

By Mr. BROOKSHIRE: Petition of about 300 members of the Rush Creek Monthly Meeting of Friends, of Parke County, Indiana, requesting the rejection by Congress of the recommendations of the Naval Committee of the Senate providing for the expenditure of a large sum for so-called coast defenses and other warlike preparations—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BYNUM: Petition of the Social Turnverein of Indianapolis, Ind., against any modification of the immigration laws—to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. CARTER: Memorial by the city council and Board of Trade of Butte City, Mont., relating to a public building in said city—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, protest of Montana Stock-Growers against House bill No. 304—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. COMSTOCK: Petition of letter-carriers of Minneapolis, Minn., for fixed salaries—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. CONGER: Memorial of J. C. Ferguson Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Knoxville, Iowa, in favor of service-pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, resolutions of Farmers' Alliance, No. 1350, Dallas County, Iowa, in favor of House bill 5353, defining and punishing dealing in options, futures, etc.—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, memorial and joint resolution of the Legislature of Iowa, in favor of the construction of the Hennepin Canal—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, joint resolution of same body, favoring the repeal of the arrears limitation as to pensions in act of 1879—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CULBERSON, of Texas: Petition in favor of pure lard, supporting H. R. bill 11027, Fiftieth Congress—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. CUMMINGS: Resolution of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, favoring the establishment of a limited post and telegraph service as a bureau or part of the Post-Office Department of the United States—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. DOLLIVER: Petition of Grand Army of the Republic post of Manning, Iowa, for service-pension law—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GROSVENOR: Petition of ex-officers and ex-soldiers of the Seventy-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, for the relief of James W. Whaley—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa: Resolutions passed by A. Waldron Post, No. 381, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Iowa, Quasqueton, Buchanan County, Iowa, urging the passage of the service-pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HERMANN: The petition of the heirs of John E. Ross and other Indian depreciation claimants, under awards of the commissioners, George H. Ambrose, A. C. Gibbs, and L. F. Grover, against the Rogue River Indians in Oregon—to the Select Committee on Indian Depredation Claims.

By Mr. HITT: Resolutions of the Grand Army of the Republic, of Savanna, Ill., for law granting service pensions—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, resolutions of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, favoring Government postal telegraph—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. KELLEY: Petition of the Thirty-third Judicial Veteran Association, of the State of Kansas, asking for the passage of a service-pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Hills Lodge, No. 1255, with a membership of 75, of Coffey County, Kansas, for the abolition of national banks, for free and unlimited coinage of silver, in favor of electing United States Senators by a direct vote of the people, of United States judges by a vote of the people, for liberal pension legislation, and for abolition of trusts, and for reduction of taxes on articles of necessity—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of James L. King and 79 others, citizens of Topeka, asking for the passage of House bill 3863, introduced by J. LOGAN CHIPMAN, and providing for an increase of pay of letter-carriers—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. KERR, of Iowa: Petitions of Wilson Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Iowa; Von Pelt Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Iowa; of George S. Comstock Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Iowa; Thompson Post, Reinbeck, Iowa, for service-pension law—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LACEY: Petition of New Sharon (Iowa) Farmers' Alliance, favoring the passage of the Butterworth bill prohibiting option deals in farm products—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LAIDLAW: Petition of citizens of Chautauqua County, New York, praying for legislation to prevent the adulteration of lard—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LANE: Eleven petitions, containing 320 names of members of Nebraska Farmers' Alliances, asking free coinage of silver, protesting against passage of Windom bill, etc.—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. LANHAM: Petition of citizens of Val Verde County, Texas, for the establishment of a four-company military post at Del Rio, Tex.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MONTGOMERY: Petition for public building at Lebanon, Ky.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. NIEDRINGHAUS: Petition of Emilin Nurnberger, for pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. O'DONNELL: Petition of 30 citizens of Jackson, Mich., asking the passage of the Blair bill—to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. O'NEILL, of Pennsylvania: Remonstrance of business men of Philadelphia, against an increase in the duty on oranges and lemons—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PARRETT: Petition of Scott Township Lodge, No. 1360, F. M. B. A., of Vanderburgh County, Indiana, against trusts and monopolies—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PERKINS: Petition asking that a commission be appointed on the authority of Congress to confer with a like committee appointed by the State of Texas to decide the question of the ownership of Greer County, Indian Territory or Texas, and that, if the title to lands in said county be vested in the United States, the bona fide settlers of the county now located upon said lands be given preference—to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, petition of Rose Hill Monthly Meeting of Friends, of Butler County, Kansas, numbering 278 persons, asking Congress to reject the recommendation of Senate Naval Committee to appropriate money for improvement of the Navy—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, resolution of the old soldiers and seamen of Geary County, Kansas, asking for the passage of the Ingalls service-pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Mr. Boyer and 52 others, residents of Chautauqua County, Kansas, asking for the passage of a service-pension act—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, resolutions of L. E. Houson and 32 others, ex-Union soldiers, of Mound Valley, Kans., for same purpose—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of W. S. Stanton and others, ex-Union soldiers, of Montgomery County, Kansas, asking for same relief—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Isaac Wonderly and others, residents of Montgomery County, Kansas, asking for the passage of the same measure—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SNIDER: Petition of citizens and letter-carriers of Minneapolis, Minn., for increased compensation for letter-carriers—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. STIVERS: Petition of Stephen B. Rider and Hannah M. Isaac, clerks of the Monthly Meeting, of Cornwall, N. Y., comprising 125 persons, asking the House of Representatives to reject the recommendation of the Senate Naval Committee and other measures proposing a large expenditure for the Navy and coast defenses and other warlike preparations—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. STRUBLE: Petition from the Fairfield Farmers' Alliance, Buena Vista County, Iowa, urging the passage of House bill 5353—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SWENY: Petitions from five Grand Army of the Republic posts, Department of Iowa, for service-pension law—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, remonstrance of Charles Reineke and 32 other members of the North American Turnerbund, protesting against the enactment of laws restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. TOWNSEND, of Colorado: Resolutions of board of county commissioners of Montrose County, Colorado, in favor of appropriations for deep harbor at Galveston, Tex.—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. TURNER, of Georgia: Memorial of J. R. Forrester, of Albany, Ga.; W. A. Watson, president Albany Suballiance; T. J. Pierson, president Pine Bluff Suballiance; J. H. Vurkey, president Wesley Chapel Suballiance, and P. B. Tufty, president East Dougherty Suballiance, all of the State of Georgia, against the bill to tax cotton-seed oil when compounded with lard—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WASHINGTON: Printed copy of findings of Court of Claims, to accompany House bill of Fifty-first Congress—to the Committee on War Claims.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, March 19, 1890.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. J. G. BUTLER, D. D.

The VICE-PRESIDENT resumed the chair.

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

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, in response to a resolution of December 19, 1889, the report and findings of a court of inquiry

appointed to ascertain whether formal organizations not expressly authorized by the Navy Department exist among naval officers; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

The bill (H. R. 6419) to amend section 2294 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and for other purposes was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa, presented a joint resolution of the General Assembly of Iowa; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Joint resolution No. 3.]

Memorial and joint resolution relative to the construction of a canal from the Mississippi River to the Illinois River at Hennepin, in the State of Illinois.

Whereas the question of cheap transportation by an uninterrupted water route between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic seaboard, by way of the Great Lakes, has long been one of all-absorbing interest to the people of the food-producing States of the Northwest; and

Whereas the General Assembly of Iowa has repeatedly memorialized Congress for the construction of this water route and urged upon Congress the construction of the same; and

Whereas the construction of this canal has received more indorsement since 1844 than any other water way on the continent of America; and

Whereas a board of civil engineers has surveyed, located, and approved of the construction of this water way from Hennepin to the Mississippi River at the mouth of Rock River; and

Whereas at the water convention held September 3 and 4 in Cincinnati, Ohio, a resolution passed said convention, urging upon Congress to make an immediate appropriation therefor: Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress are requested to vote for and use their active influence to effect such legislation by Congress as will secure an appropriation to commence the construction of said canal at an early day, and they are also requested to vote a liberal appropriation therefor, to the end that said canal may be completed and opened to the commerce of the country at the earliest possible date.

Resolved, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, instructed to forthwith transmit a copy hereof to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

A. F. MESERVEY,
President of the Senate pro tempore.
J. T. HAMILTON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved March 11, 1890.

HORACE BOIES.

I hereby certify that this resolution originated in the Senate and is known as "Memorial and joint resolution No. 3."

W. R. COCHRANE, Secretary Senate.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa, presented joint resolution of the General Assembly of Iowa; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas gross and unprincipled adulterations of lard are made by the mixture of cotton-seed oil and other inferior oils with pure lard; and

Whereas such a mixture is put up by the great syndicates of packers in the United States and sold as pure steam-refined lard to the consumers of this and foreign countries, which practice is seriously detrimental to Iowa farmers; and

Whereas such practice is unjust and ruinous to the hog-raisers of Iowa and the great West: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the senate (the house concurring), That our Senators and Representatives in Congress are earnestly requested and urged to introduce and vote for a law looking to the punishment of such fraudulent transactions, and compelling vendors of adulterated foods, and especially lard, to label it with the name, its constituent elements, and the quantity of each ingredient used in forming the compound.

The secretary of the senate is instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

I hereby certify that the foregoing concurrent resolution passed both branches of the Twenty-third General Assembly on the 4th day of March, A. D. 1890.

W. R. COCHRANE, Secretary Senate.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa, presented a joint resolution of the General Assembly of Iowa; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Joint resolution No. 4.]

To the Congress of the United States, in relation to the arrears of pensions:

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby, earnestly requested to use their best efforts to secure the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of their application.

That the secretary of state transmit a certified copy of this resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

A. F. MESERVEY,
President of the Senate pro tempore.
J. T. HAMILTON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Approved March 11, 1890.

HORACE BOIES.

I hereby certify that this resolution originated in the senate and is known as "Joint resolution No. 4."

W. R. COCHRANE, Secretary Senate.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa, presented resolutions of Farmers' Alliance No. 1168, of Hawthorne, Iowa, in favor of the passage of an act prohibiting speculation in raw and manufactured farm products; which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. DAWES presented a petition of Union No. 2, Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, of Holyoke, Mass., and the petition of Union No. 11, Bricklayers and Masons' International Union

of America, of North Adams, Mass., praying for an amendment to the labor laws, etc.; which were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented a petition of Albert Pierce, president, George M. Bowker, secretary, and others, members, of the Fitchburg Letter-Carriers' Association of Fitchburg, Mass., praying that increased compensation be granted to letter-carriers; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. VOORHEES presented a memorial of the Monthly Meeting of Friends, numbering 437 adult members, of Marion, Grant County, Indiana, remonstrating against the appropriation of large sums of money for the Navy and so-called coast defenses, and other warlike preparations; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. VOORHEES. I present a memorial signed by a large number of citizens of Richmond, in the county of Wayne, State of Indiana, remonstrating against the enactment of any law in regard to the observance of the Sabbath or the Lord's Day or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite, and against the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the national Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that would in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion, believing that the total separation between religion and the state, assured by our national Constitution as it now is, is for the best.

I move that the memorial be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. FAULKNER presented a petition of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, No. 2, of Wheeling, W. Va., signed by Magnus Long, president, and Henry Kirchner, recording secretary, petitioning Congress to enact such laws as will secure to skilled and unskilled laborers who are citizens of the United States preference over aliens in the erection and construction by the Government or by contract of public buildings, navy-yards, fortifications, and other structures and works; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BERRY. I present a memorial of the Chickasaw Indians relating to lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations west of the ninety-eighth meridian of west longitude, with an accompanying statement. I move that the memorial be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. INGALLS presented a petition of 30 members of Liberty Union, Emporia, Kans., praying for the free coinage of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of Dr. Louis Mackall and other citizens of Washington, D. C., praying relief for injuries to real property caused by improvements and repairs of streets and avenues in the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. SQUIRE presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF WASHINGTON.

Office of the Secretary of State.

I, Allen Weir, secretary of state of the State of Washington and custodian of the seal of said State, do hereby certify that I have carefully compared the attached instrument of writing, i. e., senate joint memorial No. 22, asking for the appropriation of \$100,000 to improve Skagit River, with the original now on file in my office, and that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said State, at Olympia, this 17th day of February, A. D. 1890.

[SEAL.]

ALLEN WEIR, Secretary of State.

Senate joint memorial No. 22.

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

Your memorialist, the Legislature of the State of Washington, do most earnestly and urgently request your honorable body to appropriate \$100,000 for improvement of the Skagit River.

The Skagit River, which empties into Utsalady Bay, one of the large sheets of water forming Puget Sound, is the largest river in Western Washington. Its drainage basin contains 2,800 square miles, including 300 square miles of fertile valley land, nearly level, and is covered with dense forests, principally of fir, cedar, spruce, and cottonwood.

The width of the river varies from 300 to 600 feet, and can, by the judicious expenditure of \$100,000, be made navigable for a distance of 90 miles for steamers drawing from 5 to 6 feet of water. This accomplished, Skagit Valley will become one of the most productive and richest valleys in the United States, and will give employment and support to a population of 50,000 persons. Its present population is about 5,000.

The iron ore already discovered and located in the mountains at whose base the river courses is estimated by experts as sufficient in quantity and quality to supply the wants of the United States for centuries. Contiguous to these iron mountains are vast deposits of limestone. The great coal fields of Skagit Valley are unsurpassed in quality. The veins now open and awaiting transportation facilities (there being no railroad in the valley) are the "Bennett," showing a 30-foot face, the "Cumberland," showing a 15-foot face, and the "Connor," showing a 12-foot face. These three mines would, inside of sixty days, if the necessary improvements were made, furnish to the markets of the world 1,500 tons of coal daily. The additional mines that would be opened would swell the output of coal in the valley to 55,000 tons daily. This coal can be floated down the river on barges to Utsalady Bay, and then loaded on ocean vessels ready for shipment to any port in the world. Iron, coal, and limestone, in contiguous mountains, insure the building of large iron works in this valley.

The Skagit River once made a navigable highway to the ocean will protect the producer against exorbitant freight rates in the future and accelerate the

opening up of its manifold resources now lying dormant. Besides its vast wealth in minerals there are floated down the Skagit River from forty to fifty million feet of logs yearly. Its soil is of the richest, producing in hay from 3 to 4 tons per acre, oats from 95 to 130 bushels per acre. Its fruits are equal to those of California. Sugar-beets, potatoes, and other roots are wondrously prolific in growth. A fine quality of tobacco is also raised.

The granting of the prayer of your memorialist will open up the vast resources of this valley, for which your memorialist will ever pray.

Passed the senate January 20, 1890.

CHAS. E. LAUGHTON, *President of the Senate.*

Passed the house January 21, 1890.

J. W. FEIGHAN, *Speaker of the House.*

Mr. MOODY presented a petition of citizens of South Dakota, praying for the enactment of a national Sunday-rest law; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. ALLISON presented a joint resolution of the General Assembly of Iowa; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Joint resolution No. 3.

Memorial and joint resolution relative to the construction of a canal from the Mississippi River to the Illinois River at Hennepin, in the State of Illinois.

Whereas the question of cheap transportation by an uninterrupted water route between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic seaboard, by way of the Great Lakes, has long been one of all-absorbing interest to the people of the food-producing States of the Northwest; and

Whereas the General Assembly of Iowa has repeatedly memorialized Congress for the construction of this water route and urged upon Congress the construction of the same; and

Whereas the construction of this canal has received more endorsement since 1844 than any other water way on the continent of America; and

Whereas a board of civil engineers has surveyed, located, and approved of the construction of this water way from Hennepin to the Mississippi River at the mouth of Rock River; and

Whereas at the water convention held September 3 and 4 in Cincinnati, Ohio, a resolution passed said convention, urging upon Congress to make an immediate appropriation therefor: Now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress are requested to vote for and use their active influence to effect such legislation by Congress as will secure an appropriation to commence the construction of said canal at an early day, and they are also requested to vote a liberal appropriation therefor, to the end that said canal may be completed and opened to the commerce of the country at the earliest possible date.

Resolved, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, instructed to forthwith transmit a copy hereof to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

A. F. MESERVEY,
President of the Senate pro tempore.
J. T. HAMILTON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

HORACE BOIES.

Approved March 11, 1890.

I hereby certify that this resolution originated in the senate and is known as "Memorial and joint resolution No. 3."

W. R. COCHRANE, *Secretary Senate.*

Mr. ALLISON presented resolutions of the Federation of Labor of the District of Columbia, in favor of the passage of a law authorizing the Government to loan money to the people at a low rate of interest; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the governor and other State officers, members of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, of the supreme court, and other citizens of the State of Iowa, praying for certain pension legislation; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of 44 citizens of Freeport, Iowa, and a petition of 36 citizens of Polk County, Iowa, praying for the free coinage of silver; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. SPOONER presented resolutions adopted by Joseph Hailey Post, No. 138, Department of Wisconsin, Grand Army of the Republic, favoring the passage of the service-pension bill; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. PIERCE presented a petition of 41 farmers of New Jersey, praying for the passage of Senate bill 2607, creating a commission to investigate the cause of agricultural depression; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. BLAIR. I present a petition from the State Normal College, of Troy, Ala., praying for the passage of the educational bill. It is from the Normal College of that State, and the petition is signed by the faculty, Edwin R. Eldridge, president, Edward M. Shackelford, and various other professors of the institution, strongly setting forth their desire for the passage of the bill, and stating that those from the South who oppose it misrepresent the general wish of the educators and the people.

I also present a telegram addressed to myself, which is a petition from the State Camp of the Patriotic Order Sons of America of Ohio, in which they urge the adoption of the educational bill, believing it to be for the best interests of our educational system, the mainstay of American liberty and civilization. It is signed by the State secretary, E. J. Swerer. This is from Columbus, Ohio, the State organization. Last night I introduced and had printed in the RECORD a like petition from the organization in Cincinnati, Ohio.

I move that these petitions lie on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BLAIR presented the petition of B. W. Annett, B. T. Tanner, bishops, and 7 presiding elders of the Florida Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the petition of John R. Scott and 62 others, citizens of Florida, praying for the passage of the educational bill; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PADDOCK presented four memorials, signed by 250 citizens of Nebraska, remonstrating against any material alteration in the existing immigration and naturalization laws; which were referred to the Committee on Immigration.

Mr. BLODGETT presented a petition of the president and secretary of the Journeymen Bricklayers and Plasterers' Association of Trenton, N. J., praying that none but American citizens be employed in the construction of public buildings; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. HALE presented a petition of the subordinate Union, No. 2, of Portland, Me., of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, praying for legislation that shall limit the employment upon Government works to citizens of the United States; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SHERMAN presented a memorial of subordinate Union, No. 1, Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and a memorial of subordinate Union, No. 6, Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, of Canton, Ohio, remonstrating against the employment of aliens on Government works; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of Typographical Union, No. 3, of Cincinnati, Ohio, praying for the passage of an international copyright bill; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SHERMAN. I present the petition of Samuel Sly, of Wichita, Kans., praying for the establishment of a bank and fiscal agent of the United States, accompanied by the draught of a bill to incorporate, establish, and create a bank and fiscal agent of the United States of North America. Upon statements made to me by a Senator that the gentleman who prepared the bill is a man of ability and a good lawyer, I ask that the petition and bill be printed, simply as a document, not as a bill introduced. I do not introduce it as a bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. What reference does the Senator from Ohio desire?

Mr. SHERMAN. Let the papers be referred to the Committee on Finance and printed as a document.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection.

