts, secretary American Sabbath Union, asking for a Sunday-rest law—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. VAN SCHAICK: Petition of citizens of Wisconsin, favoring the Sunday-rest law—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of letter-carriers of Milwaukee, praying for the passage of House bill 3863, relating to salaries, etc.—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, memorial of Business Men's Association of Sheboygan, Wis., in relation to Government building at said place—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. WIKE: Statement of John Q. Brown, in support of the pension claim of Anna Kupfer—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILKINSON: Petition of B. M. Palmer, D. D., and others, citizens of New Orleans, La., for a Sunday-rest law for the District of Columbia and for Government employes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILLCOX: Petition of citizens of Bridgeport, Conn., in relation to Sunday-rest law—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, February 19, 1890.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.  
The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

### AGREEMENT WITH SISSETON AND WAHPETON INDIANS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States; which was read, as follows:

#### To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a communication of the 8th instant from the Secretary of the Interior, submitting a report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and accompanying agreement made with the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians, for the purchase and release of the surplus lands in the Lake Traverse Indian reservation, in the States of North and South Dakota, the negotiations for said purchase and release having been conducted under the authority contained in the fifth section of the general allotment act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stats., 388), which provides, among other things, that the "purchase shall not be complete until ratified by Congress, and the form and manner of executing such release shall also be prescribed by Congress."

This agreement involves a departure from the terms of the general allotment act in at least one important particular. It gives to each member of the tribe 160 acres of land without regard to age or sex, while the general law gives this allotment only to heads of families. There are, I think, serious objections to the basis adopted in the general law, especially in its application to married women; but, if the basis of the agreement herewith submitted is accepted, it would, I think, result, in some cases where there are large families of minor children, in excessive allotments to a single family. Whatever is done in this case will of course become in some sense a precedent in the cases yet to be dealt with.

Perhaps the question of the payment by the United States of the annuities which were forfeited by the act of February 15, 1863 (12 Stats., 652) should not have been considered in connection with this negotiation for the cession of these lands. But it appears that a refusal to consider this claim would have terminated the negotiation, and if the claim is just its allowance has already been too long delayed. The forfeiture declared by the act of 1863 unjustly included the annuities of certain Indians of these bands who were not only guilty of no fault, but who rendered meritorious services in the armies of the United States in the suppression of the Sioux outbreak and in the war of the rebellion.

The agreement submitted, as I understand, provides for the payment of the annuities justly due to these friendly Indians, to all the members of the two bands per capita. This is said to be the unanimous wish of the Indians, and a distribution to the friendly Indians and their descendants only would now be very difficult, if not impossible.

The agreement is respectfully submitted for the consideration of Congress.  
BENJ. HARRISON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 18, 1890.

Mr. DAWES. I move that the message and accompanying papers be referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and printed.  
The motion was agreed to.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, in response to a resolution of January 13, 1890, a copy of the report from the Commissioner of the General Land Office and the report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in regard to the northern boundary of the Warm Springs Indian reservation; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

He also laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a report of the action of that Department in endeavoring to secure a site for a public building in Buffalo, N. Y., to accommodate the post-office and other Government offices at that place; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and ordered to be printed.

### FORT BLISS MILITARY RESERVATION.

The bill (H. R. 3923) to provide for the sale of the site of Fort Bliss, Texas, the sale or removal of the improvements thereof, and for a new site and the construction of suitable buildings thereon was read twice by its title.

Mr. REAGAN. The Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate have reported a bill in the exact terms of the one adopted by the other

House, and if agreeable to the Senate I should like to have the Senate bill indefinitely postponed and the House bill passed now.

I will state that the military reservation at Fort Bliss has been frequently reported as insufficient by the War Department on account of its not being large enough and because the Southern Pacific Railroad runs directly through it. The citizens of El Paso propose to donate to the Government a thousand acres of land for the establishment of a post without expense to the Government, and it is believed that the property of the present post can be sold for enough to put up proper buildings on the larger and better grounds which the city of El Paso offers to give. It meets the approval of the Secretary of War, and the approval of the Major-General commanding the Army, and of the officers in command in that department. As the bill meets with the approval of the military and has passed the House of Representatives and received the recommendation of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, I should be glad if the Senate would allow the Senate bill to be indefinitely postponed and adopt the House bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the House bill.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. INGALLS. Is the bill reported from any committee?

Mr. REAGAN. It passed the other House, and a bill has been reported from the Military Committee of the Senate in exactly the same terms.

Mr. INGALLS. When?

Mr. REAGAN. It was reported about a week ago.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The report was made on the 12th of February.

Mr. INGALLS. Is the bill on the Calendar?

Mr. REAGAN. Yes, sir; it is on the Calendar, No. 398.

Mr. INGALLS. I do not see the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs here. It seems that the bill reported from the Military Committee of the Senate was with amendments.

Mr. REAGAN. Yes, sir; and those amendments were to make it conform to the House bill which has been passed by that body.

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

Mr. REAGAN. I now move that the bill (S. 1645) to provide for the sale of the site of Fort Bliss, Texas, the sale or removal of the improvements thereof, and for a new site and the construction of suitable buildings thereon be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. BLACKBURN presented two petitions of citizens of New Jersey and Kentucky, praying for the passage of a Sunday-rest bill; which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented the petition of Robert Storie Post, No. 104, Department of Kentucky, Grand Army of the Republic, praying for certain pension legislation; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. EVARTS presented a petition of 850 members of St. John's Methodist Episcopal Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; a petition of the Sabbath Association of Binghamton, N. Y.; and a petition of a mass-meeting of citizens of Binghamton, N. Y., praying for the passage of a Sunday-rest law; which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. STEWART presented the petition of Benjamin P. Snyder, Charles C. Glover, E. Francis Riggs, Hyde & Matthews, trustees of the Corcoran estate, and John B. Henderson and others, 52 in number, property-owners and persons to be accommodated by the proposed cable railway described in Senate bill 2590, praying for the passage of that bill; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also presented the petition of J. Devereux and 15 other citizens of Raleigh, N. C., praying for the remonetization of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PADDOCK presented a petition of the Grand Army of the Republic post of Bartlett, Nebr., praying for the passage of the per diem pension bill, and the repeal of the limit in present arrears law; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented the petition of John H. Patterson, of Chicago, Ill., praying for an increase of the salaries of United States postal clerks; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa, presented a petition of the Methodist Episcopal Church (202 members) of Lebanon, Van Buren County, Iowa, praying for the passage of the Sunday-rest bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. CAMERON presented a petition of the Philadelphia (Pa.) Board of Trade, praying for certain amendments to the bill now pending in the Senate to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. FARWELL presented the petition of Mrs. Laura E. Skeels, of Austin, Cook County, Illinois, praying for the payment to her daughter of accrued pension due Nancy M. Elmendorf, deceased, dependent mother of Alexander F. Elmendorf, late a private of Company K, Second

New York Cavalry; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented the petition of Malvina A. Maltby, widow of General Jasper A. Maltby, praying for the passage of a special pension act for her relief; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of Amity Lodge of Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association of West Liberty, Ill., praying for the enactment of a law prohibiting the selling of promises to deliver any farm produce or stock products by those who are not owners thereof; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of the Knights of Labor of Pullman, Ill., praying that the Commissioner of the Census ascertain what percentage of the people are tenants, and also how many people occupy and operate their own farms, and what proportion of the people are free from debt; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of Messrs. Swift & Co., by G. H. Swift, president of the Chicago Stock-Yard Board, Chicago, Ill., Griffin-Martin Company, and 46 others, praying that the Fifty-first Congress authorize the Secretary of War to contract with Charles Stoughton and his associates for the entire work of improving Harlem River, New York, for a sum not exceeding \$1,350,000, to be completed March 31, 1892; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PLATT. I present a petition of citizens of Connecticut interested in orange production in Florida, praying that a duty of \$1 a box be placed upon foreign oranges. The petition, though addressed to myself, should have been to the Senate. I move that it be received and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SAWYER presented resolutions adopted by the A. O. Heald Post, No. 192, Department of Wisconsin, Grand Army of the Republic, praying for the passage of a service-pension bill; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of members of the Winnebago tribe of Indians in Wisconsin, praying for a special police corps; which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present communications from the St. Louis and New Orleans Anchor Line Company and from the St. Louis and Mississippi Valley Transportation Company, addressed to the president of the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange, and resolutions of the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange, remonstrating against the passage of the bill proposing to change the height of the Memphis bridge. I move that these communications be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. INGALLS presented two petitions gathered by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and signed by citizens of Kansas and Missouri, praying for the passage of what is known as the Sunday-rest bill; which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented resolutions adopted by McPherson (Kans.) Grand Army of the Republic Post, 87, and a petition of citizens of Sterling, Kans., praying for the passage of certain pension legislation; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of the Olathe (Kans.) Grange 118, Farmers' Alliance, and a petition of Grange 68, Farmers' Alliance, of Gardner, Kans., praying for action upon the bill for the suppression of trusts; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Farmers' Exchange and Co-operative Association, of Wichita, Kans., remonstrating against the issue of Government bonds for whatever purpose, and in favor of a legal-tender currency; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. TELLER presented a petition of the State Grange of Colorado, praying that the soldiers of the regular Army be put to work in the construction of reservoirs and ditches, and that compensation be made by allowing them land warrants on reclaimed lands; which was referred to the Select Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

Mr. ALLISON presented a petition of 563 citizens of Iowa, praying for the passage of a national Sunday-rest law; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Davenport (Iowa) Business Men's Association, in favor of locating a gun foundry at Rock Island arsenal; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Des Moines (Iowa) Typographical Union, No. 118, in favor of the passage of the international copyright bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented the petition of A. W. White and other farmers, members of the Farmers' Alliance, Garrison, Iowa, praying for legislation to prohibit boards of trade, bucket shops, and mercantile bodies and individuals from fixing the value on the raw or manufactured produce of American farms by sales of promises of future deliveries; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Platt Farmers' Alliance of Kent, Iowa, praying for the passage of such laws as will prevent speculation in farm products, and also in favor of the passage of a bill authorizing the United States to loan money to farmers at a low rate of interest; which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented resolutions adopted by Henry Howard Post, No.

259, Grand Army of the Republic, of Strawberry Point, Iowa, favoring the passage of a service-pension law; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. VEST. I present a memorial of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis and other citizens of that city, remonstrating against the passage of the bill which is now pending before the Committee on Commerce proposing to amend the act which authorizes the construction of the bridge at Memphis, Tenn. I will ask that the memorial be referred to the Committee on Commerce; but I wish to state in this connection that a report upon the bill to which the memorial refers has been prepared by the Committee on Commerce adverse to the bill, but it has been withheld at the request of my friend from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS].

Mr. HARRIS. I desire to say to my friend from Missouri that I desire that the report shall be withheld for some time. Of course I shall acquiesce in the action of the committee, but certain friends of the measure are appealing to the committee to hear them, and I hope as a matter of courtesy to those friends they will be heard, and then I shall acquiesce in whatever conclusion the committee arrive at.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorial will be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. BLACKBURN, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2213) to regulate the pay of employes at the Washington navy-yard, reported adversely thereon; and the bill was indefinitely postponed.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2214) to remunerate employes in the United States navy-yards for time lost in consequence of injuries received in said yards, reported adversely thereon; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. PASCO, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1034) for the relief of Nancy E. Day, administratrix of the estate of James L. Day, deceased, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. WILSON, of Maryland, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 316) for the relief of the legal representatives of George McDougall, deceased, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. FAULKNER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 948) for the relief of Laban Heath & Co., of Boston, Mass., reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. BUTLER, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1025) for the relief of Commander George M. Bache, United States Navy (retired), reported adversely thereon; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. EVARTS, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1424) to provide for the disposal of the interest on the Virginian indemnity fund, reported it without amendment.

Mr. CAMERON, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2030) donating condemned cannon and small arms to Naval Post No. 400, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Pennsylvania, reported it without amendment.

Mr. SPOONER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 246) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury and the proper accounting officers to restate, settle, and pay to the owners of private dies the balance of commissions due them, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 388) to remove the charge of desertion now standing against the record of Noyes Barber on the rolls of the Navy Department, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. MANDERSON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 826) for the relief of Horatio Phillips Van Cleve, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2107) for the relief of Horatio Phillips Van Cleve, reported adversely thereon; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. MORRILL, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom the subject was referred, reported a bill (S. 2740) to provide for the erection of an additional fire-proof building for the National Museum; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. SHERMAN, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2594) providing for an inspection of meats for exportation, prohibiting the importation of adulterated articles of food or drink, and authorizing the President to make proclamation in certain cases, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment.

Mr. ALLISON, from the Committee on Appropriations, to whom was referred Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 9, of the present session, being a communication from the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of findings of fact filed by that court in the case of George Brown vs. The United States, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims; which was agreed to.

He also, from the Committee on Appropriations, to whom was referred

Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 5 of the present session, being a communication from the Court of Claims, transmitting a copy of findings of fact filed by that court in the case of A. Webster Shaffer vs. The United States, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims; which was agreed to.

Mr. SAWYER, from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, for whom was referred the bill (S. 1926) for the relief of Mary L. Ross, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. BLAIR, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 945) for the relief of women enrolled as army nurses, etc., reported it with amendments, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them adversely; and they were postponed indefinitely:

A bill (S. 1892) for the relief of women enrolled as army nurses; and

A bill (S. 2669) granting pensions to army nurses.

#### STEAMER SAN BENITO.

Mr. FRYE. I am instructed by the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2501) to provide for an American register for a steamer to be named San Benito, owned by a corporation of the State of California, to report it favorably without amendment.

This steamer has just been completed in California at a cost of about \$65,000 and will be classed "first class." She is ready to take a cargo, and her owners are very anxious that this bill shall be sent to the other House now. I ask unanimous consent that the bill may receive consideration at this time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request made by the Senator from Maine?

Mr. SHERMAN. The bill had better be read for information.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the bill; and, by unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

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

#### TRANSPORTATION OF FOOD PRODUCTS.

Mr. CULLOM. I am directed by the Committee on Interstate Commerce to report a resolution in response to a resolution adopted by the Senate instructing the Committee on Interstate Commerce to make certain investigations touching the question of transportation, and I ask the Senate to consider the resolution at the present time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Whereas the "act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, and amendments thereto, direct the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce the provision of the act requiring rates of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to be reasonable and just, and authorize the commission to determine as to the reasonableness or unreasonableness of such rates; and

Whereas it is alleged that, by reason of excessive freight rates on lines of railroads subject to the jurisdiction of the act of Congress to regulate commerce between the several States, the great section of the country lying between the Rocky Mountains and the principal food-distribution centers of the East finds itself unable to market its food products and obtain for them the actual cost of production; therefore,

*Be it resolved*, That the Interstate Commerce Commission be, and is hereby, directed at the earliest practicable time to make an investigation of the allegation above stated, and to ascertain and report to the Senate whether such rates are reasonable or unreasonable, and whether a reduction of such rates is prevented or hindered by reason of the operation of any provision of the "act to regulate commerce," and whether a more stringent enforcement of the act referred to is practicable and would remedy the evils complained of.

Mr. CULLOM. I ask for the immediate consideration of the resolution.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois asks for the present consideration of the resolution.

Mr. INGALLS. Let it be read again.

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

#### BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE introduced a bill (S. 2741) providing for sundry light-houses and other aids to navigation on the Great Lakes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2742) granting a pension to Malvina P. Fletcher; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. STEWART introduced a bill (S. 2743) to promote irrigation; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Select Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2744) for the relief of Arthur L. Fish; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2745) to confer jurisdiction upon the circuit courts of the United States in certain cases; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SAWYER introduced a bill (S. 2746) to amend an act approved May 9, 1888, entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act au-

thorizing the Postmaster-General to adjust certain claims of postmasters for loss by burglary, fire, or other unavoidable casualty,'" approved March 17, 1882; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2747) to fix the rate of postage on periodical publications containing the print or reprint of books; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. McMILLAN introduced a bill (S. 2748) to provide for the examination, survey, and completion of certain harbors and public works and the removal of certain dangers and obstructions to navigation on the great northwestern lakes and waters connected therewith, and making appropriations therefor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. ALLEN introduced a bill (S. 2749) granting an increase of pension to Augustus J. Wernitsch; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. DAVIS introduced a bill (S. 2750) to remove the charge of desertion against Almon R. Tobey; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HEARST introduced a bill (S. 2751) for the relief of Martha G. Campbell, executrix; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2752) for the relief of Martha G. Campbell, executrix; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 2753) granting a pension to Polly McArthur; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. FARWELL introduced a bill (S. 2754) granting a pension to Walter P. Harrison; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2755) to increase the pension of Mrs. Malvina A. Maltby; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2756) granting a pension to Mary J. Dexter; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. INGALLS introduced a bill (S. 2757) granting a pension to Jesse Crozen; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2758) granting a pension to Mrs. Mary I. Glenn; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2759) granting a pension to Sarah J. Reeves; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2760) for the relief of Caroline T. Bancroft, executrix and trustee of William S. Bancroft, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. WILSON, of Maryland, introduced a bill (S. 2761) granting a pension to Mrs. Sarah A. Asbold; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CAMERON introduced a bill (S. 2762) granting a pension to Elizabeth F. Long; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MORRILL introduced a bill (S. 2763) to define the routes of steam-railroads in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

#### ASSASSINATION OF W. B. SAUNDERS.

Mr. SHERMAN. I call for the Calendar. I give notice now, before anybody gets the floor, that I shall insist upon the Calendar.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution offered by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], coming over from a previous day.

Mr. SHERMAN. That is morning business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution submitted by Mr. CHANDLER on the 17th instant was read, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Attorney-General be directed to transmit to the Senate any information in his possession with reference to the recent assassination at Quincy, Fla., of W. B. Saunders, United States deputy marshal for the district of Florida.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. PASCO. Before the resolution is adopted I would like to make some remarks upon it. I do not know whether it is the intention of the Senator from New Hampshire to present any remarks at this time. If not, I will take the floor.

Mr. CHANDLER. My object in offering the resolution was to have it adopted. I have no desire to submit any remarks unless it may be in reply to those of the Senator from Florida. I should like to ask the Senator whether he objects to the passage of the resolution.

Mr. PASCO. I do not object to it. I shall offer an amendment to it before I get through with my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Florida will proceed.  
Mr. PASCOE. Mr. President, it was not my design to bring the difficulties with reference to Florida before the Senate, and when the Senator from New Hampshire gave me an opportunity to do so at the close of the speech which I made last month I avoided as far as I could any reference to them. I refrained from any extended remarks upon this subject at that time because these questions were before the executive session of the Senate upon the confirmation of the judge and district attorney and marshal for that district.

But the Senator from New Hampshire now brings the matter up again, and it is my purpose this morning to lay before the Senate in a detailed form all the acts of that court and its entire history, so that the country in considering these matters which have recently arisen, and the Senate, may have the benefit of all the facts which have transpired before that court.

It will be remembered that Judge Settle, the former district judge of the northern district of Florida, died during the recess of the last Congress, early in December, 1888. During the following session, the second session of that Congress, the vacancy was not filled. A name was sent in by the President, but no confirmation followed. The Fiftieth Congress adjourned. The present Administration came into power. There was another session of the Senate, and it passed without the appointment of any successor to Judge Settle. After the adjournment of the session, which occurred after the announcement that there were no further appointments to act upon, Mr. Swayne was appointed district judge. He has never been confirmed. He entered upon the duties of the office without the advice and consent of the Senate.

In this connection I wish to call attention to a report of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate made during the last Congress, being Executive Document No. 2, from which the injunction of secrecy has been removed. I will read the views of the committee with reference to an appointment of that character, as expressed at that time. The committee say:

The undersigned have no criticism to make upon the personal worthiness of the gentleman who has filled the place during the recess of the Senate and who is now, without the advice and consent of the Senate, exercising its most important powers; but they can not allow the question of such an exercise (as they believe) of unwarranted power on the part of the Executive to pass into an unquestioned precedent.

The foregoing observations, of course, apply to all cases of filling up of offices for the first time created by Presidential appointment made without the advice and consent of the Senate. But it is perhaps proper to add that in the case of judicial offices the propriety, to say the least of it, of such a course must be very apparent. The constitutional judicial officers of the United States, it is provided in the Constitution itself, shall hold their offices during good behavior. The principle upon which this clause rests and the just policy upon which it should be exercised is that the possessor of a judicial office should, while he is exercising its functions, be beyond the temptations either of bias, fear, or favor.

If this be so, and it clearly is, it would seem to be anomalous that an officer whose permanent commission was to continue during good behavior should, as it may often happen, for a long period of time be exercising his high judicial functions at the risk of exciting the displeasure of the members of the Senate on the one hand and of stimulating their support on the other, according to the influence that his judicial conduct and judgments might produce in the communities whence Senators come.

The undersigned think, therefore, waiving the question of the strict constitutional power of the President to fill up a vacancy happening in the office of a constitutional judge during a recess of the Senate by a temporary appointment, that it is against the just philosophy and policy of our constitutional system that such offices should be filled in any instance (saving some extreme emergency) without the advice and consent of the Senate, to the end that the constitutional judge should be at all times, when exercising his office, the very officer in spirit and in fact that the Constitution in its principal provisions describes, namely, one whose tenure does not depend upon any favor or prejudice whatever, but only upon his own conduct (to be brought in question only in a judicial procedure), for the permanence of his place.

The following is from the Senator from Vermont [Mr. EDMUNDS], the chairman of the committee:

Technically, of course, the questions herein discussed are not necessarily presented in this nomination, which does not show on its face that Mr. Lacombe had been appointed in the manner before stated or is now exercising the duties of the office, and, therefore, it might be considered that the Senate would be in no way committed to acquiescence in such action as the President has thought fit to take in the matter by a simple advice to the appointment; but the undersigned, fearing that such a course of procedure might be claimed hereafter to be a precedent for the exercise of such authority on the part of the President, have thought it fit to put on record their views as before stated, so that this action of confirming Mr. Lacombe may not be turned into an unquestioned precedent.

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

The undersigned agree to the general doctrines of the foregoing statement of views, but do not concur in the qualifying phrases contained in the last paragraph, changing said paragraph so that it shall read as follows, namely:

"The undersigned think, therefore, that it is against the just philosophy and policy of our constitutional system that such offices should be filled in any instance without the advice and consent of the Senate, to the end that the constitutional judge should be at all times, when exercising his office, the very officer, in spirit and in fact, that the Constitution in its principal provisions described, namely, one whose tenure does not depend upon any favor or prejudice whatever, but only upon his own conduct (to be brought in question only in a judicial procedure), for the permanence of his place."  
We append our names to the statement.

JAMES F. WILSON.  
JOHN J. INGALLS.  
JAMES L. PUGH.

Notwithstanding those views, Mr. President, Mr. Swayne was appointed, and during the recess, before being confirmed and without the advice and consent of the Senate, he entered upon the functions of judge.

The regular term of the circuit court at Jacksonville, which had commenced December, 1888, had been held and continued from time to time by other judges designated by the circuit judge, and either the regular or an adjourned term was at recess when the *ad interim* appointment was made. Mr. Swayne attended on the day to which the court had been adjourned, and there were also present Joseph N. Stripling as district attorney and John R. Mizell as marshal, both of whom also held *ad interim* commissions.

The northern district of Florida is divided into three divisions, and by law terms are required to be held in each division of the district: one at Jacksonville, in the eastern division; one at Tallahassee, in the middle division; and one at Pensacola, in the western division. Tallahassee is by rail 166 miles from Jacksonville. Pensacola is 203 miles from Tallahassee and 369 from Jacksonville. These divisions were established by a rule of court made by the former district judge, and the rule was based upon acts of Congress establishing these terms of the court for the trial of offenses in the part of the State where they were committed. Without any motion made in open court, without any notice to anybody, without any public announcement of such action, this just rule of court was secretly set aside on July 2, 1889.

It was further ordered at the same time and in the same manner that the commissioner be intrusted with the dangerous and unlawful power of determining the times and places to which all criminal process and bonds should be returnable, without regard to the nearest terms of the court, either with reference to time or place.

By another section of the same order the jury commissioner was removed, and by another order a new commissioner was appointed. I ask that the Secretary read the order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The order will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

TUESDAY MORNING, July 2, 1889.

Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Present, the Hon. Charles Swayne, district judge; J. N. Stripling, United States attorney; John R. Mizell, marshal; Philip Walter, clerk.

Court was duly opened by the marshal.

It is ordered that the order of this court made and entered on the 6th day of January, A. D. 1882, in the words and figures following:

"It is ordered that the counties of Escambia, Santa Rosa, Walton, Holmes, and Washington shall constitute the western division of the northern district of Florida, and the counties of Jackson, Calhoun, Liberty, Franklin, Gadsden, Leon, Wakulla, Jefferson, Madison, Taylor, and Lafayette shall constitute the middle division of the said district, and the counties of Hamilton, Suwannee, Columbia, Baker, Bradford, Alachua, Levy, Marion, Sumter, Putnam, Clay, Duval, Nassau, St. John's, Volusia, Orange, Brevard, Dade, and any part of said district not in any of the above counties shall constitute the eastern division of said district.

"It is further ordered that hereafter all misdemeanors or other criminal offenses cognizable by the district or circuit court of the United States for said district which may be committed in any of the counties constituting the said western division shall be made returnable to a term of the court to be held at Pensacola, and in all misdemeanors or other criminal offenses which may be committed in any of the counties constituting the said middle division shall be made returnable to a term to be held at Tallahassee, and those which may be committed in any of the counties constituting the said eastern division shall be made returnable to a term to be held at Jacksonville.

"It is further ordered that each clerk and commissioner of either of said courts shall be furnished by the clerk at Jacksonville with a copy of this order, and that the said commissioners act according thereto in recognizing persons charged with crimes and misdemeanors and in returning papers, be, and the same is hereby, vacated, revoked, annulled, and set aside, and shall no longer be of force or effect in the northern district of Florida.

It is further ordered that any and all other orders or orders of this court heretofore passed dividing said district into divisions as aforesaid be, and the same are hereby, vacated, revoked, annulled, and set aside, and shall no longer be of force or effect in said district.

It is further ordered that in all crimes and offenses cognizable by the authority of the United States it shall be the duty of commissioners to make all criminal process and bonds returnable to such place of holding court within said district as in their judgment will best subserve the ends of justice.

It is further ordered that the order of this court passed on the 1st day of December, A. D. 1879, whereby T. E. Buckman, of the county of Duval, was appointed the jury commissioner of said court pursuant to the provisions of section 2 of an act of Congress, approved June 30, A. D. 1879, entitled "An act making appropriations for certain judicial expenses for the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes," be and the same is hereby set aside and revoked, and the said T. E. Buckman is hereby removed, and shall no longer be authorized to act as such commissioner under the provisions of the aforesaid act.

CHAS. SWAYNE, District Judge.

In re jury commissioner.—Order appointing commissioner.

It is ordered that J. O. Farnell, of Suwannee County, within said district, be, and he is hereby, appointed the jury commissioner of said court, pursuant to the provisions of section 2 of an act of Congress approved June 30, A. D. 1879, entitled "An act making appropriations for certain judicial expenses for the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes."

It is further ordered that the said J. O. Farnell signify his acceptance of said position in writing and file the same in the clerk's office, to be recorded in the minutes of said court, and that he take the following oath: "I, J. O. Farnell, do solemnly swear that I will support, protect, and defend the Constitution and Government of the United States of America, and that I will, to the best of my ability and judgment, discharge the duties required of me by law as jury commissioner," which oath shall be filed with the clerk and recorded in the minutes of said court.

It is further ordered that the clerk and jury commissioner do forthwith select six hundred names, as required by law, from which the juries to serve at said courts shall be drawn.

[SEAL.]  
A true copy:

CHAS. SWAYNE, District Judge.

PHILIP WALTER, Clerk.

Mr. PASCO. It was objected, Mr. President, that the new commissioner was not a well known Democrat within the meaning of the law. In 1882 Mr. Stripling, with the aid of some other politicians of the

State, attempted to get up an independent party. He himself was a candidate on the county ticket of that party for the Legislature from Madison County, where he resided. There was a pamphlet published about that time in Tallahassee, Fla., similar in some respects to the Congressional Directory, in which the sketches and biographies of the different members of the Legislature were given. The prefatory remarks show the manner in which they were obtained. It states:

These sketches are necessarily brief, giving the name, time, and place of birth, manner of bringing up, kind of education, profession, or avocation, etc., of each member; this information has been derived from original sources, from the members themselves.

It is stated on page 40 of this pamphlet, from which I read, that "Mr. Stripling is an Independent in politics." This is his own position and his own statement. Two years later the Republican party of Florida abandoned its organization and united with this Independent party, and Mr. Pope was its candidate for governor. Mr. Stripling was during the same year its candidate in his own county for the State senate, and he was elected as a member of that party to the State senate in that year.

