

SENATE.

TUESDAY, January 7, 1890.

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

REPORT OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting the third annual report of that commission; which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT presented a petition of ex-soldiers and sailors, praying for early consideration of the pension legislation recommended by the pension committee of the Grand Army of the Republic; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McMILLAN presented the petition of William Hills and 23 other farmers of Port Austin, Mich., and the petition of L. M. Ball and 48 other farmers of Michigan, praying for legislation to prevent the sale of options on farm produce; which were referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. PASCO presented the petition of Mrs. Agatha O'Brien, widow of Bvt. Maj. J. P. J. O'Brien, late of the Fourth Artillery, United States Army, praying to be allowed an increase of pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented the petition of Alison J. Tinsley, of Gainesville, Fla., praying for relief, for loss of his house burned while in the possession of a United States sanitary inspector for fumigation, during the yellow-fever epidemic of 1887; which was referred to the Committee on Epidemic Diseases.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the city council of St. Augustine, Fla., favoring the passage of the bill (S. 1147) authorizing the purchase of certain lands in that city for the use of St. Francis barracks; which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. COKE. I present sundry petitions of citizens of Brown County, Texas, of Coleman County, Texas, of Tom Green County, Texas, and other counties in Texas, praying Congress to make some provision at this session to pay Indian depredation claims which have been filed in the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior. I move that the petitions be referred to the Select Committee on Indian Depredations.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. FARWELL presented the petition of George H. Barbour, president of the National Association of Stove Manufacturers, and other officers of that association, praying for the passage of a general bankrupt law; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented the petition of Henry S. Wells, for himself and other soldiers of the war of the rebellion, praying that such soldiers be allowed bounties; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HAMPTON. I present a resolution of the General Assembly of South Carolina in reference to the French spoliation claims. It being the memorial of the State Legislature, I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The memorial will be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Claims, if there be no objection.

Mr. SPOONER. I understand that the memorial relates to the French spoliation claims. That subject originally went to the Committee on Claims and was reported upon several times by that committee, but at late sessions of Congress it has gone to the Committee on Appropriations. The memorial should go to the Committee on Appropriations.

The memorial was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
OFFICE CLERK OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
January 19, 1889.

Resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That the members of the House of Representatives of the United States from South Carolina be requested, and the United States Senators from South Carolina be instructed, to use all efforts in their power to procure the passage by Congress, and the approval by the President, of such legislation or legislative acts as may be necessary to provide for the payment, by the Government of the United States, of the spoliation claims incurred by the French Government prior to the year 1801, commonly known as the French spoliation claims, or such thereof as have been adjudged valid by the Court of Claims of the United States.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by the clerks of the two houses to each of the United States Senators and Members of the United States Congress from South Carolina.

Resolved, That the senate do agree to the resolution.

Ordered, That it be sent to the house of representatives for concurrence.

By order:

IN THE SENATE.

H. H. GAILLARD, C. S.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
December 22, 1888.

Resolved, That the house do concur in the resolution.

Ordered, That it be returned to the senate with concurrence.

By order.

JOHN T. SLOAN, C. H. E.

Certified:

A true copy from the journals of the two houses.

JOHN T. SLOAN, C. H. E.

Mr. WASHBURN presented resolutions adopted by the Phil. Kearney Post, No. 18, Grand Army of the Republic, of Fairmount, Minn., favoring the passage of a dependent pension bill, and recommending a service pension of not less than \$8 per month to every ex-Union soldier who served in the war not less than sixty days; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of the Chamber of Commerce of St. Paul, Minn., praying that an adequate appropriation be made to protect the work already done on the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, and to complete it at the earliest day possible; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PLUMB presented the petition of Mrs. Cordelia Mercer, of Lawrence, Kans., praying to be allowed a pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON NAVY-YARD.

Mr. VOORHEES. On the 12th of December the Secretary of the Navy transmitted, in response to a resolution passed by this body, a history of the Washington navy-yard. I ask that the communication may be taken from the table and printed, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs for such action as may be deemed proper.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Do all the papers accompany the communication?