Mr. TELLER presented a memorial of the Legislature of Colorado, praying for the construction of a deep-water harbor on the Gulf coast of Texas; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. HOAR presented a petition of citizens and residents of Holyoke, Mass., and a petition of citizens of North Adams, Mass., praying for such amendment of certain laws having reference to the erection of public buildings as that none but citizens of the United States be employed thereon; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. FRYE presented a petition of subordinate Union of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, of Portland, Me., praying for an amendment of the law so that none but citizens of the United States shall be employed on Government works; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. EVARTS presented the memorial of the Yorktown Monthly Meeting of Friends, of Westchester County, New York, remonstrating against expenditures for the Navy, coast defenses, etc.; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also presented a petition of 101 citizens of Homer, N. Y., praying for the free coinage of silver; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. DANIEL presented a petition of 260 members of the Farmers' Alliance of Sussex County, Virginia; a petition of 46 citizens of Loudoun County, Virginia; a petition of 39 citizens of Loudoun County, Virginia; and a petition of 42 citizens of Loudoun County, Virginia, praying for the free coinage of silver; which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. PLATT. I present a petition of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union of America, by one of its subordinate unions, at New Haven, Conn., relating to the passage of some law which shall secure to citizens of the United States the right to labor on Government works in preference to aliens.

I notice that petitions of a similar character have been this morning referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, but it seems to me that perhaps this petition should go to the Committee on Education and Labor. If there be no objection, I should like to have it take that reference.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It will be so referred, if there be no objection.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. ALLEN, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1127) to pay Emma S. Cameron, widow of James Cameron, for property taken and used by the Army during the late war, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. ALLISON, from the Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4970) to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenues, reported it with amendments.

Mr. FAULKNER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 371) for the relief of the Mobile Marine Dock Company, 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. 2931) granting jurisdiction to the Court of Claims, notwithstanding any statutory bar, of the claims of J. F. Bailey & Co. and others, submitted an adverse report thereon, which was agreed to; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. MITCHELL, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 632) for the relief of P. B. Sinnott, late Indian agent at Grande Ronde agency, State of Oregon, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be placed on the Calendar.

Mr. MITCHELL. That bill has heretofore passed the Senate three times. I ask unanimous consent, if it leads to no discussion, that the Senate allow it to be passed now.

Mr. VOORHEES. I shall have to object.

Mr. MITCHELL. I will not interfere with the Senator from Indiana, who desires to speak this morning.

Mr. SPOONER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 245) for the relief of Albert H. Emery, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (S. 222) providing for the erection of a public building at the city of Norfolk, Nebr., reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. STANFORD, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 605) to increase the appropriation for the erection of a public building at Troy, N. Y., reported it without amendment.

Mr. MOODY. From the Committee on Pensions I report the bill (S. 1208) granting a pension to Sarah A. Blakely adversely, on the ground that her application is not completed in the Pension Bureau. I move that the bill be postponed indefinitely.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MOODY, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 1238) granting a pension to Daniel Donovan; and

A bill (S. 2309) for the relief of Joseph O. Cotton, dependent father of Gregory H. Cotton.

Mr. WOLCOTT, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 243) for the relief of Frank Della Terre and Susan F. Della Terre, heirs of Peter Della Terre, deceased, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 681) making an appropriation for the benefit of the estate of William Moss, deceased, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

INTRODUCTION OF CONTAGIOUS DISEASES.

Mr. HARRIS. The Committee on Epidemic Diseases, to which were referred the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 140) to prevent the introduction of contagious diseases from one State to another, and for the punishment of certain offenses, directs me to report them back and move that the Senate concur in the House amendments.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendments of the House of Representatives will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In lines 10 and 11, after the word "to," strike out the words "make an." In line 20, after the word "disease," insert "The said rules and regulations shall be prepared by the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the amendments? The Chair hears none. The question is on concurring in the amendments made by the House of Representatives.

The amendments were concurred in.

ISAAC ENDALY.

Mr. TURPIE. I am directed by the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 5751) to increase the pension of Isaac Endaly, to report it favorably. The claimant under this bill is ninety-eight years old and is utterly destitute of means except \$8 a month which he is drawing as a pensioner of the war of 1812. He is feeble in health, and time seems to be the essence of relief in his case. I ask for the immediate consideration of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It proposes to increase the pension of Isaac Endaly, a private in Captain Smith's company of Tennessee Militia, in the war of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain, to \$50 per month.

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

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. INGALLS introduced a bill (S. 3178) for the improvement of Calcasieu River and Passes, Louisiana; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 3179) to grant additional bounty to the soldiers and sailors of the late war; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. GORMAN introduced a bill (S. 3180) for the relief of John M. Robinson; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. SAWYER introduced a bill (S. 3181) to constitute Port Washington, Wis., a port of delivery and to extend the provisions of the act of June 10, 1880, entitled "An act to amend the statutes in relation to immediate transportation of dutiable goods, and for other purposes," to the said port of Port Washington; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. COKE introduced a bill (S. 3182) for improving Aransas Pass; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. HIGGINS introduced a bill (S. 3183) granting a pension to Amanda M. Smyth; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. FAULKNER introduced a bill (S. 3184) for the relief of Adam Kidwiler; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3185) for the relief of the trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Springfield, Hampshire County, West Virginia; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3186) for the relief of E. C. Trimble; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 3187) for the relief of Robert Thompson; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 3188) to increase the pension of Daniel Clark; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BARBOUR. I introduce a bill by request. I desire it noted that I am not committed to it.

The bill (S. 3189) to authorize the construction of the Potomac River Railroad in the District of Columbia, and to define the route of the same, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PAPERS WITHDRAWN AND REFERRED.

On motion of Mr. HARRIS, it was

Ordered, That the petition and papers of Asa B. Ayers be taken from the files of the Senate and referred to the Committee on Claims, there having been no adverse report thereon.

REPORT ON IMPORTED LIQUORS.

On motion of Mr. WILSON, of Iowa, it was

Ordered, That Senate report 610, Fiftieth Congress, first session, relating to imported liquors, be reprinted for the use of the Senate, including the views of the minority.

MARY B. LE ROY.

Mr. GORMAN. The Senate yesterday passed the bill (S. 314) for the relief of Mary B. Le Roy. There was a slight mistake in the bill, simply of a word. I ask that the votes by which the bill was ordered to a third reading and passed be reconsidered, so that the necessary correction may be made. It will only take a moment.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Maryland moves that the votes by which the bill indicated by him was ordered to a third reading and was passed be reconsidered.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment.

Mr. GORMAN. In line 7, before the words "to be," I move to strike out the word "same," and to insert the word "sum;" so as to read:

The sum of \$50 per month during her widowhood, that sum to be in lieu of her present pension.

The amendment was agreed to.

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

PUBLIC BUILDING AT TAUNTON, MASS.

Mr. HOAR. I desire to enter a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill (S. 1548) for the erection of a public building at Taunton, Mass., was passed yesterday. I should like to inquire if that bill has been sent to the other House?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. It has not been.

Mr. HOAR. I wish the motion to reconsider to be entered simply, and the matter to lie over.

I desire to state that the motion to reconsider is made, not because of any doubt about the propriety of the bill, if it exists anywhere, but I understand there have been some little differences of policy between the draughtsmen of this class of bills in this body and in the other, and that it is possible there will be a conference before long on some other bill which will determine the policy of both Houses in regard to the matter. If that be true, this bill will be amended or not so as to con-

form to what the two Houses shall agree upon in reference to the other bill.

Several SENATORS. This is a Senate bill.

Mr. HOAR. It is a Senate bill, but if it goes down to the other House and has to be amended there, it will have to come back. If it goes to the other House in the shape which that body will probably pass it, it will not be delayed by a return.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion to reconsider.

Mr. HOAR. I do not desire to have the motion put now. I desire simply to enter it, and leave it for the time being.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The motion will be entered.

DEPRESSION OF AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there further morning business? If not, that order is closed, and the Chair lays before the Senate the resolution submitted on a previous day by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. The resolution will be read.

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

Whereas the deep and widespread depression and decay of the agricultural interests of the American people, the enormous and appalling amount of mortgage indebtedness on agricultural lands, the total failure of home markets to furnish remunerative prices for farm products, the palpable scarcity and insufficiency of money in circulation in the hands of the people with which to transact the business of the country and effect exchanges of property and labor at fair rates, are circumstances of the most overwhelming importance to the safety and the well-being of the Government: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That it is the highest duty of Congress in the present crisis to lay aside all discussion and consideration of mere party issues and to give prompt and immediate attention to the preparation and adoption of such measures as are required for the relief of the farmers and other overtaxed and underpaid laborers of the United States.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, there is trouble at this time in the hearts and minds of the farmers of this country. There is a deep, strong current of discontent, anxiety, and alarm prevailing in all the farming regions of the United States, and that current is growing swifter, stronger, and more threatening every hour. The spirit of unrest, irritation, and reproach is abroad amongst the tillers of the soil to an extent never before known in American history. The millions who plow and sow and reap are being moved by a mighty and concerted impulse to inquire into the causes which have led to their present calamitous and oppressed condition.

I propose on this occasion to aid them to the extent of my ability in pushing this most natural and necessary inquiry and in securing an honest and truthful answer. The farmer is the progenitor of the human race, and was the first to stand in the presence of the Creator and to receive from Him the decree of the divine mind on the question of labor. From the farmer's loins has descended the human family, with all its widespread and far-reaching branches, and wherever his dignity, honor, and prosperity have been ignored or trampled under foot, there the worst forms of government and the darkest scenes of barbarism have been found. God created a farmer to begin with, and, in all the ages since, His blessings have been most abundant and His civilization most glorious in the history of the nations and peoples where the farmer has ranked highest and where his comfort and prosperity have been the greatest care and chief concern of government.

The foundations of all human progress are in the hands of the farmer, and are laid by him as he asserts dominion by his daily toil over the tremendous forces and illimitable resources of nature. Who fails to be fascinated by a contemplation of the commerce of the seas? The thought is a most inspiring one that at this moment the richly freighted ships of all the nations of the earth are moving through all the oceans, and swarming on all the coasts and into all the harbors known to civilized man; and yet all this mighty system of commerce, traffic, and exchange is as dependent upon the corn-fields and wheat-fields of the farmer as the fields themselves are upon the dews and rains and sunshine of heaven. How brilliant, wonderful, and awe-inspiring appear the great cities of the world to the casual glance of the unreflecting mind.

The ordinary traveler speeds on and on, thousands of miles through farm lands, gazing listlessly at farm houses and farm productions, thinking nothing of the vast fundamental lessons they teach, but looking eagerly forward to the problems, mysteries, and wealth contrivances of the crowded, speculating, stock-gambling city which he is rapidly approaching; and yet that city would wither and perish, shrivel back to a barren, naked beach; its wharfs would rot, and its swollen corporations and haughty millionaires would dwindle into poverty-stricken skeletons, no better fed than Pharaoh's lean kine, were it not that the fountains of all its wealth, support, and grandeur are kept open and running, day and night, by the cultivation of the soil in the great domain of agriculture.

Gilded palaces, baronial castles, marble halls, colossal estates outrivaled in value the richest dukedoms of the Old World, all draw their sustenance from the bosom of mother earth; their roots strike deep into the mold that is turned by the plow, and the farmer at last is made to pay for all. It is estimated that over twenty millions of the present population of the United States, counting all ages and both sexes, are engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and on their productive labor,

not only the Government itself leans for support, but also all other classes of citizens derive from the same source their prosperity, their wealth, and too often their profuse and criminal luxuries. Is it not well, therefore, in the present juncture of affairs, to turn away from less important questions and look carefully into the condition of the agricultural masses, who bear the burdens and constitute the strength and glory of the Republic?

Sir, it is now nearly thirty years since the crisis of a terrible war gave to unhallowed avarice an opportunity to prey upon the self-sacrificing patriotism of the country and to plunder the laboring people of their hard and honest earnings, such as was never before in the history of nations presented to the basest passion and most sordid and odious vice in the fallen nature of man. In all the financial counsels of the Government at that time, Mammon, the demon of riches for the favored few, seemed to preside and control.

Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
From heaven: for e'en in heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
In vision beatific.

Nor did this evil god of ill-gotten wealth, this fallen angel of greed and lust for gold, once a dweller in heaven, but now an inhabitant of hell, for a moment fall short of his delineation by Milton when, in his base, hard, grinding, and oppressive spirit, our present financial system, with its many and widespread branches and its far-reaching and destructive consequences, was organized and enacted during the war. No "vision beatific" of an unselfish patriotism, of mighty, mustering multitudes, comprising the flower of the land marching to the altar of self-sacrifice, and treading with high heroic step and mien the wine-press of the battle-field; no vision of a Union restored, a country united, and a flag floating in the sunlight of peace ever for an instant allured the thoughts or diverted the gaze of the American Mammon and his ignoble conclave when they were engaged in laying deep and strong the foundations of the plutocracy, the giant money power, which now governs and curses this country and its laboring people.

A system of finance has been fastened on the American people with more hands than the fabled Briareus, and each one with an itching palm to clutch the fruits of honest industry for the enrichment of those who toil not, and yet outvie in splendor many of the crowned heads of Europe. Of this oppressive system there are many parts and contrivances, all skillfully woven together like a great network and having all the time the same object in view, the taxation of one class of citizens for the enrichment of another class. It is sometimes said that certain old sins of the Government should not be recalled at this late day; that they have the sanction of time, wear a venerable aspect, and should be condoned.

When ministers of the Christian religion cease to denounce the sins and crimes of the human race because they are old, "hoary and white with age," then, and not till then, will the fraudulent manner in which our bonded debt was doubled on the tax-payer be forgotten; then, and not till then, will the demonetization of silver be forgiven, and then, and not till then, will a high protective tariff, existing not for revenue, but as a machine with which to gorge, glut, and cram the privileged few at the expense of the many, cease to exasperate and inflame the indignation of the intelligent laborers of the world.

The tariff, with all its overwhelming prominence and its overwhelming oppression at this time, is but a part of the vast system devised more than a quarter of a century ago, whereby a moneyed aristocracy has been created, labor degraded and deprived of its earnings, and the Government itself revolutionized in spirit, and soon to be revolutionized in substance and in form. It is true that, while the tariff is only a part of the money-power system of Government, yet its place and agency in that system are of the most vital and commanding influence in its execution. To take toll from all the laboring men, women, and children of the United States on all their wants and necessities, not for Government revenue, but for the protection of the millionaire manufacturers, powerful corporations, trusts, and syndicates, is the base function of the tariff laws now on our statute-books.

Who has the hardihood to rise and say that such laws are now or ever have been or ever will be a blessing to the farmer? On the one hand behold the present condition of the farmer and on the other behold the towering peaks of the highest protective tariff ever known, with perhaps the exception of the Chinese wall. Will you dare go before the distressed farmers of the country in the approaching political canvass with the old, stale, worn-out falsehood that a high protective tariff is for them an event of joy, a rich benefaction, a season of prosperity, and of home markets at good prices? Such a lie in this year of 1890, like a murderer's prayer, will stick in the throat of him who tries to utter it. When you again push the tariff, with its enormous and unnecessary taxation on every article of farming life, into the farmer's weather-beaten and care-worn face as a wise policy for him, will he not exclaim in indignation at your fraudulent pretense—

Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?
Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

A good tree can not bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

Are you willing to have your tariff tree, your protective policy, tried by this high and immortal standard? The able and distinguished Secretary of State under the present Administration, in a recent magazine article in reply to Mr. Gladstone, has pointed out certain periods in American affairs when, as he claims, there was general prosperity in connection with a protective tariff, and that therefore, by virtue of the unrepealable laws of cause and effect, prosperity was begotten by protection, and the laboring people, the farmers especially, were blessed in their homes and at their firesides by being forced to buy what they needed in a high-priced market protected from competition and to sell their products, whatever they might be, according to the cheap prices prevailing in the London markets and in the other markets of the civilized world, where no protective policy is known and where the wheat and other great staples of the United States are brought face to face in competition for sale with the productions of the serf labor of Russia, the Sepoy servitude of the Indies, and the practical slavery of other portions of the globe.

I will not stop to controvert, as others have successfully done, the Secretary's accuracy in his statement of historical facts; I need not dwell on the past for the support of my contention that a protective tariff is a curse, and not a blessing. I am not dealing with a theory, but with a condition on which even a blind man, by brief, primary instruction, can look with unclouded vision and reach an unerring conclusion. What is the issue this day between the farmer and the restrictions, repressions, and extortions of a protective tariff? That is the question to consider; that is the question in which American farmers are now everywhere most vitally interested. Are they gathering figs, are they plucking good fruits from the policy of their Government? I challenge the advocates of the present system of protection to answer on this floor or anywhere else.

The farmers of the United States are this hour realizing, upon a general average, not more than 10 cents per bushel for corn, 50 cents per bushel for wheat, 2½ to 3 cents a pound for hogs, a cent and a half to 2 cents for fat cattle, and even this low and almost nominal rate of prices would be reduced to nothing at all, and the farmers would be brought in debt if the expenses of production as well as of transportation were taken into the account. The compensation to the farmer for the enormous and infernal tax he has to pay under the tariff on all he needs and all he uses has always been the loud, prolonged, and vehement promise of an eager, remunerative home market for all he raised and wanted to sell. Where is that home market? The farmer is hunting for it, and mourning because it is not to be found. Home market! What lies have been told in its name!

The ignorant charlatan and the designing knave have alike poured falsehoods into the ears of the people, assuring the unsuspecting, and those of easy faith in the direction especially of their party ties, that home markets are created and sustained by a protective tariff, until now, after all these years of deception and lucrative mendacity on the part of the money power and its advocates, thousands of farmers in different parts of the country, owning and tilling lands richer far than the Delta of the Nile, are pointing in derision and scorn of all tariff protection to their stoves and fire-places as their only home market for corn. The rich contents of their corn-cribs, the fruits of the year's toil, have become cheaper as fuel than wood or coal, and as they mournfully gaze on this great staple breadstuff turning to ashes for want of a market in this land of railroads, rivers, and lakes, it would seem as if all their hopes of relief at the hands of the party now in power would perish in the same way.

Experience is teaching a harsh and severe lesson to the American farmer, and the time will come, at no distant day, when he will look upon the proposition to tax him, his wife, and his children for the protection and benefit of other people besides himself and his own as he would look upon a law of Congress establishing the army worm, the weevil, and the midge in his wheat, legalizing locusts, lice, grasshoppers, and infecting his cattle with murrain and his hogs with cholera. It is not possible that the fraudulent and monstrous policy of taxing the farmer into poverty in order to make another class of people nabobs and millionaires can much longer delude and mislead any one fit to manage his own affairs and have the care of a family.

From year to year the farmer has been assured, and in certain quarters he is now again being reminded, that protection is extended to the products of his labor against the competition of similar products imported from abroad for sale in our markets. The protectionist who advances this argument is either himself a fool or an audacious knave, who assumes that the farmers to whom it is addressed are fools. Do the home markets of the United States invite the great staples of agriculture from foreign lands? Does the price of wheat, of corn, of cotton, of pork, and of beef in our markets excite the cupidity of the grain-growers and stock-raisers of Europe, Canada, Mexico, or South America? What need is there of a tariff duty to keep the products of foreign farms away from our shores, when in point of fact prices in American markets for agricultural productions pay the American farmer but little more than neighborhood transportation and nothing at all for his labor?

The farmers of the United States sell abroad and feed the world. Every pretense of protection for their home markets is a fraud; every duty laid on such articles as wheat, corn, cattle, horses, eggs, poultry, and other like productions of farm life and farm labor is a cheat and a sham, and is so intended. Under cover of a deceptive and pretended protection, which affords no protection at all for anything he has to sell, the farmer has been for years, and is now, compelled to pay taxes on the necessities of life after the following average rates: On woolen goods, an average of 70 per cent.; knit cotton goods, 39 per cent.; cotton clothing, 35 per cent.; cotton bagging, 44 per cent.; cotton ties, 35 per cent.; tin-plate for roofing, milk pails, and kitchen utensils, 40 per cent.; earthen and stone ware, 58 per cent.; chains, 44 per cent.; window-glass, 73 per cent., and sugar, 70 per cent.