In the election of 1884 the Independent party was defeated and it went down as a State party, but it still kept up an existence in several of the counties of the State. Mr. Stripling at the last election engaged in this Independent movement in his own county in 1888, and the division in that county was mainly upon these party lines, the Democratic party upon the one side and the Independent party, of which Mr. Stripling was a member, not a candidate at that election, but a member, on the other side.

In Columbia County Mr. Farnell was the representative of this party, and was elected in a previous year as a member of the Legislature and served in the Legislature when supported by the Independents of his own county of Columbia.

The new commissioner was then in sympathy with this movement, and had acted with it in county matters, and Mr. Stripling in having him appointed selected a member of the same political organization to which he himself belonged. The law required that the commissioner should be a well known member of the principal political party in the district opposing that to which the clerk belongs. The clerk was Republican. The former commissioner was a Democrat. The new commissioner should have been a Democrat. Instead of being a Democrat the objection was made that he belonged to this Independent movement.

The change in the rule abolishing the divisions of the district made it possible for the court officers at Jacksonville to draw into their control most of the criminal business of the court. It largely increased the fees and costs of the clerk and marshal there and the mileage of the marshal and his deputies. But this is a small matter compared to the injustice done to the citizens.

By reference to what I said awhile ago as to distances it will be seen that accused persons living in the middle district, who were entitled to trial at Tallahassee, were, by the new arrangement, liable to be carried 166 miles from their homes for examination and trial, when there was a regular term of court held every year at Tallahassee, within easy reach of their homes; and that those living at Pensacola were liable, under this new order of practice, to be indicted at and carried to Jacksonville, 369 miles from their homes, leaving Pensacola, where there was a term of the court held by law every year, passing Tallahassee, 203 miles from their homes, where there was also a term of the court held by law every year, and proceeding 166 miles farther to be tried at a term of the court in Jacksonville, at the eastern end of the State.

After making these changes in the machinery of the court a special term was called to meet in October. The grand jury and the panel of petit jurors were drawn to be in attendance at the opening of the court. By an examination of the list of the grand jurors, with the aid of persons from the different counties, it was found that twenty-two out of twenty-three drawn and summoned were members of the same political party. Some of these were absent and their places were filled, not, as required by the impartial jury law, by drawing their names from the jury-box, but by summoning Republicans from among the bystanders.

In order that the terms of the jury law and the lawful method of drawing jurors may be understood, I quote the language of the impartial jury law, which was approved June 30, 1879:

And that all such jurors, grand and petit, including those summoned during the session of the court, shall be publicly drawn from a box containing at the time of each drawing the names of not less than three hundred persons possessing the qualifications prescribed in section 800 of the Revised Statutes, which names shall have been placed therein by the clerk of such court and a commissioner, to be appointed by the judge thereof, which commissioner shall be a citizen of good standing, residing in the district in which such court is held and a well known member of the principal political party in the district in which the court is held opposing that to which the clerk may belong, the clerk and said commissioner each to place one name in said box alternately, without reference to party affiliations, until the whole number required shall be placed therein.

A challenge to the array of the grand jury was made in behalf of a person who had been bound over to await the action of the grand jury on a charge of violation of the postal laws, on the ground that the new commissioner was not a well known member of the Democratic party in the district. The issue was joined and a motion to quash the panel was overruled.

A further ground of challenge was made in behalf of another party who had been bound over on a charge of violating the election laws,

that the grand jury had been selected in violation of law. A demurrer was filed to this ground and it was sustained.

I read from a pamphlet, made up by the clerk of the court, containing these challenges to the array:

Now comes Owen K. Paxton, who is held to answer to this term of said court on the charge of conspiring to prevent by force and intimidation one C. L. Morrison from holding an office of trust under the United States, and challenges the array of grand jurors summoned herein and moves to quash the venire for said grand jurors on the ground that said grand jurors have not been selected, drawn, and summoned in accordance with law, in that the person who acted as jury commissioner in selecting and drawing said jurors, to wit, J. O. Farnell, is not and was not when appointed such jury commissioner and was not when acting as such jury commissioner in selecting and drawing said jurors a well known member of the Democratic party in said district, that being the principal political party in said district opposed to the Republican party, to which latter party the clerk of said court, Philip Walter, belongs.

JOSEPH B. CHRISTIE,  
C. M. COOPER,  
Attorneys for Paxton.

UNITED STATES VS. S. A. PAGE.

Now comes S. A. Page aforesaid and assigns for additional ground for his challenge of the array of grand jurors, spread upon the motion-docket on the 7th day of October, A. D. 1889, that said grand jurors were not selected without regard to party affiliations as required by act of Congress, but that the act of Congress was violated therein, as is manifest from the fact that nearly all of the grand jurors are Republicans, to wit: That of twenty-three grand jurors drawn from the box and included in said venire twenty-two are Republicans and only one is a member of the Democratic party, as the said Paxton is informed and believes and offers to prove, as the court may direct.

J. B. CHRISTIE,  
C. M. COOPER,  
Defendant's Attorneys.

Upon the first ground issue was joined, evidence was taken by affidavit, and the court overruled the motion. On the second ground there was a demurrer entered, admitting the facts properly pleaded, and the demurrer was sustained. Later in the session three persons residing in the middle division of the court, nearly 150 miles from Jacksonville and about 20 miles from Tallahassee, moved to have their cases transferred to the term of the court to be held at Tallahassee. Their motion was in the following words:

In the circuit court of the United States for the northern district of Florida. The United States vs. W. R. Grantham, J. C. Barclay, and Jack Peacock, violating election laws.

And now come the defendants, W. R. Grantham, J. C. Barclay, and Jack Peacock, in the above-stated cause, by their attorneys, and move to continue the said cause to the term of the court to be held at Tallahassee on the first Monday in February next, and to transfer the papers therein to Tallahassee, on the following grounds, to wit:

1. The defendants live in Jefferson County, about 150 miles from Jacksonville and about 22 miles from Tallahassee, and the expense of meeting the accusations against them is largely increased by requiring them to be tried so far away from home.

2. These defendants are in moderate circumstances, and can not afford the expense of bringing their witnesses to a point so remote from their homes as Jacksonville, and they will be hampered and prejudiced in making their defense if they are tried there; but living, as they and their witnesses do, within a few hours' ride of Tallahassee by private conveyance, they can there take all their witnesses, and thus have a fairer trial.

3. The trial of this case at Tallahassee would be less expensive to the Government as well as to these defendants.

4. If tried at Tallahassee it will be before a jury made up, in part at least, of persons from their own and adjoining counties, and they will have the advantage of the character and reputation they have hitherto borne without cost and trouble of introducing testimony to prove the same.

5. If tried at Tallahassee, instead of Jacksonville, they and their witnesses will not be kept away from their families and business so long, and in case of delay they can return to their homes more frequently and look after their business interests a little, which suffer materially during a prolonged absence.

6. In this case the defendants may require the use of the public records of Jefferson County for preparing their defense, and it is manifestly inconvenient to be tried so remote from the same, and the inconvenience to the public of having their officers summoned away to such a distance is largely increased.

7. The division of the district and the establishment of a session of the court at Tallahassee was made for the convenience of suitors before the court, and it is respectfully suggested that the spirit if not the letter of the law will be defeated by requiring these defendants to be tried 150 miles away from their homes, when the court will hold an early session in the county adjoining that in which these defendants reside.

8. That it is the constitutional right of the accused to have a trial before an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the offenses are charged to have been committed, such district to be previously ascertained by law, and terms of the court appointed to be held at Tallahassee and Pensacola for the trial of causes arising in the western section of the State of Florida; that the defendants live in the part of the district thus appointed nearest Tallahassee; that this district so appointed by law has been hitherto recognized by the rules and practice of this honorable court, and they suggest that it is their constitutional right and privilege to be tried in the district whose court is at Tallahassee.

This motion was overruled.

Later in the term a further effort was made to get rid of the jury made up with a single exception of Republicans. Pleas were filed, which appear in the accompanying paper:

In cases based on two indictments involving charges against parties in Leon County for violation of the election laws in the Presidential election of last year (1888), the defendants, through Attorneys A. W. Cockrell & Son, filed the following pleas:

In the circuit court of the United States, of the fifth circuit, in and for the northern district of Florida.

United States vs. Benjamin Chaires. Indictment: Violation election laws. J. L. Agnew and Doc. Wooten.—Pleas in abatement.

And now come Benjamin Chaires, J. L. Agnew, and Doc. Wooten, and for their plea herein say that J. O. Farnell, who, on the 2d day of July, 1889, was appointed juror commissioner of this court and who acted as such in placing, alternately with the clerk of this court, names in the box, from which was drawn and selected the jurors composing the grand jury, by whom the said indictment was found, is not and was not when appointed as such juror commissioner a well known member of the Democratic party; that Philip Walter, the clerk of

said court, who acted as such in placing alternately in said box the names from which the persons aforesaid so composing the said grand jury were so drawn and selected, and is a well known member of the Republican party, and that the Democratic party was, when the said Farnell was so appointed, and is now, the principal political party in said district opposed to said Republican party; and this these defendants are ready to verify.

That for a further plea in this behalf these defendants further aver all the averments of the preceding plea, and further say that said names so alternately placed in said box were not selected without regard to party affiliations, as required by law in that behalf, but were selected with a view to their party affiliations, and that of the twenty-three persons so drawn from said box, and so selected, drawn, and summoned as such grand jury, twenty-two are well known Republicans and only one was and is a member of the Democratic party. And these defendants further aver that, as was well known to said jury commissioner and said clerk at the time said names were so selected and said jurors so drawn, there was a larger number of Democrats in said district in every way qualified to be selected and drawn as jurors than Republicans so qualified to be selected and drawn; and these defendants further aver that of the persons whose names were so placed in said box from which said jurors were so drawn, there were ten Republicans and more to every Democrat so placed therein; and these defendants append hereto, as part hereof, a list of the names so put in said box, all of which these defendants are ready to verify.

These pleas were demurred to and argument heard thereon before Judge Swayne sitting alone as circuit judge the last day of the last term of the United States circuit court; but no decision was formally announced thereon from the bench and the matter of the demurrer was held over for hearing before Judges Pardee and Swayne constituting the circuit court at this term.

These pleas were filed late in the special term and their hearing was continued to the regular term, which was held on the first Monday of December last. At the hearing Judge Pardee, the circuit judge, was present and sat with Judge Swayne in the case, and the following is a brief statement of the decision of the court:

On yesterday the court announced from the bench its decision, overruling the demurrer to the second plea and requiring the United States attorney to traverse that plea. So the truth of the allegations of the second plea of the above series will now be tried and determined. If the allegations therein made are sustained by the proof then the plea will be sustained and the indictments quashed. The public will look with interest to the result of the trial and the issue of fact.

The judgment was announced as concurred in by both members of the court. It certainly does not seem to be in harmony with the former judgment of Judge Swayne, and his subsequent conduct after the departure of the senior member of the court would seem to indicate that his concurrence was not sincere.

The plea was framed so as to avoid some objections made to it and issue was joined.

I have a stenographic report of the effort made by counsel to introduce evidence in support of the plea. It is proved by the oath of the stenographer. I shall submit some extracts from it, and will append them to these remarks without consuming the time of the Senate in reading them at length unless there is objection.

In the course of this investigation a letter was offered in evidence written by the marshal, Mr. Mizell, a friend in Volusia County. I have a photographic copy of that letter, and ask that it be read from the Secretary's desk.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., July 5, 1889.

SIR: You will at once confer with Mr. Bielby and make out a list of fifty or sixty names of true and tried Republicans from your county registration list for jurors, United States court, and forward same to Hon. P. Walter, clerk United States court, and it is necessary to have them at once, as you can see. Please acknowledge this. I am, yours truly,

JOHN R. MIZELL, United States Marshal.

C. C. KIRK, Esq., De Land, Fla.

Please get the names of the parties as near steam-boat and railroad stations as possible.

Mr. PASCO. It is believed that similar letters were written to the other counties in the eastern division of the district from which all the juries were drawn.

The witness Kirk testified that he received the letter, but the judge would not allow it to be submitted in evidence, notwithstanding counsel offered to prove that he had selected the names for jurors as proposed, had so notified the clerk, that his letter was afterwards seen in the clerk's hands in a mutilated condition, and that the clerk had accepted the list of names and had entered them upon the list of jurors in the order in which they had been received. The evidence being rejected, the motion was overruled and counsel had no further legal means of resistance, and accused persons were left to the tender mercies of juries thus organized and constituted.

Supposing the persons charged with the Cronin murder had been indicted and tried by a grand and petit jury summoned by an officer who had announced as the rule of selection that only true and tried Protestants and those connected with some evangelical church were wanted. Would any man believe that a judge who permitted such a jury to be sustained when objected to was fit to hold the scales of justice even-balanced in trying the accused? Would life or liberty be safe in such hands?

The situation at this period, early in the regular term in December, was as follows:

The judge was a comparatively briefless lawyer, but recently from Philadelphia, having lived but a few years in the State, not even a member of the bar of the court over which he had been called to preside, ignorant of the social and political history of Florida, unacquainted with the people. Besides, he came fresh from the disappointments of a political defeat to hold a court in which some of those who opposed

him were to be tried. It is proper to mention, also, that he was the only one of the six candidates for judicial positions who made stump speeches in his own behalf during the canvass of 1888.

The district attorney had been making a bare living as a lawyer, was at enmity with the people of his own town and county, eager for the profits and emoluments of his office, and ready to use it to gratify his grievances against his old neighbors.

A brief reconsideration of the facts must satisfy the investigator that it was intended from the beginning to banish fairness from the court and inaugurate partisanship.

On July 2 the orders I have referred to were made abolishing the lines which divided the district and removing the jury commissioner and appointing his successor. On the 5th of July, Mizell's letter, which has just been read from the desk, was written, and in October the special term was held and this jury was organized, twenty-two out of twenty-three of its membership being from one political party. The judge denied an investigation. At the regular term in January he acquiesced in the investigation as ordered and approved by the circuit judge. After the circuit judge had left and the district judge was there alone to try the cases, he resisted the investigation, had the defensive fight with counsel which appears in the testimony screening the clerk and marshal, refused to admit the Mizell letter in evidence, and attempted to suppress it.

Great efforts have been made to impress the country with the idea that flagrant violations of the election laws have been committed in Florida. I shall not here discuss this subject. The courts have taken the question in hand and I propose that we look at the results.

Judge Swayne held the two terms almost continuously from the first Monday of October to the early part of February. The district attorney seems to have had abundance of money. The partial statement furnished by the Attorney-General, which he admits is incomplete, shows an expenditure of about \$10,000 a month for witnesses' fees and fees of jurors and officers. The officers had juries of their own selection, made up almost entirely of their partisan friends, selected on account of their politics. The diligence of the court officers was probably exercised in getting indictments rather than in trying them. There was perhaps more money in this course. There were many persons under bonds who were before the court.

During this period of four or five months there were four trials of persons charged with political offenses and no convictions.

It is to be supposed that the district attorney, if a faithful and efficient officer, if he knew his business well, would select some of the strongest cases he had. He selected four cases, which resulted in four acquittals. He failed to get a single convict with all this money, and with all this power, and with all this partisanship, and with all of these resources which he had under his control. A great deal is made of a case where there was a plea of guilty. I will read something from the recent letters of the district attorney and the Attorney-General which will throw some light upon this case in which a plea of guilty was entered. Mr. Stripling, United States district attorney, writes on the 13th of November, 1889, to the Attorney-General as follows:

JACKSONVILLE, FLA., November 13, 1889.

SIR: S. C. Sadler, supervisor of registration of electors for the county of Alachua, plead guilty yesterday to two indictments charging him with refusal to register persons in his county entitled to registration. His violations of the law were very flagrant, but in consideration of his confession of his guilt, coupled with his assurance and the assurance of his political friends, who are among the most prominent citizens of the county, that there shall not be a repetition of this offense in the future, and that elections in the future shall be fairly conducted, I have been importuned by some of the most prominent Republicans of the county not to pray judgment against him until the regular term of court in December, 1890.

That means after the election of the present year.

In the mean time he proposes to give bond in the sum of \$5,000 for his appearance to abide the judgment of the court.

The purpose of this, of course, is ultimately to have the judgment finally suspended.

In my opinion it would be a good thing to give him a trial on this proposition. I believe that he and his friends can comply with their promises, and advise this course. I await your instructions.

Respectfully etc.,

J. N. STRIPLING, United States Attorney.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL, Washington, D. C.

Mr. President, the story is all abroad over the State that this man simply bought his peace. He was being harassed and annoyed, and it is said that he obtained a promise from the district attorney that if he would come in and make this confession of guilt he should be screened and nothing done to him. He is still at large without sentence.

Mr. SPOONER. He promised not to do it again, and that the record shows.

Mr. PASCO. The plea is believed to have been made upon the promise of the district attorney that he should not be punished. That is the promise I referred to.

Mr. SPOONER. That is based on his promise that he would not commit the offense again.

Mr. PASCO. In the first place, the district attorney states that the violation of law is very flagrant. He then states that the man says there shall not be a repetition of the offense in the future, and then the postponement comes until after the next election, and then the report goes out to the country that this man was buying his peace, that he

was assured if he should plead guilty he would be allowed to return to his home, and he makes the plea so that he may not be harassed with a prosecution before a partisan jury. This is the belief that prevails throughout the district.

Mr. Stripling reported his action to the Attorney-General, and the Attorney-General replied that the programme did not commend itself to his judgment, that if the man was guilty of having flagrantly violated the law it was proper that he should be punished, and that when caught in the toils he should not be allowed to escape a punishment richly deserved. The letter of the Attorney-General is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, Washington, November 21, 1899.

SIR: Your letter of November 13 was not received until a day or two ago. I note what you say in reference to S. C. Sadler, supervisor of registration of electors for the county of Alachua; that is, that he has pleaded guilty to two indictments charging him with refusing to register persons in his county who were entitled to be registered. You state that his violations of the law were very flagrant, but that, in consideration of his confession and his assurance, and the assurance of his political friends, who were among the most prominent citizens of the county, that there shall not be a repetition of this offense and that the elections in the future shall be fairly conducted, you have been importuned by some of the most prominent Republicans of that county not to pray judgment against him at present, or until December, 1899. You further state that the purpose of this proposed arrangement is that judgment shall be finally suspended. In other words, that he shall not be punished at all.

This programme does not commend itself to my judgment. If this man has deliberately and flagrantly violated the law I think he ought to be punished. He undoubtedly would not have confessed and pleaded guilty except that he saw himself inextricably in the toils, and it does not comport with my views of the administration of the law that one so evidently guilty of a grave crime should entirely escape punishment. I have submitted your letter to the President, who concurs in the views above expressed.

But after writing thus far the Attorney-General, with his experience in criminal matters, very likely saw through the arrangement under which this plea of guilty had been obtained, and he goes on further to say:

In what has been said I assume that no assurance was given to Mr. Sadler to induce him to plead guilty. In other words, he can not claim that his plea of guilty was obtained upon the faith of any promise made to him. Should the fact be otherwise in regard to this, of course my conclusion would be subject to modification.

Mr. Goodrich, a couple of days since, advised me that, aside from this plea of guilty, you had made successful prosecutions of two persons who had violated the election laws. I saw this disputed in a dispatch from Jacksonville brought to my attention to-day. What are the facts?

Respectfully yours,

W. H. H. MILLER, Attorney-General.

J. N. STRIPLING, Esq., United States Attorney, Jacksonville, Fla.

Now, Mr. President, in order to show conclusively that the supposition of the Attorney-General was correct, this letter was written on the 21st day of November. This is, I believe, the 19th of February. That term went out. The regular term has been held and was continued until the present month, and I do not think it is finally adjourned and that sentence has yet been inflicted upon this man. Why not? Can there be any other reason except that Mr. Stripling is observing in good faith the assurance made to him upon which this plea of guilty was obtained? The Attorney-General refused to authorize the suspension unless there was a promise of immunity.

I shall give some few instances of the persecuting spirit of the officers of the law working under this court organization and the character of the deputies selected by the marshal to execute the process of the court.

Here is a case arising in Pensacola, nearly 400 miles from Jacksonville. I have taken it from a newspaper, but I have been credibly informed otherwise that the facts stated in this article are substantially correct.

PENSACOLA, FLA., January 7.

Pensacola is considerably exercised and very indignant over the latest outrage perpetrated by the Federal court of this district at Jacksonville, which has been charged by the Florida delegation in Congress with having abused its powers in an ultra-partisan exercise of the same, and which has now taken action exemplifying the grave nature of the malpractice with which it stands accused. Two of the most prominent men of this city, P. K. Yonge and George P. Gates, have been served with warrants charging them, as members of the late Muscogee Lumber Company, with having despoiled Government lands of timber, and citing them to appear to-morrow before United States Commissioner Walter at Jacksonville.

It is the fact that they are taken nearly 400 miles from their homes, where they might be heard before either of two commissioners resident, and with scarcely any notice, that has engendered an increase of the indignation felt at several former similar acts, and Judge Swayne is most heartily and generally condemned for the unwarranted action. W. F. McCormick, late the president of the corporation named and now a resident of Louisville, Ky., is wanted in the same relation. Messrs. Yonge and Gates, accompanied by counsel, left for Jacksonville to-night, leaving the attendance of important business matters claiming every moment of their time unprovided for.

These men were carried nearly 400 miles from their homes to be examined when there were two resident commissioners in the city of Pensacola.

Here is another little incident which occurred in the southern part of the district:

G. Vincent was arrested yesterday by a deputy United States marshal from Jacksonville upon a warrant charging him with a violation of the postal laws and regulations. It is supposed that the alleged offense is based upon a provision which prohibits a private express carrying mail over a post-route and from a point where a post-office is established. The fine for such violation is \$150. Mr. Vincent drives the milk wagon of H. M. & R. Frith, of Lane Park, into Tavares daily, and the Messrs. Frith have received mail at and forwarded it from Tavares, Mr. Vincent, as their employé, receiving and mailing letters and other mail matter here. This is supposed to constitute the offense. The warrant was sworn out by a post-office inspector before United States Commissioner Hugh E. Miller, of Ocala. Mr. Vincent was taken before the commissioner and admitted to bail in the sum of \$300 for appearance before the United States court at Jacksonville next Monday.—Tavares Herald.

This statement appeared in the papers, and I made inquiry into the facts and found that the man was simply carrying letters from a country post-office 3 or 4 miles from the railroad, as a matter of accommodation to his neighbors. The reason for it was that they had mail but once or twice a week, as in post-offices in the country, and they had a daily mail at the railroad, where the letters were carried to.

Now, I wish to give an instance of the character of some of the deputies of Mr. Mizell. This is a case that occurred near Fernandina, in Nassau County. It seems that a man named—

John Allen was appointed special deputy United States marshal for the service of a warrant for arrest of William Green for contempt of court for not obeying a subpoena. After spending some two or three weeks in the neighborhood he spent the night before the shooting in the house and along with Green. In the morning Green and his son-in-law started for their work, and when they reached the railroad, Allen, who had followed them, overtook them and then informed Green that he had a "bench warrant" for him, and that he must go with him to Jacksonville. Green, thinking it a joke, walked away, saying that he had no time to fool; that he must go to his work. Allen threatened to shoot. The son-in-law interposed, not with any violence, but saying, "You must not shoot him." Allen threatened to shoot him, covering him with his gun, and he retreated. Thereupon Allen shot Green, wounding him severely, so that he is not yet out of danger of death. Green made no resistance, nor did Allen really attempt to make the arrest. The county judge ordered the arrest of Allen immediately, and upon examination committed him.

Green is a quiet, inoffensive man; was totally unarmed at the time, as was also his son-in-law, who did not offer any resistance either, but most properly remonstrated against the shooting.

The gentleman who wrote this to me, in answer to my inquiry as to the facts, was the committing magistrate. He continues:

I well know the character of all the parties concerned. I could have sent a boy with a warrant to arrest Green, and he would have returned with him. Allen is known as a desperado, and his act was a cruel, unprovoked attempt to kill the old negro. There is neither reason nor justification in the matter. This is a source of complaint of our people, that men of that character are sent here to execute the processes of the United States court, and they come here like a walking arsenal, armed to the teeth.

I introduce some indications of public sentiment to show the spirit in which the people of Florida have borne the excitement and tension of the four months of this partisan court, organized and managed, as every fair-minded man who thoroughly investigates the circumstances must admit, to harass and convict Democrats.

In the first place, I have an editorial from the Pensacola News, which I will send to the desk and ask to have read by the Secretary.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

#### THE DISTRICT COURT'S DISHONESTY.

It may turn out that the blame for the ultra-partisanship which characterizes the administration of what we ultra-courteously term justice by the Federal court of this district should properly rest directly upon the shoulders of the district attorney, whose ambition to shine as a star in the Republican firmament has led him to an extra-exercise of his advisory functions. Incidentally, of course, the responsibility must attach to Clerk Walter and Marshal Mizell, who have been led into extra-legal proceedings to subserve their party's interests, at the instance of Stripling; and lastly, but to greater extent than in the case of either of the three mentioned, Judge Swayne is deserving of condemnation for the pusillanimous manner in which he has met the gravely important issue presented, in his refusal to discharge the rights and liberties of the citizen, the crisis threatening, in his refusal to discharge the improperly constituted juries, the subversion of the citizen's dearest privileges.

Judge Swayne has not shown himself to be fit for the lofty position to which he has been elevated. By his hands the wrongs which have been perpetrated by the officers of his court should have been righted. He should have risen superior to partisan motives; he should have been possessed of a judicial integrity constraining him to condemnation of methods so directly at variance with the principles of law and equity; he should have been characterized by an honesty of purpose that would not alone have deterred him in taking, but have absolutely prevented, the extra-judicial action with which he stands reasonably accused on his failure to admit in evidence a fact well established which went to show the unlawful composition of the grand jury. But he has failed to meet the requirements. He has occupied the bench as an advocate, his judicial salary being looked upon as a retainer, the Republican party as his client. The proceedings of his court have been a travesty of that justice which should come from its operations. He and his clerk, and the attorney with the marshal, should be removed and the places they have dishonored, while they have disgraced themselves, should be filled by honest men, to say the least.

Mr. PASCO. That is from a paper in the extreme western part of the State. I will now ask to have read an editorial from a newspaper in the extreme eastern part of the State, the Florida Mirror.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

#### THAT PACKED JURY.

We have carefully read the stenographic report of the proceedings before Judge Swayne in the United States district court in the matter of the allegation that the United States jury at the present term had been purposely packed and made to consist of thorough Republican partisans. The charge is a grave one, affecting the very fountain of justice and impairing confidence in the fairness of the United States court. It is a charge which should not be made without strong justification.

It must be recollected that a judge should have, and is expected to have, the quality of entire impartiality. A partisan judge is a monstrosity, and will not only receive, but richly deserve, the censure and contempt of every fair-minded man. We want no Democratic judges as such and no Republican judges as such. A judge should command the respect and support of the public. His position is a difficult one. He is to hold the scales of justice evenly balanced, and upon his demeanor in this respect depends all his character and reputation. A judge who should lend himself to carry out party schemes would be despised by the very partisans whose tool he allows himself to become. Let us, then, deal fairly by Judge Swayne, a young man from Pennsylvania, who is a comparative stranger in Florida and whom the writer has never seen.

What are the facts in this case? The essence of fairness in the proceedings of a court intrusted with the control of the lives and property of the citizens is a fair jury. Taking human nature as it is, it has been deemed wise to provide by law for the intrusting of the selection of a jury-list to two persons of opposite political parties. These two persons are the clerk of the court and a jury commissioner selected by the court from the political party opposite to that to which the clerk belongs. Of course this gives the judge, if he is a strong partisan him-

self, the power to appoint his partisan clerk and a nominal member of the opposite party, who may be a mere figurehead or dummy, as one would infer was the case on the present occasion.

The law requires that the list of jurors must be selected without regard to party affiliations. The reason is obvious, to prevent a jury being packed with all the members of one party, who, in case of political trials, would, as the case might be, incline to conviction or acquittal, according to their party affiliation, with the party on trial. The law further requires that the names shall be placed alternately in the clerk and said commissioner each to place one name in the box alternately, without reference to party affiliation, until the whole number is placed therein.

The number of white Democratic voters in the northern district of Florida must be eight or ten times that of white Republican voters, and it goes without saying that as qualified jurors the white voters would be as 20 to 1 compared with the black voters, taking education, intelligence, etc., into account.

Of whom did this 300 jury-list consist? If we take the judge's suggestion that naturally each commissioner would procure lists exclusively of persons with whom he was in party affiliation and each should select in turn, the result would be that, although one party had a very much larger number of voters than the other, yet they would have an equal number of Democrats and Republicans on the jury-list.

Did it turn out so in this case?

From a collected statement made by Mr. Cooper to the court, the list stood as follows:

County.	Rep.	Dem.
From Duval.....	86	15
From Orange.....	64	3
From Nassau.....	30	0
From Marion.....	103	0
From Alachua.....	41	0
Totals .....	324	28

There being from these counties 12 Republicans to 1 Democrat.