Mr. VOORHEES. The package is on the table just as it was transmitted by the Secretary of the Navy in response to the resolution of the Senate. I think the proper course to take is to order it to be printed and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

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

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. SHERMAN. I am directed by the Committee on Finance to report back adversely the bill (S. 32) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to overrule and reverse the decisions of all inferior officers of the Treasury Department in respect to all matters of account, and I move its indefinite postponement. It is a bill introduced by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL], and I call his attention to it.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be indefinitely postponed, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. HARRIS, from the Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (S. 425) for the relief of Lindsay Murdock, submitted an adverse report thereon, and moved that the bill be indefinitely postponed; which was agreed to.

Mr. FAULKNER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 645) granting a pension to Harrison Wagner, reported it with an amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 909) granting a pension to David Peterson;

A bill (S. 283) granting a pension to M. J. Fogg; and

A bill (S. 284) granting a pension to David H. Lutman.

Mr. SPOONER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom were referred the following bills, asked that the committee be discharged from their further consideration, and that they be referred to the Select Committee on Indian Depredations; which was agreed to:

A bill (S. 525) for the relief of Hiram D. Drum;

A bill (S. 526) for the relief of William R. Baker;

A bill (S. 527) for the relief of Jonathan L. Dobbs, Daniel C. Kyle, Keith & O'Neal, James C. Loving, and the legal representatives of John Hittson, deceased; Alexander Timmons, deceased; Nathan Watson, deceased; and Daniel Cretzinger, deceased;

A bill (S. 529) for the relief of William Franklin Grounds;

A bill (S. 592) to compensate Mrs. Sarah L. Larimer for loss of property taken from her by Sioux Indians; and

A bill (S. 520) for the relief of William Beddo and others.

Mr. MORRILL. I am directed by the Committee on Finance to report back the bill (S. 1259) to credit and pay to the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia all moneys collected under the direct tax levied by the act of Congress approved August 5, 1861. I will state that the same bill has been reported from the Committee on Finance, and I move that this bill be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

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

A bill (S. 390) to amend paragraph 3 of section 4693 of the Revised Statutes, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 1201) in relation to oaths in pension and other cases.

Mr. COCKRELL, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1359) providing for an Assistant Secretary of War, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 431) for the relief of Alfred J. Worcester, have instructed me to report the same back without amendment, and recommend the passage of the bill.

In connection with this report I desire to read to the Senate and have placed upon the record a letter from the Adjutant-General just received in regard to these remuster cases, in which a number of Senators are interested. It will be remembered that a large number of these cases were presented to the Secretary of War, and there was much delay in the consideration and disposition of them. I made inquiry to ascertain what had been done in regard to them, and have just received the letter which I shall read. I addressed a letter to the Secretary of War on Saturday, the 4th instant; it was delivered to him on the 6th instant, and on the same day I received the following reply:

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington City, January 6, 1890.

SIR: In reply to your communication of January 4, this day received, relative to the number of claims for remuster received and disposed of annually by this Department since 1884. I am directed by the Secretary of War to inform you that the records of the remuster division show the following for each of the fiscal years from 1884 to 1889, inclusive:

Year.	Re- ceived.	Com- pleted.
1884.....	5,829	952
1885.....	4,313	1,125
1886.....	2,493	1,764
1887.....	3,528	2,504
1888.....	1,346	5,543
1889.....	1,073	3,893

On July 16, 1889, the remuster division of the Adjutant-General's Office was, with others, consolidated into the record and pension division of the War Department. On July 22 an actual count of all cases on hand was required to be made, and as a result 4,360 remuster claims were reported on hand awaiting action at the close of that day.

By September 30 this accumulation, together with the current receipts of the office, had been disposed of, and no unfinished case of any kind remained in the record and pension division unacted upon.

Since July 22, 1889, there have been received 2,018 remuster claims, and disposed of 6,347, leaving 31 cases on hand on the morning of January 6, 1890.