To convince the farmer that he is protected and benefited by such an abominable system as this would seem to a rational mind utterly impossible, and yet in some instances it has been done. I recall one instance at this time, and I will venture to describe it to Senators as I have once before done to a popular assemblage. During the campaign of 1888, in one of our beautiful Indiana towns and in a very fertile belt of country, I witnessed a Republican procession. It had in it many industrial exhibits, claiming to show the power and the glory of a tariff laid for protection. As I scanned the long line of moving vehicles I caught sight of one that riveted my gaze and gave me much food for reflection on the power to mislead and deceive which was abroad in the land. It was a wagon driven by a farmer and loaded with the productions of his fields. There were specimens of corn, wheat, rye, hay, and oats; of potatoes, pumpkins, watermelons, and cantaloupes; of cabbages, beans, onions, pie-plant, and tomatoes; of apples, peaches, pears, grapes, and cultivated blackberries, and on each side of the wagon, in big staring letters, I read the following: "These are the fruits of protection." My first thought was that such a man would certainly become the victim of a bunko-steerer or a confidence swindler before he got out of town, but in a moment I reflected that he had been listening to the eloquent advocates of the monopolists, and had been persuaded that tariff protection had done more for him than the sun, the dews, the rains, and a rich and bountiful soil, with all his own labor thrown in.

The stupendous extent of this unfortunate man's delusion can only be estimated when you turn away from a political parade and look at him while at work on his farm. You there behold the poor, blind dupe breaking up his grounds, preparing them for crops, and then planting and drilling in his corn, wheat, oats, and rye with plows, harrows, planters, and drills on which he has paid out of his own pocket from 75 to 100 per cent., nearly double their real value, as a tariff tax laid for the protection and enrichment of the manufacturer of such implements in this country. You behold this enslaved and deluded victim of the money power cutting his small grain and his hay with a reaper and a mower for which he has paid twice what they would cost him but for a protective tariff.

He uses a double-priced hoe in his cabbage patch and a double-priced pitchfork at his hay-mow and wheat-stack, in order to enable the manufacturers of hoes and pitchforks to avoid foreign competition and thus get rich. He then puts a set of harness on his horses, taxed from the bridle-bits to the breech-bands and every buckle, link, and chain, hitches them to a wagon taxed 85 per cent., at least, on every bolt, spike, and tire that holds it together, and then, with a suit of clothes on his back taxed at about the same rate and with his wife by his side, also covered with raiment at twofold-protected prices, he starts to town shouting for the Republican party, the sideboards of his wagon proclaiming that the productions of his farm are the fruits of protection.

The fruits of protection! They were planted, nurtured, and gathered in spite of protection, and at a double expense because of such a curse in the statute-books of the Government. It is a notorious and self-evident truth that the tariff, as it now stands, increases the farmer's expense account from 35 to over 100 per cent. on every implement of husbandry with which he toils from one year's end to another.

The Mills bill attempted to place all fibers, such as hemp, jute, flax goods, and manila, used in the manufacture of twine, on the free-list. That just and moderate bill was defeated by the monopolists; and now, with a tariff of \$20 a ton and 40 per cent. ad valorem on twine, and also a twine trust, creating a close monopoly in its manufacture, thousands of farmers during last summer's harvest were not able to pay the increased price of twine-binders. They have been forced back to the machinery of their naked hands, and with bloody fingers and thumbs they have reflected upon the price of binding-twine, enhanced to 18 cents a pound by tariff and by trust. It is true that party prejudices are stubborn and hard to remove, but surely it is not too much to suppose that between these same sore fingers and thumbs a Republican ticket will not be found this year.

The very house in which the farmer lives is a monument to unnecessary, unjust, vicious, wicked, and criminal taxation. His barn is the same. There is not an inch of lumber, or a single nail, or a pane of glass in either of them which has not cost the farmer an average tax of more than 50 per cent., paid, not to the Government, but as a naked subsidy to the manufacturers of lumber, iron, and glass. His table, spread with dishes and with his daily food, is an altar reared to taxation,

on which he sacrifices three times a day to the unholy god of mammon now controlling the councils of the nations and devouring the enforced offerings of unpaid labor. His bed is not a place of untroubled rest; it is lined and stitched and quilted with dishonest taxes, which he is compelled to pay before he can draw his blanket over his weary frame and sink down to sleep.

But in discussing the effects of a high protective tariff on the farmer and on his struggles for a prosperous home, there remains for consideration another page of startling statistics and agricultural disasters. In high-sounding phrase and with the swelling note of a bugle proclaiming victory in advance, the advocates, the orators, and the essayists of protection are constantly boasting of the growth and development of the country, and citing its wealth as an evidence that their policy is sound and just. But is it true that there have been a healthy development of the true interests of the American people and an honest, beneficial accumulation of wealth in this country under our present financial policy, and more especially by virtue of the present system of tariff taxation?

The prosperity of huge corporations, the accumulation of vast fortunes in the hands of the few, the swollen bank accounts of trusts, syndicates, and protected manufacturers, are no more evidences of a people's wholesome growth and greatness than were the riches of Dives when he refused a crumb of bread to Lazarus, nor than the ill-gotten possessions of the Scribes and Pharisees who devoured widows' houses and made long prayers in the days of our blessed Savior on earth. The only genuine strength, progress, and glory of a nation must arise from the increasing value of its agricultural lands and in the yearly incomes and substantial gains of its laboring people, thereby as a consequence securing their contentment and their happiness.

Sir, our present system of protective-tariff taxes was enacted twenty-eight years ago, and I deny that the farmers of the United States have been prosperous under its operation; I deny that they have had fair profits on their labor; I deny that they have had reasonable yearly incomes, or, on an average, any income at all, after barely securing the absolute necessities of life. On the contrary, I assert that while farmers have been compelled to continue the payment of war taxes in a time of peace there has been not only no increase in the value of their lands during the last quarter of a century, but an absolute loss of not less than 33 per cent.

Reliable statistics warrant me in saying that the improved farm lands of the United States, if put to sale to-day under the most favorable circumstances now possible, would not upon a general average realize more than two-thirds their value twenty-five years ago. Take the lands of the State of Ohio as an illustration of this startling fact. Ohio is one of the most favored States by nature in the American Union, and yet three years ago Governor Foraker, in an official address, comparing the value of real estate in 1887 with what it was in 1880 in that great Commonwealth, said:

There has been a heavy decline. Farm property is from 25 to 50 per cent. cheaper than it then was.

But the rich and productive lands of Ohio have been not only rapidly diminishing in value, but their owners have also been forced to mortgage them to a most alarming extent. It is estimated from official statistics that the mortgaged indebtedness of the farmers of Ohio reaches the enormous sum of \$300,000,000.

In Illinois, that empire of natural resources and vast cultivation, the showing as to her farming lands and farming interests is still darker and more disastrous. A recent number of the Bankers' Magazine, commenting on the report of Mr. John S. Lord, chief of the Illinois bureau of statistics, points out the fact that the private debts secured by mortgages of record in that State exceed \$402,000,000.

It is also shown that of this mortgage indebtedness \$181,000,000 is outside of Cook County, the farm indebtedness, exclusive of mortgages on chattels and town lots, being \$142,000,000, with an annual interest of \$4,919,000. Taking the entire average of the State, 23 per cent. of its whole face is under mortgage. The Bankers' Magazine characterizes these figures as stupendous and alarming, and yet there are other States with even worse records of debt and financial distress than Illinois or Ohio. According to the last report of the Labor Bureau of Michigan, over 47 per cent. of all the farm lands within her borders are under mortgage. During the last Congress the able and accomplished Representative of the Harper's Ferry district of West Virginia made the following striking and uncontradicted statement on the floor of the House:

I do not wish to make any statement that is not sustained by the facts, and so I have obtained the last report of the labor bureau of the State of Michigan, which covers an investigation into the mortgages on Michigan farms and which presents some striking figures. I stand here to-day and say that I have not the slightest doubt that the Michigan farmer is as industrious, as hard-working, as intelligent as the farmer in any other section of the country, and yet this official volume shows that 47 per cent. of the farm lands of Michigan are covered by mortgages and that the mortgages are 46 per cent. of the assessed valuation of the farms mortgaged. Compare the condition of the unprotected Michigan farmer with the condition of the protected owner of the copper mines in Michigan, the latter piling up dividend upon dividend, million upon million, out of the privilege granted him by Congress to tax the people of this country, while the farmer is working early and delving late and piling up mortgage after mortgage upon his estate. The farmers have neither the time nor the money to come here and besiege Congress about these matters. They are chained to their plow, to their daily labor. They can not come here to look after their own interests; but the owners of the copper mines and the other industries that

are protected and subsidized are here at all times in your lobbies, urging measures for their own benefit.

In Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, and indeed throughout the whole Northwest, from 20 to 50 per cent. of the improved farms are covered by mortgage liens at such rates of interest as farmers can never pay out of the proceeds of their crops, much less also the principal. They are thus brought face to face with the loss of their homes, with ruin, and hundreds of thousands of them are standing in that attitude this day and hour. If, however, it is retorted, as we constantly hear, that the deplorable condition of Western and Northwestern farmers is local, exceptional, peculiar to themselves, growing out of their lack of thrift and skill, and not due to the general policy of the Government, it will only be necessary to turn our inquiries in another direction in order to find that the decay of values in farm lands and in farm productions has been even greater and more ruinous in the older Eastern States than in the West.

Sir, New England is the home of high protection; the busy brains of her people have been engaged from the beginning of the Government in devising tariff duties for other people to pay to the manufacturing classes, and she has placed her privileged few at the head of the money of this country, if not of the world. But like the boomerang as a weapon of war, New England's high protective-tariff policy is at last returning against her own bosom, and carrying widespread destruction to her farmers in their homes, in their lands, and in everything they possess. We are informed by Bradstreet's reliable journal, in an article on statistics—

That depopulation in rural New England is something to create wonder. Recent investigations by the State authorities of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts show that an alarming number of farms in fair condition and once owned by thrifty farmers are abandoned entirely and turned over to the bramble and the thistle, untenanted and unrentable.

And, again, we find the following careful and amazing statement recently made public in the press of the country:

The movement to recolonize Vermont and New Hampshire with Scandinavian immigrants has brought out some significant facts with reference to these two New England States. From the State commissioner of agriculture and manufacturing interests it is learned that good farming land is passing out of occupation. In the town of Reading, Windsor County, Vermont, 4,000 acres of lands which are now or have been in former times goods farms are offered for sale. One-half of these, says the commissioner, are lands which formerly comprised good farms, but with buildings now gone, and fast growing up with timber; some of this land is used for pasture, and on other portions the fences are not kept up, leaving old cellar holes and miles of stone walls to testify to a former civilization.

Such lands can be purchased at from one to two dollars per acre. The commissioner tells of having heard of one farm of 200 acres, with fair buildings and good soil, in the township of Chelsea, Vermont, which can be bought for \$100. In the township of Vershire, Orange County, there are from thirty-five to forty farms, contiguous or nearly so, abandoned or unoccupied. Many of these farms have a fair set of buildings on them, and others could be made comfortable with a small outlay. A recent telegram in the papers reported that fifteen families of Swedish immigrants had been engaged to settle in Vermont.

A gentleman in Jamaica, Windham County, has compiled a list and description of farms in that town from which the State commissioner takes the following examples:

A farm of 200 acres, fair buildings, good sugar orchard, plenty of wood and timber, has been one of the best in the town, listed at \$810.

A farm of 135 acres, good buildings, sugar orchard, fruit orchard, and in good state of cultivation, listed at \$700.

A farm of 90 acres, good buildings, vacant only one year, with timber enough on the place to pay for it.

A farm of 22 acres, good buildings, vacant one year, listed at \$225.

A farm of 97 acres, good buildings, sugar and fruit orchards, a good farm, listed at \$700.

A farm of 90 acres, in a high state of cultivation, must be sold, listed at \$765.

A farm of 155 acres, the finest location in the town; has got to be sold for what it will bring."

The Vermont commissioner then goes on to say that in Essex County there are six towns containing 89,491 acres of land, on which there are probably all told not more than fifteen or twenty families. These are described as good lands, lands that will make good productive farms, well watered, and with timber sufficient for home consumption, wanting nothing but the energy, the bone and muscle to clear them up.

"In Newark, Caledonia County, twenty-five farms, only 3 miles from railroad, can be bought for \$3 to \$4 per acre."

This is only a partial report on the unoccupied and abandoned farming lands in Vermont. It is known to the commissioner that there are 5,000 acres of such lands in the town of Wilmington.

These are startling facts, and what is affirmed of Vermont is also true of New Hampshire and other New England States. Extensive tracts of land, once dotted with farm-houses, are now covered with young forest trees and brambles.

The only explanation offered by the Vermont commissioner is that, of the people who once occupied these farms, some have died, others have gone West and to the cities, and none have come to fill their places.

In still another account of agricultural decay and desolation in New England I find the following melancholy facts and figures:

Vermont is bad off, and New Hampshire is no better. The last Legislature of New Hampshire appointed Mr. Bachelder to devise means by which the farming interests might be restored, if possible, and waste fields be cultivated. He sent out letters, and the replies are said to be startling. In the town of Jackson alone thirty farms have been deserted, while in Bath there are 75,000 deserted acres. And so in fifteen other towns there are from one to thirty deserted farms, while in fourteen others there are in all 21,000 vacant acres, with tumble-down buildings, and this is said to be only the beginning of the list, which promises, on the basis of what has already come in, to be a revelation. The Boston Globe says the condition of the other Northern New England States is similar.

From New York and Pennsylvania sad stories also come of the manufacturer eating up the farmer. In fact, the tiller of the soil is being ruined by a system which creates an order of plutocrats, fosters monopolies, and begets all-devouring trusts.

Sir, in the face of these appalling facts and cruel figures of ruin to

the farmers of New England, as well as to the farmers of the Middle States and of the Mississippi Valley, who will now confront the country and eulogize the workings and the results of a system of tariff protection which, after a continuous trial of twenty-eight years, has accomplished nothing save the concentration, the amassment of enormous wealth in a few protected and privileged hands, depriving the people of a sufficient amount of currency in circulation, impoverishing and enslaving wage laborers, and inflicting upon farmers such a condition of financial wretchedness as to fill their hearts with bitterness and resentment against the law-making power of the Government?

With a cry resounding through the land for Scandinavians and other half-civilized races of Northern Europe to come over and recolonize American States that were of the original and immortal thirteen, who is there, here or elsewhere, to maintain and defend an economic policy under which such shameful disasters have overtaken the most meritorious, the most useful, the most honorable, and the most absolutely essential class of American citizens? With the depopulation of the agricultural regions of New England and their abandonment to the bush and the bramble; with a home market for the farmers of the United States generally for nothing at active rates, except mortgages on their lands on terms as to interest, amount, and time which render payment impossible, and foreclosure, sale, and dispossession swift and inevitable, surely it is not difficult to discover the character of the highway we are traveling or the end we are approaching.

This highway is not new; other nations have trodden it before, and have reached the overthrow of popular government and personal liberty, as we will unless the people speedily rise and rescue themselves from the awful condition in which they are involved. The improved lands of the United States, the homes of farmers, are passing under mortgage foreclosures from occupant freeholders to loan associations, to non-resident money-lenders, and becoming tenant rookeries, paying rent to a landed aristocracy. The meaning of all this is obvious in the light of history.

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey.
Where wealth accumulates, and farms decay.

In the strong language of a gifted writer on this subject—

When darkness settled over Egypt and she lost her place among the great nations of the earth, 3 per cent. of her population owned 97 per cent. of her wealth. When Babylon went down, 2 per cent. of her population owned all the wealth. When Persia bowed her head, 1 per cent. of her population owned all the land. When the sun of Rome set in black despair, eighteen hundred men owned and controlled all the then known world. For the past thirty years—more particularly since the close of the civil war—the United States has moved rapidly along the path followed by these old nations. In 1850 our capitalists owned 37½ per cent. of the nation's wealth. In 1870, only twenty years later, they owned 63 per cent., having almost doubled their accumulations. They have more than kept up this ratio since 1870, and probably now hold fully 80 per cent. of the total wealth of the country. What proportion of the population holds this large per cent. it is not easy to determine, but it does not probably exceed 10 per cent. of the 60,000,000 who inhabit this country, and this per cent., so small in numbers, but so omnipotent in wealth, is using its immense power in every department of business and of government in the development and prosecution of schemes for making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Sir, the inquiry as to the cause, or causes, of this appalling condition is earnest and universal among the laboring classes, and especially among farmers, at this time. The main answer is easy and obvious; it is to be found on the very surface of our affairs. Living under a plutocracy, the farmer does not own his full time and labor; he owns a part, but not all. He needs all the six days of the week in which to work for himself, his wife, and his children, but under the iniquitous system by which the tariff taxes him upon every necessary of life he is compelled to devote the proceeds of at least two days out of the six to the protection and enrichment of the robber barons.

One-third of his time the American farmer is a toiling serf for the payment, not of revenue to his Government, but of naked tribute to those who are protected in charging him from 25 to 100 per cent. more than it is worth on every article his wants compel him to buy. For two days' work, we will say, a farmer can earn a pair of blankets worth \$3 to make, but which are increased in price by tariff protection to \$5. To whom does the additional labor on his part, necessary to enable him to buy them, belong? The same question may be asked in regard to all his agricultural implements, his household and kitchen utensils and furniture, and all the clothing on his back, purchased in markets viciously protected in the right to add war taxes to prices for the benefit of the manufacturing monopolist on every article there sold.

Sir, we are all familiar with the name applied to a system of government by virtue of which one class owns the labor of another class, and it is a moderate and reasonable statement to make that the American laborer, and more especially the farm laborer, is already one-third slave by law, with the clutch, greed, and power of his master, the plutocracy, increasing the degree and the degradation of his servitude every hour. The relations of the laboring classes to the feudal barons of Europe during the Middle Ages were exactly the same in principle as those now existing between the laboring classes of the United States and the favored few, for whom they are hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Cedric the Saxon had no suret hold on the services of Gurth the swineherd than the lords of the money power have at this time on the hard earnings of American industry. Are we to be blind to the lessons of history? There is always a point in the oppression and enslavement

of labor where safety ceases and danger begins. A tax known as *corvée* in France, requiring and enforcing gratuitous labor on the part of the inhabitants of a district for their lord of the manor, was one of the sore grievances which led to the French revolution. A French writer thus describes the workings of this tax:

It consisted of a number of days' work which the seigneur had the right to require annually gratis of the serf, originated with Charlemagne, only ended by the revolution. It might be required at any day, any hour, at the pleasure of the lord of the manor. He might require any sort of labor: plow the lands of the baron, train his hedges, make and clean his ditches, repair roof or walls of his castle, and even beat the water in the pond all night to keep the frogs still so that monseigneur's sleep should not be broken.

Well might Mirabeau denounce the *corvée* tax as "the most cruel of all servitudes," and yet the French peasantry of that period were no more required to render gratuitous services to the French aristocracy than are the grain-growers and stock-raisers of the United States to-day to render gratuitous millions and hundreds of millions annually to the coffers of those whom a high protective tariff has made their lords and masters. It remains to be seen whether the American laborer at the close of the nineteenth century will be any more patient of a *corvée* tax on his time and his industry than was the down-trodden French peasant of a hundred years ago.