If the so-called Democratic commissioner did his duty this state of things could not have happened. He was either incompetent, negligent, or was imposed on. In either case, those facts being shown, the venire should, in the interest of justice and a compliance with the law, have been set aside, the Democratic commissioner removed, some well known Democrat appointed in his place, and a fair jury drawn according to law. But apart from the necessary inference of the incompetence, negligence, or imposition upon the United States commissioner, we have the overt act of the United States marshal directing a deputy to select a list, not of qualified jurors without reference to party affiliations, but of "true and tried Republicans," and it seems to have so happened that the clerk was furnished with nearly a complete jury-list of true and tried Republicans.

Upon the facts shown to the court, the marshal should have been sternly rebuked by the court, the clerk should have been required to obey the law under penalty of dismissal, the venire should have been promptly set aside, and a new venire made according to law, "without regard to party affiliations."

Judge Swayne may be a good man, but in view of his action in this case one can not consider him an ideal judge. With the true instincts and precedents of judicial impartiality, he should have been foremost in clearing his court of all suspicion of unfairness or partisanship. He has lost this opportunity of showing that he was of such materials as the best judges should be made.

Mr. PASCO. Now, Mr. President, I wish to have read the charge of Judge Walker, a circuit judge of the judicial circuit in which Tallahassee is situated, to the grand jury of Leon County. In that county there has been a great deal of excitement, and this address from the bench was to direct the people to legal means of resistance. Judge Walker has been the governor of the State, he has been a justice of the supreme court, and he has filled both positions with honor to himself and with credit to the State. He is now spending the evening of a long, useful, and honored life as a judge of the State circuit court. I will ask that his charge be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

#### JUDGE WALKER'S CHARGE.

The following is an extract from the charge delivered by Judge D. S. Walker to the grand jury of Leon County last Monday:

"You, as the grand jurors of Leon County, are charged with the duty of looking generally into the manner in which the officers execute their duties. If you find that your judge, or sheriff, or clerk, or any one else is discharging the duties of his office in such a manner as to be detrimental to the interests and liberties of the people, it is your right to mention it in your general presentment. It is your duty to do all you can to maintain good feeling and respect not only for your State government but also for the Government of the United States. These Governments are for the benefit of the people, and it is the duty of every citizen when he sees anything being done that is calculated to decrease the respect of the people for either Government to utter his protest against it. If such things are being done by the officers of either Government they should be admonished by remonstrances, prayers, and entreaties to desist.

In this connection your attention is called to the widespread dissatisfaction with the manner in which the judge in the northern district of Florida is now proceeding in regard to persons charged with the violation of the United States laws. The great, good, and wise Government of the United States desires all the people to be prosperous and happy, and that no one shall be oppressed unnecessarily by the manner in which alleged or real violators shall be prosecuted. That great and benign Government, the best the world ever knew, has provided that there shall be appointed in every neighborhood a United States officer, called a United States commissioner, before whom any person charged with the violation of any law of the United States shall, when arrested, be taken for a preliminary examination, so that he can have his witnesses to prove his innocence if he be innocent or friends to stand his bond if a bond be required of him for his appearance at court.

This great and good Government of the United States has provided that there shall be three places for holding United States court in Florida, to wit: One at Pensacola, where persons charged with violating the law in West Florida shall be tried and have the benefit of witnesses and friends; one in Tallahassee, for the trial of persons charged with violating the law in Middle Florida, and one in Jacksonville, where persons charged with violating the law in East Florida may be tried. Our great and good Government has also provided that the juries to assemble at each of these places shall be drawn without regard to party affiliations, so that no man shall be oppressed on account of his politics.

The allegation is made and generally believed, and by myself among the rest, that these good laws of the United States are being violated by the officers of

the United States in the northern district of Florida. It is alleged and universally believed that when an affidavit is made charging a man with the violation of the United States laws in West Florida or in Middle Florida, the United States officer instead of taking the accused before a United States officer in Pensacola or in Madison or in Tallahassee or in Monticello, so that the accused may have a fair preliminary trial and his witnesses and bondsmen, he is dragged off away from his family, his friends, and his witnesses and carried to Jacksonville, on the extreme eastern side of the State, and there taken before a United States commissioner, where he has no witnesses, no friends, no bondsmen. It is further alleged and believed that he is then taken before a grand jury that has been selected in violation of the law and with an express view to their party affiliations, so much so that on said grand jury there is only one Democrat and twenty-two Republicans.

It is further alleged and generally believed that although complaint has been made to the United States judge of the illegal manner in which this grand jury has been drawn he has disregarded it, and that although conclusive proof has been offered to establish this fact the judge of the United States court has refused to consider the evidence.

It is further alleged and believed that the petit jury of said court is drawn from the same box that the twenty-two to one grand jurors were drawn from, and is also strongly partisan, so that the accused, however innocent, has but small chance of acquittal.

These facts are calculated to stir the blood of a liberty-loving people who respect and revere the laws of the United States. To see the laws of the great and good Federal Government habitually trampled upon by those whose duty it is particularly to protect them is hard to be borne. The dragging of our people away from their homes and families and witnesses to distant and inconvenient places for trial was one of the causes set forth in the declaration of independence for a resort to arms by our fathers against the King of Great Britain. We do not wish to resort to arms. We love the Government of the United States and respect its laws and are ready to assist all officers of the United States in enforcing them.

We are ready to give our all for the Government of the United States and to die for it on the battle-field, if necessary. It is our duty, therefore, to do all we can in the way of protest, prayer, and supplication to try to persuade those who are violating the laws to desist.

If the United States officers will only proceed according to law, they will be beloved and respected. If they persist in violating the law, it is our duty in grief and sorrow to implore them to desist. It is your right and duty to inquire into the truth of these allegations, and, if you find them true, to take such steps as in your judgment are likely to bring the violators of the laws to a solemn consideration of their duties.

#### AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived it is the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business, which is the bill (S. 185) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President—

#### ALASKA SEAL FISHERIES.

Mr. PLUMB. Before the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BLAIR] proceeds, I should like to ask the Senator from Vermont, the chairman of the Committee on Finance [Mr. MORRILL], at what time he intends to move the consideration of the bill concerning the seal islands of Alaska.

Mr. MORRILL. Mr. President, since the bill in amendment of the present law was reported from the Committee on Finance, February 4, there has been no day when it was possible for the committee to have a hearing on this subject before the Senate. We have learned that it will be injurious to the Government, and perhaps unfair to any new competitors, to act upon the bill so as to postpone the time of making the contract. The advertisement is out. On the resolution introduced in the Senate requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to postpone action on any contract until the 20th day of February, the Secretary immediately changed his advertisement to the 21st, and that was stated to be the latest date at which it will be possible to allow new competitors a fair opportunity with the present company. So, upon instruction of the Committee on Finance, a day or two since, I was requested not to press the bill.

Mr. PLUMB. I suppose the committee then has arrived not only at the conclusion that nothing is to be done by legislation, but equally at the conclusion that the Secretary of the Treasury will, on the 20th day of the present month—

Mr. MORRILL. The 21st.

Mr. PLUMB. On the 21st day of the present month decide to make a new lease for a period of twenty years. What I want to say about that matter is this: It is very unfortunate that Congress should not take action, not because I have much concern about the money return that may come to the Government from the leasing of these islands, but feeling that it is a great public misfortune that the sole control over thirty thousand helpless people entitled to the care and consideration of the United States Government should be turned over to the tender mercies of a corporation for twenty years.

Mr. MORRILL. I will say in response to the Senator from Kansas that there are only twelve thousand upon these islands over which the Government has any control.

#### NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, I agreed to yield to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON]. What does the Senator from Maine desire?

Mr. HALE. I simply desire to state to the Senate that before the bill in charge of the Senator from New Hampshire was taken up I gave notice that whenever the discussion could be completed and a vote reached upon that I should ask the Senate to take up the naval bill, and I shall endeavor to have that measure brought before the Senate on the completion of the present order of unfinished business.

## PUBLIC BUILDING AT FORT DODGE, IOWA.

Mr. BLAIR. The Senator from Iowa desires to make a statement.  
Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I desire to ask unanimous consent for the consideration of Senate bill 953, Calendar No. 429, for the erection of a public building at Fort Dodge, Iowa.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa asks unanimous consent for the consideration of Senate bill 953. Is there objection?

Mr. SHERMAN. I notified Senators that I would object to bills of that kind until they could all be taken up regularly. They are bills that will pass without objection and without trouble, and the Senator from Iowa, who is interested in this bill, may go off with perfect confidence that it will be passed in its due order, and we can take them all up together. We might have done it this morning. But I must object to taking up any one of these public-building bills here by itself.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I hope the Senator will withdraw that objection. This is the first objection that has been made. I am compelled to leave the city, and I should like to have this bill disposed of this morning.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will waive any considerations of that kind so far as the Senator is concerned, but I think it is only fair that other bills which are precisely alike and in the same condition should be taken up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio has withdrawn his objection. Are there further objections to the consideration of the bill?

Mr. BLAIR. I waive the regular order for the moment.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 953) for the erection of a public building at Fort Dodge, Iowa.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a site and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building, including fire-proof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, for the use and accommodation of the United States post-office and other Government offices, in the city of Fort Dodge and State of Iowa, the cost of said site and building, including said vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, complete, not to exceed the sum of \$100,000, which said sum of \$100,000 is hereby appropriated for said purpose out of any moneys in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Proposals for the sale of land suitable for said site shall be invited by public advertisement in one or more of the newspapers of said city of largest circulation for at least twenty days prior to the date specified in said advertisement for the opening of said proposals.

Proposals made in response to said advertisement shall be addressed and mailed to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall then cause the said proposed sites, and such others as he may think proper to designate, to be examined in person by an agent of the Treasury Department, who shall make written report to said Secretary of the results of said examination, and of his recommendation thereon, and the reasons therefor, which shall be accompanied by the original proposals and all maps, plats, and statements which shall have come into his possession relating to the said proposed sites.

If, upon consideration of said report and accompanying papers, the Secretary of the Treasury shall deem further investigation necessary, he may appoint a commission of not more than three persons, one of whom shall be an officer of the Treasury Department, which commission shall also examine the said proposed sites, and such others as the Secretary of the Treasury may designate, and grant such hearings in relation thereto as they shall deem necessary; and said commission shall, within thirty days after such examination, make to the Secretary of the Treasury written report of their conclusion in the premises, accompanied by all statements, maps, plats, or documents taken by or submitted to them, in like manner as hereinbefore provided in regard to the proceedings of said agent of the Treasury Department; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall thereupon finally determine the location of the building to be erected.

The compensation of said commissioners shall be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but the same shall not exceed per day and actual traveling expenses: *Provided, however,* That the member of said commission appointed from the Treasury Department shall be paid only his actual traveling expenses.

So much of the appropriation herein made as may be necessary to defray the expenses of advertising for proposals, actual traveling expenses of said agent, and the compensation and actual traveling expenses of said commissioners, and other expenses incident to the selection of the site, and for necessary survey thereof, shall be immediately available.

So much of said appropriation as may be necessary for the preparation of sketch-plans, drawings, specifications, and detailed estimates for the building by the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department shall be available immediately upon the approval by the Secretary of the Treasury of such site.

No money appropriated by this act shall be available, except as hereinbefore provided, until a valid title to the site for said building shall be vested in the United States nor until the State of Iowa shall have ceded to the United States exclusive jurisdiction over the same, during the time the United States shall be or remain the owner thereof, for all purposes except the administration of the criminal laws of said State and the service of civil process therein.

After the said site shall have been paid for and the sketch-plans and detailed estimates for the building shall have been prepared by the Supervising Architect and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Postmaster-General, the balance of said appropriation shall be available for the erection and completion of the building, including fire-proof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches.

The building shall be unexposed to danger from fire by an open space of at least 40 feet on each side, including streets and alleys.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment of the committee. On page 4, line 50, after the word "exceed," I move to insert "five;" so as to read:

The compensation of said commissioners shall be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but the same shall not exceed \$5 per day and actual traveling expenses.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

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

Mr. CALL. I do not feel disposed to object to the passage of the bill or vote against it. I merely desire to know of the Senator from Iowa if this is not the fourth public-building bill which has passed the Senate for the State of Iowa at this session.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. It is the third or fourth, I am not now positive which, but at all events it is just as important to have this public-building bill passed as any other in order that the Government of the United States may be provided with quarters for conducting its judicial and other business.

Mr. BLAIR. I must object to debate. There are several other gentlemen who have asked me to yield.

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

## PUBLIC BUILDING AT LANSING, MICH.

Mr. STOCKBRIDGE. Mr. President, I ask consent of the Senate to proceed to the consideration of Order of Business 30. It is a bill for a public building at Lansing, Mich. I will say that it will take no time, and the Senator from New Hampshire kindly yields for that purpose.

Mr. BLAIR. I yield if it does not lead to debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 306) for the erection of a public building in the city of Lansing, in the State of Michigan.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, a site, and cause to be erected thereon a suitable building, including fire-proof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, for the use and accommodation of the United States post-office and other Government offices, in the city of Lansing and State of Michigan, the cost of said site and building, including said vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches, complete, not to exceed the sum of \$100,000, which said sum of \$100,000 is hereby appropriated for said purpose out of any moneys in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Proposals for the sale of land suitable for said site shall be invited by public advertisement in one or more of the newspapers of said city of largest circulation for at least twenty days prior to the date specified in said advertisement for the opening of said proposals.

Proposals made in response to said advertisement shall be addressed and mailed to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall then cause the said proposed sites and such others as he may think proper to designate to be examined in person by an agent of the Treasury Department, who shall make written report to said Secretary of the results of said examination, and of his recommendation thereon, and the reasons therefor, which shall be accompanied by the original proposals and all maps, plats, and statements which shall have come into his possession relating to the said proposed sites.

If, upon consideration of said report and accompanying papers, the Secretary of the Treasury shall deem further investigation necessary, he may appoint a commission of not more than three persons, one of whom shall be an officer of the Treasury Department, which commission shall also examine the said proposed sites, and such others as the Secretary of the Treasury may designate, and grant such hearings in relation thereto as they shall deem necessary; and said commission shall, within thirty days after such examination, make to the Secretary of the Treasury written report of their conclusion in the premises, accompanied by all statements, maps, plats, or documents taken by or submitted to them, in like manner as hereinbefore provided in regard to the proceedings of said agent of the Treasury Department; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall thereupon finally determine the location of the building to be erected.

The compensation of said commissioners shall be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but the same shall not exceed \$6 per day and actual traveling expenses: *Provided, however,* That the member of said commission appointed from the Treasury Department shall be paid only his actual traveling expenses.

So much of the appropriation herein made as may be necessary to defray the expenses of advertising for proposals, actual traveling expenses of said agent, and the compensation and actual traveling expenses of said commissioners, and other expenses incident to the selection of the site, and for necessary survey thereof, shall be immediately available.

So much of said appropriation as may be necessary for the preparation of sketch-plans, drawings, specifications, and detailed estimates for the building by the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department shall be available immediately upon the approval by the Secretary of the Treasury of such site.

No money appropriated by this act shall be available, except as hereinbefore provided, until a valid title to the site for said building shall be vested in the United States, nor until the State of Michigan shall have ceded to the United States exclusive jurisdiction over the same, during the time the United States shall be or remain the owner thereof, for all purposes except the administration of the criminal laws of said State and the service of civil process therein.

After the said site shall have been paid for and the sketch-plans and detailed estimates for the building shall have been prepared by the Supervising Architect and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Postmaster-General, the balance of said appropriation shall be available for the erection and completion of the building, including fire-proof vaults, heating and ventilating apparatus, elevators, and approaches.

The building shall be unexposed to danger from fire by an open space of at least 40 feet on each side, including streets and alleys.

The amendment was agreed to.

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

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

## NORTH DAKOTA AND SOUTH DAKOTA COLLECTION DISTRICT.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire kindly yields that I may ask for the consideration of Order of Business 179, being the bill (S. 1658) establishing a customs collection district to consist of the States of North Dakota and South Dakota, and for other purposes.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

The bill was reported from the Committee on Commerce with amendments.

The first amendment was, in section 2, line 4, before the word "hundred," to strike out "sixteen" and insert "twelve;" so as to make the section read:

SEC. 2. That the collector for the port of North and South Dakota shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall be paid a salary of \$1,200 per annum.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out section 3, as follows:

SEC. 3. That there shall also be appointed an appraiser and such inspecting and other officers as the Secretary of the Treasury shall consider useful or necessary for the transaction of the business of the port and for the prevention of smuggling within the district.

The amendment was agreed to.

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

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

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. McPHERSON, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 6942) to divide the judicial district of North Dakota;

A bill (H. R. 778) to regulate the sitting of the courts of the United States within the district of South Carolina; and

A bill (H. R. 4587) providing the terms and places of holding the courts of the United States in the district of Minnesota, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 226) to authorize the President to confer brevet rank on officers of the United States Army for gallant services in Indian campaigns.

#### AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 185) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, in connection with the evidence which I introduced last evening bearing upon the condition of education in the State of Texas, matter reported by the officials of that State, I wish to add with reference to Washington County:

#### TEXAS.

Washington County.—"There are few school-houses, and they are inadequate to meet the wants of the districts. Every district has a church organization, and it is better to have their school-house and place of worship under the same roof. They are obliged to depend on other counties for most of their teachers, nearly all of whom taught with third-class certificates last year, and there is not much improvement in the grade of certificates this year."

Woodford County.—"The greatest difficulty in the road to success is good, comfortable school-houses. The colored people as a class are very poor, hence they have no taxable property, and all money has to be raised by subscription, a very slow process."

I have received a letter this morning from the superintendent of schools of the city of Dalton, Ga., dated February 15, which is a statement of facts bearing on the situation, which I will read to the Senate. It is a letter addressed to myself, asking for a copy of the bill. He says:

OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS,  
Dalton, Ga., February 15, 1890.

DEAR SIR: If you will kindly favor me with a copy of the Blair bill I shall be very much obliged. In common with many others in this State and section, I am warmly in favor of the bill.

That the South, as well as other parts of the country, is doing much for public education and that educational interests are advancing are strong reasons in favor of the bill. If educational interests were lagging it might take more than money to place them on a prosperous footing. The appropriations contemplated by the measure would be invested in a rising market. Those who are energetically helping themselves are the ones whom it is safe and profitable to assist.

I am a Northern man, and have been here long enough (three years) to know something of the condition and needs of the South, and my earnest conviction is that the measure with which your name is so honorably connected is one demanded by both justice and expediency.

Trusting that you will pardon the liberty I take in thus addressing you, I am,  
Respectfully, yours,

W. HARPER.

Hon. W. H. BLAIR, United States Senate.

It will be observed that he is the superintendent of schools for a city, not for the country districts, where most of the population reside.

I have also received a letter addressed to myself by Homer P. Sprague, president of the University of North Dakota. His letter is as follows:

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK., February 12, 1890.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR:

DEAR SIR: Permit me to call your attention to a matter that should be of special interest to every legislator and friend of education.

The so-called Blair bill is a well meant effort to promote general education, and contains in itself great possibilities of good results. For its intentions I regard it as exceedingly honorable to its author and its supporters. But I desire to point out what seems to me to be a grave defect in it, and to suggest the remedy.

It is liberal in its grants, but contains little or no assurance of results. It provides facilities, but does not stimulate to their use. It furnishes the means, but does not insure the attainment of the end. That end is the right sort of citizenship on the part of the great mass of the people.

Herein is its danger of failing: it does not hold out to parents, pupils, or communities sufficient inducement to avail themselves of the educational advantages which it offers. Furthermore, it does not require what is most vital of all, namely, such courses of instruction as tend directly to produce in those who

are soon to be voters, and perhaps officers, a high degree of intelligence, patriotism, and integrity in the discharge of civic duties.

I beg to suggest, therefore, that the bill be amended so as to awaken, if possible, in every parent an interest in securing for his child a common-school education, and therewith to impart to the latter both a knowledge of his coming responsibilities as a member of the body-politic and a disposition to discharge them with fidelity.

This plan would make it for the pecuniary advantage of every parent to have his sons and daughters well educated, and thus would enable him to keep them longer in the public schools.

Of these schools the American system commonly recognizes three grades: primary, covering about three years; grammar, about five years; and high, about three years. In each of these years, in addition to the usual studies, there should be progressive and systematic instruction in civics, to the end that the prospective voter may be well equipped for the discharge of public business, whether in school district, town, borough, parish, city, county, State, or nation. I would respectfully beg leave to suggest that certain new features be grafted upon the Blair bill. To carry them into effect will probably require action by the commission of education, and perhaps a slight addition to its clerical force. Here we are fortunate in having at its head a gentleman who has no superior in experience or practical wisdom in educational matters, and we are hardly less happy in being able to convey immediately to every community, through placards in the post-offices or otherwise, such information as may be needed to secure intelligent local action.

Then Mr. Sprague specifies the amendments he would make in order to reach the end which he suggests, and concludes his letter by signing himself "most respectfully, your obedient servant, Homer P. Sprague, President of the University of North Dakota." I am very glad to receive this, because it is the indorsement by an eminent educator of the general plan and purposes of the bill. The criticisms in minor matters which he makes are not such as a careful examination of the bill and of the scope and the possible effect of it would have led this eminent gentleman to make, I think, if he had been more familiar with the details of the subject.

The bill can not, with the meager appropriation which it carries, undertake to accomplish the great and thorough ends which this eminent educator desires. He would have a much more perfect and complete system of education than it is possible for us to establish or for us to produce with anything like the means that will be afforded by this bill. The most we can hope to do is to take the common-school system where it exists and upon the theory on which it has been established and give a little money to vitalize this great skeleton, so that it may accomplish in the lower branches of education and in the lower conditions of education something like efficiency for the children generally throughout the country. If this bill carried each year twenty or twenty-five millions of money to be distributed among the States, it would be then possible to accomplish what is here specified; but the object of this bill is to do a little to help those who are struggling, to enable them to help themselves, and to establish not a pre-eminently efficient system of common schools, not the best which eminent men like this gentleman can conceive, but to make what we have useful, so that the money now being expended, with the implements and appliances which are at our hands, may not be practically a waste.

It is impossible to speak of this bill as one which is extravagant in its appropriation. The whole amount used in the country is \$122,000,000 a year, and this bill would only give \$7,000,000 in addition to that. The larger part of this would go where the most inefficient schools of the country need something in order that they may come up to their own theory in fact.

This gentleman suggests the placing of this fund under the administration or control of the Commissioner of Education, and very justly compliments the present Commissioner of Education as one of the very best that the country has ever had or ever could have, a man who would wisely administer this fund. Now, I would say that this same Commissioner of Education, comprehending the needs of the country probably as no other man does comprehend them, having studied them for many years, having lived in nearly all parts of the country, and being better able than any other gentleman within my knowledge to pass an accurate and properly influential judgment upon this subject, is most emphatically in favor of this bill as it is. No doubt he would be glad to see carried out all that Mr. Sprague has in his mind, and so would the rest of us, but if Mr. Sprague himself were on the spot and knew the exact situation he would coincide, I have not the slightest doubt, in his judgment with the judgment of Dr. Harris, of whom he justly speaks in terms of so high commendation.

That the bill is so constructed as to give encouragement to those who will be its beneficiaries is attested by the fact that the people who are to be its beneficiaries are most exceedingly anxious for its passage into law.

I make these comments upon this petition or memorial in the way of explanation, and to express my great gratification at receiving the high indorsement of the president of the University of North Dakota of the general plan and purpose and substance of this bill.

I will now proceed with late reports of officers of the schools in different parts of the country, taking up first to-day the State of Louisiana and reading from the report of Warren Easton, superintendent, for the year 1886-'87.

#### REPORTS OF COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS ON THE CONDITION OF SCHOOLS IN LOUISIANA.

[From Louisiana School Report 1886-'87, Warren Easton, superintendent.]

Parish of East Carroll.—The schools of this parish (East Carroll), five white and fifteen colored, are now in successful operation. The white school, and one colored in the town of Providence, for a session of nine months, beginning on the second Monday in October last, and fourteen (colored) country schools for

a session of four months, beginning December 6, 1886. There are only three school buildings in the parish, as shown in the reports—two in the town of Providence and one in the lower end of the parish. These are well and, in fact, handsomely furnished with modern, improved school furniture, and all well supplied with maps, globes, blackboards, etc. The other schools are held in the churches and buildings furnished by the patrons, and are furnished with home-made furniture, desks, etc. These schools are all in the thickly settled portion of the parish, along the river front. There are many children in the back part of the parish who do not have advantages of schools, the population being more scattered, too much so to justify the establishment of schools in that section.

**Grant Parish.**—I have urged the building of houses for school purposes alone with but little success. Two such were built during the year. They plead poverty, and with some reason urge the impossibility of keeping school-houses from injury when not in use, whilst meeting-houses have constant care. Unless Congress or the State Legislature increase our school fund, I see little hope for our country schools or for getting a better class of teachers.

**Parish of Iberia.**—Whilst hoping for the good and pride of the State of Louisiana that new life will be inspired and a due appreciation of the institution acknowledged by the people, in the mean time we can not but hope that the friends of popular education in our next Legislature will try to improve the condition of schools in the country parishes. A higher grade of schools and more money are required to keep Louisiana redeemed from misrule and ignorance. It was said by the same speaker at Rayville that "more than one-half of the voters who go to the polls are unable to tell from their tickets for whom they are voting." If illiteracy and ignorance are in majority and so continue and increase, methinks I see down its dark vistas omens of evil, foreshadowing the future which will completely disrupt society and resolve into chaos.

**Parish of Rapides.**—With the exception of the Alexandria white schools, which were open during the year six months, the schools in this parish were open only three months.

**Parish of St. Martin.**—In my capacity as parish superintendent I visited all the public schools in the parish with one exception.

Found some of the buildings rented as school-houses very well suited to the purpose, but found others very ill adapted to same; and in regard to school furniture, nearly all found in the country schools is primitive indeed.

As you will perceive from my report, there is but one public-school building in the parish, which was built some six or seven years ago at a cost of about \$250. Present value of same is about as stated in report.

It would be a very difficult matter to estimate the value of school furniture now owned, but think \$250 to \$300 would cover present value of same. We have about enough "bent wood" furniture for two schools, but it is old, having been bought some seventeen years ago. All other furniture owned is home-made.

**Terre Bonne Parish.**—There is in reality but one school building belonging to the school board in this parish, and that one is a brick building, 30 by 54 feet, two rooms, in good repair, furnished with old-style desks and benches and situated in the town of Houma.

The ten frame buildings reported were built by and belong to the settlers and patrons of schools in various sections of the parish. They are plain, rough, frame buildings, without sashes, flues, fire-places, or cisterns; they are also furnished with rough benches, without backs, and boards nailed up along the sides for children to write on. The school board is allowed to use them, free of rent, as school-houses.

It was the intention of the school board, had the Blair educational bill become a law, to devote the funds derived from the parish school tax of 2 mills to building neat and comfortable school-houses, and furnishing the same with improved school furniture, and to devote the State and United States apportionments to payment of teachers' salaries; but, as the bill failed to become a law and as the State apportionment alone is insufficient for teachers' salaries, it is deemed best to use the funds derived from the State and parish to keep the schools open as long as possible, and to have as many schools as possible, in order to give school advantages to as many children as possible, leaving the building and furnishing of school-houses to more prosperous times, when school funds will be more plentiful, all of which is sincerely hoped for in the near future. \* \* \* During our school term, which closed on August 27, 1886, 2,000 children, white and colored, attended our public schools, and about 77 white children attended private white schools, making 2,077 children, all told, who attended school in our parish, and leaving 3,700 children, white and colored, without any schooling.

It seems that 2,077 of the children had schooling and 3,700 white and colored were without any schooling in that parish or county.

**Parish of St. Charles.**—By comparing this report with the census of educable youths for the year 1886, made by the assessor of this parish, you will notice that from a total of 1,765 children of both races and sexes only 659 attend the public schools, 91 private schools, leaving a balance of 1,015 who receive no instruction whatever. Of this number 229 are white and 786 are colored children. Had we a sufficient number of schools and more conveniently located, I fully believe that more than one-half of the number of educable children of this parish would be enrolled. \* \* \*

Of the eleven school-houses herein mentioned we own only four, of which three are fairly furnished, and in the fourth are only common cypress benches. The others are for the most part church buildings without school furniture.

I come next to the State of Mississippi:

#### REPORTS OF MISSISSIPPI COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS ON CONDITION OF SCHOOL-HOUSES.

**Adams County.**—Of the 53 school-houses mentioned, 47 have some desks, 6 have none. Twelve have a good outfit. The remaining 35 are but partially provided. Of the 53 schools about 45 have something that might be styled a blackboard, but in most cases the only provision is a small blackboard for a large school.

**Acorn County.**—The condition of many of the school-houses is such that the children can hardly keep comfortable in them. There are about 30 frame buildings, and about the same number of log, all of which have some kind of blackboard, but only about 5 have desks.