Very respectfully,

F. C. AINSWORTH,
Captain and Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army.

Senator F. M. COCKRELL,
United States Senate Chamber.

This only shows what can be done where there is a will and a way and a method in the disposition of the public business.

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

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. VANCE introduced a bill (S. 1748) for the relief of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in the city of Washington, D. C.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1749) to provide for the erection of a monument to Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Greene on the battle-field of the battle of Guilford Court-House, N. C., fought March 15, 1781; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. TURPIE introduced a bill (S. 1750) granting a pension to May T. Deuel; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MORRILL introduced a bill (S. 1751) for the purchase of a site and erection of a custom-house and post-office at St. Albans, Vt.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. FRYE introduced a bill (S. 1752) to amend "An act to amend section 4400 of Title LII of the Revised Statutes, concerning the regulation of steam-vessels," approved August 7, 1882; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1753) to relieve certain appointed or enlisted men of the Navy and Marine Corps from the charge of desertion; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. FRYE. I should like the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs for just one moment. I introduced a bill a moment ago to authorize the removal of the charge of desertion by the Secretary of the Navy in cases where enlisted men in the Navy or Marine Corps afterwards enlisted in the United States Army and served there honorably. There was a law passed which provided for all those cases in the Army, but by some oversight it did not apply to the cases in the Navy and Marine Corps, and I ask that the chairman will give it attention.

Mr. CAMERON. The bill will have attention as soon as it reaches the committee.

Mr. PASCO (by request) introduced a bill (S. 1754) for the relief of E. S. Tyner, of Plant City, Fla.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. QUAY introduced a bill (S. 1755) for the erection of a public building at the city of Allegheny, Pa.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. FARWELL introduced a bill (S. 1756) for the relief of Sarah Friedman; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1757) to apply to commissioned and non-commissioned officers the provisions of the act of Congress entitled, "An act for the relief of certain volunteer and regular soldiers of the late war and the war with Mexico," approved March 2, 1889; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1758) granting a pension to Mrs. Sarah J. Hay; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a bill (S. 1759) for the relief of Maj. Joseph W. Wham, paymaster, United States Army; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. DAVIS (by request) introduced a bill (S. 1760) to create additional associate justices of the supreme court of the District of Columbia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. MOODY introduced a bill (S. 1761) for the relief of Hector F. Phelps; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 1762) to change the boundaries of the Uncompahgre reservation; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. HARRIS. I introduce sundry bills, some fifty in number, for the payment of private claims in respect to which the Court of Claims has found the facts under what is known as the Bowman act. I ask that after a second reading the order be made to print, say, 100 copies, as they are private bills, instead of the usual number, and that the bills be referred to the Committee on Claims.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bills will be read by title.

The bills were severally read the first and second times by title, as follows:

A bill (S. 1763) for the relief of James W. Allen, administrator of Thomas B. Crenshaw, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1764) for the relief of Mary A. Blackwell, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1765) for the relief of S. H. Brodnax, executor of George T. Taylor, of Tipton County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1766) for the relief of W. H. Cook, sr., of St. Mary's Parish, Louisiana;

A bill (S. 1767) for the relief of John M. Campbell, of Gibson County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1768) for the relief of Clarence M. Dowling, administrator of Michael Dowling, deceased, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1769) for the relief of William H. Douglass, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1770) for the relief of Elizabeth P. Dyer, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1771) for the relief of Mary S. Fogg, of Madison County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1772) for the relief of Elizabeth Greggs, administratrix of Charles Murphy, of Hardeman County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1773) for the relief of T. S. Galloway, administrator of Mary G. Wilkes, deceased, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1774) for the relief of T. S. Galloway, administrator of Mary G. Wray, deceased, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1775) for the relief of Newitt Harris, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1776) for the relief of David H. Hildebrand, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1777) for the relief of Horace P. Hobson, administrator of John O. Graves, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1778) for the relief of Indiana E. Hughes, administratrix of John P. Hughes, late of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1779) for the relief of James C. Jenkins, administrator of Thomas C. Jenkins, of Hardeman County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1780) for the relief of B. J. Kimbrough, administrator of Asa Douglas, deceased, late of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1781) for the relief of John Loague, administrator of Delos A. Harroll, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1782) for the relief of John Loague, administrator of Elizabeth Becton, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1783) for the relief of Abner Lewis, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1784) for the relief of John Mack, of Warren County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1785) for the relief of Sarah E. Mendenhall, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1786) for the relief of Mrs. Ann Moreau, of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana;