Sir, the aristocracy of money is always cruel and coarse and unmindful of all else save its own gains and meretricious splendor. Its lavish and ostentatious displays of ill-gotten wealth often light up the whole argument on the relations between labor and capital, and point to the soundest conclusions ever found in history. Who is protected and enriched by a protective tariff? has been a question of debate prolonged through generations, but can be best determined now by pointing out as object lessons the condition of our agricultural communities on the one hand and certain arrogant, ambitious, and dazzling demonstrations of wealth which have recently taken place on the other.

There came to this country, not many years ago, a subject of Great Britain, with a keen capacity and hungry instinct for the amassment of great riches. He became a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania and engaged in manufacturing iron and steel. The productions of his mines and his mills have been and still are protected in the American markets from foreign competition by tariff duties ranging from 40 to over 100 per cent. on imported iron and steel of various kinds and in various conditions. These enormous percentages have been added to the price of all his sales, and have been paid at last by the farmer, whether the sales were for the equipment of railroads or the equipment of farms. What has been the effect of this policy on Mr. Carnegie and his fortunes? We know that his laborers have not grown rich, for only last July he gave them notice of a heavy reduction in their wages and persuaded them into submission by the presence of Pinkerton men and Springfield rifles.

Who is it, then, if not the working people, that protection has pampered into more than oriental magnificence in the iron and steel works of Pennsylvania? Three or four weeks ago there was a banquet spread in this city, a description of which the next morning was the joy and the glory of the newspapers and the sensation of the whole country. Accounts were head-lined as follows: "Like Lucullus of old—Gorgeous dinner that rivaled an ancient Roman feast—Mr. Carnegie's entertainment—Over two thousand tulips and crocuses and thousands of roses used—A menu which almost the whole world furnished—Delightful musical programme."

We are informed that this banquet was given to the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and also to the delegates and officers of the International Conference, and the brilliant reporter proceeds to say that—

All that money could provide and taste suggest to combine beauty of surroundings with the enjoyment of an epicurean repast had been brought into requisition to secure the desired end, and the result was a success far beyond that anticipated, but none the less gratifying. * * * Undoubtedly it was the most elegant affair ever given in this city, if not in the United States. The room resembled a conservatory supplied with plants and blossoms. The side halls were almost completely hid from view by plaques of palmetto leaves, intertwined with Southern smilax, deep green and glossy, and which grows wild in the Carolinas, whence this had been brought. The north hall, back of where President Harrison and Mr. Carnegie sat, was a gem from the florist's hands.

Mr. PLATT (in his seat). President Harrison was not there.

Mr. VOORHEES. He sent his regrets, I believe. I heard the remark of the Senator from Connecticut and I was waiting for some such catch as that. President Harrison sent his regrets, and if he was not there he regretted it, for he said so. Would the Senator from Connecticut have been ashamed to be found there himself? I think conscience is coming to the surface somewhat.

Then, after a vast deal more of the same sort about "maiden-hair ferns," "palms 16 feet high," "mammoth four-leaf clover," "mounds of Ulrich Bruner, Gabrielle Luizetti, and Magna Charta roses," the reporter told a gaping world what the modern Lucullus, sired by a protective tariff, gave his guests to eat. Among other things, the farmers and wage-workers of the country were informed that the fish, being a "sole, was secured from England, the mutton from Scotland, and the spring chickens from Louisiana. The celery, olives, and anchovies were served in the finest cut glass, and the salted almonds and radishes in dishes of solid silver. The forks and table-ware used throughout the dinner were also of solid silver, while the plates and service com-

prised Haviland china, with the exception of the fish course, which was served on plates of royal Worcester." It is also stated that the silver alone on the table cost \$3,000.

To the farmer now in trouble, with a mortgage on his homestead, the interest unpaid, foreclosure approaching, no demand for what he has to sell, and no money in the house—to him I commend this picture of the Carnegie banquet as the best explanation of a high protective tariff ever before known in American history. At one end of the tariff question the manufacturer, the protected monopolist, spreads an imperial banquet-board, loaded with epicurean dainties from every clime, and flowing with wines costlier than nectar, while at the other end of the question farm laborers, wage-workers, and all who live by the sweat of their faces are in deep apprehension, in sighs, in distress, and often in tears. When I reflect on the bitter trials which the farmers are undergoing at this time and the depression and suffering attendant upon other working classes, there is but one other occasion of the kind which can parallel, to my mind, the impious mockery of Carnegie's entertainment.

Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand.

They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.

Then the sacred historian says the king was filled with terror, his knees smote together, and he cried aloud, and for a time in vain, for an interpreter of the writing on the wall. An interpreter came into his presence at last and, after taxing him with the use of the sacred vessels taken from the Temple of Jerusalem, said:

And thou hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified.

How swiftly your minds anticipate the remainder of the old and sublime story! "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin" signified the downfall of a kingdom upheld by injustice, impiety, and crime. My earnest prayer and belief is that a handwriting, beginning in the banquet halls of unrighteous monopolies and spreading over the walls of all the farm-houses and homes of labor in the United States, is now heralding the speedy overthrow of a system of extortion and robbery more wicked and criminal in the sight of God and man than all the sins of Babylon when her robes were most scarlet with iniquity.

And now, sir, having pointed out, to some extent at least, the condition of the farmers of the United States at the present time and the widespread and crushing evils which have befallen them through the criminal policy of their Government, it remains as a part of my duty to suggest such remedies as I would adopt had I the power to enact and enforce them.

First. Tariff reform should be so thorough, complete, and unsparing that, after providing sufficient revenue for the Government, not one dollar would be further required of the farmer as protection to high-priced goods, wares, and merchandise, because of their being manufactured and sold by American monopolists. The only protection connected with tariff taxation should be a mere incident to a tariff laid for nothing else but Government revenue, and even that, when it enhances the cost of the necessities of life, should be wholly eliminated if possible.

A tariff enacted for the sake of protection, designed as a law whereby one class of our citizens is protected against competition in the manufacture and sale of articles at increased prices over their real value, is not only a violation of the Constitution, but a legalized crime, more distinctly at war with principles of liberty and equality than the stamp tax which caused the American Revolution. Such is the system now in existence. Its reform and revision on the basis of a tariff for revenue only would relieve the farming class of the payment of not less than \$500,000,000 annually extorted from them for the protection, aggrandizement, and enrichment of manufacturing monopolies, trusts, and all the kindred brood of ugly moneyed monsters which now infest the land and prey upon the people.

By the tariff reform which I indicate it would become the farmer's turn to enjoy protection; protection against high-priced markets in which to buy and low-priced markets in which to sell; protection in the ownership of his own time and labor; protection against the condition of a slave for two days out of every six, with monopoly as his owner and overseer; protection against class robbery, spoliation, and plunder; protection in the secure possession and enjoyment of his own earnings without being compelled to divide with legalized looters or pay ransom to financial brigands. I am for this kind of protection, and it would afford immeasurable relief where relief is most needed and most deserved.

Second. A full supply of legal-tender money in the hands of the people, proportioned in amount to the population and business of the country, is as essential to the prosperity of the farmer as a sufficient quantity of blood is to human life. It is nowhere denied that there is at this time a meager and stinted volume of currency in circulation amongst the producing and business classes. This fact is owing largely to the absorption of money by the monopolies at the money centers and to a great extent also to the growth of population and the expan-

sion of business without any corresponding increase in the amount of our circulating medium.

The figures of the census and the statistics of finance show that, while our population has increased 25,000,000 in the last twenty-five years and the requirements of business for the use of money has increased in the same proportion, yet there is in fact less money in actual circulation in the hands of the people or attainable by them for daily use than there was a quarter of a century ago. It is the constitutional power and the constitutional duty of the Government to authorize and enact by its stamp, on either gold, silver, or paper, a sufficient amount of money, full legal tender in quality, to meet the sound and healthy demands of the people in their trade, their commerce, and their development of the physical resources of the country.

Thus the Supreme Court of the United States has decided, and thus, in despite of those interested in the scarcity of money, in low-priced property, and in cheap labor, the law stands settled. With the power in Congress to declare what shall be money and how much shall be issued what necessity can there be for the farmer to offer his lands to the Government as security for a small loan in his sore distress? He has a higher right than this to a much ampler and more enduring relief. I fully agree with the Senator from California [Mr. STANFORD] in his statement that "an abundance of money means universal activity, bringing in its train all the blessings that belong to a constantly employed, industrious, and intelligent people."

I do not, however, agree with him that the land-owners of the United States, the sovereign people who own and support the Government, should be left to become borrowers at the door of the Treasury on their mortgaged homes at one-half or one-quarter of their assessed value, or at any other appraisement. I do not agree with him that such a system would in the long run bring any relief at all. The owners of the soil stand on higher, safer, and more dignified ground. The Constitution of the United States confers the power on Congress to create and issue all the money needed for the relief of the people; and for the value, the integrity, the good faith, and the final redemption of this money all the lands between the two oceans, all the homes on the farms or in the cities, all the wealth of monopoly and of corporations, all the credit, resources, and honor of the Government itself stand pledged and will stand pledged forever.

Let Congress, on such a pledge, such a mortgage, furnish to the laboring masses and the active business interests of the country an amount of currency in proportion to population and trade, and every active industry will be stimulated, prices for agricultural produce will become remunerative, mortgages will be paid off, old debts will be wiped out, wages will increase to a fair exchange for work in the shops and in the coal mines, the wrinkled visage of hard times will be smoothed, and homes now dark with gloom and distress will smile with peace and plenty. The largest amount of legal-tender notes (greenbacks) known in our financial history since the war was \$432,757,604, and that at a time when our population was 25,000,000 less than it is now.

The present amount of the greenback circulation is \$346,681,016, being a contraction of the currency, for an enormously increased population, of \$86,076,588. Had I the power, I would, as a measure of justice, wise policy, and permanent relief to every worthy and industrious class of citizens, restore the greenback circulation to the highest point it ever reached in time of peace, and there maintain it. Let the \$86,076,588 be reissued, with debt-paying power, and the humiliating idea of mortgaging homesteads for small loans will disappear forever. No speculative disturbance in values would follow such an increase of our circulation, for it would even then be too small in its ratio to a population of 60,000,000 and to the giant developments yet to take place in this Union of forty-two States.

Third. The free coinage of silver also presents itself as a measure of relief to the American farmer and to the laborer for daily wages. Argument against the use of silver money to the full extent of all our silver resources is never heard in the channels of trade nor in the fields of active industry. Its enemies are not to be found in the ranks of labor, but in the sumptuous council chambers of the arrogant plutocracy, where the chief aim and end of government is to increase the power of money over lands and houses and over men and women by making it scarce and hard to obtain by the plain, unprotected people.

Those who affect an alarm at silver inflation are mostly those who are bent on the contraction of all kinds of currency in order to increase the purchasing power of the money which monopoly and privilege have already given them. The financial credit of no nation in the world stands higher than that of France, and the circulation of silver amongst the French people is \$14.67 per capita, while it is but \$2.72 per capita with us. With more silver products than all the world besides, the people of the United States are demanding fair play for silver money and the assistance and stimulus of its unlimited coinage and circulation. With all the discrimination that has been made against it, with all the sneers and calumnies that have been heaped upon it, gold can buy no more in the markets than silver and can carry its aristocratic head no higher than the dollar of the fathers. The adoption of the free coinage of silver will mark an era of prosperity to the American farmer and to all the industrial classes.

Fourth. Another measure of relief for the embarrassment and de-

pression of agricultural interests and the disturbance of their markets should be the prompt enactment of laws, either by Congress or by the States, or by both, punishing with State's prison imprisonment those who speculate on the great food products of the world and gamble on their future prices, without ever having owned a bushel of corn or wheat, or a pound of beef or pork, or of any other commodity which they assume to buy and sell. This is an interference with the honest, legitimate trade of the farmer which should be made a felony and punished as such.

Fifth. To the foregoing propositions in the interest of the farmer I would add a liberal policy of pensions and a full and generous recognition of those who served their country in the hour of its peril. Money paid in pensions to the soldier is not only a benefit and blessing to him and those who are dear to him, but also to the produce dealer, the merchant, and to all within the range of its circulation. But for the large sums which for years have been disbursed by the Pension Office and thus reached nearly every neighborhood in the United States and gone into general circulation the present financial crisis amongst the farmers and laborers would have come at an earlier day. As a beneficial measure, therefore, to all, as well as a duty of the most sacred character, the soldier should be paid by his Government as one who was willing to die for his Government. On that lofty basis his equities are without limit, and justice should at all times stand ready to enforce them.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. 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. HARRIS. Mr. President, I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate that the unfinished business may be informally laid aside until the Senator from Indiana shall have concluded his remarks.

Mr. VOORHEES. I shall conclude in five minutes.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Tennessee? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Indiana will proceed.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, those who have sought to reform the enormous abuses growing out of consolidated wealth, legalized avarice, and educated rapacity have in all ages been met with the most vindictive, unsparing, and sanguinary hostility of which history makes any record in the affairs of men. Those who have invaded the seats of ancient wrong and disturbed the enjoyments of privileged oppression have in every era of human progress been assailed as enemies of law and order, seeking to break down the safeguards of society, as agitators, fire-brands, iconoclasts, and traitors to their government.

Evils which have grown venerable and hoary in plundering the toiling masses of mankind have always been upheld by caste and aristocracy, whether in council, debate, or by the steel-clad hand of war, or by the ghastly gibbet. It was the awful denunciation of the mighty Nazarene hurled against those who were "full of extortion and excess," rather than the preaching of a new dispensation, which inspired the accusations before Pontius Pilate; and those who followed Him with bitterest execrations and most insolent triumph to his death agony on the cross were the usurers, the money-changers, the accused plutocracy of Judea. And from that great hour to this the resentment of chronic and corrupt riches, entrenched behind accumulated laws and constructions, has known no bounds at the intrusion of the reformer. It has been the most envenomed and merciless sentiment ever known to infest and pollute the human soul.

The ablest statesmen and the broadest philanthropists have not been spared when found, in any age or in any part of the globe, laboring to reform the abuses of concentrated wealth. John Bright led the column of reform for the repeal of the corn laws of England, laws imposing tariff duties on the importation of corn into Great Britain, thereby protecting the landed aristocracy in selling their corn at high prices to the laboring classes, who were compelled to have it or starve. He took the side of justice to the working people as against the proprietors of vast estates, and a recent writer says:

For many years Mr. Bright was assailed incessantly, and with extraordinary vehemence and rancor, and as an incendiary agitator who provoked the poor to regard the rich with envy, jealousy, and hatred; as a reckless demagogue who wished to destroy all those ancient institutions which had made England great; as the friend and ally of the worst enemies of his country; as a traitor who cared nothing for her safety and honor. Now that the stormiest of those times are sufficiently remote to be recalled without bitterness and passion, even those who were Mr. Bright's most loyal supporters may see that it was natural, perhaps inevitable, that he should have been regarded as a revolutionist. For during the greater part of his political life he was the strenuous assailant of laws and institutions which were protected by the interests, by the affections, by the convictions, and by the traditions of the wealthiest and most powerful classes in the state. He became known by the energy and vehemence with which he attacked the corn laws. He did not merely argue against them as economically indefensible; he denounced them as criminal.

Thomas Jefferson, more than a hundred years ago, laid the hand of reform on the laws of primogeniture, the laws of entail, and the union of church and state, and as a consequence was painted as a Jacobin and atheist, an enemy to God and man, by the orders of privileged society and by the same powerful classes which afterwards so fiercely sought the destruction of the great British statesman and reformer. No one need suppose that the same rule will not prevail now. The tariff reformers of the United States in the present crisis will encounter

a hostility filled with all the wickedness, corruption, and malevolence which more than \$500,000,000 a year as a clear robbery from the people and a clear bonus to protected monopoly can inspire.

All that money can do to subsidize the press and fill its columns with false arguments, false statements, and false accusations against tariff reform and tariff reformers will be done; all that corruption funds can do in carrying elections by venal blocks of five, and in thus defeating the advocates of honest and equal taxation, will be accomplished; and all the arts of intimidation on one hand and alluring seduction on the other, in the bestowal of office and the distribution of official patronage, will be resorted to, in order to retain the ascendancy of the money power over the possessions and liberties of the people. In the face of these things, however, and with a full knowledge of what is before us, we will gird up our loins like men and go forward to the fight.

The battle may be long and weary, and some of us may fall in the conflict or sleep in peace by the wayside before it is over; but after awhile, amidst the glad shouts of liberated millions, the sun will go down on a great and final victory of the eternal right over legalized wrong, of freedom and equality over caste and servitude. Hail mighty day of the swift-coming future!

Born of the seventh generation of farmers in an unbroken line on American soil, inured in my youth to their daily labors, and made familiar with their hardships and privations, it is my birth-right to speak for their deliverance from oppression and their restoration to prosperity, dignity, and honor. This I have here and now aimed to do on principles fully indorsed by the people of Indiana when they sent me to this body, and to that intelligent and just-minded people I hold myself responsible.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. Mr. President, I desire to occupy the attention of the Senate but a few minutes in order to give an Iowa farmer, not present, but whose expressions I will use, an opportunity to answer the remarkable speech we have just heard from the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES].

Mr. BLAIR. What does the Senator desire? simply to read that piece of paper which he has before him?

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. I shall not occupy, I think, more than five minutes.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. BLAIR. I yield for that purpose, but give notice that I can yield for no other.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. In Des Moines County, Iowa, resides a farmer whose name is Charles M. Garman. He knows by practical experience more about the condition of farmers and the farming class than the Senator from Indiana has learned all his life through his reading and his theory. I desire now to read the case as presented by this Iowa farmer. He says:

In 1846, as my books show, we got only 10, 12½, and 15 cents for corn, and wheat in proportion. I remember selling hogs in Schenck & Denise's pork-house in this city—

That is the city of Burlington—for \$1.50 per hundred net. Sometimes I would have to stay in town, pay a hotel bill, take my turn while the hogs were weighed and slaughtered. Sales were made in this city to-day for \$2.50 gross. Every practical farmer knows the difference between \$1.50 net and \$3.50 gross. I remember seeing Joab Comstock hauling wheat into town with an ox team and selling it for 37½ cents a bushel. That was in 1846. That year we got 10 cents for corn and 8 cents for oats.

Now, that would not have been so bad if we could have bought everything we wanted as cheap in proportion. But unfortunately for us, that was not the case. We had to pay \$3 a barrel for salt, which we can buy now for \$1.20 to \$1.30. A farm wagon cost \$140. We can buy now a much better wagon for \$60; and hardware we can buy cheaper. A dozen files, for instance, can be bought now for the price which we then paid for one. That was not an exceptional case by any means, but all along through those years prior to the adoption of the protective tariff, in 1861, there was not any great opportunity for farmers to make money. We had to pay \$30 to \$60 for a good overcoat which can now be bought for \$15 to \$20, and nobody ever imagined that a good suit of clothes could be bought for \$10.

With the development of our manufactures in this country and a diversity of industries an immense amount of farm products is now raised for which there was then no market. And the rates of interest are much lower now than then. I remember paying as high as 22 per cent. before the war, but money can now be had for from 6 to 8 per cent. We used to pay \$250 to \$300 for a harvester; now we can buy one with binder complete for \$100. So it was at every point where the interest of the farm is touched. We get better prices for our products and we pay less for what we buy. Occasionally there is an article, like sugar, that is an exception to this. We sometimes bought sugar as cheap as now, but it was not as good a quality; mostly common brown sugar.

Then there is another thing to be considered. Farmers now buy a great many things that in those days were unthought of or would have been looked upon as luxuries and extravagance. Our houses now have carpets and furniture, and a great many conveniences that we could not have afforded in the days of low tariff. We dress better, we have better houses, they are better furnished. We have better farm implements. We have a great many comforts that were not enjoyed by the pioneer farmer. These things, of course, cost money. If we would live as plain now as in those days and do as little for schools and churches and the requirements of social life, we could probably put more money in the savings-banks than we do now. But the modern farmer is intelligent and progressive, and wants to keep abreast of the times. He is a reading man and takes a list of newspapers and magazines that in the days of low tariff would have appalled him by their expense. Every farm-house has its little library. The prosperous farmer keeps his family carriage, and in a multitude of ways he indulges in expenditures that he would not have thought of in the days of low tariff.