**Amite County.**—About one-half of the white school-houses in this county are neat frame-built buildings, have blackboards and are comfortable in winter, but not more than 12 houses in the county are furnished with comfortable desks. The other half and the negro school-houses, where they do not use their places of public worship, are rude log cabins, with none of the modern appliances that would render teaching pleasant or efficient. In many places the negroes use their churches for school-houses, and these churches or meeting-houses are of the rudest sort.

**Choctaw County.**—We have 32 frame houses and 24 log houses. Very few supplied with desks, blackboards, etc. Most of the country school-houses are poor structures, with no supplies whatever.

**Claborn County.**—The condition of school-houses is deplorable. In twelve cases the schools are held in church buildings, some of them being very uncomfortable and all of them unsuitable. There are 22 log houses, most of them unfit for school purposes and without seats other than the rudest benches, with no school appliances whatever except the poorest sort of blackboards. In ten cases the schools are taught in rooms or cabins owned by individuals. Two school-houses are to be built by the time the summer term opens. The remain-

ing 18 school-houses are frame and in pretty good condition, with desks and seats, 5 of them having been built wholly or in part by the county within the past year.

**Crenshaw County.**—School-houses generally in a shabby condition. Most of them built of logs. Very few have desks and blackboards.

**Franklin County.**—Too bad to talk about. We have five or six very good houses, and the remainder unworthy of notice as a school-room.

**Issaquena County.**—There are only two school-houses belonging to the county. They are frame buildings in tolerable repair.

**Itaoumba County.**—The most of our school-houses are in a deplorable condition. Twenty of the school-houses are frame buildings and 34 are log. Five of the school-houses are provided with desks, 25 with good blackboards, and none with maps, globes, or charts.

**Lawrence County.**—School-houses are in a very poor condition. Most of the colored schools, and some of the white, are taught in the neighborhood churches, which practice is a continued source of trouble and confusion. Of the 52 houses 18 are frame buildings, some in bad condition; 23 log cabins, and 11 large, open, and badly arranged churches. Only 21 are provided with blackboards and 14 with desks. Many are without water buckets.

**Leake County.**—School-houses are in bad condition. Not many are suitable for a winter term. About 40 are frame, 24 log houses. Very few have desks and blackboards.

**Nowbee County.**—Condition of houses for white schools fair, but for colored schools very poor indeed. About two-thirds of all school-houses are framed, one-third log. Not more than a half dozen school-houses in the county are provided with patent desks, and not more than one-third with desks of any kind, though a majority have blackboards.

**Quitman County.**—The schools of my county would be much better in many respects if we could only secure better houses to teach in. In some places we are without a house suitable to teach in, and for this reason it is impossible for the schools to be taught in bad weather. \* \* \* The schools in my county will never be much better than they are until we can have better houses to teach in.

**Scott County.**—The school-houses are generally miserable caricatures, mostly log, with but few frame, and only about half a dozen provided with desks, blackboards, etc.

**Sharkey County.**—The condition of school-houses in this county is painful to consider. There are but three or four that are tolerably comfortable in hot or cold weather. The schools are generally taught in dilapidated churches, cotton-houses, and the like. With the exception of five or six, all are, I believe, provided with a blackboard, more or less rude and worthless. None of them have desks, maps, charts, globes, fraction spheres, or, indeed, any kind of school apparatus.

**Tate County.**—One of the greatest obstacles to educational progress is the wretched houses in which the children are compelled to attend school. Most of them are poorly constructed of cheap material, and very few have desks or blackboards. Five comfortable school-houses have been built within the last eighteen months, but there are not more than a dozen good school-houses in the county. The houses used by the negroes are in a wretched condition, and as the negroes are poorly clad, much suffering and sickness necessarily results.

I proceed next to Tennessee:

#### REPORTS OF TENNESSEE COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS.

[From Tennessee School Report, 1888.]

**Chester County.**—"Our teachers have outgrown the schools, and the result is we can not keep them. They have gone to the four winds, where they get increased salaries. When the money gives out, the directors will discontinue the schools." \* \* \* "It is not the want of interest in our schools, but the lack of funds that is troubling us just now."

**Haywood County.**—"It has been impossible to get the county court to increase the school tax. We have two populations there, and the one that is in the majority is the one that pays no taxes or a very small portion of them. This creates dissatisfaction and an unwillingness on the part of the white people to pay taxes any longer in support of the schools, as the colored people get most of the money. The white people absolutely refuse their sanction, and the opinion of the members of the county court is against public schools in that county."

**Humphreys County.**—The greatest difficulty with us is the small attendance. Some of the schools will start out pretty well and will continue this way for four or five weeks, when the attendance will commence to decrease. In addition to that we are troubled with lack of money. We do not have as long terms as we would like.

**Cumberland County.**—The educational work in old Cumberland is gradually improving. Our teachers are pursuing better methods of teaching than formerly. More are taking up the word-method, blackboard drills, written recitations, object lessons, phonetic spelling, etc.; but we are greatly in need of good school-houses, apparatus, and money. We can not expect teachers to work for only \$22 per month, and for a short term at that. Little money means short terms, poor teachers, and poor schools. I think a good teacher should have living wages and be kept at the same place at least five years. Letting the school to a new teacher every year is like letting a farm every year to a new tenant.

**Grainger County.**—Two of the greatest difficulties in our way are lack of money to run our schools longer and pay our teachers better salaries, and for want of interest among our patrons.

**Grundy County.**—Our greatest needs are good houses and improved furniture of the school room.

**Hancock County.**—The greatest and only trouble is that we have not a sufficient amount of school money.

**Henderson County.**—Our greatest difficulty is the want of money, and not until we can secure a larger fund can we make that progress that we so much desire. I hope our wise men and statesmen will devise some means to raise the necessary funds to educate every child in the State, so that at an early day there will be none unable to read the Lord's Prayer.

**Johnson County.**

This is not Texas; this is Tennessee—

**Johnson County.**—The schools for the present year have nearly all been in operation from five to eight weeks.

**Lauderdale County.**—There is no charge for the examination of teachers, but I think there really ought to be, if for no other purpose than to supply suitable desks and seats, together with blackboards, etc. I think you would agree with me could you see some of the primitive furniture for school-rooms—slabs laid across sassafras blocks for seats and a plank put up by the side of the house for writing, and no desks at all.

**Morgan County.**—We have no colored school. The greatest number of colored pupils in any school-district is about seven. I tried to get them together this year and give them a school, but failed as yet. The school-tax on privilege tax is one-fourth of privilege tax. You will also observe that some of our schools are not in session. These are schools that are indebted.

**Sumner County.**—Our schools are not what they should be, and are not meeting the demands of our growing population. As I have said, we need more money and many more better qualified teachers. All these additions could be secured if we had the money.

**White County.**—Our greatest need is more money, and then we can have better teachers, longer school terms, better houses, desks, apparatus, etc. The amount

of money we receive is not sufficient to run our schools long enough. Our county court was kind enough to increase our school-tax from 25 cents on the hundred dollars' worth of property to 30 cents. Still this gives us only seventy-eight days as the average length of our schools for the year, against seventy-two days for last year. Our schools ought to continue at least six months.

I have also reports from Texas:

REPORTS OF TEXAS COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS.

[From Texas School Report for 1887-'88.]

**Baylor County.**—As some of the communities are small and part of the patrons live a considerable distance from the school, the attendance is often small and irregular, which makes it impossible in some cases to secure satisfactory results.

**Cameron County.**—The number of schools conducted in 1887-'88 was forty. By reason of the sparsely settled condition of the country, the distance from one settlement to another, a reduction in the number of schools would work injustice to many children, and this is the cause of the support of several weak schools which otherwise might be consolidated and a longer school term obtained.

**Jackson County.**—There are only two white communities in the county that can maintain schools well for terms of six months. The most of the communities are weak and can offer little inducement for good teachers. Unless augmented by private subscriptions, as is sometimes the case, the salaries are necessarily small and the school terms short.

**Lampasas County.**—In some thirteen of the stronger communities in this county schools have been maintained for terms varying from four to eight months. In these the advancement of the pupils has been, upon the whole, satisfactory. In the other and weaker communities the schools were maintained for only three to three and three-fourths months, and the advancement of the pupils was not so marked, but under the circumstances I think was fair.

**McMullen County.**—The sparsely settled condition of many of our counties renders the adoption of a uniform system of education impracticable at present. From this cause many of our commissioners' courts have been deterred from appointing county superintendents from the fact that the available school fund will not justify the experiment. Under the present law there is no class of public servants so poorly remunerated for the services rendered as the school officers in the sparsely settled counties, and the services can only be rendered in connection with the salary received from county offices held.

**Milam County.**—Nine-tenths of our schools are taught in churches and houses built by neighborhoods. They are unsuited for the purpose of education, being open and uncomfortable in winter and poorly seated. Consequently the attendance is made irregular and irksome to the pupils, instead of a pleasure, as it ought to be.

I next give statements as to various States:

ADDITIONAL EXTRACTS FROM STATE SCHOOL REPORTS.

ALABAMA.

Under our State constitution, no special school tax can be raised in townships or school districts. Alabama can never, under her present constitution, have the school system she needs and should have, for the want of authority to levy and collect a special tax, local tax for schools in the counties, townships, and separate school districts.—*Report Superintendent of Education, Alabama, 1888.*

ARKANSAS.

There is no State in the Union which pays more for education, in proportion to her taxable property, than is paid by Arkansas. As a rule we pay 7 mills in addition to the poll-tax.—*Report Superintendent of Public Instruction, Arkansas, 1888.*

GEORGIA.

Our constitution limits what may be taught in our country schools to the elementary branches of an English education: spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and English grammar. If anything above these branches should be taught in a school the teaching must be paid for by the parents of the children thus taught.

Gross sum raised by the State in 1887..... \$493,509.52  
Counties and cities under local laws..... 302,477.74

Total..... 795,987.26

—*Report State School Commissioner, Georgia, 1888.*

LOUISIANA.

Our people are constitutionally restricted from raising a school fund by special tax, Article CCVIII reading: "The General Assembly shall levy an annual poll-tax, for the maintenance of public schools, upon every male inhabitant in the State over the age of twenty-one years, which shall never be less than one dollar nor exceed one dollar and a half per capita, and the General Assembly shall pass laws to enforce the payment of said tax."

No effective law has been passed, and instead of the schools having a revenue from this source of something like \$225,000 per annum, the largest amount ever collected was a little over \$73,000 in 1881 and \$77,000 in 1886.—*Biennial Report Superintendent of Education, Louisiana, 1886-'87.*

Table showing the inequality of school term in six representative States.

[NOTE.—These figures are the averages for the counties. The bureau has generally no tables showing length of school term of country schools, for individual schools or districts, especially in the South. Special cases of short school term and of no school term at all are given in the preceding extracts.]

State.	County having shortest term, in days.	County having longest term, in days.	Number of counties having a school term from—																
			30 to 40 days.	40 to 50 days.	50 to 60 days.	60 to 70 days.	70 to 80 days.	80 to 90 days.	90 to 100 days.	100 to 110 days.	110 to 120 days.	120 to 130 days.	130 to 140 days.	140 to 150 days.	150 to 160 days.	160 to 170 days.	170 to 180 days.	180 to 190 days.	190 to 200 days.
Massachusetts	Franklin, 143.	Suffolk, 197.																	
Pennsylvania	Monroe, 115.	Delaware, 188.																	
Minnesota	Crow Wing, 90.	Carleton, 184.																	
South Carolina	Horry, 30.	Charleston, 150.	1	2	4	15	3	5	3	2	13	16	24	14	4				
Alabama	Franklin, 47 1/2.	Mobile, 151.																	
Tennessee	Hardin, 40.	Davidson, 175.	2	7	12	22	22	11	4	3	1	1							

MISSISSIPPI.

The total amount expended for free schools in 1887 was \$839,797.46, about \$3,000 less than in 1885.—*Biennial Report State Superintendent Public Education, Mississippi, 1886-'87.*

MISSOURI.

The time in the history of Missouri has come when the party in power must enact laws that are in harmony with the enlightened judgment and settled convictions of her people, by calmly listening to the voice of reason, by judiciously weighing the arguments presented by her leading educators, and by so adjusting her entire school system that the results attainable are commensurate with the requirements that justify their maintenance.—*Missouri Report, Public Schools, 1888.*

That seems to be a very suggestive sentence from the Missouri Report, Public Schools, 1888.

In regard to North Carolina I have already read considerable, but I have here the following:

NORTH CAROLINA.

The question is frequently asked, why the counties now get no money from the State fund. The answer is that the legislation now on the statute-books does not contemplate putting any money into the State treasury for schools, except such as comes from tax on acts of incorporation by the General Assembly and from the sales of public lands. Receipts from these sources have as yet amounted to but very little. Our statutes leave all other school funds in the counties where collected, to the end that they may be used as rapidly as possible. It has not been thought wise or proper for this poor generation to attempt to accumulate a permanent school fund.

Article CXIX, section 7, of our constitution is as follows: "No county, city, town, or other municipal corporation shall contract debt, pledge its faith, or loan its credit, nor shall any tax be levied or collected by any officers of the same, except for the necessary expenses thereof, unless by a vote of a majority of the qualified voters therein."—*Biennial report Superintendent Public Instruction, North Carolina, 1887-'88.*

SOUTH CAROLINA.

At the last session of the General Assembly, an act was passed conferring upon all school districts in the State the right to levy local taxes for the support of public schools. Reports from the several county school commissioners show up to the present time only eleven school districts have been organized under the provisions of this act.—*Report State Superintendent of Education, volume 3, 1889.*

TENNESSEE.

The length of the school term does not show such marked increase, but when we consider the increased enrollment and average daily attendance, and the school term has been made longer, it is evident that the amount expended for school purposes has increased in about the same ratio. The outlook is very encouraging.—*Report State Superintendent Public Instruction, Tennessee, 1888.*

TEXAS.

It is discreditable to the honor and financial integrity of the State that teachers' wages are not paid when they are due. Teachers' vouchers have been discounted during the present year at rates varying from 5 per cent. to 50 per cent. \* \* \* But for the permanent cure of this evil there is need of a stronger financial basis for the support of the schools, and to establish this basis important changes in the school law are indispensable necessary.—*Special Report Superintendent Public Instruction, Texas, 1887.*

The ratio of local taxes levied in the United States to the State's apportionment is about four to one. In Texas it is one to nine.

In Texas the scholastic age covers only eight years; in no other State is it less than ten years and in most it is twelve years.—*Biennial Report Superintendent Public Instruction, Texas, 1888.*

VIRGINIA.

Our country schools are at a disadvantage in many respects as compared with our city schools. In the first place, the receipts from local levies are much less in the country than in the city, and hence the total amount of funds applicable to school purposes is less in the former than in the latter. For this I know of no remedy.—*Report Superintendent Public Instruction, Virginia, 1888.*

WEST VIRGINIA.

The public school system was established because it is necessary to the public welfare. Any failure, therefore, to provide for its highest efficiency is a failure thus far to provide for the public welfare.—*Biennial Report State Superintendent Free Schools, West Virginia, 1887-'88.*

These reports indicate an increasing interest on the part of the people, but all deplore the lack of money to give suitable and efficient education.

Here is a table showing the inequality of school term in six representative States. It is sufficient to say in passing that it shows a very marked disparity between certain States of the Union, and that something from some source should be done to afford an equalization of school privileges, which is the specific object of this bill, for whatever it appropriates goes where there is the illiteracy and where there is the greatest necessity; it is made a part of the funds of the State, and the whole of it, the entire fund, is then distributed in such a way as to produce an equalization of school advantages to all, whether white or colored. The laws now require that, but the means are lacking.

Here is an important table. I will read the caption. These remarks are by Dr. Harris:

BRIEF SURVEY OF WHAT THE BUREAU'S REPORTS TEACH.

In relation to the circumstance, shown in the bureau's report of 1886-'87, pages 89-92, that the school attendance in the South has vastly increased during the last decade; it may be remarked that this is a fact that can not be gainsaid. The school attendance has been increasing much faster than the school population. But there are other circumstances that must be taken into consideration in determining how much the South is in need of aid from without. These are:

1. The school attendance in the South is promising only when compared with what it has been. When compared with what it should be the prospect is very unpromising indeed. Great numbers of children are growing up without any instruction whatever. This is an impressive fact, which is fully established by the bureau's reports. Taking only one comprehensive instance: In the south central group of States, there are 2,470,000 children six to fourteen years of age, every one of whom should have some school instruction; yet only 1,950,000, or 79 in every 100, are reported as attending school for any period however brief. The remaining 520,000 never attend school. In Massachusetts, on the contrary, there are 121 pupils in the public schools for every 100 children six to fourteen years of age, or half as many again.

The individual Southern States mostly tell the same story. With all the progress that has been made in public education, armies of children are growing up to swell the ranks of the illiterate. This assertion is well supported by the facts given in Tables 1 and 3, following:

TABLE 1.—End of school year; total population, and proportion thereof to area; population 6 to 14 and proportion thereof to total population; mainly for 1887.

State or Territory.	School year ended—	Estimated total population, a		Estimated population 6-14, a	
		Number.	Average number to a square mile.	Number.	Average number of persons 6 to 14 in each 100 of total population.
1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>North Atlantic Division:</b>					
Maine.....	Mar. 31	642,784	21.5	102,970	16.02
New Hampshire.....	Mar. 31	368,600	40.9	51,699	14.03
Vermont.....	Mar. 31	333,504	36.5	54,531	16.35
Massachusetts.....	Mar. 31	2,007,356	249.7	295,374	14.71
Rhode Island.....	Apr. 30	316,542	291.7	48,407	15.18
Connecticut.....	Aug. 31	680,535	140.5	106,125	15.99
New York.....	Aug. 31	5,460,536	114.7	899,750	16.48
New Jersey b.....	Aug. 31	1,309,631	175.7	231,547	17.68
Pennsylvania.....	June 4	4,911,391	109.2	926,617	18.87
<b>South Atlantic Division:</b>					
Delaware c.....	June 30	158,768	81.0	28,966	18.24
Maryland.....	June 30	1,041,392	105.6	198,880	19.10
District of Columbia.....	June 30	213,143	3,552.4	32,967	17.94
Virginia.....	July 31	1,724,038	43.0	370,936	21.52
West Virginia.....	June 30	733,443	29.8	162,275	21.52
North Carolina.....	Nov. 30	1,730,460	35.6	373,229	21.57
South Carolina.....	Aug. 31	1,124,123	37.3	250,131	22.25
Georgia d.....	Dec. 31	1,728,029	29.3	383,196	22.30
Florida.....	Sept. 30	371,546	6.9	82,449	22.19
<b>South Central Division:</b>					
Kentucky b.....	June 30	1,866,241	46.6	404,229	21.60
Tennessee b.....	June 30	1,811,709	43.4	403,157	22.25
Alabama.....	Sept. 30	1,579,912	30.7	351,834	22.27
Mississippi b.....	Sept. 30	1,259,783	27.2	288,100	22.87
Louisiana d.....	Dec. 31	1,162,242	25.6	251,818	21.67
Texas.....	Aug. 31	2,234,157	8.5	491,895	22.03
Arkansas.....	July 31	1,214,961	22.9	275,520	22.68
<b>North Central Division:</b>					
Ohio.....	Aug. 31	3,370,758	82.7	643,152	19.08
Indiana.....	Aug. 31	2,115,471	58.9	426,608	20.17
Illinois.....	June 30	3,338,548	59.6	656,442	19.66
Michigan b.....	Sept. —	1,966,374	34.2	348,693	17.73
Wisconsin.....	June 30	1,656,706	30.4	323,793	19.54
Minnesota.....	July 30	1,271,204	16.0	231,024	18.17
Iowa.....	Sept. —	1,808,616	32.6	354,748	19.61
Missouri b.....	June 30	2,490,597	36.2	524,457	21.05
Dakota.....	June 30	549,049	3.7	89,838	16.36
Nebraska.....	July —	911,009	12.0	180,322	19.70
Kansas.....	May 31	1,454,829	17.8	293,349	20.16
<b>Western Division:</b>					
Montana b.....	Oct. —	111,844	.8	12,753	11.40
Wyoming b.....	Oct. —	85,000	.9	10,025	11.79
Colorado.....	June 30	293,351	2.8	36,305	12.38
New Mexico f.....	June 30	119,565	1.0	23,352	19.53
Arizona.....	June 30	87,893	.8	11,008	12.52
Utah.....	June 30	184,345	2.2	39,678	21.52
Nevada.....	Aug. 31	57,775	.5	6,898	11.94
Idaho.....	Sept. —	99,138	1.2	14,897	15.03
Washington b.....	Sept. —	169,235	2.5	30,034	17.75
Oregon.....	Mar. 7	255,685	2.7	47,039	18.40
California.....	June 30	1,090,778	7.0	172,912	15.85
Alaska.....	June 30	g40,000	.1	8,000	20.00
<b>SUMMARY.</b>					
North Atlantic Division.....		16,030,882	98.9	2,716,660	16.95
South Atlantic Division.....		8,822,962	32.8	1,887,029	21.39
South Central Division.....		11,129,005	20.6	2,468,559	22.16
North Central Division.....		20,933,161	27.8	4,072,426	19.45
Western Division.....		2,554,620	2.2	404,961	15.85
United States h.....		59,470,630	20.5	11,547,575	19.42

a Where the return is for 1887-'88 the population is given for 1887; if the return is for 1886-'87 the population is given for 1886—in each case at or near the beginning of the school year reported. b These statistics are for 1886-'87. c These statistics are for 1885-'86. d These statistics are for 1887. e Governor's estimate. f These statistics are for 1880. g General agent's estimate. h Excluding Alaska.

Compare column 5 with columns 2 and 6 of the following table (Table 3).

The arbitrary division of those between six and fourteen years of age, which for some inscrutable reason has been adopted in recent years as the basis of calculation, and which creates great confusion in connection with former calculations does not include all who attend school. It does not include the school age in every State. There is not a State in which the school age is from six to fourteen. It is very true that the larger part of the attendance is of those who are between six and fourteen years of age, but a great many children get in a year or two before they are six and a great many others get in three or four years after they are fourteen years of age.

When I was a boy and attended a common school in New Hampshire, where our terms were short, the boys and girls attended school from the early age of four or five years until a great many of them were twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, so that with shorter terms the length of school age actually improved. Very often a boy would graduate from a common school quite equivalent to the average member of Congress in his acquisitions, and a great many of them got there and made good public servants, better than those who had better opportunities. They never got so but what they were for school bills and the education of the masses of the people. It is said that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." A great deal of learning has been the death, so far as usefulness is concerned, of many men. There is such a thing as knowing so much that one does not know anything that is worth knowing.

Here are several tables which are worth reading and may be the basis of important deductions later in the debate:

TABLE 3.—Enrollment in common schools, mainly for 1887-'88, compared with same for the preceding year, with the total population and with the population 6 to 14.

State or Territory.	Total enrollment, excluding duplicates.	Increase or decrease since preceding year.	Increase or decrease, per cent.	Average number enrolled to each 100 of total population.	Average number enrolled to each 100 of population, 6 to 14.
<b>North Atlantic Division:</b>					
Maine.....	144,180	D...1,350	D..... .93	22.43	140.02
New Hampshire.....	61,826	I...1,056	I.....1.74	16.77	119.59
Vermont.....	88,433	D...2,949	D...4.13	20.53	125.53
Massachusetts.....	358,000	I...4,639	I...1.31	17.83	121.20
Rhode Island.....	52,722	I...3,215	I...6.49	16.66	109.73
Connecticut.....	126,055	I...261	I......21	18.52	118.78
New York.....	1,033,209	D...4,543	D... .44	18.92	114.84
New Jersey a.....	224,107	I...1,366	I... .61	17.11	96.79
Pennsylvania.....	941,625	I...13,001	I...1.40	19.17	101.62
<b>South Atlantic Division:</b>					
Delaware b.....	33,802			21.29	116.70
Maryland.....	176,587	I...1,318	I......75	16.96	88.79
District of Columbia.....	34,850	I...1,432	I...4.29	16.35	94.27
Virginia.....	330,280	I...5,066	I...1.57	19.16	89.04
West Virginia.....	189,251	I...9,942	I...5.54	25.80	116.62
North Carolina.....	337,382	I...12,103	I...3.72	19.50	90.40
South Carolina.....	193,491	I...18,417	I...10.52	17.21	77.33
Georgia c.....	312,294	I...22,570	I...7.06	19.83	89.33
Florida.....	82,453			23.25	104.79
<b>South Central Division:</b>					
Kentucky a.....	339,022	I...16,186	I...5.34	19.63	78.92
Tennessee a.....	1,408,945	I...77,484	I...5.51	22.57	101.41
Alabama.....	267,288	I...7,856	I...3.03	16.92	75.97
Mississippi a.....	270,744			21.49	93.97
Louisiana c.....	111,828	I...743	I... .67	9.62	44.41
Texas.....	984,744			16.33	74.15
Arkansas.....	202,754	I...14,354	I...7.02	16.69	73.59
<b>North Central Division:</b>					
Ohio.....	772,032	I...5,002	I... .65	22.93	120.01
Indiana.....	514,463	D...3,249	D... .62	24.32	120.50
Illinois.....	751,349	I...1,355	I... .18	22.50	114.45
Michigan a.....	421,308	I...4,658	I...1.12	21.42	120.81
Wisconsin.....	332,721			20.08	102.75
Minnesota.....	287,382	I...33,522	I...13.21	22.61	124.39
Iowa.....	477,184	D...11,101	D...2.27	26.38	184.52
Missouri a.....	585,353	I...16,401	I...2.88	23.50	111.61
Dakota.....	93,826	I...4,076	I...4.54	17.00	104.44
Nebraska.....	215,889	I...21,610	I...11.13	23.70	119.72
Kansas.....	403,351	I...11,797	I...3.01	27.73	137.50
<b>Western Division:</b>					
Montana ad.....	13,100			11.70	102.72
Wyoming a.....	5,622	I...634	I...12.71	6.61	56.08
Colorado.....	50,745	I...7,635	I...17.71	17.80	139.77
New Mexico h.....	4,755			3.98	20.36
Arizona.....	6,617	I...683	I...10.51	7.83	60.11
Utah.....	32,988	I...432	I...1.33	17.89	83.14
Nevada.....	7,511	D...183	D... .17	13.00	108.88
Idaho.....	10,433	I...560	I...5.67	10.52	70.04
Washington a.....	29,992			17.72	99.86
Oregon.....	52,638	D...387	D... .73	20.59	111.91
California.....	207,050	I...10,143	I...5.15	18.98	119.74
Alaska.....	41,435			3.59	17.94
<b>SUMMARY.</b>					
North Atlantic Division.....	3,010,237	I...14,696	I... .49	18.78	110.81
South Atlantic Division.....	1,730,333	I...76,030	I...4.62	19.59	91.17
South Central Division.....	1,945,325	I...69,200	I...3.69	17.48	78.87
North Central Division.....	4,851,858	I...52,760	I...1.10	23.19	119.21
Western Division.....	421,451	I...22,990	I...5.53	16.50	104.09
United States i.....	11,952,204	I...234,776	I...2.00	20.10	103.50

a These statistics are for 1886-'87. b These statistics are for 1885-'86. c These statistics are for 1887. d Highest number enrolled. e Estimated. f Ten counties estimated. g Eight cities and five counties not reporting. h These statistics are for 1880. i Including two Government contract schools. j An estimate embracing all the States of the group to which it belongs. k This summary embraces only the States tabulated above in the same column. l Excluding Alaska.



TABLE 15.—Expenditure for salaries of superintendents and teachers, etc.—Continued.

State or Territory.	Expenditure for salaries of superintendents and teachers per capita of—			Paid to superintendents and teachers in mills per dollar of assessed valuation.	Total expenditure per capita of—			Total expenditure in mills per dollar of assessed valuation.
	Total population.	Population 6-14.	Average daily attendance.		Total population.	Population 6-14.	Average daily attendance.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Western Div'n—Con'd								
Washington b	\$1.26	\$7.11	\$9.89	\$3.80	\$1.80	\$10.17	\$14.13	\$5.44
Oregon	1.72	9.37	12.42	64.93	2.62	14.25	18.91	66.61
California	2.89	18.21	23.82	3.30	4.02	25.37	33.18	4.59
Alaska	.36	1.78	26.72		.67	2.85	42.73	
SUMMARY.								
North Atlantic Div'n.	1.67	9.86	13.32	12.86	2.54	15.02	20.29	14.17
South Atlantic Div'n.	.78	3.27	5.72	13.39	.91	4.27	7.45	14.55
South Central Div'n.	.67	3.00	5.35	13.34	.77	3.46	6.39	13.91
North Central Div'n.	1.76	9.02	11.64	15.04	2.75	14.12	18.21	17.85
Western Div'n	2.04	12.86	19.22	13.48	2.97	18.76	28.02	15.05
United States m.	1.38	7.13	10.48	13.78	2.06	10.60	15.59	15.62

a Estimated. b These statistics are for 1886-'87. c Cost of tuition. d Including debt paid. e These statistics are for 1885-'86. f Salaries of teachers only. g These statistics are for 1887. h Includes support of normal schools. i Amount of receipts. j So far as reported. k These statistics are for 1880. l Only the States tabulated in the same column above are included in this summary. m Excluding Alaska.