A bill (S. 1787) for the relief of John R. McKinnie, administrator of David McKinnie, of Hardeman County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1788) for the relief of John R. McDowell, administrator of John McDowell, deceased, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1789) for the relief of Sarah McFerrin, administratrix of Robert Waters, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1790) for the relief of Samuel McKenna, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1791) for the relief of Raleigh Poindexter, of Tipton County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1792) for the relief of C. C. Poindexter, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1793) for the relief of Mattie B. Pittman, administratrix of Fannie T. Hunt, deceased, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1794) for the relief of Thomas Polk, administrator of Levi M. Todd, deceased, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1795) for the relief of Madison Randolph, of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1796) for the relief of James A. Richardson, administrator of Ezekiel T. Keel, late of Shelby County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1797) for the relief of John B. Reid, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1798) for the relief of Almira E. Still, administratrix of William F. Still, late of Madison County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1799) for the relief of Robert Smith, of Madison County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1800) for the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth Seward (formerly Rives), of Gibson County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1801) for the relief of Mary Smith, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1802) for the relief of A. H. Taylor, administrator of Theodocia Turner, deceased, of Gibson County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1803) for the relief of James Tucker, of Fayette County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1804) for the relief of Mary E. Wells, sole heir and distributee of Daniel J. Wells, deceased, of Hardeman County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1805) for the relief of Robert H. Walton, of Hardeman County, Tennessee;

A bill (S. 1806) for the relief of John R. Watkins, administrator of Matilda W. Anderson, of Haywood County, Tennessee; and

A bill (S. 1807) for the relief of Martha L. Trigg, of Shelby County, Tennessee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bills will be referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. HARRIS. I call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Printing to the fact that I make a motion that 100 copies only of these bills shall be printed.

Mr. MANDERSON. I understand that but 100 copies of these bills are requested to be printed. Since the introduction of a resolution by the Senator from Tennessee to reduce the number of bills printed, I have explored that matter to some degree, and I find that this is the condition: By an act that passed Congress in 1864 it was required that there should be printed of every bill 750 copies, and a method of distribution was fixed upon by the Joint Committee on Printing after the passage of that law. So no change can be made in the number of bills which shall be printed of either a public or a private character except by the action of both Houses of Congress; but I take it from the reading of the law that as to any specific bill a less or greater number can be ordered by either House. I think that in this particular instance there should be a specific order as to each one of these bills, so that the number may be limited.

I will further say that in considering the resolution introduced a short time ago by the Senator from Tennessee the Committee on Printing realized that there has been a waste of the public money in the printing of so great a number of private bills, and will probably to-day or to-morrow present a bill which shall reach that evil and remedy it.

Mr. HARRIS. I desire to suggest to the chairman of the Committee on Printing that if the committee shall give consideration to the resolution that I had the honor to introduce, reducing the number of private bills or bills for the payment of private claims, and it shall be favorably considered, it should include the reports upon such bills as well as the bills themselves, so that we shall have 100 copies, or whatever number the committee may choose to report, of bills printed, and the same number of reports.

Mr. MANDERSON. That matter is also receiving the consideration of the committee, and will be acted upon in due time.

Mr. HARRIS. My motion is that only 100 copies of these bills be printed.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that that motion is agreed to, no objection having been made. It will be so ordered.