I commend these expressions of the Iowa farmer to the calm, deliberate consideration of the Senator from Indiana, and I think they will

enable him to make in the course of time a very different speech concerning the farmer and the tariff than the one to which we have listened to-day.

Mr. STEWART. I ask the Senator from New Hampshire who has charge of the educational bill to give me about five minutes to make a remark or two.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPOONER in the chair). Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield?

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, I do not know what to do about it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Hampshire yield?

Mr. BLAIR. The Senator from Nevada spoke to me and said he wanted to occupy five minutes. The Senator from Iowa had before that desired to put in his farmer's communication. If the Senator from Nevada wants but five minutes and the Senator from New York will not object, I shall assent, but it must be understood that we are limited.

Mr. EVARTS. I shall not object, Mr. President, to five minutes more being taken on this side, but it must be understood, I think, that it can not be extended beyond that time nor in favor of any other speech.

Mr. VOORHEES. It does seem to me that the Senator from New York ought not to be asked to yield; certainly no further than that. I apologize to him myself for having trespassed upon so much of his time.

Mr. STEWART. I will take only five minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada will proceed.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I listened attentively to the speech of the Senator from Indiana, and while I concur with him that there is great distress in the country, that prices are low, and that times are hard for the farmers, I differ with him most radically as to the principal cause. I concur with the Senator as to the last portion of his speech in which he contended that there is not a sufficient circulating medium. I maintain that a shrinking supply of money is the sole cause of the present depression in business and low price of farm products.

I challenge any one to name a time in the history of this country when high prices for farm products prevailed with a low tariff or to show any time since the formation of the Government when free trade was approached which was not followed by falling prices of farm products without a corresponding decline in manufactured articles. Free trade withdraws our money to pay for foreign productions and produces contraction at home. It also destroys our home market, which is 95 per cent. of our whole market.

I will undertake to show, whenever time will permit, that low prices and hard times are always coincident with low tariff and stringency in the money market. Contraction and low tariff are twin sisters. Their union is always disastrous. Either is sufficient to produce stagnation and distress. The two combined lead to bankruptcy and ruin.

When silver was demonetized the tariff was, and had been for more than twenty years, higher than it is now. The price of farm products and the wages of labor were during all that period more than 33½ per cent. higher than at the present time. The tariff has been largely reduced since silver was rejected, and still prices have continued to go down. From 1850 to 1873 the annual supply of the precious metals from which money could be made was nearly two hundred millions.

The demonetization of silver cut off more than one-half of the supply of money metal. The production of gold has not been more than sufficient to keep good the stock of metallic money on hand. The growth of population and business has enormously increased the demand for money, while the supply has not increased. The result is money has gone up or become more valuable, or, what is the same thing, the average range of price of commodities has declined and will continue to decline so long as contraction of the circulating medium continues.

I make these suggestions at this time because I regard it of the first importance that the depression and hard times which now prevail should be attributed to the right cause, and that the right remedy be applied.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 17th instant approved and signed the act (S. 1701) making an appropriation for the removal of a dangerous obstruction to the entrance of the harbor at Milwaukee, Wis.

The message also announced that the President had this day approved and signed the following acts and joint resolution:

An act (S. 308) to ascertain the amount due the Pottawatomie Indians of Michigan and Indiana;

An act (S. 306) for the erection of a public building in the city of Lansing, in the State of Michigan;

An act (S. 801) granting a pension to Miss Elizabeth A. Tuttle;

An act (S. 806) granting a pension to Cyrus Tuttle;

An act (S. 807) granting a pension to Mary E. Noll, widow of Philip Noll;

An act (S. 810) granting a pension to Eliza A. Talbott;

An act (S. 813) granting a pension to Stephen Schiedel;

An act (S. 2994) to authorize the construction of a bridge over the Arkansas River, in the Indian Territory;

An act (S. 296) vesting in the vestry of Christ Church, Washington Parish, District of Columbia, all of the right, title, and interest of the United States of America in and to square south of square 1092, in the city of Washington, District aforesaid; and

Joint resolution (S. R. 63) providing for taking the census of Alaska.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. MCPHERSON, its Clerk, announced that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill (S. 895) to provide a temporary government for the Territory of Oklahoma, agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and had appointed Mr. STRUBLE, Mr. PERKINS, and Mr. SPRINGER the managers at the conference on the part of the House.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled bill (H. R. 346) to amend "An act to grant the right of way to the Kansas City and Pacific Railroad Company through the Indian Territory, and for other purposes;" and it was thereupon signed by the President *pro tempore*.

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.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPOONER). The Senator from New York [Mr. EVARTS] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. EVARTS. The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. PIERCE] desires to address the Senate on this bill, and finds it more convenient to do so at this moment than at any other; and I yield the floor to him for a brief address which he proposes to make.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York yields to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. President, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Senator from New York [Mr. EVARTS], who has been accorded the floor at this hour, as well as to the kindness of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BLAIR], for the privilege of speaking for a few minutes on the pending bill. I shall not abuse their kindness. I hope, Mr. President, that I shall have an opportunity to vote on a motion to postpone this bill until the second Tuesday of December next. I should do this in the hope that it could and would be so amended as to divest it of its objectionable features and yet secure in a large degree what seems to me its most righteous objects; for I recognize, sir, the magnificent design of this measure. It is grand in its conception; its object is worthy of the care, the love, the labor, the devotion which its distinguished author has bestowed upon it.

But I fear it is too stupendous in its scope, too liberal in its grants, too royal in its benefactions to be supported without something more than a *belief* that its terms are wise and that the vast expenditure authorized by its terms will yield the harvest hoped for by its friends.

The sum appropriated by this bill is more than three times the amount required for the entire annual civil expenses of the Government. It is twelve times the amount required for our Indian service; it is four times the sum needed for naval expenses, and nearly equal to our entire annual expenditures for pensions. It would pay the interest on the public debt for two years. It would sustain our postal service for eleven years.

These facts do not argue against the wisdom of the measure, but they do admonish us that we should be well assured, not only of the justice of the bill, but of the faithful application of the money before we proceed to vote it away.

But, sir, I did not rise to debate this bill. That is unnecessary after six weeks of discussion, even if I had the ability to add any valuable suggestions to what has already been said. I desire simply to correct a misapprehension regarding the new States which seems to be entertained in this Chamber.

It has been said to me and to others, personally as well as in debate, that it is rather ungenerous for the new States, which have received such liberal grants for educational purposes, to vote against an appropriation for the benefit of States that have not received such grants. But I find, Mr. President, that every State admitted since 1802 has received donations for this or a like purpose, while appropriations of money for their benefit and for the benefit of the original States are counted by hundreds of millions of dollars. Aside from this, I desire to call attention to the fact that the public-school system of the new States, excellent as it is, owes nothing thus far to the bounty of the General Government.

Not one cent has been received for this purpose. The donations of land made a year ago will form a grand educational fund for the future, but they are not yet available. Our schools in Dakota have been maintained and our school buildings erected from the proceeds of direct taxation. It is a fact, Mr. President, that our people are poor. Agricultural communities are usually poor compared with the condition of commercial classes. Unfortunately, rich men are the exception among such communities in Vermont and New Hampshire as well as in North and South Dakota.

But, sir, poor as they are, they have not forgotten the lessons instilled in their minds, and in the minds of their fathers before them, long before they took up their homes in the West, a lesson which happily has been learned at last by every community North and South alike. The people of the new States are grounded in the conviction that education is the parent of progress, the hand-maiden of advancement, the bulwark of free institutions, and upon that line and in that faith they have labored.

In North Dakota alone we have to-day, with all our poverty, with all our shortcomings, 1,362 public schools, giving employment to 1,741 teachers.

In the last five years there has been paid by these "destitute," "suffering," "unfortunate" people, who, it is sometimes feared by our good brethren, "have been granted the boon of statehood too soon," more than \$3,000,000 for public education. A State institution of learning has been established which would be creditable to any Commonwealth, and at whose head sits one of the brightest educational lights of New England, while in the State are five denominational colleges and higher schools, all prospering and, I believe, in the future to prosper still more abundantly.

All these schools have been supported, are now being supported, not by the generosity of the National Government, but out of the precious savings of men and women who, recognizing the blessings of free schools, cheerfully contribute to their maintenance. In the whole State, out of a population of about 200,000, there were, according to the decennial census of 1885, taken by authority of the General Government, but 1,403 persons, all told, who could not read and write. I find by a recent report that in six towns of the State, out of an enumeration of 4,089 children of school age, 3,900 are pupils in the public or private schools.

These people have labored, have sacrificed, have submitted freely to taxation to place their system of education on this prosperous plane. Is it exactly fair or just to come forward now and require them to be taxed for the benefit of those who have not made such sacrifices?

This favorable exhibit of North Dakota might be carried into material, social, and religious conditions, but this is not the time to present them. The showing of South Dakota, and I doubt not Montana and Washington, would be equally favorable. Let me in one sentence assure the Senate and the country that States with such records to sustain them will be abundantly able to vindicate the wisdom of their admission and their right to representation upon this floor at the proper time and in the proper place.

But now we are called upon to vote \$79,000,000 toward dispelling the cloud of illiteracy which overhangs other parts of the country. I simply wish to call attention to the fact that North Dakota, poor as she is, undeserving perhaps as she is, does not require and does not ask, for herself, this bounty. The Senator from New Hampshire says that the two Dakotas would pay about \$500,000 and receive \$59,000 in return. But this estimate, bad as it is, is based upon the census of 1880, and does not show the full burdens that the bill would entail upon us. So far as I am able to judge the State of North Dakota alone would pay \$400,000 into this fund and receive practically nothing in return.

Mr. President, the people of the West are proverbially generous, but this is asking too much of them. It asks the people of my own State, compelled as they are to contend not only against unfavorable seasons, but against unjust, ungenerous, and arbitrary interpretations of law, to give of their scanty earnings money to educate the illiterate of States old enough, grand enough, big enough, and rich enough to care for themselves.

If there is any duty which the Government owes to the race it has emancipated, any assistance it should render to those kept so long in compulsory darkness, I for one should be glad to discharge that obligation. We may owe it to them as wards of the nation, we may owe it to the people among whom their lot has been cast, and who must necessarily have a hard struggle to dispel the mass of illiteracy in their midst. But the bill under consideration goes far beyond a duty of that character.

It undertakes a gigantic, a wholesale task of education; and in doing so it reverses the general rule of human action; it violates the practice of the very system it advocates, which gives to the deserving scholar the reward of merit, putting instead a premium on illiteracy and bestowing the grand prize on those who have done least to merit it.

And where shall the national generosity stop? Where can it stop if this be once begun? The bill makes provision for nine years. But what then? Can you cease the work when once it has been entered upon?

Mr. President, when you begin this national aid it will be like the spirit summoned by the magician's Fabulus, it can not be stopped or dispelled. Once accustom the States to a reliance upon Federal aid for the support of their schools, and their own pride will diminish and dependence will be the rule.

Do not cheapen education in the sense of making it obtainable without an effort. That which costs nothing, which is gained without labor or sacrifice, is, as a rule, without benefit to the recipient.

It is easy to make this appropriation now with an overflowing Treasury.

It may not be so easy when financial clouds are lowering and taxes are wrung from a burdened people.

Mr. President, there seems to be some doubt as to whether the Republican party has pledged itself to a measure of this character. It is affirmed and denied. But there are some things which it did pledge itself to favor and support, and in such language as to leave no doubt of its meaning. It declared itself in favor of both gold and silver as money, but we have acted upon no measure of this character because for weeks we have been engaged upon this educational bill. It pledged itself to a policy which would give employment to labor, activity to our various industries, promote trade, open new and direct markets for the produce of our farmers, and cheapen the cost of transportation. But we have done nothing, for our time has been occupied by this educational bill. It declared that the gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union "can not be measured by laws." It said "the legislation of Congress should conform to the pledges made by a loyal people and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become the inmate of an almshouse or dependent upon private charity." But the dependent-pension bill is waiting consideration in this Chamber to-day, crowded out by the educational bill.

Mr. President, I want to see those pledges fulfilled. I want them fulfilled first. They will be fulfilled, I have faith to believe, when this measure no longer bars their progress. Let us be just before we are generous. There will be time to shed the beneficent light of education on the comparatively few not now enjoying its advantages, when we have saved the farmers of the nation from ruin and the old soldiers from beggary. Men do not perish bodily for lack of intellectual nourishment. A few months, a year's delay of this measure, will not result in disaster; but, sir, a few months, a few weeks, even a few days may be vital in the cases of thousands of veteran soldiers who have waited and waited long for promised justice.

There has come under my notice alone, as a member of the Pensions Committee, at least a dozen cases of soldiers whose just applications are pending before Congress or the Pension Bureau and who have "spread their tents" on "Fame's eternal camping ground" in the past twelve months, dying with the bitter reflection that the Government had forgotten them. I do not expect, sir, to satisfy all who present claims against the Treasury. That is impossible. But let us redeem our pledges to these men, and redeem them without delay. I do not wish to be misunderstood regarding the author of this bill. There is no warmer friend of the soldier in this Chamber than the Senator from New Hampshire. But I sometimes fear that his zeal for his favorite measure blinds him somewhat to the emergency that is upon us, to the immediate necessity of legislation on undisputed measures of supreme importance: legislation for the relief of the veterans of the war; legislation for the relief of that alarming depression in our great agricultural industry which extends like a black pall from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Maine to Florida.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] has just spoken on this subject in eloquent terms. The picture he has drawn of the condition of our farmers is a dark one, but, sir, it is scarcely magnified. I echo many of the warnings he has given; but I call attention to the fact that he offers no definite, and only a general, remedy. He suggests no digested measure of relief, only general propositions, and the trouble is that he, with the rest of us, has allowed the pending bill to stand in the door of progress for two months without protest.

Sir, these sweet words of ours "butter no parsnips;" they remind me of a declaration made by that eminent American philosopher, Josh Billings, who said that when a man was hard up he would rather have ten dollars in greenbacks than ten thousand in christian consolation. What the people want is action, not words, words flowing steadily and eternally in the vast quantity indicated by this huge RECORD which lies on the desk before me.

If the tariff is responsible for this depression, how does the Senator from Indiana propose to remedy it? Will a little reduction here and there, as proposed by the Mills bill, make the farmers prosperous and a system good which is, according to his view as expressed this morning, wholly iniquitous?

The farmer is not poor because he pays more for a reaper and mower here than is paid abroad, for as a matter of fact he does not do it. At least, I have a letter from that great manufacturing concern, the McCormick Manufacturing Company, which sells so many machines abroad, declaring that there is no place where their machines bring so small a price as in the United States.

Why, sir, we find this same complaint of hard times among the farmers of free-trade England. There is a wide divergence of views regarding the reasons of this depression. I have a letter from a New Jersey farmer this morning which declares that after twenty years of investigation he has become convinced that the whole trouble is occasioned by the maintenance of the tax on whisky and high wines. The cause must be determined by patient investigation and then the remedy applied, whatever it may be.

Let me remark before I leave the subject, Mr. President, that I regretted most sincerely to hear the language of the Senator from Indiana when referring to our Norwegian citizens. If I understood him

aright, he spoke of them as among the half-civilized immigrants from Northern Europe.*

Mr. President, the Senator mistakes the people to whom he refers. Among all the thousands of Norwegians and Swedes in my own State I do not believe there is 1 per cent, who can not read and write, while many of them are highly educated and possess a knowledge of public affairs that will compare favorably with any of the Senator's constituents. They are among our best citizens, law-abiding, industrious, and patriotic, and there are no people whom we more gladly welcome to our State than these same people from Northern Europe.

No one, sir, can respect the author of this bill more highly than myself. I admire his earnestness; I have faith in his sincerity. I believe the time may come when the principal and primary object of this measure, which is, I take it, to provide better opportunities of education for the colored people of the South, can be accomplished—accomplished, sir, by action which shall not bind or embarrass the National Government forever; by aid which shall be given, not in obedience to any obligation which we owe the States, but out of a generous desire on the part of the Government to aid people honestly struggling to better their intellectual condition; which shall not check or dwarf the sturdy growth of the excellent system of education now established and being established in the South, and which shall not endanger the work of relief and of patriotism which we have solemnly engaged to perform. When such a measure is proposed I shall cheerfully support it. When, under the light of the new census, the people who sent me here have the opportunity to speak upon this subject, I shall do their bidding, even to the support of the pending bill; but until that time, sir, I must decline to give it my vote.

Mr. EVARTS. Mr. President, this measure before the Senate and the country has in two successive Congresses, while I have been a member of the Senate, been fully considered and passed upon. When again it was brought to our attention, early in this session, I had not imagined that any condition of things should make it in my own judgment at all necessary that I should take part in the discussion. I had previously given attention to the topics that seemed to me most pressing when in 1886, and again in 1888, the bill had been under consideration. I had seen that bill passed by the Senate by large majorities, and it had not occurred to me that anything in the condition of this country, anything in the nature of this subject, anything in the attitude and feeling of the people of this country, anything in the sentiment or in the judgment of the public or of the Senators on this floor, would lead to any other disposition of it than a prompt vote and a large majority to be given in its favor.

I could not wish, if the debate were prolonged by others, that I should add to the delay in its passage by repeating what has been better said by others, nor indeed by repeating (for it is not my habit to do so) what, whether well or ill said, has been heretofore said by myself.

But I find now that a very grave subject is before this body and that its disposition toward it is quite changed from what it has been before.

I find that now the possession of the legislative and executive departments of this Government is in the party with which I act and the party with which the Senators who sit on this side of the alley in a body concur. I have seen this bill passed twice with great concurrence from this side and with a large assent upon the other side; and yet the situation of Congress and of the Executive was such that no reasonable expectation could be had that the bill would become a law. At all times, in my judgment, if the bill could have been submitted to a vote in the House of Representatives, although the majority was of the Democratic party, this bill would have passed with a good deal of enthusiasm and with a firm and thorough conviction of its great benefits. But the sages of the caucus and of the committee-rooms stifled the opportunity to ask the assent of that body to it. There was also a question whether the Executive, as then filled, would have approved the bill had it passed both Houses of Congress.

Now, however, all in that regard is changed. Whatever shall be the action of this Senate, if it approve this bill, it is to go to and be approved by the House of Representatives. If presented to the President, it is, as I suppose from his public action and public expressions, either in the Senate Chamber or from the Executive Mansion, sure to receive his approval. I must find some way to satisfy my constituency, some way to satisfy the great Northern people, some way to satisfy the great Republican party that this bill is in better shape now than has been presented, in my judgment, by any of the opponents of the bill.

It is said that this is not a Republican measure and that the Republican party is not committed to it. The great body of the Northern people have committed their power in both these Houses of Congress to the Republican party; other portions of the country, with almost unbroken front, have committed their power in the two Houses of Congress to the Democratic party, and this alley divides not only the Republican from the Democratic party, but it divides, in a general sense, the depositaries of the power and will of the great Northern people from the depositaries of the great power and will of other portions of

the country. I may hope that some time, not while I can be a member of this body, but some time, the alley that divides the political parties will not present a division of that nature or of that tendency.