Here is matter by the bureau:

AID TO EDUCATION HAS NOT PROMOTED "MENDICANCY."

It seems to be in reply to the New York Evening Post bureau of mendacity, and the word "mendicancy" is quoted:

AID TO EDUCATION HAS NOT PROMOTED "MENDICANCY."

With regard to the objection that a distribution of Federal funds among the States for the advancement of education would promote a disposition to rely entirely upon these funds, i. e., would promote "mendicancy," it may be observed that the whole system of public education in this country, from the time of the "ordinance" of the "general court of Massachusetts" in 1642 to the present time, has been built up on the principle of the rich helping the poor. That has been, and is, the cornerstone of the structure.

Thousands, probably millions, of citizens throughout the country who pay only a poll-tax or no tax at all are having their children educated without money and without price. Township, county, and State taxes for schools, which are raised mostly on property, are apportioned generally according to school population or attendance. The poor district, county, or township receives more than it pays. So far from this course having promoted "mendicancy," it is a matter of record, as well as of common notoriety, that the marvelous extension of the practice of self-imposed taxation for education is a prominent feature in our history. Those who as children have received the benefits of a free-school education have been solicitous to give increased advantages to their own and their neighbors' offspring, and taxation for free schools has gathered renewed impetus with the rise of each succeeding generation.

To take a specific instance: During the ten years ending with 1887 the public school expenditure in the United States increased from seventy-nine to one hundred and twelve millions of dollars, or about 41 per cent.

In the same period the number of school children six to fourteen years of age increased from 8,700,000 to 11,250,000, an increase of only about 29 per cent., or two-thirds the increase of expenditure.\*

Moreover, 89 per cent. of all the money now expended for schools is derived from self-imposed taxation, State and local; and this enormous voluntary taxation has grown up under the system of the rich helping the poor.

Fuller details are given in the following tables (table 17, Annual Report, 1886-'87, and table 13, Annual Report, 1887-'88):

\* That is, the expenditure for schools has grown at one-half as great a rate again as the school population.

TABLE 17.—Increase for ten years of population 6 to 14, enrollment, and expenditure.

[NOTE.—D indicates a decrease.]

State or Territory.	Estimated population 6 to 14.				Enrollment.				Expenditure.			
	1876-'77.	1886-'87.	Increase in ten years.	Percentage of increase.	1876-'77.	1886-'87.	Increase in ten years.	Percentage of increase.	1876-'77.	1886-'87.	Increase in ten years.	Percentage of increase.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
North Atlantic Division:												
Maine	102,530	103,431	901	0.9	155,428	145,530	D 9,898	D 6.4	\$1,170,668	\$1,037,572	D \$113,096	D 9.6
New Hampshire	47,017	51,255	4,238	9.0	68,035	60,770	D 7,265	D 10.7	604,654	615,357	10,703	1.7
Vermont	54,218	54,503	285	0.5	72,909	71,402	D 1,507	D 2.1	537,153	614,248	77,095	14.3
Massachusetts	243,431	290,351	46,920	19.3	307,832	353,032	45,200	14.7	5,582,519	7,000,084	1,417,565	25.4
Rhode Island	38,698	47,368	8,670	22.4	39,959	49,507	9,548	23.9	484,744	775,202	290,458	59.9
Connecticut	91,553	105,368	13,815	15.8	119,208	125,794	6,586	5.5	1,510,223	1,768,371	258,148	17.1
New York	789,316	885,440	96,124	12.2	1,023,715	1,037,812	14,097	1.4	10,976,234	13,760,670	2,784,436	25.3
New Jersey	a178,991	b225,960	46,969	26.2	a196,252	b222,741	26,489	13.4	a2,154,415	b2,736,529	582,114	27.0
Pennsylvania	747,224	908,667	161,443	21.6	907,412	989,429	82,017	9.0	8,583,379	10,129,733	1,546,354	18.0
South Atlantic Division:												
Delaware	a24,699	b28,966	4,267	17.3	a23,251	b33,802	10,551	45.4	ac216,225	b269,528	53,303	24.2
Maryland	166,144	195,840	29,696	17.8	150,276	175,269	24,993	16.6	1,637,583	1,839,826	202,243	12.4
District of Columbia	27,333	36,259	8,926	32.7	21,264	33,418	12,154	57.2	570,996	590,225	19,229	59.3
Virginia	299,126	364,066	64,940	21.7	204,974	325,184	120,210	58.7	1,050,346	1,575,324	524,978	50.0
West Virginia	119,631	158,090	38,459	32.1	125,332	179,309	53,977	43.1	793,272	1,087,675	294,403	37.1
North Carolina	271,530	359,729	88,199	32.5	201,459	325,279	123,820	61.5	290,790	653,037	362,247	124.6
South Carolina	193,029	245,829	52,800	27.3	192,306	175,017	72,621	70.9	226,021	424,426	198,405	87.7
Georgia	308,048	383,434	75,386	24.5	179,405	319,724	140,319	78.2	d330,000	711,990	381,990	115.8
Florida	51,149	78,686	27,537	53.8	81,133	82,453	1,320	164.8	139,340	449,299	309,959	222.3
South Central Division:												
Kentucky	326,809	404,229	77,420	23.7	227,607	319,022	91,415	40.2	1,130,000	1,754,107	624,107	55.2
Tennessee	a310,033	b383,638	73,605	23.7	a194,180	b383,507	189,327	97.5	a998,220	b1,047,223	649,003	50.0
Alabama	255,812	326,775	70,963	27.7	141,230	259,432	118,202	83.7	392,493	d600,000	207,507	52.9
Mississippi	228,384	288,106	59,722	26.1	160,528	270,744	110,216	68.7	417,760	d840,776	423,016	101.3
Louisiana	183,737	221,724	37,987	20.7	74,307	103,416	29,109	39.2	e560,448	d450,030	D 110,418	D 19.7
Texas	268,601	468,639	200,038	74.5					(Data incomplete.)			
Arkansas	148,721	263,198	114,477	77.0	33,370	d188,400	155,030	464.6	143,331	835,048	691,717	482.6
North Central Division:												
Ohio	567,301	642,357	75,056	13.2	722,240	767,030	44,790	6.2	7,411,068	9,353,639	1,942,571	26.2
Indiana	373,755	417,896	44,141	11.8	498,726	552,712	53,986	10.8	4,673,766	5,016,679	342,913	7.3
Illinois	560,427	656,487	96,060	17.1	694,489	749,994	55,505	8.0	7,388,596	10,134,150	2,745,554	37.2
Michigan	260,153	348,693	88,540	34.0	357,139	421,258	64,119	18.0	3,187,913	4,730,665	1,542,752	48.4
Wisconsin	d229,945	b305,562	75,617	32.9	a282,186	b332,327	50,141	17.8	a2,126,641	b3,115,436	988,795	46.5
Minnesota	121,518	216,636	95,118	78.3	162,551	253,800	91,309	56.2	1,181,326	3,245,757	2,064,431	174.8
Iowa	289,970	351,261	61,291	21.1	421,163	488,285	67,122	15.9	a4,057,774	b6,011,804	1,954,030	21.3
Missouri	416,524	522,457	105,933	26.0	364,189	585,353	221,164	60.7	a2,374,961	b4,097,764	1,722,803	72.5
Dakota	8,790	85,310	76,520	870.5	6,431	92,560	86,129	1,339.3	27,362	1,364,280	1,336,918	4,886.0
Nebraska	53,186	158,518	105,332	198.0	56,774	194,270	137,496	242.2	861,264	2,548,173	1,686,909	195.9
Kansas	140,064	279,712	139,648	99.7	158,075	392,118	234,043	148.1	1,828,376	4,065,467	2,237,091	206.0
Western Division:												
Montana	3,453	12,753	9,300	269.3	4,597	13,100	8,503	185.0	54,104	288,575	234,471	433.5
Wyoming	a1,624	63,702	2,078	128.0	a1,222	64,988	3,766	308.2	(No information.)			
Colorado	12,762	31,666	18,904	148.1	14,085	43,110	29,025	206.1	215,256	865,029	649,773	301.9
New Mexico	d17,914	a23,352	5,438	30.1	c188	44,755	4,567	2,429.2	(No information.)			
Arizona	2,856	10,951	8,095	283.4	903	5,934	5,031	557.1	62,843	117,276	54,433	86.6
Utah	a24,068	b38,579	14,521	60.4	a19,866	b31,583	11,697	58.8	a129,298	b217,939	88,641	68.5
Nevada	6,380	6,541	161	2.5	7,353	7,644	291	4.0	162,760	128,285	D 34,475	D 20.6
Idaho	3,592	13,307	9,715	270.5					(Data incomplete.)			
Washington	8,440	30,034	21,594	255.9	5,385	29,992	24,607	457.0	49,765	305,365	255,600	513.6
Oregon	24,757	44,689	19,932	80.5	45,584	83,025	7,441	16.3	241,893	568,811	326,918	135.1
California	115,228	164,995	49,767	43.2	147,863	196,907	49,044	33.2	2,749,729	3,954,333	1,204,604	43.8

TABLE 17.—Increase for ten years of population 6 to 14, enrollment, and expenditure—Continued.

State or Territory.	Estimated population 6 to 14.				Enrollment.				Expenditure.			
	1876-'77.	1886-'87.	Increase in ten years.	Percentage of increase.	1876-'77.	1886-'87.	Increase in ten years.	Percentage of increase.	1876-'77.	1886-'87.	Increase in ten years.	Percentage of increase.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>SUMMARY.</b>												
North Atlantic Division...	2,292,978	2,672,343	379,365	Per cent. 16.5	12,890,750	3,056,017	165,267	Per cent. 5.7	\$31,603,989	\$38,457,766	\$6,853,777	Per cent. 21.7
South Atlantic Division...	1,460,684	1,850,899	390,215	26.7	1,039,490	1,649,455	609,965	58.7	5,054,573	7,601,330	2,546,757	50.4
South Central Division...	1,722,117	2,356,309	634,192	36.8	1,831,222	1,524,521	693,299	38.4	43,342,252	45,527,184	2,184,932	65.4
North Central Division...	3,021,431	3,986,889	965,458	32.0	3,723,963	4,829,767	1,105,804	29.7	35,519,047	53,683,813	18,164,767	51.1
Western Division.....	221,094	380,569	159,475	72.1	1,247,066	1,391,038	143,972	58.3	13,665,648	16,445,613	2,779,965	75.9
United States <sup>l</sup> .....	8,718,304	11,247,009	2,528,705	29.0	48,732,491	61,450,798	2,718,307	31.1	479,185,509	611,715,707	132,530,198	41.1

<sup>a</sup> For 1875-'76. <sup>b</sup> For 1885-'86. <sup>c</sup> Revenue. <sup>d</sup> Approximately. <sup>e</sup> For 1875. <sup>f</sup> For 1885. <sup>g</sup> For 1870. <sup>h</sup> For 1880. <sup>i</sup> Excluding Texas. <sup>j</sup> Excluding Idaho. <sup>k</sup> Excluding the States and Territories not tabulated above. <sup>l</sup> Excluding Alaska.

TABLE 13.—Percentage classification of school revenue; showing the percentage of the whole revenue derived from each source named, mainly for 1887-'88.

State or Territory.	Interest on permanent funds and rent of school lands.	State taxes.	Local taxes.	Other revenues.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>North Atlantic Division:</b>				
Maine.....	Per cent. 2.49	Per cent. 34.16	Per cent. 63.35	Per cent. 0
New Hampshire.....	2.35	68.98	18.77	9.90
Vermont.....	3.82	0	83.70	12.48
Massachusetts.....	2.47	0	96.19	1.34
Rhode Island.....	2.31	12.82	78.20	6.67
Connecticut.....	9.21	13.23	74.21	3.30
New York.....	.24	23.86	71.02	4.88
New Jersey <sup>a</sup> .....	4.98	55.05	39.97	0
Pennsylvania.....				
<b>South Atlantic Division:</b>				
Delaware <sup>b</sup> .....		24.58	75.42	0
Maryland.....	2.80	28.64	60.32	8.24
District of Columbia.....		100.00	50.00	
Virginia.....	2.35	51.67	44.20	1.78
West Virginia.....	(d)	100.00	61.84	7.06
North Carolina.....	0	76.78	3.93	19.29
South Carolina <sup>a</sup> .....	0	87.94	9.42	2.64
Georgia <sup>f</sup> .....	0	61.80	68.06	68.54
Florida.....	6.62	15.45	77.93	0
<b>South Central Division:</b>				
Kentucky <sup>a</sup> .....	1.68	60.36	137.96	0
Tennessee <sup>b</sup> .....		112.21	74.20	12.89
Alabama.....	19.97	55.06	24.44	.93
Mississippi <sup>a</sup> .....	6.47	30.84	62.90	
Louisiana <sup>f</sup> .....	10.08	26.14	61.22	
Texas.....	27.60	56.55	10.20	5.65
Arkansas.....	0	31.14	64.33	4.53
<b>North Central Division:</b>				
Ohio.....	2.48	16.77	77.74	3.01
Indiana.....	5.98	51.44	33.14	9.44
Illinois.....	6.04	9.63	81.16	3.17
Michigan <sup>a</sup> .....	13.42	0	72.24	14.34
Wisconsin.....	(d)	100.00	77.78	0
Minnesota.....	12.26	11.42	58.80	17.52
Iowa.....	11.75	0	79.65	8.60
Missouri <sup>a</sup> .....	7.31	15.01	70.02	7.66
Dakota.....	0	0	95.77	4.23
Nebraska.....	0	14.44	80.27	5.29
Kansas.....	0	0	100.00	0
<b>Western Division:</b>				
Montana <sup>a</sup> .....	0	0	100.00	0
Wyoming.....	0	0	100.00	0
Colorado.....	0	35.13	52.94	11.93
New Mexico.....	0	4.34	94.09	1.57
Arizona.....	0	43.84	23.67	32.49
Utah.....	0	0	81.53	18.47
Idaho.....	0	0	89.07	10.93
Washington <sup>a</sup> .....	0	0	26.12	13.48
Oregon.....	46.82	13.58	52.12	0
California.....	4.39	42.81	26.80	0
Alaska.....				
<b>SUMMARY.</b>				
North Atlantic Division <sup>k</sup> .....	2.00	20.81	73.55	3.64
South Atlantic Division.....	1.47	45.50	47.61	5.42
South Central Division.....	12.35	44.62	38.93	4.10
North Central Division <sup>k</sup> .....	6.27	13.16	73.91	6.66
Western Division <sup>k</sup> .....	6.85	33.84	54.33	4.98
United States <sup>k</sup> .....	5.29	21.81	67.50	5.40

<sup>a</sup> These statistics are for 1886-'87. <sup>b</sup> These statistics are for 1885-'86. <sup>c</sup> United States appropriation. <sup>d</sup> Included in State taxes. <sup>e</sup> Including revenue from permanent funds and proceeds of bond sales. <sup>f</sup> These statistics are for 1887. <sup>g</sup> Including some balances. <sup>h</sup> Including subscriptions. <sup>i</sup> State apportionment. <sup>j</sup> Including revenue from permanent funds. <sup>k</sup> Including only the States tabulated above.

It may be objected that the case will be different with national aid; that a State will become dependent on aid which is habitually received from other States, while a county, township, or district does not become so dependent or less self-reliant by aid from other counties, townships, or districts. There is no reason in the nature of things why this should be so. The essential character of national aid is the same as that of local or State aid; the only difference is that it has to deal with larger aggregations of people, with communities of the next higher order. The principle is everywhere the same.

The result of the national aid heretofore granted tends to confirm this statement. The Congressional grants of public lands for common schools are as much national aid as anything proposed at the present day. See the following extract entitled, "National aid to education a continuance of the policy already begun," by Professor James, University of Pennsylvania.

How far have the revenues from these grants affected the disposition to levy taxes for schools on the part of the people in those States which have received them?

1. According to the Bureau's Report for 1887-'88, page 80, the south central States receive from permanent funds and rents, mainly based on the Congressional land grants, an income of 45 cents per capita of school population; they raised in addition by taxation, State and local, \$3.07 per capita of school population.

2. The north central States received from permanent funds and rents 86 cents per capita of school population and raised by taxation \$11.93 per capita.

3. The States of the western division, California, Oregon, Colorado, Nevada, and the adjoining Territories, received from rents and permanent funds \$1.44 per capita of school population and raised in addition by taxation \$18.50 per capita.

Nearly all these permanent school funds and rents have their origin in the national land-grants. The rule of progress in the three cases here cited is uniform. The greater the national aid received the greater has been the self-imposed taxation.

Further details are given in the following table from Education Report 1887-'88.

To show how far the revenues from these grants have affected the disposition to levy taxes for schools on the part of the people in those States which have received them, I submit the following table:

TABLE 12.—Showing the amount of school revenue derived from different sources per capita of population 6 to 14 and of average attendance, mainly for 1887-'88.

State or Territory.	Revenue per capita of population 6 to 14.				Revenue per capita of average attendance.			
	From permanent funds and rents.	From State taxes.	From local taxes.	From other sources.	From permanent funds and rents.	From State tax.	From local tax.	From other sources.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>North Atlantic Division:</b>								
Maine.....	\$0.26	\$3.54	\$6.57	0	\$0.26	\$3.54	\$6.57	0
New Hampshire.....	.31	9.03	2.46	\$1.80	.35	10.40	2.83	\$1.49
Vermont.....	.44	0	9.64	1.44	.52	0	11.41	1.70
Massachusetts.....	.60	0	23.42	.53	.67	0	26.14	.36
Rhode Island.....	1.40	2.23	13.59	1.16	.58	3.19	19.45	1.66
Connecticut.....	1.52	2.19	12.23	.54	1.99	2.87	16.01	.71
New York.....	.04	3.91	11.63	.80	.06	5.57	16.59	1.14
New Jersey <sup>a</sup> .....	.57	6.29	4.57	0	1.00	11.05	8.02	0
Pennsylvania.....								
<b>South Atlantic Division:</b>								
Delaware <sup>b</sup> .....		2.09	6.43	0		2.78	8.50	0
Maryland.....	.25	2.58	5.43	.74	.53	5.40	11.37	1.55
District of Columbia.....	0	10.82	10.82	0	0	15.09	15.09	0
Virginia.....	.10	2.19	1.87	.08	.20	4.29	3.67	.15
West Virginia.....	(d)	1.40	4.77	.55	(d)	13.19	6.35	.72
North Carolina.....	0	1.44	.07	.36	0	2.58	.13	.65
South Carolina <sup>a</sup> .....	0	1.67	.18	.05	0	3.27	.35	.10
Georgia <sup>f</sup> .....	0	1.28	9.72	9.07	0	2.16	9.12	9.12
Florida.....	.39	.91	4.58	0	a.79	a2.23	a5.78	a0
<b>South Central Division:</b>								
Kentucky <sup>a</sup> .....	.07	2.58	11.38	0	.13	4.91	12.63	0
Tennessee <sup>b</sup> .....	.436	2.08	.36		4.50	2.87	.50	
Alabama.....	.40	1.12	.60	.01	.83	2.30	1.02	.02

TABLE 12.—Showing the amount of school revenue derived, etc.—Continued.

State or Territory.	Revenue per capita of population 6 to 14.				Revenue per capita of average attendance.			
	From permanent funds and rents.	From State taxes.	From local taxes.	From other sources.	From permanent funds and rents.	From State tax.	From local tax.	From other sources.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>South Central Division—Continued.</b>								
Mississippi a.....	.22	1.01	2.12		.38	1.83	3.73	
Louisiana f.....	.21	.54	1.27	.05	.66	1.71	4.00	.17
Texas j.....	1.69	3.47	.63	.35	2.90	5.94	1.07	.59
Arkansas.....	0	1.14	2.37	.17	0	k2.38	k4.91	k.34
<b>North Central Division:</b>								
Ohio.....	.38	2.50	11.99	46	.47	3.14	14.56	.56
Indiana.....	.51	4.40	2.83	81	.53	4.59	2.95	.84
Illinois.....	.95	1.52	12.83	50	1.21	1.93	16.26	.63
Michigan a.....	1.91	0	10.28	2.04	2.50	0	13.47	2.67
Wisconsin (d).....		12.47	8.64	0	(d)	k73.81	k13.32	0
Minnesota.....	1.95	1.82	9.33	2.78	3.56	3.31	17.05	5.08
Iowa.....	2.24	0	15.19	1.64	2.73	0	18.52	2.00
Missouri a.....	.65	1.34	6.27	.69	.91	1.86	8.69	.93
Dakota.....	0	0	19.69	.87	0	0	35.24	1.47
Nebraska.....								
Kansas.....	0	1.89	10.49	.69	0	2.25	12.51	.82
<b>Western Division:</b>								
Montana a.....	0	0	22.63	0	0	0	35.19	0
Wyoming.....								
Colorado.....	0	11.42	17.21	3.88	0	13.16	19.83	4.47
New Mexico.....								
Arizona.....	0	.59	12.79	.21	0	1.69	36.58	.61
Utah.....	0	2.63	1.42	1.96	0	5.29	2.86	3.92
Nevada.....								
Idaho.....	0	0	9.02	2.04	0	0	20.99	4.75
Washington a.....	0	0	10.07	1.24	0	0	14.61	1.72
Oregon.....	6.85	1.99	3.82	1.97	9.08	2.63	5.07	2.62
California.....	1.17	11.39	14.05	0	1.53	14.90	18.37	0
Alaska.....								
<b>SUMMARY.</b>								
North Atlantic Division m.....	.33	3.43	12.13	.60	.44	4.60	16.26	.80
South Atlantic Division.....	1.06	1.95	2.05	.23	.11	3.41	3.57	.41
South-Central Division.....	.45	1.64	1.43	.15	.84	3.03	2.65	.28
North Central Division m.....	.86	1.80	10.13	.91	1.11	2.32	13.01	1.17
Western Division m.....	1.44	7.10	11.40	1.04	2.02	10.00	16.05	1.47
United States m.....	.55	2.26	6.99	.56	.81	3.34	10.33	.83

a These statistics are for 1886-'87. b These statistics are for 1885-'86. c United States appropriation. d Included in State taxes. e Included in revenue from permanent funds and sales of bonds. f These statistics are for 1887. g Including balance from preceding year. h Including subscriptions. i State apportionment. j So far as reported. k Average attendance estimated. l Including revenue from permanent funds. m Including only the States tabulated above.

Thus it will be seen that where there has been the most extraneous or national aid there has been by far the greatest imposition of taxation upon the people themselves to promote the same purposes, so that the actual experiment demonstrates that so far from national aid or extraneous help inducing the people to rely upon it to the shifting from themselves of the burdens proper for the education of their children, precisely the contrary effect has been produced; and, where most has been given, there two and three fold as much has been contributed by the people themselves, so that in the Southern States, where next to nothing has been given, only 46 cents per capita, the self-imposed taxation has been only \$3 and a little over, while in the Western States and the Pacific States, where the largest amount, \$1.44 per capita, has been received from national assistance in one form or another, there the people impose upon themselves \$18 and over in addition; and the same truth is illustrated in the Northern and Western States.

THE PRINCIPLE OF AID TO EDUCATION IS CONSTANTLY RECEIVING WIDE APPLICATION.

The principle of aid in education, of the strong helping the weak, is constantly receiving more extended application. A number of arguments of State superintendents to this end are given in the following extracts, page 63. Also the apportionment of the State tax of Minnesota is given (page 64), showing that, of the seventy-eight counties, seventy received from the State treasury more than they paid into it; in other words, eight counties granted aid to the remaining seventy to the amount of \$152,000. Of this amount, \$130,000 was furnished by the two counties containing Minneapolis and St. Paul. A State tax recommended for Minnesota.—Superintendent Kiehle, after showing how much shorter school terms some districts have than others, notwithstanding they tax themselves at a heavier rate and expend more per pupil, recommends a State tax, to be uniformly distributed. He says: "We have no State tax for the aid of common schools. The one-mill tax is only a compulsory local

\*Minnesota has since adopted a State tax; see table following.

tax, and what is called the State appropriation is only a distribution by the State of a Government fund, just as the university receives aid from the university and agricultural-college land-grants. The State is aiding by direct tax all departments of education—university, normal schools, high schools, reform school, institutions for deaf, blind, and imbeciles—all except the common schools, the schools of the people. Still more, these districts are not allowed even the full local tax for the support of their schools. The railroads pay an income tax to the State, and are therefore exempt from all local taxation. This tax, which amounts to over \$600,000 annually, is used for the support of every department of government and is distributed to every educational institution except the common schools. The necessities of the situation compel me to urge upon the attention of the Legislature the important interests of these schools, which care for nine-tenths of the children of the State."

A uniform State and county tax needed.—Superintendent Pearsall, of Cameron County, Pennsylvania: "Many of our districts are paying a high rate of school tax, yet are unable to provide first-class school-houses, furniture, or apparatus and keep the schools in session over six months. I do not know as this can be remedied. But if the common schools were founded on the benevolent plan—that the taxes of the rich might aid in educating the poor—why not extend the plan and let the taxes of the rich districts aid the poor districts? In other words make the school tax uniform through the county or State."

The strong should help the weak.—Superintendent Buchanan, of Virginia: "They do in the matter of school funds. Upwards of \$800,000 of State funds were apportioned during the present year. The school population is the basis of apportionment. To the poor child, therefore, is allotted the same amount as to the rich. Some counties, and the cities as well, pay into the public treasury more State school money than is returned to them by apportionment. The excess goes to the weaker counties. For illustration, county A pays \$8,000 State school tax, county B only \$4,000. But suppose the school population of the two counties to be the same. Then each is entitled to the same apportionment, say \$6,000. Therefore A helps B to the extent of \$2,000. Furthermore, the State fund, when apportioned to the counties, is distributed just as is the county school money among the magisterial districts on the basis of the school population. So the stronger magisterial districts help the weaker in the matter of county school funds."

[From Fifth Minnesota Report, 1887-'88, D. L. Kiehle, superintendent.]

State mill tax, as assessed in 1887 and available in 1888.

Counties.	Amount levied on each county.	Received by county.	Excess paid.	Excess received.
Aitkin.....	\$604.82	\$478.16	\$218.66	
Anoka.....	2,794.52	4,403.67		\$1,609.15
Becker.....	1,769.92	3,840.33		2,070.41
Benton.....	1,240.87	2,386.18		1,145.31
Big Stone.....	1,411.90	2,655.09		1,243.19
Blue Earth.....	8,686.60	12,320.20		3,633.60
Brown.....	4,039.20	6,457.80		2,418.60
Carlton.....	1,840.32	1,250.34	589.98	
Carver.....	3,913.29	5,751.19		2,036.90
Cass.....	1,837.39	217.55	1,619.84	
Chippewa.....	1,965.08	3,183.10		1,218.02
Chisago.....	1,622.44	4,596.03		2,973.59
Clay.....	3,272.47	3,989.18		716.71
Cottonwood.....	1,786.26	2,873.95		1,087.69
Crow Wing.....	1,877.67	3,075.47		1,197.80
Dakota.....	7,683.93	8,587.50		903.57
Dodge.....	3,706.89	5,708.97		2,002.08
Douglas.....	3,097.44	5,958.58		2,861.14
Faribault.....	5,090.03	7,307.39		2,217.36
Fillmore.....	8,366.20	13,923.20		5,557.00
Freeborn.....	5,464.59	8,763.92		3,299.33
Goodhue.....	9,748.32	13,694.29		3,945.97
Grant.....	1,803.78	2,438.85		635.07
Hennepin*.....	118,204.01	48,740.35	69,463.65	
Houston.....	3,255.19	8,763.83		5,508.64
Hubbard.....	473.59	1,364.84		891.25
Isanti.....	894.07	3,086.92		2,192.85
Itasca.....	1,265.84	16.03	1,249.81	
Jackson.....	2,172.96	3,263.25		1,090.29
Kanabec.....	709.08	709.90		.82
Kandiyohi.....	3,472.96	6,004.38		2,531.42
Kittson.....	1,091.65	1,346.81		257.46
Lac qui Parle.....	2,456.57	3,741.86		1,285.29
Lake.....	1,102.82	174.04	928.78	
Le Sueur.....	4,031.98	8,573.76		4,541.78
Lincoln.....	1,272.20	2,086.19		813.99
Lyon.....	2,210.37	4,385.35		2,174.98
McLeod.....	3,986.46	7,602.80		3,616.34
Marshall.....	1,235.25	1,923.60		688.35
Martin.....	2,849.25	4,385.35		1,536.09
Meeker.....	3,957.73	7,469.98		3,512.25
Miller.....	1,190.14	1,199.96		.82
Morrison.....	2,210.64	4,969.07		2,758.43
Mower.....	5,668.23	9,133.36		3,465.13
Murray.....	1,590.53	3,430.40		1,839.87
Nicollet.....	3,936.59	5,454.55		1,517.96
Nobles.....	2,378.31	4,154.06		1,775.75
Norman.....	2,220.30	3,801.40		1,581.10
Olmstead.....	8,540.74	10,126.38		1,585.64
Otter Tail.....	6,763.66	15,725.43		8,961.77
Pine.....	1,119.97	1,199.96		79.99
Pine Stone.....	1,350.75	2,177.73		826.98
Polk.....	4,967.92	10,637.05		5,669.13
Pope.....	2,189.84	4,303.81		2,113.97
Ramsey.....	94,299.59	33,099.66	61,199.93	
Redwood.....	2,948.49	3,902.16		953.67
Renville.....	2,994.53	6,507.40		3,512.87
Rice.....	7,340.01	10,792.77		3,452.76
Rock.....	2,178.56	2,841.89		663.33
St. Louis.....	23,250.74	6,828.78	16,421.96	
Scott.....	3,338.25	5,388.37		2,050.12
Sherburne.....	1,167.12	2,638.69		1,471.57
Sibley.....	3,757.59	6,013.54		2,255.95
Stearns.....	7,600.38	14,653.71		7,053.33
Steele.....	4,620.14	6,812.75		2,192.61
Stevens.....	1,691.66	2,006.04		314.38
Swift.....	1,878.09	4,728.87		2,850.78
Todd.....	2,659.79	5,024.26		2,364.47
Traverse.....	1,057.52	1,339.65		282.13

## State mill tax, as assessed in 1887, etc.—Continued.

Counties.	Amount levied on each county.	Received by county.	Excess paid.	Excess received.
Wabasha	\$5,008.22	\$9,350.23		\$4,356.01
Wadena	1,038.22	2,241.91		1,202.69
Waseca	3,596.97	6,486.99		2,890.02
Washington	9,257.53	8,752.34		505.15
Watsonwan	2,001.76	2,883.11		881.35
Wilkin	1,716.65	1,731.24		14.59
Winona	12,029.90	13,792.67		1,762.77
Wright	5,220.07	11,965.25		6,745.18
Yellow Medicine	2,248.40	4,030.40		1,782.00
Total	486,670.03			

\* Minneapolis.

† St. Paul.

Minnesota is a State which, as I showed yesterday, has a prospective school fund of \$18,000,000, every cent of it derived from national assistance.

[From Education Report, 1886-'87, pages 202, 203.]

*Remedy for inequality of school term.*—Superintendent Finger, of North Carolina, also calls the attention of the General Assembly to the need of a State tax for the purpose of equalizing the school term throughout the State: "While an increase of the rate in the school law could be made to provide an average of four months in the State, that would not afford all the counties that length of term. Some would have more and some less than four months, according to their respective valuation of property and density of population. There is no way to remedy this inequality other than to have legislation that would distribute all or a part of the school money direct from the State treasury to the counties on a per capita basis. Our system as it now stands contemplates that each county shall furnish its own school funds. The State board of education has essentially no funds to distribute to the counties other than such as may be derived from the entry of public lands and from the sale of swamp lands, from which the receipts are very small. Under our statutes, our system is a county system."

*The State should provide facilities.*—Superintendent Young, of Nevada: "I would renew my recommendation of two years ago that the rate of State school tax be increased. Experience demonstrates that it is not satisfactory to leave this question of education so largely to the counties. The State should provide adequate school facilities for all of its children. Under the existing laws some counties have an average school year of ten months, while other counties have an average of less than five months. By increasing the State tax the terms of school might be made more uniform and the schools be made more efficient."

*Object of State appropriation.*—Superintendent Higbee, of Pennsylvania: "The purpose of all State appropriation to the schools is to help the children of the Commonwealth, that they all may have every opportunity of securing that culture without which the possibilities of their personal being can not be realized. Any movement, therefore, upon the part of directors to weaken the autonomy of their districts by making them dependent upon the State appropriation, or to lessen, in any way, their sense of the necessity of vigorous self-supporting work, violates the very spirit and intent of the act of appropriation. Let the increased fund be used in granting better salaries to teachers now underpaid, in securing better teachers by a general advance of salaries, in lengthening the school term, and in increasing apparatus and libraries."

Generally the voice of educators is that the States, and on a larger scale the nation in assisting the States, should provide for an equality of school advantages. Of course it is intrinsically an absurdity to say that the child or the poor parent of the child shall furnish his education. That is a gift. It should be a gift of the public, of the community at large, for it is the community, it is society as a whole, which is to be benefited by education or is to be injured by the illiteracy of the individual.

I have before me a notable instance of outside aid promoting self-help. This is taken from the report of James H. Rice, superintendent of schools for the State of South Carolina, the report of 1889, the very last year—published since the flood:

## A NOTABLE INSTANCE OF OUTSIDE AID PROMOTING SELF-HELP.

[From the Twenty-first South Carolina School Report, 1889, James H. Rice, superintendent, pages 8 and 9.]

South Carolina has received a larger amount from this (Peabody) fund during the last year than any other State. This enabled us to give necessary aid to graded schools. I am pleased to say that every single one of these enterprises is successfully conducted and furnishes to the community in which it is situated the very best practicable evidence of its adaptability to educate the people. These schools receive assistance three years under conditions which have been faithfully performed in every instance. At the close of their terms the towns are taxing themselves for better buildings and more thorough equipment. A detailed account of the operations of these various schools, their cost, their ability to handle large numbers and to train children thoroughly will astonish and delight every friend of learning. I propose to collate and publish these figures at no distant day, as a commentary on their financial value to a community.

That reads very much like the realization of ideas which I myself had the honor to enunciate on this floor many years ago, which then were prophecy.

There is a great deal more here that is very good. Here is an article from the Atlanta Constitution of December 22, 1889, a Democratic paper:

[From the Atlanta Constitution, December 22, 1889.]

SENATOR BLAIR'S BILL—STATE SCHOOL COMMISSIONER HOOK ADVOCATES IT—HE GIVES HIS REASONS FOR THINKING THAT EDUCATION WOULD BE BENEFITED BY ITS PASSAGE.

Judge Hook is a strong supporter of the Blair bill. He believes that its passage would be of great benefit to the cause of education, and he is able to give reasons for the opinion he has formed. In speaking of the action taken on the bill he said:

"As I understand the facts, it has already been offered and duly referred to the appropriate committee; but, if I am mistaken about this, it most assuredly

will be. It has been generally understood that Senator BLAIR had said he would introduce the same bill that had passed the Senate heretofore just as soon as the body should reconvene and be ready for business; and, while I have not been able, owing to the pressure on this office for two weeks past, to read up on what Congress has been doing, I dare say he has kept his word. I sincerely hope he has and that no unnecessary delay will obstruct its passage."

"Then it is your opinion that it will become a law this session?"

"Yes. And not only that it will, but that it ought! What is to hinder its passage, when the Republican party is fully committed to it, many of the wisest, truest, and best Democrats favor it all over the country, and President Harrison ably points out the importance and justice of such a law and strongly commends its enactment?"

It seems that it has got outside of the walls of the Senate Chamber that there is a great party pledged to the enactment of this bill. The people of the country understand it, and this man, a Democratic State superintendent, anxious for the education of his people, wants to know what is to hinder its passage when the Republican party is fully committed to it, when many of the wisest, truest, and best Democrats favor it all over the country, and when President Harrison ably points out the importance and justice of such a law and strongly commends its enactment.

Mr. President, there is nothing to hinder it except the opposition of those who would build up in this country an opposing system, the parochial, denominational system of schools, to the destruction of the public schools of this country, and who are engaged as no organization was ever before engaged in secret and open machinations in opposition to this bill, for they comprehend how if this bill passes it will give the great future of the Republic to the public school. While it interferes with the rights of no one, while it does not interfere with the right of those who claim a membership of ten millions in this land to educate their children in whatsoever way they see fit, nevertheless it is an assertion by the nation of the right of the nation and of the people of this country to educate their own children in a public, non-sectarian school.

More of that hereafter; but occasionally I am obliged to let out a little. Policy compels me generally to suppress it; but this bill has been killed often enough by packed committees, the individuals of which have been threatened with the anathemas of the church if they permitted it to be reported, and I give notice to those who propose to kill this bill by indirection, by fraud, by tricks unworthy of any lobby that ever haunted this Chamber or this vicinity, that they have blows to receive as well as there may be blows to give.

This country will maintain its public-school system. It will see that the children of the 25,000,000 in the Southern States shall have the privileges of the public school; that that stagnant system shall be vitalized by national help if it be necessary, and that this nation is not to be given over to those who would teach a civil allegiance primarily due elsewhere than within our own borders and a subsidiary civil allegiance as one due to the United States. I speak of but a fraction of a great body of our citizens, for the masses of that same body of American citizens are true to the flag, and do not propose to elect a President who resides on the banks of the Tiber.

I will proceed with the remarks of this Democratic superintendent of education of the State of Georgia, as found in the Atlanta Constitution of December 22, 1889:

"From what you have said, then, you clearly do not agree with those who object that the law would tend to the centralizing of power and the establishment of a paternal government at Washington, and otherwise prove to be undemocratic and unconstitutional, because impinging upon the autonomy of the States? Would you object to giving your views briefly on these points?"

"I unhesitatingly say to you I do not at all sympathize with the views and objections presented against this proposed measure of national aid to education. On such a proposition there ought to be no party differences. There might possibly be individual differences of opinion as to the adjustment of methods for applying the aid, but surely none as to both the right and duty of Government to aid in educating and enlightening its people. Where the masses are kept in ignorance it is easy for monarchists and despots and autocrats and aristocrats to trample their rights under foot and crystallize the tears of the oppressed poor and the sweat drops from the brow of honest toil into pearls and diamonds with which to bedeck the glistening but guilty crowns they wear.

This sounds like old-fashioned Republican doctrine. I wish we could hear more of it in these times, and that the Republican party was up to and alive to its great opportunities, its pledges, and to the performance of its duties as it once performed them, and as it must again if it is to have anything to do with the destiny of this country.

"It is impossible to fasten a monarchy or despotism upon a people with knowledge enough to understand their rights and with moral force and virtue sufficient to assert them. Why, among the plainest and, I may say, most conspicuously asserted objects of our organic law is that one, 'to promote the general welfare, to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.'

"But how shall we secure these blessings to our posterity in all their fullness and richness and with all their grand promise of progressive advancement and increasing popular liberty and higher civilization if we fail to educate and enlighten our children, who are to be our posterity? Washington and all the fathers of the Republic thought, and boldly declared, that public education was the one great means of perpetuating the free Republic they established, and it did not occur to them, poor, simple-minded, undemocratic men that they were, that this most obvious means of promoting the general welfare would be unconstitutional! Nor has it in these latter times occurred to such able and learned jurists and conspicuous Democrats as JOSEPH E. BROWN, of the United States Senate, and Hon. L. Q. C. LAMAR, now on the Supreme Bench of the United States, that aid by the General Government in the education of the people would be unconstitutional or undemocratic in any sense whatever.

"It has been the practice of the Government since its foundation, and principally under Democratic administrations, to vote large means to the States for the purposes of general education. And is there not both wisdom and justice in such a practice and policy? Why demand that your sons, at the age of eighteen,

shall bear arms and engage in war, if your policy require it, and at the age of twenty-one shall exercise the elective franchise, and yet keep them in such ignorance that they can not comprehend and calmly consider the issues involved? Are the masses of the honest yeomanry of the world—God's true nobility—to be denied the advantage of education, to be ever held as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the more wealthy and cultured class, and in times of war do the fighting in the ranks and be esteemed only as Napoleon designated them, as 'food for cannon'?"

"No, sir; the demand for universal education is the dominant idea and demand of the age, and that man and that State woefully lag behind that do not keep pace with the onward march of our advancing civilization."

"From what quarter, then, does the opposition to the Blair bill chiefly come?"

"The opposition to the Blair bill proceeds mainly, so far as my observation has extended, from men who have never read it."

I have been struck by that circumstance. The opposition springs mainly from men who have never read the bill. The opposition to this bill fill the country with criticisms based upon an absolute ignorance of its provisions, largely due to the efficient efforts of the bureau of mendacity established in the office of the New York Evening Post, of which more anon.

"There is a complete misapprehension as to the character of the bill. If any one supposes that the General Government is to have supervisory control, he is greatly mistaken. There is no such idea or purpose in the measure, and its author distinctly stated on the floor of the Senate that 'it was deemed best to turn the fund over to the States and trust to their honor to properly apportion it,' and that he had 'no idea that the confidence thus reposed in the State authorities would be misplaced.'"

Neither has he. Each year's expenditure is to be made in accordance with the provisions of the bill and an account showing the actual form or manner of expenditure throughout the State submitted to Congress before the next annual appropriation is available, and a sufficient opportunity is given for any party whatever who has cause to complain to lay his complaint before the Secretary of the Interior, who will investigate the charge and see whether it be well founded, and the opportunity will also be given to appeal to Congress if there should be need. But there never will be need. This money will be used as well, it will be dealt with as sacredly, in my belief, as is a contribution for missionary purposes in our churches collected on the holy day of the week. There is no reason for this assumption of fraud on the part of great communities, honorable States, gentlemen who in every way are entitled to as high consideration for character and capacity and fidelity in public trust as those who are in the leadership of any of the communities of the North.

"Instead of leaving an immense sum of money in the Treasury, mainly accumulated there by the refusal of the bondholders to take the silver dollar of the fathers"—

That ought to suit somewhere—

"in payment of the national debt, and where it is sure to prove in the end a corruption fund to further some grand monopolistic scheme that Wall street may set on foot, this bill proposes to turn the money over to the States to be used in the support of common schools."

But a very small fragment of it, however, he admits.

"It turns it over to the proper authorities of the States to be used by them through their own officers, for the education of all children between the school ages, both white and colored. Money, like knowledge, is power. The Blair bill proposes to take those idle millions of money, capable of immense evil or good, away from the national Treasury and give them to the State treasuries, to be utilized in the grandest way that public money can be employed, to wit, in carrying enlightenment and happiness to the people."

"How about the assertion that it conflicts with the doctrine of States' rights?"

"Why, Mr. Calhoun, the great apostle of States' rights, when defending his position on the question of the deposit with the State governments of the surplus in the national Treasury, and afterward, in his defense of the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the States, the one speech made in 1836 and the other in 1841, held the following language."

That I alluded to the other day.

"In the first he said: 'The surplus money in the Treasury is not ours. It properly belongs to those who made it and from whom it has been unjustly taken; I hold it an unquestionable principle that the Government has no right to take a cent from the people beyond what is necessary to meet its legitimate and constitutional wants. \* \* \* If it were in our power, if we could ascertain from whom the vast amount now in the Treasury was improperly taken, justice would demand that it should be returned to its lawful owners. \* \* \* But it is objected that such a disposition would be a bribe to the people."

"A bribe to the people! to return it to those to whom it justly belongs and from whose pockets it should never have been taken. A bribe! to place it in the charge of those who are the immediate representatives of those from whom we derive our authority, and who may employ it so much more usefully than we can. But what is to be done? If not returned to the people it must go somehow; and is there no danger of bribing those to whom it may go? \* \* \* Are the agents, the jobbers, the contractors; are the directors and stockholders of the banks; are the speculators and stock-jobbers; are the political managers and holders of State securities, the only honest portion of the community? Are they alone incapable of being bribed? And are the people the least honest and most liable to be bribed?"

In the second he said:

"But had it been in reality a distribution it would be in a great measure justified under the peculiar circumstances of the case. The surplus was not lawfully collected. Congress has no right to take a cent from the people but for the just and constitutional wants of the country. To take more, or for other purposes, as in this case, is neither more nor less than robbery, more criminal for being perpetrated by a trustee appointed to guard their interest. It in fact belonged to those from whom it was unjustly plundered, and if the individuals and the share of each could have been ascertained, it ought, on every principle of justice to have been returned to them. But, as that was impossible, the nearest practicable approach to justice was to return it proportionately, as it was to the States as a deposit, till wanted for the use of the people from whom it was unjustly taken, instead of leaving it with the banks for their use, which had no claim whatever to it, or vesting it in State stocks for the benefit of speculators and stock jobbers."

He discusses from the most ultra-standpoint of all State-right men that the money can in this way be distributed to the people for the

general welfare. I do not offer that as a Republican argument, but I suggest its consideration by those who, upon the ground of the unconstitutionality of this bill, are unable to support it. I leave them to settle the question with John C. Calhoun. All of them have voted for bills containing the same provision as far as the manner of appropriation is concerned. Judge Hook proceeds:

"In view of these ringing words, how strange that a measure which proposes to help the States and trust them with all this money should be called a centralizing measure. I like the bill because it proposes to turn over to the States this money according to their illiteracy, to be managed by the States, whom it fully trusts with its disposition. The bill violates no constitutional or Democratic principle. It helps us to educate both our white and our colored children, and in our way—in separate schools. It will bring a million of dollars or more into this State alone, to be distributed among our people annually for eight years, and this, added to what we are raising ourselves in the State for educational purposes, will make over two millions of money to circulate annually in our midst, and give great relief to our farmers and all other industrial classes, as well as educate every child within the limits of the State and elevate, refine, and bless our hearths and homes. In addition to this it proposes to appropriate \$2,000,000 to aid in building comfortable school-houses all over the State."

"How will it affect the relation of the two races?"

"It will undeniably assist in solving the race problem. Hear Senator Lamar on this point:

"I think this measure is fraught with almost unspeakable benefits to the entire population of the South, white and black. It will excite a new interest among our people; it will stimulate both State and local communities to more energetic exertions and greater sacrifices, because it will encourage them in their hopes, in grappling and struggling with a task before whose vast proportions they have stood appalled in the consciousness of the inadequacy of their own resources to meet it."

"That certainly is strongly expressed."

"Oh, it is a grand movement, and will immortalize not only its projector, but all who vote for it in Congress. And now, one more word, and I am done. This talk about a paternal government—what does it mean, anyhow? If two brothers fall out and fight, does that make the common roof-tree less sacred to either? The illustrious Ben. Hill, whose eloquent voice still rings down the corridors of our State and national fame, said, when he returned to Congress after the war: 'We are back in our father's house, and here to stay.' He was still proud of and attached to the old national roof-tree, even if we had quarreled by the way!"

"Yes, sir; the Government of the United States is our Government; its greatness and glory are ours; the South, as well as the other sections of the Union, has suspended in the national galaxy many splendid portraits that will shine ever gloriously there, and as an American citizen I am proud as I contemplate the whole magnificent array! And I shall be prouder yet when it is true and our citizens traveling in foreign lands can say: 'In our great Republic there breathes no man who can not read the word of God, which elevates his soul, and the Constitution of his country, which protects him in his rights and liberties and in the pursuits of happiness!'"

Now, here is another chapter upon the condition of schools and education in Connecticut. There seems to be a great deal of matter accumulating about the State of Connecticut, more than I wish there was, but here it is, and I take it to be substantially illustrative of the condition of schools throughout the North in the rural portions of the New England States. The authorities in Connecticut appear to have been a little more candid and honest in owning up perhaps than they have been in some other localities. I take the following from the last Connecticut school report, the report of 1889, pages 85-296, official records, as it will be seen:

CONDITION OF SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION IN CONNECTICUT.

[From Connecticut School Report, 1889, pages 85-296.]

In order to ascertain the condition of common-school education in Connecticut, a special and searching investigation was made in 1887 and 1888, under the direction of Hon. Charles D. Hine, secretary of the State board of education. This investigation was in practice limited to New London County, as being a representative county. Some of the results were as follows:

"Teachers' wages.—The tendency is to appropriate sums insufficient to pay for good service. There are 331 teachers in the county. Of these, 38 receive \$20 or less per month; 96 receive \$20 to \$25 per month, and 72 receive \$25 to \$30 per month. These sums are paid for twenty-four to thirty weeks of teaching. Thirty-five per cent. of the teachers of this county receive less than \$25 per year." (Page 97.)

"Length of schools.—The small amounts distributed to the numerous districts do not permit the maintenance of schools longer than the minimum time allowed by law, namely, twenty-four weeks." (Page 97.)

Table showing number of schools open thirty weeks or less in the several counties.

Counties.	No. open 24 weeks or less.	No. open 24 to 30 weeks.
Hartford.....	9	26
New Haven.....	12	36
New London.....	55	84
Fairfield.....	2	9
Windham.....	34	64
Litchfield.....	20	59
Middlesex.....	5	24
Tolland.....	23	58
Total.....	160	360

School-houses.—The condition of school-houses was also made a subject of inquiry. The following is a partial summary of the results (page 136): Number of school-houses rated good, 51; number of school-houses rated fair, 77; number of school-houses rated poor, 90.

A number of illustrations of the buildings rated poor are given (pages 137 et seq.). These are stated to be no worse than many others that might have been given.

The report says (page 145) that the appearance of the school buildings rated "poor" gives the impression of great neglect. "Clapboards are loose, the blinds without fastenings, plastering cracked and gone, desks out and unpainted, floors old and dirty, no chairs for visitors, glass broken, carvings and penellings on the entrance-door, or in the entry, too often suggestions of impurity, are suf-

ferred to remain, and an object lesson for the youngest. They either are not ventilated at all or are so open as to subject children to draughts. They are out of repair in every possible direction, the record showing that not a few had received no attention for many years. About fifty school-houses were not, when visited, suitable places for school. In fine, nothing about the premises speaks of interested care for the school-house, the place where the children spend a quarter of their waking hours."

**Teachers.**—With reference to teachers the report says (page 166\*): "(a) The wages offered and accepted are such as to insure an inferior kind of service. Teachers whose sole support is \$110 to \$200 a year can not afford to improve their minds or do anything more than 'keep school.' They have not indulged in the time-consuming luxury of getting ready for teaching, and the district pays for the time necessary to gain 'experience,' a time wholly lost to children. (b) There is no organized teaching service—a body of men and women of ascertained and certified competence, having definite relations to the State and town which pay them and the district which hires them."

**Progress made in arithmetic.**—The following account is given (page 189 of the report) of the results of the instruction in arithmetic: "Perhaps a half-dozen schools taught elementary arithmetic by systematically developing number, but almost invariably the teacher answered the question as to what method was used by the stereotyped phrase, 'Follow the book;' and this was literally true, not only for the elementary but for the advanced classes."

"Months and terms are spent in counting, learning to write unheard-of numbers, bawling the multiplication tables, and perhaps others. No systematic development of number is thought of. No concrete examples, except the few in a small book, are given. No thorough drill is attempted. No rapid handling of numbers, no accuracy with figures, no training of the reason, is the result. Most of the so-called mental examples have been carefully studied before the recitation. Definitions and rules will be repeated fluently, and yet the pupil is unable to perform simple examples involving one or two steps of reasoning. One or two illustrations are pertinent:

"A boy over ten years of age was being taught to count to one hundred, but could not tell the sum of two and two.

"The teacher gave as a reason for teaching him thus to count before he could add that 'when he received change at the store he could count it.'

"In another school, a class of three gave with great fluency the definitions of 'unit, counting, scale, counting off, group,' etc. They read numbers up to sextillions, but they could not tell how many fours there were in sixteen. The teachers said that they had never done anything in multiplication or division. These children had been in school about four years. It is not to be wondered at, then, that under such unnatural methods so many children attend school seven or eight years without reaching percentage and its application to interest.

"Again, after consuming four to six years in comparatively useless work, work on simple mental examples is difficult and very slow indeed. Addition and subtraction were frequently performed by counting on the fingers, and it sometimes took two minutes for children to work the easy examples in addition. The older pupils were as backward as the younger ones in dealing with problems."

**Progress made in language, composition, geography, etc.**—Some one hundred pages of the report (pages\* 191 to 285\*) are given to the results of instruction in these subjects, including numerous fac similes of pupils' work. The following story by a boy twelve and one-half years old, six years in school, about a ten-cent piece is selected:

"Ten Cents."

"If I had ten cents I would buy some candy and I shall eat it up very quick if it went to hard I lo, v e i' hard as a stone it was not good for Northing I bought to the store it tasted like a brick I eat so much that I had to hove Five teeth pulled it felt good the doctors was pulling it."

(Boy twelve and one-half years old; in school six years.)

Some could think of nothing to write, and in order to obtain a written paper from them they were asked to write what they saw on the way to school. The following is a sample, by a boy twelve years old, who had been eight years in school:

"T sam Man Wagom Hovre"

(Boy twelve years old; in school eight years.)

The above selections are from among the poorest.

These are inimitable because the punctuation and the spelling and the use of capitals, etc., are necessary to be shown. It will appear in the RECORD. It contains various illustrations of the utter inefficiency and imperfection of the results attained in these schools.

**Summary of conclusions.**—In his summary of conclusions, Mr. Hine says: "Not more than one-third of those tested read intelligently, either from the books with which they were familiar or from books adapted to the second year of school. Calling words was the staple of reading. The ideas of the printed page, from which arise spontaneously correct emphasis and expression, were either beyond the capacity of the scholars or entirely obscured and lost in the endeavor to utter separate words and syllables." (Page\* 292.)

"One-third of the children of ten years old and upwards can not write (as these papers solemnly testify). Not more than thirty teachers can teach writing, as they, themselves, freely admit. Out of thirty towns in this and other parts of the State, three only require the teacher to furnish evidence of ability to teach writing." (Page\* 293.)

The schools of the county are divided into efficient, useful, doing some good, and entirely inefficient.

	Less advanced work.	More advanced work.
Efficient.....	7	5
Useful.....	35	23
Doing some good.....	78	29
Entirely inefficient.....	89	32

**The superintendent proceeds:**

We should not have been content with the results here portrayed, if we had not all along kept up the pleasing fiction that the schools are what they ought to be. For a period of six to ten years, children are detained in school under a disjointed course and aimless teaching, and at the end of that time they are unable, in any just sense, to "read, write, and cipher." Is the result commensurate with the labor and time expended? Might not the time and labor differently expended have produced something decidedly better? Is not the immense disparity between the time and labor and the result obtained the best evidence that the means and methods have not been directed most wisely to the avowed end? Shall not this State "of old and high renown" entertain an "increasing purpose" to extend to all her children—the light of our homes and the hope of the future—something more and better? Shall not the notion—false everywhere, fated in education—that the past is the perfect expression of human competency, be cast out, and our systems of administration and our ways of

teaching look not forever backwards, but always steadfastly forward?" (Page\* 295.)

I have here also the following statement, which I wish to read:

**SOME CONNECTICUT SCHOOLS.**

[Report Rev. C. M. Jones, secretary board of school visitors of the town of Eastford, Conn.]

Our school-houses are in a very poor condition. Indeed, it is only by courtesy that they are called school-houses. They are badly arranged, uncomfortable, cheerless places. Were the seats taken out they might do for cattle pens. The floors in most of them are made of wide oak boards which have warped and sprung till they have but little relation to each other. The seats and desks were once coarse carpenter's work, and have not been improved, but, if possible, made worse by the long use of jack-knives. The walls and ceilings are dingy, with plaster off in many places, and when patched appearing much as if it had been laid on with a barn shovel. Recitation seats, so called, are usually built against the wall and under the blackboards, where they catch all the chalk dust, while the blackboards themselves do not deserve the name. The only reason for calling them blackboards is because they are not white.

It is in such places that the children are confined six hours a day, and amid such surroundings and disadvantages teachers, working on starvation wages, are expected to train and educate children for the duties and responsibilities which devolve on citizens in this age and in this land. The wonder is that they accomplish so much as they do. Nor is it strange that children get a dislike for school. Why should they desire to stay in such places or to ache in consequence of sitting in such uncomfortable seats?—*Connecticut School Report, 1889, page 237.*

This is Connecticut, which is one of the oldest and most honorable of the New England States, which has produced as much of intellect and learning as any State, and I doubt not that if the other New England States had reported as honestly the condition of the education of children in large districts of the several States the account would be quite as bad as here. The truth is that nothing else can do the good, the money carried by this bill would not do the good, that would be done by the letting in of the light and the letting out of the darkness that would result from universal investigation, the investigation that would take place all over this country as to the actual condition of education in the North as well as in the South. We should not look quite as well North, but we should know a great deal more than we do now, and I refer those who know the original story of the political meetings of both parties to the account they give of the mule and the man.

No, Mr. President, the investigation which is an indispensable yearly result of the operations of this bill, if it ever becomes a law, by simply making known the necessities of the country, will induce the nation to rise like a giant and seek and apply a remedy, and we shall not then hear much more of the kind of argument and stuff with which the Senate has been regaled from time to time at former sessions about the sufficiency of the means of education in the Northern States, and that there is no need of investigation and finding out how the fact is. Such an investigation never would take place and it is never likely to take place, as I fancy, from the fact that abuses of this kind have come to exist in the oldest and best educated States of the Union. The agitation which has been made to secure the enactment of this bill, even if the bill were to fail, the fact that these things are exposed here on this national arena and brought home to the knowledge of the people everywhere, will have accomplished very great good; but it would be a consummation most unfortunate if it should all end simply in a little talk, in a little self-condemnation, and only a partial remedy.