But now it exists, and this measure, the most beneficent, as I think, that has been presented to the attention of Congress during the time I have had the privilege of a place upon this floor, is to be considered, not as a Republican measure, not as a matter of opposition by the Democratic party, but as a matter that is to be expressed and decided by the generous and noble feeling of the great body of the American people. If, then, I find that by the arrangements of our Government when this great power has been intrusted to the Republican party, when no measure can fail here that this party approves, I am at a loss to understand why this bill now here should be killed and not be charged as having lain at the responsibility of the Republican party.

It is said that the pledges of the convention platform may be waived out of sight as a courtesy and as a manner of speech. Mr. President, that form, that method of disposing of this question savors too much of imputing hypocrisy to the Republican party, and, as Mr. Burke said, hypocrisy can afford to be magnificent in its promises, for, never intending to go further, it costs nothing.

Mr. President, I feel myself obliged to take up rather more seriously, and yet I hope not at any very great length, the very merits, the very pith and marrow, the very motives, the very purposes and very results that are embedded in this bill. We can not disguise from ourselves that this nation looks at this measure in view of historical transactions of the last twenty-five years. Whatever may be said of the conformity of the motives, the desires in support of this bill and those who oppose it, it must be admitted, however prevalent they may have been heretofore, however much they may find this or that support in previous controversies for the last fifty years on the subjects that enter into this, we are now confronted with it, not as a general and speculative view of aid to education from the Federal Government, but, as the situation is, whether the Federal Government shall give the proposed aid under the circumstances and the condition of the people at both ends of this country and the relation of the great body of the people who enter into the considerations and interests that affect this bill.

Before I consider the special aspect that leads to this measure and to engage its immediate and its prompt support, what is the general proposition? It is this: This nation, opulent, prosperous, powerful, looks at the situation of ignorance in some portions greater, but in all portions considerable, that needs attention. Out of the full Treasury as it now stands and as it will be replenished from the wealth of this people, it is proposed that the Federal Government shall administratively, in the way of distribution, look at the condition of the several States and their populations, and apply a portion from the Treasury of the wealth raised from the people to the object of education.

Mr. President, education is the great portal of the national, the political, and the social life of this country, and the public schools are the means by which and through which is distributable and is distributed this sustenance of national, political, and social life. All other matters that may interest this people are but distant in their affections in their duties, and in their security. What are all the other forms of aggrandizement either in art or in science or in culture, what are they all, compared with this great matter of the people's life? What are they all but as the purple vintage of the golden fruitage as compared with the corn and the wheat and the springs that sustain the natural life of this people?

It may be thought, then, that it is not an unworthy, that it is not an unimportant, but that it is a great and most pressing, occasion for the wealth of this people to be expended, whenever the occasion and the needs shall attract attention to this necessity and shall ask for this succor. Now, this being the object in view, it is thought that the revenues of this Government might be well employed through a period of eight years, coming to an aggregate of \$77,000,000, and thus dividing itself between, not equally but substantially, eight and nine millions a year.

We find that no special burden is needed to be imposed, no extraordinary taxation to be levied for the exercise of this benefit, but that we have before us our methods of taxation, of which Mr. Jefferson, speaking upon this very subject of the application of the revenue in this way, spoke as the affluence that came from the collection of the Government without the people seeing the tax-gatherer at any man's door. The revenue of this Government comes from the customs and from the excise. Whatever of this modicum of expenditure should be assigned to foreign customs and what to domestic excise, the funds are not exacted in that name and for that purpose by an extraordinary stress upon the payer of taxes or the energy of the Government in exacting them.

People have their own ideas of how much of this ample revenue from customs is a burden upon our citizens. Some think that it comes out of the wealth of our people in fuller or lesser measure. In my own judgment this fortunate people is in the attitude towards the rest of this world of being a tax-gatherer from foreign nations. No doubt, duties in conditions of trade may be a burden upon consumption entirely; others, I have no doubt, may be a burden upon importation entirely; but as a general rule, speaking broadly and at large, the exactions through the customs are about one-half paid by foreign

*The exact language of Mr. VOORHEES was: "Scandinavians and other half-civilized races of Northern Europe."

contributors to the wealth supporting our Government and its occasions.

If we turn then to the excise, that, as we know, comes from the body of our people; but in what shape is that exacted? For the most part it is in those forms of the use of tobacco and the use of spirituous liquors, and the participation that any of our citizens shall take in these modes of filling the coffers of the country is voluntary on their part. No one believes that this is an oppression that is felt by those who find their incentive to these at least unnecessary indulgences in their contribution to the public revenues.

We have, then, this great occasion and this abundant opportunity to meet it. We have here what any nation, that was master of all its powers and felt the pressure of all its duties, might well feel, that if there were in the situation of the country any provocative of its beneficent action, it should be taken for granted at once that it should be made. This bill is of that nature. It is to be taken from the collected wealth of the country by these forms by which it is drawn into the Treasury, and to the extent that I have named in amount is to be applied to the education of the people of this country.

But it is said that this Government, this people, are not the masters of this question as it is to be disposed of, as it is to be dealt with, as it is to be determined by the Congress; for in that happy arrangement, which no one can applaud more than I and no portion of this nation can more applaud than the great State which I in part represent on this floor, it is said that this General Government, with its great resources of wealth in the Treasury, is incapacitated from dealing with this general necessity of the education of the people. I state it thus broadly. I would state it even more strongly, that it could not be done if the direst necessity called for it and there was no opportunity to meet it except the wealth of this Government.

It will not do to confuse the question of constitutional power to meet an exigency of this kind by confounding it with the question whether it is urgent, whether it is important, whether it can pass in silence and unattended to. No, Mr. President, that is not the way to argue constitutional questions. So far as that point is involved in this debate, so far as it is involved in any consideration of the people of this country, the question is this: Supposing, in the event of the condition of the people of this country showing a dire necessity for their education, that the corruption of our institutions, that the vigor of our population, that our safety and our welfare turned upon this education, that there were no other resources than those which this Government had brought to its coffers by taking away the excise and the customs from any of the States, would the power of action exist here? Now, that is the question, so far as the constitutional point goes.

I find, however, no occasion to dwell much upon this subject. I have listened with interest to the arguments upon the other side of the alley on this topic. I find that they have trodden in the worn foot-steps of the same path that for a hundred years has gone on from step to step of negation to this Government of its capacity for the exigencies which attended it. This people have not found themselves much impeded in the general progress, in the general enlargement, in the general exercise of the authorities of this Government, and I have noticed that the arguments of constitutional impediment are seldom put forward by debaters or theorists against the execution of any desired movements of this people. I find it used more as a stalking-horse, behind which to aim, according to the wishes and the interests of the people or of the country, as they are in their view. That marks the difference and makes out the resistance in a measure that is proposed.

But at any rate it must be conceded that the constitutional question has been very much attenuated. It is conceded that, if the public domain were now at our disposal for this very object, there could be carried out in every way every detail of this measure, and all the wealth of all the territory belonging to the United States would be at the disposal of this Government and could be freely used without either danger of violating the Constitution or of submitting to humiliation by taking the distribution in that form. I have never been able to give very great weight and dignity to the proposition that the land which is situated as a common property of the United States, for disposition under the phrase of common benefit and general welfare, could be treated as a trust imposed upon the land that would be satisfied by the application of the wealth in that form to this very object, but that under the trust power given to this Government for all the occasions during the whole future of the safety of this country over the stormy sea of human affairs, of human passions, of human interests, this clause of common defense and general welfare was not a trust power as wide as the trust that was designed.

No, Mr. President, we have got over that question on everything but education. In the close, restrictive method of early construction by the great men on one side or the other in the progress of this country, what is there left but this one great and universal interest that can not be exerted by the United States Government?

Let me ask, as I shall wish to comment upon them, that the words of Thomas Jefferson may be read from the desk. Mr. Jefferson, after speaking, in his inaugural address to Congress in 1805, of the happy condition, of the prosperity of our revenue, of our security in regard to our foreign debtors, of our peace and all the growing hopes of this coun-

try, and that all these revenues, as he expressed it, were collected by the foreign duties without a single tax-gatherer approaching the taxpayer, spoke these words, which I ask the Senate to ponder upon.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

These contributions enable us to support the current expenses of the Government, to fulfill contracts with foreign nations, to extinguish the native right of soil within our limits, to extend those limits, and to apply such a surplus to our public debts as places at a short day their final redemption, and, that redemption once effected, the revenue thereby liberated may, by a just reparation among the States and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied, in time of peace, to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each State.

MR. EVARTS. Mr. President, see how this great master of political thought and expression rises by one step to another till he brings out education at the head of the climax; but it rests in his mind, it rests in his political deliberations in precisely the same situation as all the other subjects there mentioned. He was then in favor of all these beneficent advantages coming from the General Government in all these forms of the exercise of its authority. He had the opinion that an amendment of the Constitution was necessary, and that it ought to be had, in order to arm this Government with greater opportunities to be useful with the resources of our revenues in these other and great topics that I have mentioned, rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and then the general great objects that are of importance within each State.

Now, no such amendment of the Constitution has been made. Perhaps the first instance in which this great statesman thought the Constitution should be amended was in the acquisition of Louisiana and again of West Florida; but those transactions needed from this people no corroboration. No money could be better spent, raised from this people at that time, in the way either of common defense or of general welfare, than in the acquisition of Louisiana, when the situation of beligerent and hostile cabinets in Europe put it in our power to acquire it.

And now at this hour, when this great leader in thought, this great lover of education, Thomas Jefferson, has thus spoken, shall we after this lapse of time look in the face of the American people, look in their face, in view of the action and the history and the methods and the results of this administrative authority by the General Government, that carried rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, without an amendment of the Constitution, and tell them that this primal and universal interest of education was so deep buried in the clauses of the Constitution that this country could not unearth it, though it could do so for every other purpose and every other occasion?

MR. HAWLEY. I beg permission of the Senator from New York to let me suggest a view on which I should be glad to hear his opinion more strictly and directly. I believe nobody has ever denied that the National Government might properly dedicate public lands to education, especially when it founded new States, and that it might give the proceeds of taxes in general or of the sales of public lands to certain great national purposes. But we are discussing something else here today. We are discussing the first measure that ever was in Congress that followed this dedication to the close details of State administration and attempted to control minor State officers.

MR. EVARTS. I am obliged to the Senator. I know, I think, what I am discussing. I know what is before this Senate, and I confine myself literally to the very topic to which he invites my attention; but I can not allow that the arrangement of my argument should be disturbed to so preposterous a result that what is to follow should be made to precede.

Mr. President, if we stood upon this attitude, see how accurately the situation, as now unfolded, is portrayed in the situation that was before Mr. Jefferson. Who will doubt that he would have put education above everything else? It is always recorded among the manifold glories of his historic fame that education from beginning to end was what lay nearest to his heart, came oftenest to his lips, and was most sturdily and earnestly lifted up before this people.

Perhaps the Senator from Virginia, if I am wrong, may correct me, but I believe it is recorded of Mr. Jefferson in Virginia, and in public life there, that as early as 1778, while you were nearly under Revolutionary government and were all engaged in a Revolutionary war, Mr. Jefferson desired that the Congress and the General Government, such as it was then, should use money to educate the colored men, the slaves of this country.

He was one of those statesmen who could see the end from the beginning, and he knew that in human affairs there are two ways by which men are governed in social, in political, in national affairs. One is by power from without and the other by power from within. Force, and fraud, which is by the lawyers treated as equal to force, because the consent is extracted by the force of the fraud, and not by the assent (and this old, old topic of the human race and government by force or government by consent had come in the happy period of our happy Revolutionary independence), brought us to understand and this great statesman to express that by the consent of the governed, and not led by force, must a free Government be maintained.

What, then, is there left but that out of the traits and out of the interests and out of the passions there should be drawn out from the natural person the means by which consent was to be given and upon

which peace was to depend? Thus do we deduce from the internal powers of man the means of free and equal society and of free and equal and just government, and educating that is education. As the great Grecian political philosopher has said, "It is by education that I learn to do by choice what other men do by force."

Mr. President, I should hope, in the aspect in which this case thus lies, was it only necessary to determine whether there was a benefit in the sense of the welfare of this people and in the aspect that it should be regarded by this Government, and whether this great Government and these great people have now resources by which to meet that end.

But the long history of this Government in its relation to the States and to this subject of education needs no argument to prove that in reality and in the observation of Government it has always occupied a prominent place. I need not recite the endowments that have been given to States, whether new States were formed or whether this form of wealth was, to use Mr. Jefferson's phrase, to be as a repartition among the States for their occasion.

I now come to a consideration of the particular traits of this bill. Although this constitutional objection will never put an end to this bill, although the constitutional objection that there is not power to use money as well as land for the purposes of education is harbored on this side of the Chamber, let us see whether the other criticisms and the repugnances which are exhibited—to which I will pay every degree of respect on either side of this Senate—let us see whether these difficulties are in the way of encouraging and sustaining this particular method which is now proposed for our adoption.

In the first place, this bill recognizes or assumes that there is a condition in the population whereby, either under motives growing out of recent events or by some general result which has been produced, there is greater need of education prompted and aided, supported and amplified, that is not within the resources or promptly at the hands of the States, and that there is not only this need, but that it is of such nature and of such condition as that it may be penetrated, that it may be permeated, that it may be enlivened, that it may be led into all the operations of generous mind and of submissive will to the good order of society and the maintenance of this Government.

Then the question is only this, further, whether this application, whether the mode and way, whether the amount, whether the adequacy or the exuberance ought to be regarded. These are the only qualities of this bill, and they are to be looked at. They are to be looked at as a transaction of a nation towards its citizens, of this Government towards the State government, and to be looked at not by ands and ifs and buts, for no government was ever conducted by ands and ifs and buts.

Let me then look at the recognition of illiteracy and its measure. It is before us. Its figures are given to us from the very highest altitude of education down to the lowest depths; I mean the lowest depths within our borders of ignorance and need of education. They are all displayed before us. They run from 2 or 3 per cent to 50 and 52 and 54 in some portions of our community. Then it is said that the pressure is such that the adequacy to deal with it promptly for the occasions of the country is not at hand within the States, and that this supply will furnish the means by which the desired result can follow.

This being conceded then, as a matter of statistics, the bill proposes to take from the Treasury in eight successive years \$77,000,000, to be distributed, we will say, something like \$8,000,000 or \$9,000,000 in each year. I have heard on this floor such stupendous estimates of the greatness of these sums as, they say, should appall, if they do not strike with remorse, every supporter of this bill. It would seem as if this was going to break down our finances, to postpone all attention to the necessary and general burdens of Government, all the occasions that rest upon our Government or upon our duty in other directions.

Now, this immense mass that is always held up as if it was to be called in and paid out over night by the people, this \$77,000,000 in its mass is about a dollar and a quarter a head of the population of this people, and running through these eight years it is reduced to about 15 cents a head. If you take it upon the adult population, and as to the record shown by the right to vote, it would be about 75 cents on each voter in each year.

Sometimes we hear magnificent exaggerations. We are told in one day that this Senate is the greatest assembly of lawgivers in the world or that history has shown. Let me not disparage this grateful estimate of our importance. We are then told that our people at large are the richest people on the face of the earth; that in our accumulations, in our power of earning, in our energy, in our faculty, in our wits and our wisdom we are ahead of all the world, and I imagine, by a strict and logical relation, all this latter magnificence may be traced to education more than to anything else.

Now, we are asked to devote 15 cents a head of our population in a year, or 75 cents a head of the voters of this population, to stimulate, extend, conserve, animate, and revive the stimulus of all our wealth, our education, and our common schools. Well, away with this dizzy and dazzling imposition upon the strength and the authority of this people. Away with this imposition upon the intelligence of these Senators, these members of the greatest legislative body in the world. Whatever other reasons there be, this reason can not go down with the

people of this country. It can not go down with the historical aspect which will be given to it. It will not be an answer for us to make at the hustings or in the conscience of the Senators. Not there, then, is found the obstacle. Let us find something more obligatory and more important than that.

Then it is said that this bill, as the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] would have us think, for the first time undertakes to distribute the wealth of this country (for I have got by the question of distinction between money and land and wealth and duty) in aid of strengthening a system of education in the States. I can not dwell upon the subject in full, but I point now the attention of the Senate to an act passed in 1862, one of those great and beneficent measures that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] who sits farthest from me, when in his seat, has given to this country. I mean the act that is known as the Morrill act, and I will ask the Secretary to read only the title of the act, that I may draw it to the attention of the Senate for some comment that I shall make upon it.

The SECRETARY. An act entitled "An act donating public lands to the several States and Territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts," approved July 2, 1862.

Mr. EVARTS. The method adopted by that act, to make it efficacious in its distributive and profitable employment to the end in view, was to allow each State to take a certain number of acres found within its own borders and this carried the fee directly of that land; but no State was allowed, not finding that land within its borders, itself to take in possession and title any land in another State. Such an *imperium in imperio* by one State in another State was discarded as inadmissible, but each State thus having to resort beyond its own limits was allowed to issue scrip, and its assignees were able to take it up at the rate of \$1.25 an acre wherever they could find the land. This seems to be but a flimsy distinction between carrying money or carrying land.

But what I ask the attention of the Senate to is the further explanation of the Morrill act, which I do not hesitate to declare and challenge the contradiction of, that every principle, every method of the procedure in the bill now under discussion is found in the Morrill act. This Government undertook to follow into each State the use and the application that each State should make. It required the Legislature to accept it under its obligations. It required the governor to report all transactions under it. That very measure, so recent in our recollections, stands as a model for this general bill, with nothing more recently to be added except what may be in the region of expediency or prudence or advantage. But no mind is to be shocked, no equilibrium is to be stirred by any novelty in the procedure of this bill, if the Morrill act was found a useful measure and plan, and if experience has approved it as a benefit and advantage—a noble and continuing advantage without one single suggestion of weakness or injury to the competency and the welfare and the dignity of any State.

Look at the reception and the brilliant exhibition, without any sense of humiliation on the part of any State, that this donation, as the title of the act calls it, received, and how it has been employed. Take the great and wealthy State of New York, able to support its educational system, able to endow its colleges, able to carry on with ample revenue from an opulent and vast population all the occasions of a great and generous scheme. Let me point at one instance within the borders of that State, sometimes called by its own people and sometimes called by those without its borders the Empire State. Let me point to Cornell University, founded, upheld, having its vital and its ample strength under this donation of the General Government to the great and opulent State of New York. True, this fund was wisely, prudently, fortunately managed. In some quarters it did not turn out so prosperously; but a great benefactor, Mr. Ezra Cornell, who had given a great endowment of his own fortune to this college, undertook to buy the scrip certificates that were to be turned into land and into money, agreeing that the outgrowth of the investment should every dollar of it go to the benefit of this college; and now it stands as one of the great colleges of the land, a college such as never before in so short a time grew out of nothing by influence of endowment of wealth into so great and beneficent a structure.

Let us hope that our distinguished Senator from California [Mr. STANFORD] may show another great example in the endowment he has made and is making for the benefit of education in that, his adopted State. But more than that, \$15,000 a year, as I am informed by my friend, the Senator from Iowa, on my left [Mr. ALLISON], is paid out of our Treasury to these colleges thus built up by the nation, which it is thought now it will be humiliating for some portion of this country to receive in the shape of aid to common schools.

Let me ask Senators, and especially the Senators representing the new States, not merely those who have lately been welcomed here so heartily, at least on this side of the Chamber, to look a little at the situation in the conduct of this Government on the subject of public lands. When the method of devoting the land, by reservation from public sale, to occupation for homesteads and in other forms, was adopted, this entire area of the wealth of this Government in the shape of its public lands was withdrawn from any opportunity of what Mr. Jefferson called "a repartition of its wealth among the States." Is it

imagined by that action, not certainly in its intention, all the States that may be in stress, all the States that may be in a convenient necessity for a proper application of the wealth of the country as derived through its other revenues, shall not receive it? Was it merely intended that those new States should thus substantially give to themselves the land within their borders? for it does not move an acre from them and it stocks it with occupants that alone give value to land. The lands granted are within their borders. This immense endowment is operating under a wise and beneficent arrangement, I agree, but is it to impoverish the ability of this country to use other forms of its wealth in aid of education by other means and in other portions of the country?