I propose next to present something from Superintendent Moses, of Raleigh, N. C., to State Superintendent Smith, of Tennessee. This is an interstate correspondence on the subject, and I call it to the particular attention of the Senators from Tennessee, who may be here in the course of a week or two, and I do not know but that one of them may be here now; if not, I suppose we might send for the Senate, which should be here part of the time, especially when things as pertinent as this come to the surface. But all this will be in the RECORD. No matter what the press does for us or against us, there is our glorious little paper that we publish ourselves.

This will be in the RECORD; and, by the way, Mr. President, as pertinent to this subject-matter of education, if I should be returned to the Senate for the next thirty or forty years and grow old in the service of my country, some time I mean to make an effort to see that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is distributed to the people of the United States gratuitously to the number of at least 500,000 copies, properly proportioned and apportioned among the several States in the Union. We need a paper; we need to be able to use the press; and if we only publish a paper ourselves and circulate it, then we shall reach the people with the truth; but never until then. This private press, which runs only for its own emolument and as it may make the most money and leave out the most truth, especially if it is unpalatable, is a poor press to rely on.

I am for publishing and circulating our daily more extensively in the United States, so that the people may know what is going on. This great American press of ours is a source of more mischief in this country than though we had no press at all. The people are away ahead of it. It catches up after a while. It never says anything that ought to be said, unless it is sure to pay, until the impulses of the people finally compel the press to talk, and in order to get pay it must say those things the people demand in the end. There will come a time when a dog fight will not be more important than a school bill; but that time has not been reached. What a man needs is money, I have noticed.

What I need in order to get these facts before the people is money enough to circulate my speech. Some time, a little later on, when the Senate is comparatively empty, so that I can get it through without anybody noticing it, I do not know but that I shall apply for public funds to print an edition of 50,000 copies of this speech of mine. I do not know how else the facts will ever get to the people or even to the Senate.

What can we expect of Senators when we have such a press and a people so left in ignorance, when there is a little bill of this kind pending? I do not know that it is much account anyway; but when we come to the naval bill, a scheme appropriating \$350,000,000 for a Navy to kill folks with, we shall all be here, and there will be a unanimity of action then. Kill the children off. Let them be food for powder. But we can not spend \$5,000,000 down South and \$2,000,000 up North in a year to remedy a condition which is fraught with future wars, both civil and foreign, when there is a Republican party which has been pledging itself all these long years to it. I do not know whether it is under obligation now to keep its promises, but people outside will know, and the Republican masses will find out, whether it is under obligation to keep promises of this character, upon which it has got in power and which must be redeemed or the American people will find representation in this Hall that knows the difference between telling a falsehood and telling the truth.

There are men who care very little for party bonds in this country unless parties are the means of accomplishing the end that they are pledged to, and we are approaching the period when we shall draw that line and find out whether platforms mean anything or not. There is such a thing as a protective tariff to talk about, but there are other things in this world besides a protective tariff. There are other pledges that will have to be remembered, and these radical, fundamental pledges which relate to the very existence of the nation will have to receive some attention. The men who choose to forget them will receive attention undoubtedly.

I read what Mr. Jones had to say, and I had come to the letter from Superintendent Moses, of Raleigh, N. C., to State Superintendent Smith, of Tennessee:

LETTER FROM SUPERINTENDENT MOSES, OF RALEIGH, N. C., TO STATE SUPERINTENDENT SMITH, OF TENNESSEE.

[From the School-Teacher, Winston, N. C., October, 1889, page 223.]

JONESBOROUGH, TENN., September 17, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR: A few days ago a friend handed me an account of the proceedings of the State Teachers' Association, which held its annual meeting in Nashville in July last.

In a report bearing the signature of some of the leading educators of the State, yourself among the number, reference is made to the "remarkable progress" of the public-school system of Tennessee in the past sixteen years. I can not but think that you did not read the report before signing it or else that you did not notice the remarkable statement which the report contained in reference to the "remarkable progress" of your schools.

I wish the Senators from Tennessee were here. I wish some page would notify them of this statement if nobody else does.

This thing may, I trust, safely be said of all the gentlemen who signed the report with the single exception of the one who wrote it. He, in all probability, did not know the facts, and like thousands of other good men really believes that our schools are constantly improving. I am personally acquainted with four or five members of the committee and entertain for each one, personally and professionally, great respect. I would not say one word that could be construed as a reflection upon the high standing and high purpose of a single one of you. I do not forget that—

"Evil is wrought  
By want of thought  
As well as by want of heart."

As you know, I was born in Tennessee, taught here for several years, and frequently visit the State. I believe that I keep pretty well posted about school matters in Tennessee. By reason of a residence of eight years in North Carolina, I know something of the condition of the schools there. Your school term is a little longer than ours, but we have some compensating advantages, prominent among them, I think, better private schools as a rule. So that, taking all the circumstances into consideration, I am forced to the conclusion that the two States are about on a par educationally speaking and that the difference between them from this point of view is largely adifference "twixt tweedledum and tweedledee." You have traveled extensively in North Carolina and are well acquainted with schools in Tennessee. You will therefore doubtless agree with me in my position that the teachers of the public schools of Tennessee and North Carolina as a general rule are not only destitute of the slightest suspicion of culture, but to a very large extent ignorant even of a knowledge of the common-school branches.

Note, this is from Superintendent Moses, of Raleigh, N. C., in a letter to State Superintendent Smith, of Tennessee.

Although they are called teachers, the science and art of education are subjects as mysterious to them as the hieroglyphics of Egypt. You will doubtless agree with me that not only nine-tenths of them never read a book on teaching, but that fully nine-tenths of them do not know what the word method of teaching reading means and have never heard of the Grube method in arithmetic. Although the alphabetic method of teaching reading has not had an advocate in Germany for fifty years and is prohibited by law in Prussia, you will doubtless agree with me that nine-tenths (probably nineteen-twentieths) of the children of Tennessee and North Carolina are to-day taught by that abominable device.

A few days ago I was riding through one of the loveliest valleys in East Tennessee. I came to a school-house, and in accordance with my custom never to pass a school when in session without inspecting it I dismounted and went into the house. Half a dozen bright-looking boys and girls were spelling from Webster's old blueback, taking pains, however, in most instances, to spit upon the floor after spelling their words. This was the only part of the performance in which the children manifested the slightest interest, and the zeal and pertinacity with which they performed this part of their labors were striking. The girls seemed even more fond of the disgusting exercise than the boys.

Mr. FRYE. Where was that? In North Carolina?

Mr. BLAIR. This is what he saw in Tennessee, but this is the superintendent of the capital city of North Carolina, who was born in Tennessee and taught school there a long time, and is contradicting the flowery account given by the superintendent of Tennessee as to the condition of their schools, asserting that, if it be admitted that he is a man of truth, he must have signed the report without knowing what was in it, and going on to state the actual condition as he knows it, and writing this to that same superintendent. It seems to be about as good authority as you can get, and I read this as illustrating what I have been saying all along, that the school reports from many of the States of the South and I know from many districts of the North are simply real-estate advertisements. One instance came under my notice, where I knew the superintendent of the State.

I knew his report was an absolute contradiction of all other reliable evidence that I had learned piece-meal from various parts of the State. I insisted upon an inquiry and brought him to book through a prominent educator, who told me that he excused himself by saying that those figures were made and promulgated because almost of compulsion on the part of those who said that to tell the truth would ruin the prospects of the State in securing capital and immigration. I am reading this from this source as one among innumerable things that I have already read and shall hereafter read, God willing and the Senate (which is, I believe, a perpetual body) lasting long enough for me to read it, in corroboration of what I have been saying as impeaching these school reports. Yet upon these very reports I have demonstrated that at least a third of the children are without any education. Dr. Curry says at least 48 or 50 per cent. of them are not receiving education. But the New York bureau of mendacity relies on these reports and then falsifies them and puts them in false order and false combination in order to make out, at the most, an exceedingly weak case—a weak case based upon false evidence—weak even if it were assumed to be true.

Superintendent Moses proceeds:

I asked one little girl, who, I judge, was about nine years of age, the meaning of the word "cinder," as that was the word which she spelled from the open book. Such a question was so ridiculous that every little fellow in the class burst out laughing. Their merriment was so great that it was some little time before the teacher could proceed. The idea that the words they were spelling had any meaning was just too funny for anything! And they had no meaning for them, poor little creatures, and they never will have a meaning. Verily, verily, the blind lead the blind and both fall into the ditch.

This is the United States of America. This is no account from the south of Africa or its interior. This is not the country to which it is proposed by the Senator from South Carolina to transport the colored people. Not at all. This is the United States, the State of Tennessee, the home of Jackson and of HARRIS.

Verily, verily, the blind lead the blind and both fall into the ditch. I looked around over the school and found twenty-five pupils. Twenty-three of them by actual count were sitting up "studying" the blueback. Only two pupils, it will be observed, in all that school were without this priceless treasure, and those two were large boys. The teacher apologized for this breach of custom by observing that these boys also had been ordered to get spellers, but had refused to do so "on the account of being in arithmetic."

They did not need to know how to spell; they were in arithmetic.

I visited another school, but did not have the opportunity of hearing any class exercises, as the pupils were assembling. The teacher, a great fellow in old carpet slippers, informed me that he had an average daily attendance of one hundred pupils.

No one teacher can handle more than thirty or forty at the utmost. The room was large enough for about thirty.

"Think of that, Master Brook!" Old Falstaff was not so closely packed as that, just as they dumped him in the river, buried up in the old clothes. The room was large enough for thirty. They were packed in there like those in the Calcutta hole, on the surface.

It would cost something less than 5 cents a day to educate properly a child in our public schools. I would not send my child to that school for \$5 a day.

I suppose the idea is that he would not have his child killed or subjected him to this process of murder for \$5 a day.

It is needless to go further in this matter, for you could doubtless tell ten times as much as I can about the ignorance and incompetency of the great mass of the teachers who are to-day "molding the character and shaping the destiny" of hundreds of thousands of bright boys and girls in Tennessee. You know that the work of these teachers as a rule is grossly and shamefully inefficient. Let us note the "remarkable progress"—

Quoting these words from the report—

of your schools from another standpoint. Please examine carefully these figures which have been taken from a report sent me from your office. I.—

Now, I wish this might be listened to—

Appropriation per capita in 1883, 26 cents; in 1889, 23 cents.

It had fallen from 26 to 23 cents in six years. That is the sort of gain that is going on and the improvement as far as money is concerned!

II. Average salary of teachers in 1883, \$23.79; in 1889, \$29.71.

There again is a decrease, and you must bear in mind that the teacher has got to pay his board and his clothing and maintain his family, if he has one, out of this \$29 a month. That is not so high as we Senators are paid, probably, in proportion to actual and necessary expenses.

III. Length of school term in 1883, 15.6 weeks; in 1889, 16 weeks.

What a progress that is! This man made the same exclamation himself. He says:

Such progress is indeed remarkable. In fact, it may be said that its remarkable-ness is all there is of it.

But it is sometimes urged that extra "remarkable progress" is made in the cities. In your report especial reference is made to the schools of Nashville, and yet the fact stares us in the face that, while the scholastic population of Nashville is 17,000, the total enrollment in her public schools is 7,000. Wilmington, the largest city in North Carolina, has not the sign of a local school tax, and, if I mistake not, only five grades. In Raleigh they will allow us only seven grades. If you were to visit my schools without a knowledge of this fact you would laugh in spite of yourself at the general appearance of my highest grades.

The children, I think, are as attractive and lovable as can be found anywhere. You would laugh at the size of my highest pupils. Were it not for the presence of some older children who were deprived of early advantages, you would think that you had entered the land of the Lilliputians. One little girl eleven years of age finished our courses last year with credit to herself and her teacher. A considerable number of children of thirteen have been compelled to go to private schools because of the fact that no suitable provision can be made for them under the law of the State in our public school.

There is one thing about North Carolina: if she needs assistance for schools she is willing to say so. Superintendent Finger, of North Carolina, is one of the many, but perhaps not one of the majority, of the leading educators of the South who have been willing to tell the truth and to have the remedy applied, but who stand up and, instead of admitting that this assistance from the nation if it be given is a gratuity or a charity, demand it as a right, as a right of the childhood of the country, and as a necessity for the insuring of those conditions upon which must be based the prosperity and happiness of the entire future of the whole.

A considerable number of children of thirteen have been compelled to go to private schools because of the fact that no suitable provision can be made for them under the law of the State in our public school. One prominent citizen told me last winter that he was not in favor of giving them more than a seven-years' course; another leading man and a good man said that Latin had no place in the public schools for the reason that the inmates of the poor-house ought not to be fed on cake! Remarkable progress in the cities! God save the mark!

This was a discussion of the higher branches. This bill does not undertake to go into them; it is not ambitious enough to go further than the ordinary common branches of knowledge taught in the English language.

As far as the inefficiency of the teachers of the public schools of North Carolina generally is concerned, language could not do the subject justice. I know one man who begins arithmetic with a capital R; another writes that he is teaching "righting."

That is what we ought to be teaching by passing this bill, "righting" the condition of those people.

I have in mind one bright particular star who has taught for five sessions and is now engaged in his sixth school. I have now before me as I write a paper submitted to me by this man, from which I take the following words just as he wrote them:

"I was borne inn the State of Tenn." That man has eighty pupils, and to seventy of them he teaches methods of spelling. And such creatures by the hundred, all over dear old North Carolina, have in their care and keeping little innocent children who are just as precious in God's sight and if properly trained would be as useful to our Commonwealth as my own darling children.

He is the kind of man who is managing education in the South.

I sometimes hear it said that the teachers of our public schools are better now than they once were. That may be so. It is a proposition that can be affirmed or denied with impunity, because as far as I know it is impossible to get at the facts in the case. At all events, if teachers were formerly worse than they now are, the ignorance and poverty we see everywhere around us are easily accounted for.

I wish somebody would note how nicely he did that.

As far as figures go for North Carolina schools, they show that our school terms are not more than a week longer than they were six years ago, that our per capita appropriations are no larger, and that salaries have not increased. This may appear to be progress to a man who can see double, but it will not appear to be "remarkable progress" even to him. Two or three more decades of such "progress" as we have been making in Tennessee and North Carolina, and some fine morning we and our children will arise like the hosts of Sennacherib, to find ourselves "all dead corpses," and what property we may have possessed will be in the hands of a mob. We are sowing the wind, and we are going to reap the whirlwind unless we soon mend our ways.

And there are no fences in the States of North Carolina and Tennessee to confine this whirlwind. If this cyclone gets going it will upset Mount Washington and it will sweep away the equanimity of my friend from the State of Connecticut, who, I see, is not present. He must have been unexpectedly, almost forcibly, ejected from the Chamber. Otherwise he would be listening to my remarks. I realize how he must feel to be deprived of them.

Leaving aside all questions of humanity and patriotism and looking forward to the crowded condition of our section in the near future, we ought to realize that in winking at and encouraging the existence of British ignorance among the masses we are "penny wise and pound foolish." I believe that it can be said without fear of successful contradiction that there are no states upon the face of the earth in the hands of Protestant people whose schools are more horrible than the schools of Tennessee and North Carolina.

Well, affairs are just as horrible in several other States. We have got some of that horror right in Manchester, N. H., where my benign influence is supposed to be somewhat more powerful than it is in this Chamber. I would try to stop it if I could. I read Miss Graffenried's statement the other day to an empty Chamber, and now that there are a few here I ask to give notice to the Senate that that statement of Miss Graffenried, a highly accomplished lady of the South in the employ of the Labor Bureau of this country, lets in a great deal of light upon New England, and there are such conditions there that a good light shows by

contrast the darkness even in New England. I advise some of the Senators to read that statement before voting against this bill, especially upon the ground that we do not want any such money.

The reason for the existence of such a miserable school system is not far to seek. It is not because we are paupers, for we could easily have a good six-month school for rich and poor alike in every school district. We don't have it, because the Pharisees who abound in Tennessee and North Carolina will not let us.

The Pharisees! That is what some say, and they might do it, but the Pharisees are the minority up North as well as down South, a very large minority, but they will not impose taxes upon themselves, and the nation represents the poor people. There are two whites where there is one colored person in the South. There is a larger proportion of white up North, but the poor people of the nation have the brains, and the poor people come to be the wealthy if they only have education and the opportunity. The millionaires of this country were poor children, every one of them almost. I do not know of a millionaire who did not begin poor, but he was educated, and because he was educated he has become what he is.

Now, these are poor people, with no means of taxation, no means of compelling taxation even, for the poor man, though he have a ballot, is not able to use it. It is only the power which comes from knowledge that is able to wield the ballot, and these people are without knowledge, and here is a proposition to try to help them to a little, and those who have already the power and the knowledge, Pharisees some of them, are opposing it.

But there is the necessity all the same, and it is just as bad for these poor people and the poor children of these poor people as though it were themselves who deprived them of the means of education, just exactly as though the Pharisees were without the means, for they do not get the education. It is no reply to any part of this bill to say that there is wealth in any community sufficient to educate, if it be not so applied. The necessity is that the power which does exist, which may give and keep schools, should exercise its functions. We have that power so far as the nation is concerned; but when once the people are intelligent they will have the power, and then they will impose the taxation which may be necessary.

It is proper in this connection, however, to say that in the South there is not more than one dollar to be taxed where there are four dollars, or three dollars and a half, at least, at the North.

They opposed—

These Pharisees—

They opposed the establishment of public schools and they have fought stubbornly their existence for twenty years. They still hold much power and often manipulate the conventions of both political parties. They stand erect before Almighty God and thank Him for one thing only: that He made them (as they are simple enough to imagine) better than other people. The children even often imbibe this wicked and contemptible spirit with their mother's milk. These people are opposed to public schools, not so much because of the pittance of the tax they pay, but chiefly because—

Well, now, I do not know that I ought to read this, but I have got so far that I am obliged to let it out in justice to Mr. Moses—

These people are opposed to public schools, not so much because of the pittance of the tax they pay, but chiefly because they know that an efficient system of public schools is the strong right arm of democracy.

That is not the kind of Democracy that is depriving them of the school; it is not this Pharisaical Democracy which is in power, but a real democracy.

They go to church on Sundays and worship the Nazarene carpenter, but for the life of me I have never been able to see how they can abide the democracy He preached and practiced. They are, however, numerous in all the churches, even among the clergy, in both political parties, and in every profession and calling. They are found among those who are so poor that they know not where the morrow's breakfast is to come from, who lay claim to superiority over their fellow-men because of the fact that their grandfather once held a seat in Congress or the Legislature or owned some negroes. They are also to be found among that portion of the wealthy who are so empty-headed and so ludicrously presumptuous as to believe and to assert that they and their coterie of friends and relatives constitute the "best families" of a great State of a million and a half or two millions of people.

It is simple justice to remark, in passing, that a large number of wealthy and patriotic men have not the slightest sympathy with such detestable impertinence.

We have got some of them in this Senate.

And yet, aided by sycophants and encouraged by the indifference of the people to their dearest interests, the active enemies of public education, ever on the alert, have been enabled to scotch the schools of progress in all educational affairs, and they will continue to succeed in their schemes until the people realize the situation. The dexterous manner in which they have accomplished their designs for the past quarter of a century, all the time laughing in their sleeves, is sufficient to make any man feel the keenest alarm for the future.

Mr. DOLPH. Will the Senator yield for a motion that we go into executive session?

Mr. BLAIR. Oh, no; not unless I am obliged to do so. I beg the Senator's pardon. I have got only two days' time left in which to conclude.

Mr. DOLPH. There should be a short executive session.

Mr. BLAIR. The executive sessions seem to come in with unaccountable frequency during these times. We had two of them yesterday afternoon during my time. I hope the Senator will not press the motion now, because this is very interesting and I want to get through reading what I commenced to read.

Mr. DOLPH. I do not want to interfere with the Senator's convenience.

Mr. BLAIR. I hope the Senator will not trouble me now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire declines to yield.

Mr. BLAIR. The paper from which I was quoting continues:

Although these men know as well as you and I know that almost every dollar of the taxes in the shape of rents and otherwise is paid by the men who dig in the ground and toil in the shops—

That idea has got down South, you see, Mr. President—

yet they will never consent to the enactment of a law that will permit the people to tax themselves to educate their own children, until the people awake from their apathy and ask why in England where a Queen rules and in Prussia where an Emperor rules the public schools are kept open practically all the year round, while in this section where the people rule the schools are kept open only from twelve to sixteen weeks out of the fifty-two, and often in houses unfit for pigs.

As long as the truth is kept from the people, how can we hope for better things? Men tell the people that their schools are improving when they are not improving. Worse than that, we eagerly catch up and repeat with great self-satisfaction statements to the effect that our leading men are straining every nerve in their heroic efforts to educate the people. Does any sane man who has ears to hear how these men talk when they are not on the stump, believe any such nonsense? How often do we hear it said that Southern leaders are doing all in their power to educate the negroes! Can we believe any such thing? Surely not, without stultifying our reason. It used to be a crime in Tennessee and North Carolina to teach a poor slave to read, and although we had, as we have now, a miserable excuse for a public-school system, no provision whatever was made for the education of free negroes. The idea that men who twenty-five years ago indorsed that state of affairs are to-day anxious to tax their property to educate negroes is not in accordance with the facts or with reason.

I can not understand how some good men have persuaded themselves into the belief that any considerable number of former slave-owners are anxious to see the negroes educated. A book-bag in the hands of a negro child inflames the minds of most of those whom I know very much as a red flag is said to affect a wild bull. Do you not hear constantly from these men, rich and poor, unstinted abuse of the whole public-school system? I know that there are honorable exceptions here and there, but they are like the proverbial angels' visits.

Now, Mr. President, consider that we have here in this Senate a very large proportion of the representation from the Southern States who support this bill, and then who will undertake to say that we have not here a very large proportion of the enlightened citizenship of the South in this national representation of that great section? Instead of meeting those who are here who favor the passage of this bill with an insinuation that it is possible that these funds or a portion of them may fail to be properly distributed and appropriated and applied, if they should reach the Southern country, we should apologize to our colleagues on the floor of this Chamber, for they are our equals in everything that appertains to integrity and honor, and they are fighting a great battle in that Southern country against these old influences and these old traditions, which are so vividly portrayed by this citizen of the South, and we ought to admire the leadership which these modern tendencies have on the floor of this Chamber.

Here is a little about the Republicans:

I do not believe that there is even as much interest in public education among the Republican leaders as among the leaders of the Democratic party, for the Republican leaders appear to have set their faces as a stone wall against the education of the Southern people unless it can be done at somebody else's expense. If they really believed that somebody else would do it, I have the best reason for believing that they would then be opposed to the whole thing. It is simple justice to make a few exceptions here, also, prominent among whom I would mention the editor of the Knoxville Journal, who for almost twenty years has labored faithfully for a decent system of public schools in Tennessee. There are doubtless many men in the rank and file of the Republican party who believe in public education, but they have exerted no influence upon their party leaders.

This is not a question of party and never can become such. I have alluded to it because I know that the expression "Southern leaders" might be construed to mean Southern Democratic leaders. It must always be borne in mind that the Republican party in the South has leaders who manipulate conventions, write party platforms, and hate public schools somewhat as his satanic majesty is said to abhor holy water. The public-school interests will never be subserved by any man's going from one party to the other on that account. Such a course for men on either side would be sublime folly. The remedy is a simple one and it will some day be applied in the South as it has been already applied in the North: let the people of both parties make up their minds to send to Coventry any leader who will not help in the good work of establishing a school system that will be a credit to our State and of value to our children. I rejoice that the number of prominent men in the Democratic party who are bold enough to demand a better educational system is constantly increasing. To say, however, that Southern leaders on either side, as a rule, are anxious to make improvements in our school system is to repeat what can not be verified by facts. The love and protection they would extend to the schools is the same sort of affection that the wolf has for the lamb. Men of great influence and high social position do not hesitate to declare that a school-tax is robbery. If they had the power they would destroy the whole public-school system, root and branch. The constitution of North Carolina commands that the public schools be kept open at least four months in the year. Failure on the part of the county commissioners to keep the schools open this length of time is made an indictable offense, the only provision of the kind the constitution contains.

For years this positive command of the constitution itself remained practically a dead letter, as indeed it is to-day. However, under the administration of our present State superintendent suit was brought to compel the county commissioners to comply with their constitutional obligation. An appeal was taken to the supreme court and that body refused the people the right to tax their own property a sufficient sum to have a pitiful four-month term, on the ground that this section conflicted with another section restricting taxation except for necessary expenses. The day will come in North Carolina when courts will say that public schools are as necessary to the peace and welfare of a State as iron bridges, but that day has not yet come. The decision of the court was greeted with "long, lies" and their satellites were wild with delight. Sure enough, it appeared that a step had been taken back toward "de good ole times befo' de waugh." When the news reached one town that boasts of an unusually large number of "best families," men rang the bells furiously in ghoulish glee at their "victory" over innocent and helpless childhood.

Perhaps the God of love looked down upon a meaner sight in the world that night, but I doubt it. If my memory serves me right, to get at these bells they rushed into the churches of Him whose gospel is summed up in a single sentence, to love one's neighbor as one's self. Let us hear no more of these Herculean efforts we are making to educate our children. Such twaddle reminds me of old man Turveydop's account of his great labors for his dear Prince and Caddy. The only difference is that there was no malevolence on the old man's part toward the children.

Again, many of our teachers and newspapers tell the Southern people that the school tax on their property now is as great as the school tax levied on property in the Northern States. This statement, which has been handed about from mouth to mouth, it seems to me, ever since I was a boy, is not true, with the possible exception of Arkansas. As Jefferson long ago pointed out, the very heart and life of public education consists in local taxation for schools. Such a thing, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is comparatively rare in the South. With the exception of about half a dozen communities and a few counties, the only tax on property in North Carolina for public schools is 1½ mills. Any honest man who will cast aside the statements of people who do not know what they are talking about and will carefully investigate this subject for himself will be forced to conclude that the annual tax levied on property for the support of public schools in most communities of the North and West is, as a rule, double or treble and not infrequently quadruple what it is in most Southern communities.

Let me give you an illustration in point. Col. James D., a son of ex-Chief-Justice D. of this town, has just passed by my window. He is now a resident of California and is here on a visit. He informed me a few days ago that he paid on his California property a school-tax of 50 cents on \$100 worth of property. He is a farmer and lives in a farming community, but the people have a good school and are proud of it. In thousands of communities all over the North and West the tax rate on property for schools is as high as 50 cents or higher. There are 7,064 school-districts in North Carolina. I venture to assert that not one-tenth of one-tenth of 1 per cent. of these districts pay a tax on property for schools as high as 30 cents or 3 mils. I venture to say, further, that in 90 per cent. of the school-districts in North Carolina the tax on property for schools is not more than 12½ cents on the \$100 of property, or 1½ mills.

That is in reference to taxation upon real estate in the South, the difficulties of which this writer does not make proper note of. There is comparatively very little personal property and there is comparatively very little money in circulation there and the tax imposed is necessarily for all purposes, mainly or very largely, upon real estate, which is the most difficult of any form of property out of which to realize the ready money for the tax-gatherer; and, in addition to this, the destruction of property by the war, all of which has to be resupplied, the work of the accumulation of generations from the earliest settlement of the country—all this has to be now supplied from the proceeds of taxation. So it leaves upon any community thus situated a far greater burden in the maintenance of schools than is felt in older communities where these things, which have been destroyed in the South, already exist and are there as the accumulation of generations.

I believe that this may be said of about 95 per cent. of our school districts, but I want to keep within all bounds and am willing to give our enemies every advantage. I do not believe that there can be found in any State of the North or West 5 per cent. of the school districts wherein the tax on property for schools is as low as it is in fully 90 per cent. of the school districts in North Carolina. You can probably make a little better showing in this matter than we can, but the best you can say will be to your shame.

My dear sir, let us follow no longer men who have allowed themselves to be deceived about this whole business. Let us hang our heads in shame for a little while and then go to work with our might. When a man knows that his house is on fire he can work much more rapidly than when he feels at his ease. If we see a man's house on fire we ought to try to arouse him, and not stand coolly by and see him and his little children destroyed in the flames.

Let us fight the tendency that all of us possess, that of "slopping over;" let us fight with all our might the insidious advances of that other mortal foe, the spirit of self-satisfaction, which is the beginning of death. Let us look the situation just as it is, in all its horrors, squarely in the face, and by voice, pen, hands, and brain do what we can, however little that may be, to bring light out of darkness and order out of chaos. We will have the satisfaction of knowing that we have labored honestly for the good of humanity and for the real glory and honor of the State wherein we live, whether it be the State of our nativity or adoption. Though we may not be able to accomplish much, we can at least clear the way for those of the next generation, who, if only we do our duty faithfully, will reap with joy that which we and our fellow-laborers sow in tears.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD P. MOSES,  
Superintendent Schools, Raleigh, N. C.