Now, Mr. President, let us look at the situation from which perhaps one would like to withdraw any reiteration of examination. I refer to the condition of illiteracy as growing out of circumstances with which the action of the Government for the common defense and for the general welfare has to do. I refer to the emancipation of the slaves. I confess that I do not much share the feeling that the emancipation of the slaves was too quickly followed by enfranchisement and endowment of suffrage. It was a prodigious transaction, just as the first step was a prodigious one. I would agree that no other community ever settled so great a change in its domestic situation without preparation, not by choice of its own deliberation, but by external authority.

The emancipation of the slaves in every honest aspect must have been at the cost of the community wherein slavery resided in its care and digestion of the situation thus produced, but it was for the benefit in the largest sense of this great country of ours, from the farthest corner of Maine to the farthest shore of California and down to the States themselves where emancipation was brought about for their good, more greatly perhaps than for any others, but only for their good in that situation of enjoying the benefits that accrued to this whole nation and all its vast prospects in the future. Now the question would arise, and it has been spoken somewhat, as I said, hastily on this side of the Chamber, that it was a mistake perhaps to carry full enfranchisement to the South.

A free community, as a wise Grecian has said, is subject, where they have participation in the government, to two opposite inconveniences. If only some portion of the citizens participate in the government, then it is an occasion of discontent that all do not participate, and if they all do participate then the discontent is that some have as much share as others. This wise observation of human political affairs can not be corrected and can not be suppressed. When we are looking at the question of whether you have within a State a proper franchise, with all the people having every civil right, having every equality before the law, every footing in the courts, every protection under the general and in the State governments, how are any of them to be deprived of suffrage? Can we not understand that that is a dreadful problem? And no community, in my judgment, can stand still on that line of demarcation between suffrage and its effacement in every other particular.

Whatever, then, may be the prodigious burdens, what the prodigious duties, what the prodigious dangers that may attend the treatment that this Government has given to this subject, let us at least remember that there is one footing on which we should all agree, that that is a burden which belongs to the great Government and the great people; and certain is one thing, at least, if no impediments are to be found in the organism of administration, of law making and execution, that the hearts and minds of all of us should sympathize with the grand transaction which will ever rest in history as an action incapable by any nation but the greatest that the world has ever seen. What country, what institutions, what glory, what martial power, what population assembled together under one Government, ever before was equal to the solution of so great a problem?

For myself, I would say, whenever I am brought to confront some treatment, some action, some conduct, some principle that will help to raise the whole transaction into that which rests upon the whole nation and appeals to the conscience and the heart and the will and the intellect of the whole, I will bear my part of it as a humble sharer in so great a sacrifice. I will not stop to talk about the sentiment and the conduct, the mistakes and the difficulties now. I will take and I think the great State of New York will take its share in this immense, ennobling transaction. If these great things were done without preparation, to be sure the human mind and the moral government of this world are not to be changed about that situation; it is the resources of our men, of our people, of ourselves that will go on with that conciliation of antagonistic and inconsistent conditions of society in any portion of this country that will take the place of the preparation that the inexorable laws of conduct by the nation render impossible.

Now, Mr. President, let us look into another view. You can not hide it from us, no one can hide it from himself, that whatever there may be of weakness in our society and in our institutions, in freedom, in equality, in justice, wherever the weak point in the whole area of the country, in the whole enumeration of its population, wherever that weak and dangerous point is, is the weak and the dangerous point of the whole country. There is no natural, no artificial, no social, no political body but where, if there be the weakness of disorder and disease, that spot is the master of all the rest. To the relief of that, all the resources

of a curative nature, all the resources of legislative and of social succor are to rush to save the mischief, which is the mischief of the natural or the political body, and not of the limb or of the part immediately affected. Amputation, excision, may save in a dire necessity what is left of the whole and noble body that is thus mutilated; but it is, alas, a last and final subjection to a dire thing that is not to be met with patience or philosophy until every method to the contrary has been exhausted.

In that situation this matter of education is looked at and the distribution of this money is made precisely and by an accurate adjustment, so far as in such large transactions is possible, to the apportionment among the States to a reasonable estimate and calculation of the degree and pressure of illiteracy. Does any one doubt that every motive, every argument, every calculation in the frame of this adjustment has looked only to that consideration?

But then we come to a singular argument, that, although the money is distributed most largely to the States where this pressure is most felt and where this trouble arises from the presence of the emancipated slaves, a pressure traceable to that condition and the sources from which it came, yet, when you come to take the fund which the State has placed at its disposal, when the bill comes to apply it, it no longer applies it in proportion to the ignorance of the whites and the blacks as thus statistically ascertained.

Why, Mr. President, this is a provision for a State to do what it can do with its own resources in educating its children in the common schools. That is the institution; that is the only one we deal with; and is there any other mode of distributing the application of this fund, great or small, through these public schools, than that it shall be adjusted upon the number of scholars that are there? What methods would critics have of distributing in the way of applying to the direct education of boys and girls in the public schools but in the ratable proportion of scholars? And as this well-spring is opened in every corner of this land and this education shall bring out larger and larger access to the schools by the colored people, then this plastic, this open, this flexible mode will adjust itself to that.

I can not conceive anything in this criticism that deserves attention; but if I wanted a reason other than that which I have stated for large endowments to assist in removing the mass of ignorance, not only among those of educational age, but among the old, the aged, the middle-aged, the robust, I would like to hear these earnest Senators from the happy portions of our land with which they are familiar, who, with so light a tongue, talk of the task of education and of the school age in these New England communities and this great mass in portions of the South. We hear from the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] the description of an interesting picture of the great importance of the education obtained outside of the school, and how to have the child at the mother's knee taught the prayers and the precepts of the gospel, and hear from the father the many and interesting facts of life and preparation to tread the foot-steps of prosperous fathers, and from the pulpit that has to teach to the young and to the old together the continual need, day after day and week after week, in audiences of five hundred or a thousand hearers every Sunday in the year, the great doctrines that have been inculcated upon them from their cradle.

Who could bear this burden of the education of the black children outside of the schools that have been opened so nobly by the States themselves and which we intend to open? No, no, Mr. President, these idle, these, I must say, irresponsible comparisons of the condition of children who are taught from the mother's breast in this education of life until they go to the first school as little toddling children and then to the grammar school and then to the education for higher pursuits, is a picture, when you transfer it to the dark ground of these populations, that can not be recognized. Why, Mr. President, the only inlet into the hamlets or the cabins of the old, the aged blacks is to be through this little angel of light, sent from the public schools, and this superincumbent mass rests only upon this one gleam to be carried into that household by the instruction of the public schools.

We are told, forsooth, that education in the common schools is but a small part of the education of man. No, Mr. President, these older men, these older women, these men of motives, these women here in the same darkness, so far as education goes, with the little young that they wish to turn into the sunshine of education, these can not receive the direct benefits of instruction; but these grown girls, these grown boys, coming up into full enjoyment in their journey of life, are able to tell the fathers and the mothers and to read to them and talk to them about the forms of life and the means and methods by which people are elevated and civilized and made submissive to the law. Though this great mass can not shed on those below them in age any of this light and sustenance, yet these young girls, this growing race, may stand somewhat in the position of that noble Roman youthful matron who imparted to a blind and imprisoned aged father the sustenance that nature gave her for her own offspring.

It is said that there is an innovation upon, an interference with, an oppression of the freedom of the States. Why, Mr. President, this bill is as observant as it is possible to have one which reserves oversight by this Government to follow and secure the application of the endowment to the purposes intended. It is in this bill, as in the Morrill act

and as it is in various other forms of endowment, a mere reservation of sufficient authority to accomplish the result, and it is criticised on this side of the Chamber for the reason that it is so exacting, that it is so continuous in its operations as not to make it worth the giving of their acceptance to it.

Where are the lovers of education that want to help this bill? Where are the lovers of a benighted race that hasten to sustain this bill? Let them come with their offerings of frankincense and myrrh upon this altar of education. I suspect these arguments of impediment, when during the ten years, certainly during the three considerations of this bill in this body since I have been here, where were the improvements, where the better helps, where the worthier means, where the better agencies that were proposed? I did not hear them. Let us then take from those who feel the needs, take from those who wish to meet the needs, and let us have their counsel and their aid in helping to improve this measure.

But, Mr. President, it is said that the North and the South stand in attitudes of distrust on each side and of aversion each to the other. It is claimed that after the conclusion of the war this great wound in the body politic should have been cured at the first intention, and that the Northern people are responsible for that not having taken place. A wound as wide and as deep as that to be cured at the first intention, as if no ragged edge, as if no fever would set in, as if no nerves could be involved and liable under contact of so rude a touch as this war had inflicted!

Mr. President, although quite aside from this situation as it now exists that we are to apply our attention to, I must here differ from these calculations. I do not believe that at a remote or a much nearer date any great fact more interesting to humanity at large would appear than that this great people suffered immense change in its condition, both politically and socially, and survived it with as little of terror, as little of danger, as little of misconception, as little of fever as ever could attend such a vast, such a deep, such a permanent transaction. Was it not amazing that this great body of the American people could rally all its resources, that there should be no punishment and no proscriptions, and that in the halls of Congress all should again be collected on equal terms, and nothing left to darken the air but the mutual objugations across this alley and that whenever we get up a benevolent discussion about education we should meet with these mere technical objections?

Mr. President, I do not take any share in any distrust on this side that the States of the South, as we call them, will not apply these sums if they accept them. I do not recognize as at all creditable to the other side of the Chamber that they should be disdainful of our succor or contentious of our sympathy. It is not our succor nor our sympathy that I plead for. It is the sympathy and succor of the United States of America. A no less noble benefactor than that stands forward for your acceptance, and for this side I will say that we ask no greater confidence from you in a detailed, in a limited, and what may be considered a narrow trust, when you have been given the great amnesty and the great pardon for all the trespasses that have been committed and that are brought now and then into view. I do not like, when every feature and every proportion in this transaction is on the grandest scale, that flaws and defects are to be pointed out on one side or the other of this transaction. No; now is the time it is to be done, now is the time it is to be refused, now is the time it is to be rejected, now is the time in the name of the country when it is to be proposed.

Let nobody flatter himself that this country will stand in this friendly relation, all parts of it in the same condition, if this bill is defeated, that it will be if this bill is passed. Let no men flatter themselves that the people of this country are inattentive to this very transaction that passes in this bill. Millions of noble men and women through all portions of this country are turning their intelligent eyes upon this transaction as it proceeds on this side of this Chamber; millions of eager and straining eyes of the healthy and the feeble and the ignorant from the other portion of the country are gazing with hopeful eyes upon this side of the Chamber, and of clear scrutiny upon its rejection, if it proceeds from the predominance of the feeling and the votes on that side.

Society is not to stand still, government is not to stand still, the moral government of the world is not to stand still. Great phrases are no help to a situation. Some say that you will endanger self-help if you extend this aid. Why, Mr. President, would it do for a benevolent bystander to refuse to cast a rope to a struggling and drowning man on the ground that it would enfeeble his self-help?

Instead of going into an idle analogy let us look at the great, the benevolent system of life-saving that is carried on by this Government for shipwrecked passengers and shipwrecked mariners; and are we to be told in the self-satisfied situation of the landsman, "Oh, no! Do not send your cars and boats, your ropes and your mortars, and your lights and rockets. Oh, no! All this method of helping the seamen will lessen their self-help. They have all been brought up, until in the last fifty years, on the plan of saving themselves, and what better education could they have for saving passengers than to learn how to save themselves?" No, let the seamen alone; let them learn to take care of themselves." To my apprehension the suggestion that I hear touching the application of this bill in this matter of enfeebling the people

has as little relation to the situation of necessity and the opportunity of self-help as this figure which I have presented to your attention.

But we have experience in the benevolent forecast of a great American merchant who took hold of this business at the expiring days of the rebellion. He took out of his large fortune a great portion of it. He loved his country. He knew that the war had demolished the prosperity and fortunes of the South, and he knew the immense and pressing necessity of the enfranchised slaves, who needed a method that would educe from that population by education the means of dealing with a tremendous situation. Selecting such men as he could place confidence in at the North and at the South, he put in their hands a sum that gave them, perhaps, \$100,000 a year, with no injunctions except in those portions of the country that needed it from the results of the war and with equal access to this benefit of both races. Twenty years these gentlemen have administered that trust. Do you wish to tell me now that if, instead of having \$100,000 in our hands, we had a million a year, two millions a year, five millions a year, there would not have been a more rapid, a more extensive, a more convincing and admirable exposition of the result?

But the result is one of the greatest that ever happened because of its being pointed where it was needed and when it was needed, and every State superintendent, and every State governor, and every board of instruction will tell you that this largess of George Peabody was the first light, the first encouragement, the first help to men to help themselves. The smallness of the sum would come to very little in the direct education of this boy or that girl over this vast area, but it was a stimulant to the weak, to those who could add their help, which with our help would become an amount that would produce results.

Search the record of these State agencies and superintendents, find out how much this little private endowment—little for a nation, but noble for a single benefactor—stimulated and worked out by other agencies, has accomplished. The contributors, out of their means to be added together with this aid, would do something important. Thus we find out now how wise the benefaction is, and all thank this great benefactor, and no particle of friction, irritation, interference, faulty or meddling disposition has been exhibited by any. Then ask me whether, when we have added to what has been secured by other benefactions and when all have brought about a larger education and a larger means of education—when we have opened the channels that were clogged and closed—we are to be told, forsooth, on this side of the Chamber that they have now so far advanced that help will do no good. Mr. President, the people who look at this matter outside of this Chamber in this way and the Senators who propose this criticism have not looked into the situation.

Mr. President, however large the area of general discussion, however more direct might be some need of our criticism, I feel that I can not trespass upon the attention of the Senate one moment more. But I wish it understood that when great and important arguments are presented here and we are told on one side what might have been done, and on this side what ought to have been done, those are only meditations of disappointed hopes. These are living hopes that are now here. The question is what *ought* to be done *now* and what *can* be done *now*?

We are told that all, or perhaps all, that is needed to permeate and render alive and beneficial the action between the two races, either in politics or in social affairs, is justice. Ah, Mr. President, when did the human race ever learn to do justice except by education? Who can say in these communities what is justice to the whites, who can say what is justice to the blacks, unless by the education of both? Who can learn what justice is, not in abstract or in rhetorical declamation, but in the intimate sense of giving what is due to every one—*suum cuique tribuere*—at every hearth-stone, in every court-room, in every pulpit, in every market-place? Who has welcomed from above the star of justice that could enlighten the human race except by following the methods that the great and beneficent Governor of the human race has made, that they shall follow the precepts step by step as far as they could in these great inculcations? Then, indeed, it may be that education in these regions of danger and difficulty and doubt and distrust may have brought out all actual and living enjoyments—justice, that is safe against all the vicissitudes of human affairs; justice that is safe against growing old even with time.

Cassibus haec nullis, nullo deibilis ero.

Mr. CALL. Mr. President, I desire to submit a few observations upon this bill before the vote shall be taken upon it, in order that my own position may be understood upon the subject. I have upon former occasions when the bill has been before the Senate for consideration voted for it, and I propose to do so at this time, unless some change should be made in the condition under which the bill stands before the Senate.

I shall support the bill because it is a donation and only a donation, a gift from the people of the United States to the different States, a gift without condition for the purpose of education, containing within the bill no other conditions than those which have been applied to the agricultural college and the experimental stations. In these respects it differs in nothing from the previous bills which have been passed and are now the law.

Considered in the light of reason, the appropriation contained in this bill must be regarded only in reference to the respective merits of the different subjects of appropriation, as education, contrasted with the Army, the importance of education as contrasted with the Navy, or public buildings, or any of the objects of national policy and expenditure.

I am not disposed to exaggerate the importance of this appropriation. It will have its influence, and a good influence, and under the provisions of the bill it is apportioned with reference to the particular necessities of particular States. For instance, in the State of Florida the amount collected under the revenue laws of the country which will have to be appropriated in some form or other to pay the appropriation of this bill will be about \$400,000 approximately, more or less, while there will be paid to the State, if subsequent Congresses shall approve the appropriation and enact it into law, something like a million dollars. The State of Florida, therefore, will be benefited by receiving a larger sum for the purpose of education than will be paid by the people of that State.

I support the bill further because it is an appropriation out of money already in the Treasury, a surplus that has been accumulated there and which must be paid out for some purpose of appropriation. If it were a bill to impose additional taxes upon the people of the country I should vote against it, but it is a bill for temporary aid and making an appropriation out of money already in the Treasury. Whether that money shall be paid out to other purposes hereafter is another and a different question. It is in the Treasury now and subject to be appropriated for the purposes of this bill.

I do not conceive that there can be any defense made of a permanent system of appropriation by Congress for local education or common schools or education unless it be in the shape of a great national university situated here in the District of Columbia. Unquestionably local education must depend on local support as a system. Nor would there be any justification for the provisions of a bill which proposed to use the power of taxation in the National Government to collect from the people of any particular State or locality the money necessary for the support of their systems of education, having the effect to deprive the people who pay the tax of the power to direct and control the appropriation.

That has been objected to as comprehended in the policy and the effect of the pending bill, but it is not a reasonable conclusion and the bill does not justify that proposition. The bill is simply one for a donation or an appropriation of a specific amount of money for the temporary support of education. In that point of view I think that its effect will be beneficent. It will be in the direction of aiding local education in the portions of the country where assistance is needed, and I think the bill would have been better if it had been confined to those localities where the need of assisting the efforts of different communities or States is most important.

Mr. President, I speak of the Southern States and especially of the State of Florida. The State of Florida has been taxed by her own consent and the action of her own people to the utmost extent of the capacity of her people, and more than she has been able reasonably to bear, for the support of education. I find that since the war the State of Florida has paid in customs revenues to the Federal Government \$8,213,419 and from the internal revenue \$5,657,652.05. Now, in addition to this sum of money they have taxed themselves for the support of education, for the common schools in the State, a sum which may be reasonably estimated at between three and three and one-half million dollars. You will perceive that this is a large proportion of the taxation imposed for the support of the government, and when you consider the circumstances of the country you will see that it is equal to the utmost capacity of the people of that State.

That the surplus in the Treasury should be appropriated in temporary aid of education I can not see that there can be any reasonable objection upon any ground of public policy. If it be said that it is establishing a precedent, a precedent of what? A precedent of aiding education under extraordinary circumstances in the line of policy that the Government has already adopted. This fact prevents the effect of any precedent for evil, and if there should occur similar circumstances hereafter the precedent can have only a beneficial effect.

If it be assumed that the appropriation carries with it the power of control and asserts in the General Government the right to interfere in the affairs of the States, I deny it. If it did it should never receive my support.

If there was in it any interference whatever with the absolute power of the State to direct local education, to accept or reject it, to apply it through its own instrumentalities to the purpose specified in the bill of promoting common-school education, I should never consent to its passage. But, whatever may be the opinion, or the hopes, or the desire of those who favor the bill, there can be found in its provisions nothing that justifies this conclusion and nothing from which such an assumption of power may be reasonably inferred.

I do not consider that this appropriation nor the appropriation of a thousand millions of dollars, if it were practicable and if the capacity of this country and the disposition of the people of this country were adequate and willing to make an appropriation of that amount, would effect the objects which have been contended for and set forth here.

Education, it is true, is one of the most important objects of public policy—the common-school education, schools to be established everywhere, industrial schools, in my judgment, far more than the ordinary common-school education; but they can not change the established force of nature and the necessary economies of natural law.

We have been told here that one great object of this appropriation is the establishment of a homogeneity amongst men, a common standard of thought and judgment. I do not accept that as a controlling influence over my vote. The colored people of the South have been set forth as the special and particular object of this appropriation. I vote for it because they share in its benefits, but not because the appropriation of this money will have any great appreciable effect upon the condition of the colored people.

They have found amongst the people of the Southern States their best friends. They have found that that people have voluntarily imposed upon themselves taxes for their education equal to their utmost capacity to bear. They have found that the money has been equally and fairly divided between them and the people of the white race. In proportion to the taxable resources of the people, as heavy a burden of taxation has been imposed by the people of the different Southern States as by the people of any other States in the Union.

Mr. President, the condition of the colored men has been made a text in connection with this bill, and it has been urged that their relations to the people of the South furnish an especial reason for this appropriation. In so far as that touches the means of the people to establish a general system of common schools for both races it is proper and pertinent, and carries force with it. In so far as it furnishes any suggestions of a failure on the part of the people of those States to do everything that it has been possible to do, it is a mistake and has no proper place in the argument. If it relates in any respect whatever to placing the colored man in a condition other and different from that which he would occupy without this appropriation, then there is another error.

While I appreciate the generosity and the fair and just feeling which has characterized the Senator from New Hampshire who has introduced this bill and stood by it session after session, while I approve of it as a proper object of public policy to grant out of the surplus of money which has accumulated in the Treasury by virtue of excessive taxation and which must be distributed somehow and to some objects, while I maintain that this is a proper object and one of the best objects to which it could be devoted, as a pure and simple grant to the States, claiming no power whatever and conveying no power whatever to interfere in their local affairs, it has my cordial support and would have for the whole amount of the surplus in the Treasury. While I take this view of the subject and maintain these propositions, yet in so far as the relations of these two races are concerned, the colored people have received, as they will receive, every possible consideration which sound policy, which kindly feeling, which a proper consideration for their rights would demand; and they have received it in a larger extent than they have received from any other community, from any other States, or any other people in the history of the world.

Mr. President, we have had a great deal of consideration given to the condition of the Southern white people and to the Southern colored people, and the relations which exist between them, and it has been assumed and repeated here and throughout the country that there was a necessity of some repressing influences, of some severe legislation to be directed towards the Southern white people because of their want of consideration for the colored people who live among them and among whom they live. I should never vote for this bill if it contained such an idea, if it did not apply to them and to the white people equally, if it was not an aid to education without reference to these considerations and to this imputation upon the Southern people.

Mr. President, history shows no condition of the world, no period of time in which the colored race have ever received from any people the consideration which they have had from the white people of the Southern States. This is not mere assertion. When we consider the history of this country and the contributions which have been made to this Government from the relation which has been sustained between the white and the colored people of the Southern States and the civilization which has grown up out of that relation, it is a matter of astonishment that we should have here suggestions from persons outside of those influences impeding and distrusting and reflecting upon the character and the sympathy and the kindness of feeling of the white people of the South for the colored people.

From what condition did George Washington come, and Thomas Jefferson, and the Lees, and the great patriots who formed this Government, who more than any other people contributed to its formation and shaped its institutions? Was it not from a condition of society in which the white people and these colored people lived together? Who was it but a Southern man and a slave-holder, a descendant of slave-holders, a man of elegant taste and accomplishments and ample fortune, with these circumstances and surroundings, brought up in the midst of these people, whose heart was fired with sympathy for these suffering and oppressed masses of mankind, who traveled on foot throughout France, and came back to this country and made war upon all distinctions of caste?

Who was the author of the Declaration of Independence, and who

did more to form the Constitution of the Union than any other, and to impress upon our institutions the idea of the equal rights of men in their respective conditions to life, liberty, and property? Was it not Thomas Jefferson, the outcome of this relation between the colored people, the slaves, and the white people, and who was the first advocate and the great advocate of freedom for those people?

Mr. President, the beginning of this Government was a constitutional union formed more largely under the influence of the people who had grown up out of this relation between the two races than any other. It was such people who gave the spirit of freedom, the spirit of equality to our Constitution. It was such people who gave shape and form to our institutions, and it is because of this sympathy with mankind this great, benevolent, and philanthropic Thomas Jefferson to-day stands first in the hearts of the people everywhere throughout the world as the great representative of popular government, of sympathy for the people, and of defense of their rights.

But let us follow for a little while the condition of these people. I have said before that the twenty-five years since the war exhibits a kindness, forbearance, and sympathy with the colored people which the history of the world does not show anywhere else. The colored man has with the white people of the Southern States more friends and warmer friends and warmer sympathies as a race, and a people more willing to advance him, to place him, where he is qualified for it, in proper positions than in any other part of the world; yet those people do not recognize him as being fit, nor is he fit in the mass, to control their institutions and to be a dominant political power in the affairs; nor if left to themselves do they desire to exercise political control over the white people of the Southern States.

Mr. President, a fair and a just comparison will be to see what was the treatment of the colored man after his emancipation in the States of the South and what was his treatment after emancipation in the States of the North. Without any disparagement or reflection upon either or imputation upon any one, it is a just and fair process of argument to inquire, in respect to the feeling of these different people and the imputation of an interference with their rights and a want of sympathy for them, what was the condition in which the negro was left in the two respective portions of the country. I desire to put in the RECORD here a quotation from a book, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, by George H. Moore. I will ask permission to print it without detaining the Senate to read it.

The extract referred to is as follows:

V. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid (the senate and house of representatives in General Court assembled), That no person being an African or negro, other than a subject of the Emperor of Morocco or a citizen of some one of the United States (to be evidenced by a certificate from the secretary of the State of which he shall be a citizen), shall tarry within this Commonwealth for a longer time than two months, and upon complaint made to any justice of the peace within this Commonwealth that any such person has been within the same more than two months the said justice shall order the said person to depart out of this Commonwealth, and in case that the said African or negro shall not depart as aforesaid any justice of the peace within this Commonwealth, upon complaint and proof made that such person has continued within this Commonwealth ten days after notice given him or her to depart as aforesaid, shall commit the said person to any house of correction within the county, there to be kept to hard labor, agreeable to the rules and orders of the said house, until the sessions of the peace next to be holden within and for the said county; and the master of the said house of correction is hereby required and directed to transmit an attested copy of the warrant of commitment to the said court on the first day of their said session, and if upon trial at the said court it shall be made to appear that the said person has thus continued within the Commonwealth, contrary to the tenor of this act, he or she shall be whipped not exceeding ten stripes, and ordered to depart out of this Commonwealth within ten days; and if he or she shall not so depart, the same process shall be had and punishment inflicted, and so totes quocies.

Passed March 26, 1788.

Mr. CALL. I read this to show the condition of the colored people in the two respective States. In the one they were banished and not allowed to remain, and the statute punishes them with whipping and with imprisonment. In the Southern States they have been educated. They have been educated at the expense of the white people, notwithstanding they have produced by their labor always since their emancipation far less than the white people. They have been educated upon equal terms with the white people. The school fund, the public fund derived from taxes, has been appropriated with strict impartiality between the different races in proportion to their numbers.

I wish to go a little beyond that. I desire that this proposition may be considered by the people of this country. Under whose care and whose treatment has this colored race prospered, multiplied, and progressed to their present condition? Banished from the Northern States when emancipated, banished by statute from most of the original thirteen States, how is it that in this period from the year 1788 and to the year 1868 and up to the year 1890 these people have continued to grow in numbers, to increase in prosperity, to accumulate property in the Southern States alone of all the countries in the world and in all the history of the race?

If you contrast the condition of these people to-day with those in Africa we may form some idea of the debt of gratitude and humanity due to the people in the Southern States and to the relations which existed between them and the Africans—the Africans, who, however they came amongst them, found a home there, not imported by those people or their ancestors, but driven amongst them by the hostile legislation

of other States, and finding friends, protection, and homes, and increasing until now they constitute an important portion of the producing population of the country, protected in all their rights and in all their real interests.

Is not that a fact which is to stand in the face of every species of invective, of misrepresentation, or of accusation against the people of the South? Who is it that feels an interest in these people, strangers to them and bearing no part in this great work of kindness and protection for years, who stands up now to accuse the Southern people of a want of kindness? What part have their accusers borne in the great work of protecting and caring for these people, who nowhere else in the whole history of recorded time have found a place of progress or of protection or of even anything like civil rights of any description whatever?

We have heard a great deal about the treatment of the negroes by the Southern people and the hardship of the lot of the colored race and their ancestors. I wish to read from *Stanley's Adventures in Africa* a short paragraph:

I also busied myself—

Says this author—

I also busied myself in collecting a vocabulary of Kirna and in inquiring into the manners and customs of the people, and by this means became acquainted with the ceremonies observed at the burial of a chief of Urura, which are probably unequalled in their savagery.

The first proceeding is to divert the course of a stream and in its bed to dig an enormous pit, the bottom of which is then covered with living women. At one end a woman is placed on her hands and knees, and upon her back the dead chief, covered with his heads and other treasures, is seated, being supported on either side by one of his wives, while his second wife sits at his feet.

The earth is then shoveled in on them and all the women are buried alive with the exception of the second wife. To her, custom is more merciful than to her companions, and grants her the privilege of being killed before the huge grave is filled in. This being completed, a number of male slaves—sometimes forty or fifty—are slaughtered and their blood poured over the grave, after which the river is allowed to resume its course.

Stories were rife that no fewer than one hundred women were buried alive with Bambané, Kasongo's father; but let us hope that this may be an exaggeration.

The same author shows how the slave trade is now conducted in Africa by the native Africans, as follows:

At Uganda the trade begins to assume a wholesale character, yet it wears here a rather business aspect; the slaves by this time become hardened to suffering, "they have no more tears to shed," the chords of sympathy have been severed and they seem stolid and indifferent. At Ujiji one sees a regular slave-market established. There are "slave-folds and pens," like the stock-yards of railroads for cattle, into which the naked wretches are driven by hundreds, to wallow on the ground and half starved on food not fit for hogs. By the time they reach here they are mere "ebony skeletons," attenuated, haggard, gaunt human frames. Their very voices have sunk to a mere hoarse whisper, which comes with an unearthly sound from out their parched, withered lips. Low moans, like those that escape from the dying, fill the air, and they reel and stagger when they attempt to stand upright, so wasted are they by the havoc of hunger. They look like a vast herd of black skeletons, and as one looks at them in their horrible sufferings he can not but exclaim, "How can an all-merciful Father permit such things?" No matter whether on the slow and famishing march or crowded like starved pigs in the overloaded canoes, it is the same unvarying scene of hunger and horror, on which the cruel slave-trader looks without remorse or pity. It may be asked how are these slaves obtained? The answer is, by a systematic war waged in the populous country of Marungu by banditti, supported by Arabs.

These pay guns and powder for the slaves the former capture, which enables them to keep up the war. These Arabs, who sell the slaves on the coast, furnish the only market for the native banditti of the interior. These latter are mostly natives of Unyamwege, who band together to capture all the inhabitants of villages too weak to resist them. Marungu is the great productive field of their satanic labors. Here almost every small village is independent, recognizing no ruler but its own petty chief.

These are often at variance with each other, and, instead of banding together to resist a common foe, look on quietly while one after another is swept by the raiders. In crossing a river, Stanley met two hundred of these wretches chained together, and, on inquiry, found they belonged to the governor of Unyambembe, a former chaperon of Speke and Burton, and had been captured by an officer of the prince of Zanzibar; this prince had made a treaty with England to put a stop to this horrible traffic, and yet here was one of his officers engaged in it, taking his captives to Zanzibar, and this was his third batch during the year.

Contrast that condition with that of these people now in the Southern States, and in all fairness ask the question how is it that not in New England, not in the North, benevolent as they are, progressive as they are, but in the Southern States and with these people whom you are accusing, they have grown up into this vast multitude of civilized beings, understanding something of the social life and social duties, and living in peace and friendship with the white people?

Mr. President, let us have some truth in this matter. Let this great monumental fact of the progress of these people from this condition in their native Africa give the credit where it is justly due, and award a proper tribute to the christian feeling, to the sympathy, to the affection that grew up in the relations sustained between these people. It has not gone yet, although it has been greatly diminished and changed by the efforts which have been used to make them an influential and even a controlling political factor.

Mr. President, I am a friend of the African race. Whatever can be done, not to crush them in the millstones of political agitation, but to educate them, to develop them, to lead them to the course which Providence and the natural economies will direct, I am willing to do.

You will not by a system of common schools change the course of Providence. You will not make the leopard change his spots nor the Ethiopian his skin. You will not divest the white race of their racial distinctions. You will not dispossess them of their disposition to pre-

serve the purity of their race. You will not by the expenditure of the money appropriated in this bill, nor a hundred times the amount, alter the course of nature and of Providence. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] said here the other day that the fact of the existence of these people in the Southern States upon terms of kindness and of peace and of prosperity to some extent and the fact of the impossibility of their controlling those States where they were a numerical majority were two antagonistic propositions that could not be reconciled.

But the colored man is docile. He has his kindly qualities, and he lives in peace and happiness where there is a directing hand, where he feels that there is not an antagonism created between him and the white race. If left to himself, where he is educated, where he is qualified by a virtuous life, he will receive political promotion from the kindly feelings and sympathies which have in these hundred years made him grow up from a small number into a vast multitude of people, performing in some way and to some extent the duties of civilized life.

But if you undertake to create under any conditions whatever a control which is not exercised by them anywhere, which is not true anywhere in the North and will never be done, that a naked numerical majority, uninfluenced by social and personal considerations, shall be the absolute law; if you undertake to create that kind of antagonism, you interpose a barrier to his progress; you interrupt these kind feelings; you destroy the sympathies which have been the moving factor in his advancement from a condition of barbarism all along in prosperity, in an abundance of all the necessities of life, in the main with a greater degree of abundance of comfort than is to be found amongst any laboring people anywhere in the world, because, with a country comparatively new and a fertile soil and the colored man devoted to agriculture, the conditions were most favorable for his abundant supply of all the material wants of life, and the natural sympathies that religion and humanity create grow up and control in a spirit of kindness and affection the relations of the two races.

I protest against the idea that you can by the mere substitution of a common-school education supply that education which Christianity furnishes, which sympathy creates, which the relation of the two races upon terms of decent friendship develops. It plays but an unimportant part by the side of that education which the natural affection and kindness of the white race gives to the colored people living in terms of peace and quiet and of mutual assistance with them.

That is the education that has made the colored man capable of a future, hopeful of attaining some condition where he will be upon the plane of civilization with other races; and it is to the white people of the Southern States alone that it is due and that it will be due. If assistance in the shape of a pure and absolute donation to the people who have proved their right to it by the fact that they alone have ever given to the colored man protection and, in their relation and their contact with him, the development which he possesses at this time, if a system of aid from the National Government in a proper way is left to them to use and dispose of, that alone is the condition which is possible for their improvement, their development, and their protection, if you do not intervene considerations of political power.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. HIGGINS] said here the other day in a speech which he made that nothing showed the necessity more of this appropriation than the different views of the representatives upon both sides of this Chamber, which he was pleased to term were the best outcome and representatives of the morality and the intelligence of their respective constituencies, as to the assassination of a United States marshal. But, Mr. President, there was no foundation for that observation. The standards of morality are eternal. They are the everlasting yea and amen of Divine Providence, and they are in their application to all races the same.

In Delaware, in Vermont, in Florida, or in Mississippi the United States marshal or the United States judge who covers himself with the mantle of public authority that he may be an assassin and a perpetrator of outrage upon women is not representing the majesty of the law or the Government. In covering his shoulders with the mantle of religion and of law he is still the outcast. The judge who, sitting upon the bench, perjures himself, or the Senator who, in a spirit of harshness, will deal with the rights of others in a spirit of persecution, can not protect himself from the just scorn of an outraged public opinion by claiming the authority of the law.

In these respects they do not represent the law. Hence, my friend from Delaware was mistaken. The standards of morality are and ever have been the same in all sections. Who will say he surpasses Thomas Jefferson and George Washington and the compatriots of their day in his appreciation of morals or his proper regard for public authority? They were the representatives, as these people of the South are to-day, of their people, their institutions, their relations, their contact with the colored people.

Then, again, what more? Who will stand up and say that there can be contact in terms of equality between an inferior race, constant contact, surrounded by them, unless they be separated—contact, I mean, upon terms of equality—without unfavorably affecting the progress of the higher race? If you want a man to be progressive you must surround him with the influences which are better than he is, or at least as good as he is. If you surround him only with those which are in-

ferior and his whole association is with them, you must limit him in his progress.

But such was not the relation which the colored people sustained with the white population of the South. They sustained a relation of dependence upon the one side and protection on the other. They sustained a relation of friendship upon one side and contribution and assistance and support upon the other. The relations were those of affection and charity and religion and kindness in the main, though there were then there, as here, monsters who perpetrated wrong.

But this was the general character of the relations, and the outcome of their morality was in George Washington and in Thomas Jefferson; and I challenge the Senators who asperse and make charges upon the Southern people to produce brighter specimens of humanity in all the history of the world than those which came from these people in their contact and relationship with the slave population of the South. I insist that the people of the Southern States still have the same high standards of religion and morality and charity, and their representative men are equal in these qualities to those of any other people.

Mr. President, I support this bill. I support it because education is a great public object—not the mere learning to read and write, but the education of the mind and the heart and the character. It contributes to it. The little pittance that is given here to each State will amount to but little, but it is better appropriated in that direction than to be appropriated to the Army or the Navy, or to public buildings. It is better because it will be an evidence, in my judgment, of a disposition on the part of the people of this country to render aid to the Southern people, now sorely taxed and laboring under a heavy burden.

All the propositions that maintain the propriety, the necessity of absolute local support of education and local control of education I acquiesce in. They are true. It would be absurd for the National Government to impose a tax upon the people of the different localities to be collected and then paid out by appropriations by Congress in support of local education. If that were the proposition, in my judgment it would not deserve support because it would be an attack upon the principle of local support, of local education. But it is not that. You have an excess in your Treasury, and the question is, To what will you apply it?

You will not reduce the taxes until another accumulation has been made. Shall it go to the bondholders to pay them their immense premiums? Shall it go to the Army or Navy? Shall it go entirely for the support and education of the Indians? Or will some part of it be given to these people who justly claim the merit of whatever advancement the colored race has made from the condition of barbarism to their present situation? Shall it be appropriated and given to them to dispose of, not for the blacks alone, but for the whole community of whites and blacks who, under their administration, are in the main living in happiness and in contentment and in prosperity?

Mr. BATE obtained the floor.

Mr. EDMUND. Will the Senator from Tennessee yield to a motion to adjourn?

Mr. BATE. Certainly, sir.

Mr. EDMUND. I move that the Senate adjourn, the Senator from Tennessee being entitled to the floor.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, March 20, 1890, at 12 o'clock m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, March 19, 1890.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. G. H. COREY, D. D. The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

REPRINT OF A BILL.

Mr. TAYLOR, of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution for immediate consideration.

Mr. COOPER, of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call up the contested-election case of Mudd vs. Compton.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands that the proposition of the gentleman from Illinois is to reprint a bill.

Mr. TAYLOR, of Illinois. It is.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That House bill 7846, Fifty-first Congress, first session, entitled "A bill to provide for the establishment of Government telegraphs," be reprinted.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

MARYLAND CONTESTED-ELECTION CASE—MUDD VS. COMPTON.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. COOPER] calls up the contested-election case of Mudd vs. Compton.

Mr. COOPER, of Ohio. I offer the following resolutions.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That Barnes Compton was not elected as a Representative to the Fifty-first Congress from the Fifth district of Maryland, and is not entitled to the seat.