HON. FRANK M. SMITH,

State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Nashville, Tenn.

I submit, Mr. President, that a representative man like that, living in the section of country thus in need, deserves sympathy and assistance rather than derision and the refusal of that assistance which we are so able to give.

Here I have from the Journal of Social Science of September, 1886, an article by William Beckman, esq., of Winchester, Ky. He says:

COUNTRY SCHOOLS OF THE SOUTH—A SOUTHERN PLEA FOR AID.  
[From the Journal of Social Science, September, 1886, pages 228-230. W. M. Beckman, esq., of Winchester, Ky.]

Our city schools will take care of themselves, because wealth and population make the same conditions that you have in the North and East. But God alone knows what is to become of our country schools in the sparsely settled and poorer regions of the South. They lack order, system, and money. As I rode through Virginia the other day, on my way here, I saw what strongly reminded me of the new South. In many places under the old plantation system where the master and an army of slaves had to be fed the land had been so cultivated as to have become barren and useless. The old fields had been turned out as no longer fruitful, but after the lapse of years they have produced a forest of pines and undergrowth, which make them look as fresh and green as the original forest, and have restored them to their first fertility. So with the South. A few years ago it seemed worn out from the effects of slavery and destroyed by the plowshare of war. But all over it may now be seen evidences of the vitality of its soil and the hope of its people. Like the old field forests it may look ragged, chaotic, and disorderly, but the material is there to be shaped by the industrious and conscientious builders. Our country schools show signs of the improvement going on around them, but it will be generations before they will become what those who rely on them need.

We may indeed accomplish in fifty years without assistance, or in a hundred years, the work which ought to be done at once, and which will be done in the next ten years, and when once done, with a population of 65,000,000 in the whole country, of which perhaps 25,000,000 are at the South now, they will educate their own posterity, they will save to the nation that burden; and thus, by the education of the children of 25,000,000 to-day, we shall save to ourselves the tremendous burden which must come upon us when in the future, these conditions continuing, we are at last obliged to educate, it may be, 100,000,000 or 150,000,000 in order to avoid the ruin of the country.

Mr. Beckman's article continues:

If the people were now able, it would still be able to hope that illiteracy will turn and rend itself. Ignorance and avarice are fit allies, and when these are backed by poverty the prospect is gloomy to those who are struggling for things. Local taxation in the rural regions of the South is almost an impossibility. The majority do not appreciate what it would produce, whilst the minority are unwilling to bear its burdens. The solution of the difficulty is to provide schools that will give the South a generation of educated people, who can then be trusted to make whatever sacrifices are needed to maintain a system that will have been so fraught with blessings to themselves. It has been the history of free schools that they remain wherever they may be once established. So it would be in the South. But how are they to be established? It is only possible through the agency of Federal aid. Nearly every good school system now existing in any of the States is based on donations of lands in the colonial period or since the Union was formed. They have all had resources other than taxation. And yet we in the South who honestly and earnestly favor free schools have to contend with the prejudice against them bequeathed to us by ante-bellum times, with the poverty of the people, with the sparsity of our population, with the feeling of caste between the races, and with the very illiteracy which they are intended to remove. It is a hopeless struggle unless the Federal Government, from the surplus in its Treasury, assists our school systems until they have strength enough to sustain themselves. It is useless to talk about the proceeds of public lands. These are now too inconsiderable, and besides the aid, to be effective, must be immediate.

We ask it in the South because we need it, because it would be of great advantage to the whole country to grant it, and because by every principle of right and justice we ought to have it. I would not presume to occupy the time of such an assemblage as this in demonstrating how the North, the East, and the West are interested in having the South as enlightened as the other sections of the Union. And I need hardly insist that, when the whole country joined in giving citizenship to the slave, it should assist in preparing him to comprehend and discharge the duties of his new condition. Besides, the South had an interest in the lands that have endowed the splendid school systems of the Western States, and to which certainly one of the New England States is largely indebted for its prosperous common schools. The South has a claim in equity to be equalized from the common fund with those members of the Union that have needed help less and do not have the responsibility of providing for the intellectual wants of the wards of the nation.

#### ILLITERACY IN KENTUCKY—MISERABLE ACCOMMODATIONS.

##### A new topic!

#### ILLITERACY IN KENTUCKY—MISERABLE ACCOMMODATIONS.

Prof. W. E. E. Wright, of Berea College, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1887, pages 465 and 466, writes as follows:

"Such is the prevailing ignorance in Kentucky that a visitor in Perry and Leslie Counties this last summer reports that in one of these counties out of seven magistrates only one could read.

Mr. President, think of it! Seven magistrates in a single county, and only one of them able to read!

The constable of the district came to this same visitor with warrants for different men, asking to be told which was for which. The constable could not read. \* \* \*

"What is the three, four, or five month school to which the mountain child is invited? It is held in a log school-house, probably without a window and possibly without a door. Often there is no other furniture than benches made by splitting logs and putting in short legs on the rounded side. There may be no blackboard, and I have known a mountain teacher to let the blackboard hang unused two months because he had no chalk. The provision of school books and slates is on the same level with the general appointments of the house."

I have here an appeal by Rev. Dr. J. L. M. Curry in the *Educational Exchange and Alabama Teachers' Journal* of November, 1889. Dr. Curry, as is well known, is the agent of the Peabody fund, that great benefaction which has accomplished so much in the South. Of course he must be, and he is, as well if not better acquainted with the condition of education in the South than any other man whatever. He is a Democrat. He is a citizen of Richmond, Va. He was our late minister to Spain. He left this agency to go to Spain, and on his return he was reappointed to his old office, which he is now filling with his accustomed vigor and success. He has always been an advocate of this bill from the beginning, and has written latterly considerable urging its passage.

I do not know a man in the United States so anxious for the enactment of this bill into law as this Southern Democrat, who knows the situation better than any other man within our jurisdiction. He is not only a Democrat, but he is that which many other Democrats are, a patriot and a statesman—I mean those Democrats who support this bill. The others I pass no adverse judgment upon, but simply go that far for the present.

#### APPEAL FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

[By Dr. J. L. M. Curry, in the *Educational Exchange and Alabama Teachers' Journal*, November, 1889.]

To the friends of free schools in the South:

My official position as general agent of the Peabody education fund, conjoined to my Southern birth, residence, and sympathies, must be my apology for the apparent presumption of this appeal.

Prior to 1867 there was not any general or efficient public-school system in the South. Before the war academies and colleges for both sexes were numerous and did excellent work, but no adequate provision was made for the education of the masses.

In the Southern States, including Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri, the school population, from six to fourteen years, according to the latest most trustworthy returns, furnished to me from the Bureau of Education, is 4,028,775. The enrollment is 3,420,491. The school terms at the South in the State schools will not average eighty days, while that at the West and North is probably double. The teaching in the rural districts is often of an inferior quality—what might reasonably be expected from poorly paid teachers employed for three or four months in the year. The annual school expenditure in these States is over \$13,000,000.

And in the whole country, as I have often stated, it is \$122,000,000.

By the census of 1880, 6,000,000 of the 16,000,000 of children of school age did not attend the public schools. Of the school population of the South, nearly half are not in school. Over six and a quarter millions of our entire population could not write their names. Two millions of legal voters, of whom 900,000 were white and 1,100,000 were colored, could not write. This test of intelligence is so deceptive that, while one-fifth of the voters could not write at all, it is probable that two-fifths were so imperfectly educated as to be unable to read intelligently a newspaper or the Bible. The illiterate voters in the South were 1,363,884, or over one-third; 62.8 per cent. of illiterate voters were negroes and 39.2 per cent. were whites. In North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana more than half the voters can not read their ballots.

The maintenance of our public schools has been complicated and made more onerous by the race question, which, whatever fanaticism, or partisanship, or gross ignorance may say, is the most fearful problem that our civilization has encountered. There is no discrimination against schools for negroes in any of the Southern States. The length of the school year is the same for both races. Dr. Owens, of Roger Williams College, in Nashville, an institution for negroes, says: "The South has acted nobly in dividing the public funds and providing good buildings." The Southern States, on whose territory the war between the States was waged and which came out of the terrible struggle crushed and reduced to poverty, have paid nearly or quite \$50,000,000 for the education of the negroes, and General Armstrong, the able principal of the Hampton school, who commanded a brigade of colored troops, says: "Southern tax-payers are doing more than any others for the negroes by maintaining 16,000 free colored schools at an annual cost of \$3,000,000. \* \* \* Of every \$100 paid in Southern taxation, \$91.50 are paid by white people."

As Dr. Curry states, more than nine-tenths of the taxation of the South is paid by the white people. I want to say, with reference to these sixteen thousand colored schools in the South, that in the country there are more than three hundred thousand schools and that the colored people have at least an eighth part of the population.

The schools of the country are probably nearer four hundred thousand at the present time than three hundred thousand. Divided into schools of forty to fifty scholars, certainly they will number that many. So, after all, it is apparent from this statement that the colored schools embrace but a fraction of the colored children in this form of statement and as can be shown in innumerable other forms of proof.

These negroes, with their inherited tendencies of superstition and their long, dreary history of ignorance, thriftlessness, and slavery, are entitled to education—to fullest moral and intellectual development—(1) as human beings, with individual responsibility and immortal souls, for whom Christ died, and (2) as citizens and voters in a representative Republic.

It is a narrow view of the subject to confine it to negroes. Senator BLAIR, in a recent address, says: "The distress of our own blood is greater than that of the colored race." The destitution of the means of education among white children is appalling. Northern charity to the amount of over \$15,000,000 has been concentrated upon negro children.

The States can not rid themselves of the obligation to sustain free schools.

Right on that point about the white children down South; they are the children of the rebels and we do not sympathize with them very much, or we do not seem to do so, and yet they are of our own blood, and one white child has more to do with the destiny of this country than many colored children. Unless these white children are reached, unless they receive the benefits of education, what chance has the colored child to rise? Here is this great environment, two to one.

If things remain in their present condition, with the prejudice against an educated race which always exists on the part of the ignorant, with a people dominant who have always been accustomed to look upon the colored man as their slave and their inferior, what opportunity will an educated negro have? In fact, the more intelligent and the more educated the negro becomes, the more he concentrates upon himself the prejudice and violence of the ignorant whites by whom he is surrounded.

If I were undertaking to do the best possible thing for the negro child—and I allude merely to the amount of money in the appropriation—for the sake of the colored race I would give every dollar to the education of the whites, so as to dissipate the ignorance in the white community, for, as you remove ignorance, you remove prejudice, for prejudice disappears with intelligence, and as you increase intelligence you render more comfortable the situation of the colored man and the colored child. You give him hope. But how is he to climb up from this great incrustation of ignorance which lies upon him and under which he is crushed and must be crushed?

You talk about Federal election laws and things of that sort, but you can never enforce a law where the jury is against you. All questions of fact are in the hands of juries, whether you administer a United States law or a law of the State itself, and there is no ultimate remedy, whatever we may do, and whatever we wish to do, and whatever we will do, in order to secure fair elections, so far as the law will help us. There is nothing we can do which will be an ultimate and a permanent remedy of the evils we complain of at the South, so far as the colored man and his suffrage are concerned, until the whole community is transformed by the magic power of education, and we must begin with the white child, and, if we can get money enough, help both. This bill provides an equalization to all.

Dr. Curry continues:

The States can not rid themselves of the obligation to obtain free schools.

That is one of the functions of free government, and can not safely be dispensed with or evaded. General education was never accomplished, except under government authority and by government revenues. Instead of doing anything to diminish the sense of the obligation of the Southern States to sustain an adequate system of free schools, I should much prefer to make it more real. The South, instead of deserving criticism or censure for omission of duty, deserves, the rather, commendation for what she has attempted and achieved. No chapter in her history is more brilliant than this or more meritoriously recognized. Of the \$30,000,000 paid out for public schools every year by the whole country, the South expends about \$16,000,000, or one-fifth, while her taxable property does not come near that proportion of the aggregate taxable property. A. D. Mayo, of Massachusetts, as familiar as any man in the Union with the school work of the South, has often written of the grandeur and patriotism of the sacrifices of the South in this direction. "No similar class of people in the Old or New World has accomplished so much in a time so short against obstacles so formidable." Under her peculiar conditions, with a rural, agricultural, and sparse population, without recuperating from the impoverishment and exhaustion of the war, with a non-tax-paying, unskilled, immigration-forbidding, lately servile race of co-equal citizens as joint occupants of her territory, it is financially impossible for the South to sustain a system of free schools continuing in session eight months and affording educational facilities for the population of school age. The school demand can not possibly be met by her resources, and it is an alarming fact that the States having the smallest resources have the heaviest school burdens. Throughout the Northern States each child receives on an average for his yearly education about \$15. In the South the per capita expenditure is about \$3.86. A rate of taxation accomplishing what is desirable and necessary in the South would be nothing short of ruinous confiscation.

The only remedy for this deplorable condition of affairs is national aid. The bill which passed the Senate last session proposes to act through the State school systems, in subordination and auxiliary to State authorities, and steers as far as possible from bureaucracy and centralization. The distribution was not based on population in the aggregate, but on the illiteracy of the school population, ascertained or ascertainable from the sworn returns of the census. It rightly recognized illiteracy, not as local or sectional, but as a national question of paramount importance, imperiling our representative institutions. The North may be geographically and practically severed from contact with negroes; but she can not hope to be exempt from the industrial, social, normal, and political consequences of their illiteracy.

The North emancipated, citizenized, and enfranchised the negroes; and from these distinct, substantive acts there is a resulting obligation to qualify them for citizenship and suffrage that can not be honestly ignored or evaded. It will no longer satisfy conscience or reason to say that the South enjoyed the fruits of slave labor and must now pay for the education of the freedmen, for since Appomattox a quarter of a century has elapsed, and a majority of the negroes now living were never in legal bondage to any man.

The aid proposed, if given in bulk, is not as much as is given every year to soldiers and claim agents in the way of pensions, and would be about one-fourth of the annual expenditures of the Government; but the bill appropriates only \$7,000,000 the first year, and an average of only \$10,000,000 for the period of eight subsequent years. This trifling and temporary sum, to be paid over to State officers, is to be expended in the common schools on the right and healthful condition that no greater part shall be paid out to any State in one year than the sum expended by that State out of its own revenues. To use an illustration of Senator BLAIR, if Florida, for instance, could receive by the provisions of the bill \$1.25 for each child, in order to get that the State would have to raise within itself an equal amount, thus securing for the child's education \$2.50.

Our liberties and the perpetuity of representative institutions are inseparably interwoven with free schools. Recently there have been strong and persistent efforts in behalf of parochial schools, and the advocates of them, as substitutes for State schools, have manifestly increased their activity. If common schools fall at the South or linger in feebleness or insufficiency, the parochial schools will acquire increased strength, if not predominance. If parochial schools become influential and powerful and take, in any degree, the place of State schools, the denominations controlling and supporting them will clamor for their share of school revenues. When religionists become a compact body and act politically as a unit, they can often control municipal or State or Federal elections, and parties and candidates, from policy or cowardice, will soon be yielding to the demand for a partition of funds. What has been done in some cities will be repeated disastrously throughout the land.

The South, in her past history, from the administration of Washington to that of Harrison, inclusive, has been conservative. Often have her statesmen and her public opinion interposed to preserve the ancient landmarks and prevent departures from the Constitution and the precedents of the fathers. She has been as much maligned as misunderstood. If true to the free schools, she can save representative government and our civil and religious liberties. Her freedom, present and prospective, from heterogeneous and foreign elements and her consciousness of the peril from the race question should make her again, as often heretofore, the great conservative, controlling, saving section of the country.

For the present, and for a few years to come, national aid is our only hope. The South has favored the measure. Both political parties in Virginia have incorporated it in their platforms. There could not be stronger need for the aid than now. The next session of Congress offers encouraging opportunity for accomplishing what we have longed and labored for. The children, the country, the freedom, the yearnings of the oppressed of the Old World, unite to make us put forth a strong and united effort to remove and prevent illiteracy and save our free schools.

Mr. DOLPH. This seems to be a good point to stop. Will the Senator from New Hampshire yield to me for a motion to go into executive session?

Mr. BLAIR. I wish to get in a little more matter, and then I will close what I propose to say to-night, because I feel under the necessity, reluctant as I know the Senate to be that I should do so, of closing my remarks to-morrow, and in order to do so I desire to put in about one page more.

Mr. DOLPH. Very well.

Mr. BLAIR. I have here a statement entitled "National aid to education a continuance of the policy already begun." This is a citation from Professor E. J. Jones, of the University of Pennsylvania, in the *Andover Review*, volume 5, page 250. This is from a Northern authority, and sums up the matter in a very able and satisfactory manner. It is as follows:

NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION A CONTINUANCE OF THE POLICY ALREADY BEGUN. [Professor E. J. Jones, of the University of Pennsylvania, in the *Andover Review*, volume 5, page 250.]

Popular education, then is a matter of such general importance that, of necessity, we should be justified in calling upon the National Government to assist

in its maintenance, even if it were not clearly constitutional. As a matter of fact, however, it is only asking the National Government to continue the policy which was begun even before the Constitution was adopted and has been pursued down to the present time. The idea that education is a matter of merely local importance, and should therefore be remanded to the communities, is of comparatively recent growth. The founders of the Government, the framers of the Constitution, the early Presidents and early Congresses knew nothing of such a doctrine. There was in the act of 1787 a distinct recognition of the importance of popular education and of the necessity of Federal action to secure the financial basis of a sound school system. The early Presidents favored the establishment of a national university. The early legislators considered it a part of the functions of the National Government to secure, so far as granting of aid would do it, the establishment of school systems in every new State. Our later Congresses, in addition to what former Congresses have done, have built up in Washington the nucleus of a grand university, and have undertaken to secure the establishment of special schools of agriculture in every State of the Union. Our forefathers granted such aid as they thought the necessity demanded, and did not let themselves be deterred by the cry that education was only of local interest and that the National Government had no power to assist in its maintenance.

Some objectors have urged that, while it might be constitutional to vote lands for the support of education, it would be a gross stretch of Federal power to vote the proceeds of taxes for the same purpose. This is a very fine point, and amounts to quibbling. Every acre of valuable land granted for the support of education would have brought some return into the national Treasury, and thus enabled Congress to lighten the burden of taxation. If Congress had the right to vote away the income from the property for the same purpose, if it has a right to vote away for a given purpose revenue which, by being devoted to some other purpose, might have saved the necessity of taxation, it must also have the right to raise revenue by taxation for the same purpose.

I will now give way to the motion of the Senator from Oregon.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION.

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

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After forty-five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 20, 1890, at 12 o'clock m.

#### NOMINATIONS.

*Executive nominations received by the Senate the 19th day of February, 1890.*

##### UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE.

Alfred D. Thomas, of North Dakota, to be United States district judge for the district of North Dakota, as provided by section 21, chapter 180, volume 25, Laws 1889, United States Statutes at Large.

##### SUPERVISORS OF CENSUS.

William F. Bowers, of Hart County, Georgia, to be supervisor of census for the second census district of Georgia.

Oscar F. Avery, of Pontiac, Ill., to be supervisor of census for the fourth census district of Illinois.

Harry P. Clark, of Guthrie, Ind. T., to be supervisor of census for the census district of Oklahoma, Ind. T.

George Baldey, of Louisiana, to be supervisor of census for the first census district of Louisiana.

Robert B. Sedgwick, of Brooklyn, N. Y., for supervisor of the second census district of New York.

Joseph Schnell, of Binghamton, N. Y., to be supervisor of census for the ninth census district of New York.

John Kelly, of Springfield, Oregon, to be supervisor of census for the first census district of Oregon, *vice* John H. Shupe, declined.

Edward T. Terrell, of Colorado, Tex., to be supervisor of census for the eighth census district of Texas.

James L. Linderman, of Osseo, Wis., to be supervisor of census for the fifth census district of Wisconsin.

##### REGISTERS OF LAND OFFICES.

John C. Martin, of Prescott, Ariz., to be register of the land office at Prescott, Ariz., *vice* Edward Burgess, to be removed.

Albert F. Dixon, of Susanville, Cal., to be register of the land office at Susanville, Cal., *vice* Julien E. Pardee, resigned.

Edwin G. Waite, of Alameda, Cal., to be register of the land office at San Francisco, Cal., *vice* Abraham C. Bradford, deceased.

Cash M. Day, of Idaho, to be register of the land office at Lewiston, Idaho, *vice* Francis F. Patterson, to be removed.

Winfield S. Cobean, of Fort Stanton, N. Mex., to be register of the land office at Roswell, N. Mex., *vice* John H. Williams, deceased.

John W. Lewis, of Dayville, Oregon, to be register of the land office at The Dalles, Oregon, *vice* Frederick A. McDonald, resigned.

Alfred W. Strong, of Spokane Falls, Wash., to be register of the land office at Spokane Falls, Wash., *vice* James M. Adams, to be removed.

##### RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Fred Babcock, of Des Moines, Iowa, to be receiver of public moneys at Des Moines, Iowa, *vice* Martin D. McHenry, term expired.

##### PENSION AGENT, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Levi E. Pond, of Wisconsin (Westfield), to be pension agent at Milwaukee, Wis., *vice* Alfred B. Judd, whose term of office will expire February 23, 1890.

## INDIAN AGENT.

Webster L. Stabler, of North Yakima, Wash., to be agent for the Indians of the Yakima agency, in Washington, *vice* Thomas Priestley, removed. A nomination was sent to the Senate December 19, 1889, and confirmed in which the name of said Stabler was erroneously stated as Walter.

## WITHDRAWAL.

*Executive nomination withdrawn by the President February 19, 1890.*

John H. Shupe, for supervisor of census for the first census district of Oregon, which was sent to the Senate January 23, 1890.

## CONFIRMATIONS.

*Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 14, 1890.*

## POSTMASTERS.

James Driver, to be postmaster at Darlington, Wis.  
 John B. Doherty, to be postmaster at Waterbury, in the county of New Haven and State of Connecticut.  
 S. Harris Warner, to be postmaster at Middletown, in the county of Middlesex and State of Connecticut.  
 George J. Castle, to be postmaster at Carlinville, in the county of Macoupin and State of Illinois.  
 William M. Lewis, to be postmaster at Lena, in the county of Stephenson and State of Illinois.  
 James A. Willoughby, to be postmaster at Belleville, in the county of St. Clair and State of Illinois.  
 Lucius I. Bartlett, to be postmaster at Norway, in the county of Oxford and State of Maine.  
 John C. Blake, to be postmaster at Auburn, in the county of Androscoggin and State of Maine.  
 Charles W. Bosworth, to be postmaster at Old Town, in the county of Penobscot and State of Maine.  
 Joseph W. Gray, to be postmaster at Caribou, in the county of Aroostook and State of Maine.  
 Thomas S. Singer, to be postmaster at Thomaston, in the county of Knox and State of Maine.  
 William A. Hamilton, to be postmaster at Devil's Lake, in the county of Ramsey and State of North Dakota.  
 Andrew F. Clark, to be postmaster at Rockport, in the county of Essex and State of Massachusetts.  
 Abraham Marland, to be postmaster at Andover, in the county of Essex and State of Massachusetts.  
 John B. Turner, to be postmaster at Newtonville, in the county of Middlesex and State of Massachusetts.  
 William H. Hill, to be postmaster at Fairmont, in the county of Martin and State of Minnesota.  
 Nathaniel S. Lane, to be postmaster at North St. Paul, in the county of Ramsey and State of Minnesota.  
 Joseph W. Johnson, to be postmaster at Sutton, in the county of Clay and State of Nebraska.  
 William P. Campbell, to be postmaster at Wolcott, in the county of Wayne and State of New York.  
 Thomas R. Coveney, to be postmaster at Sherman, in the county of Chautauqua and State of New York.  
 Neil Hepburn, to be postmaster at City Island, in the county of Westchester and State of New York.  
 Seth S. Spencer, to be postmaster at Albion, in the county of Orleans and State of New York.  
 Andrew J. Thompson, to be postmaster at Johnstown, in the county of Fulton and State of New York.  
 William A. Barringer, to be postmaster at Middleport, in the county of Meigs and State of Ohio.  
 David H. Darrah, to be postmaster at Bellaire, in the county of Belmont and State of Ohio.  
 James B. Taylor, to be postmaster at Cambridge, in the county of Guernsey and State of Ohio.  
 Tobias R. Woodborne, to be postmaster at Dennison, in the county of Tuscarawas and State of Ohio.  
 Edmund R. Morse, to be postmaster at Proctor, in the county of Rutland and State of Vermont.  
 Hiram J. Smith, to be postmaster at Racine, in the county of Racine and State of Wisconsin.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, February 19, 1890.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. GEORGE H. COREY, D. D., of Washington, D. C.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent at this time for the present consideration of a bill which I report from the Committee on Patents by instruction of that committee.

I will say to the House, Mr. Speaker, that a resolution referred to the Committee on Patents directed them to report by bill or otherwise touching the appointment of representatives to the international conference in regard to the protection of industrial property, to be held at Madrid, Spain; and the committee unanimously directed me to report this bill. I therefore ask its immediate consideration in accordance with the desire of the committee.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill, after which the Chair will ask for objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. —) authorizing the Secretary of State to appoint two suitable persons to represent the United States at the international conference in regard to the protection of industrial property, and making an appropriation therefor.

The bill was read at length.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. ROGERS. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. That is equivalent to an objection.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I would like the floor for a moment, Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of appealing to my friend from Arkansas to withdraw his objection, inasmuch as if this bill is not considered now it will be too late.

Mr. ROGERS. I only want the business to proceed under the rules.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I quite agree with my friend in that respect; but it is equivalent in this case to denying to the United States the representation it should have at this conference; and I call attention to the importance of the immediate adoption of the bill because of that reason. It is only because we can not get at this business under the rule in time to make it available that I appeal to my friend, so that the onus is on him.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made.

## CONTESTED ELECTION—ATKINSON VS. PENDLETON.

Mr. ROWELL. Mr. Speaker, I desire to give notice to the House that I will call up the contested-election case of Atkinson *vs.* Pendleton one week from to-day.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The next business in order, there being no correction of reference of public bills, no business on the Speaker's table, or unfinished business coming over, is the call of the various committees under the rule.

Mr. CUTCHEON. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry. Under the head of "unfinished business" would not the bill partly considered on yesterday be in order at this time?

The SPEAKER. That is unfinished business in Committee of the Whole.

## COMMITTEE ON RIVERS AND HARBORS.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, if in order at this time, I would like to ask consent of the House that the Committee on Rivers and Harbors may be permitted to sit during the sessions of the House. There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

## DIVISION OF JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF NORTH DAKOTA.

The Committee on the Judiciary was called.

Mr. ADAMS. There are several bills reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, one of which I have in charge. The Public Printer has been delayed in the printing, but I think it will be here in a few minutes. I have sent a page for the bill (H. R. 6942) to divide the judicial district of North Dakota. It is on the House Calendar. I think it will elicit no discussion or objection. It is a bill for the division of the district of North Dakota into four subdivisions for the convenience of the people. I hope the committee will not be passed until we have that bill brought from the document-room, but I can state the provisions to the House.

Mr. McMILLIN. Has the committee any other bill?

Mr. ADAMS. There is a similar bill for South Dakota and another for Minnesota; but the committee was called rather promptly and gentlemen do not seem to be present here. I will ask that the Judiciary Committee be temporarily passed in view of that fact.

Mr. CARLISLE. Does this bill create new districts?

Mr. ADAMS. No; it is to divide the district into subdivisions.

Mr. CARLISLE. Is it to hold other courts?

Mr. ADAMS. I have the bill now, Mr. Speaker.

The bill was read, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc., That the State of North Dakota shall constitute one judicial district.*

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of holding terms of the district court said district shall be divided into four divisions, to be known as the southwestern, southeastern, northeastern, and northwestern divisions. That portion of the State comprising the present counties of Burleigh, Stutsman, Logan, McIntosh, Emmons, Kidder, Foster, Wells, McLean, and all the territory in said State of North Dakota lying south and west of the Missouri River shall constitute the southwestern division, the court for which shall be held at the city of Bismarck. That portion of the State comprising the present counties of Cass, Richland, Barnes, Dickey, Sargent, La Moure, Ransom, Griggs, and Steele shall constitute the southeastern division, the court for which shall be held at the city of Fargo. That portion of the State comprising the present counties of Grand Forks, Traill, Walsh, Pembina, Cavalier, and Nelson shall constitute the northeastern division, the court for which shall be held at the city of Grand Forks. That portion of the State comprising the present counties of Ramsey, Eddy, Benson, Towner, Rolette, Bottineau, Pierce, McHenry, and Ward, and all the territory in said State of North Dakota lying north of the said southwestern division shall con-