Mr. CALL introduced a bill (S. 1808) for the relief of William W. Webb; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1809) to regulate the natural laws of supply and demand, and to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of revenue; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CASEY introduced a bill (S. 1810) granting a right of way to the Jamestown and Northern Railway Company through the Devil's Lake Indian reservation, in the State of North Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1811) granting the right of way to the

Duluth and Manitoba Railroad Company across the Fort Pembina reservation in North Dakota; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. ALDRICH introduced a bill (S. 1812) granting an increase of pension to Emily F. Warren; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1813) granting an increase of pension to Florida G. Casey; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1814) granting a pension to Hannah Belford; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1815) granting a pension to Hannah Randall; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1816) granting a pension to Catharine A. Baker; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1817) granting a pension to Mary F. Hopkins; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1818) granting a pension to C. G. McKnight; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1819) granting a pension to Ira Ingraham; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. HARRIS. On behalf of the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] and in his name I introduce a bill accompanied by a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury. He desires that the preamble and bill shall be read at length and the letter read, so that they may appear in the RECORD. I make that request and ask the reference of the bill, after a second reading, to the Committee on Finance.

The bill (S. 1820) to suspend the operation of the sinking-fund laws until the further order of Congress was read the first time by its title, and the second time at length, as follows:

Whereas Congress is officially advised that the total outstanding bonded debt of the United States amounted to \$751,163,400 on the 31st day of December, 1889, of which \$121,367,700, bearing 4 per cent. interest, is payable September 1, 1891, and the remaining \$629,795,700, bearing 4 per cent. interest, is not payable until July 1, 1907; and Congress is further advised that there is now in the Treasury of the United States a sum more than sufficient to pay off all the 4 per cents due in 1891; and that the surplus revenue collected for the fiscal year 1889 exceeded the ordinary expenses of the Government \$105,000,000, and for the year 1890 the surplus is estimated at \$92,000,000; and

Whereas it appears from the official statement that the public debt has been reduced \$716,817,819.22 in excess of the requirements of the sinking fund up to June 30, 1890, and that there is now \$40,939,852.53 deposited without interest in national-bank depositories, and \$39,061,149.25 more have been paid as premiums on bonds purchased since August 3, 1887, the premium being now 27 per cent. on the outstanding 4 per cents; and

Whereas the maintenance of taxation by law to provide further for a sinking fund under such circumstances is a needless and therefore wrongful burden on the people; Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all laws and parts of laws providing for a sinking fund for the payment of the principal of the bonds of the United States be, and they are hereby, suspended until further order of Congress.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The letter from the Secretary of the Treasury will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, January 6, 1890.

SIR: In reply to your inquiries of the 4th instant, I have to state that from August 31, 1885, to January 1, 1890, the public debt has been decreased \$716,817,819.22 in excess of the estimated requirements of the sinking fund to June 30, 1890.

Bonds have been purchased under Department orders of August 3, 1887, to the 1st instant, as follows:

4 per cents, \$108,229,250; premium paid.....	\$29,549,359.53
4 per cents, \$128,642,200; premium paid.....	9,511,789.72
	39,061,149.25

Respectfully yours,

W. WINDOM, Secretary.

HON. JAMES B. BECK,
United States Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill will be referred, with the accompanying letter, to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. MANDERSON introduced a bill (S. 1821) for the relief of Dorr Heffleman; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1822) for the relief of Theodore L. Van Dorn; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also (by request) introduced a bill (S. 1823) for the relief of Louisa H. Canby; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. VEST introduced a bill (S. 1824) to provide for the compulsory education of Indian children; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 1825) for the relief of Daniel Connor; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. MANDERSON introduced a bill (S. 1826) granting pensions to Powell's Battalion of Missouri Mounted Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. PLUMB introduced a bill (S. 1827) granting a pension to Wesley Blackman; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1828) granting a pension to Joseph Hicks; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1829) for the relief of Charles M. Durand; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas, introduced a bill (S. 1830) for the relief of Joseph S. Thompson, of Lee County, Arkansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1831) for the relief of Rachael Martin, administratrix of Thomas L. Martin, of Montgomery County, Arkansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1832) for the relief of the heirs of Thomas J. Brown, deceased, late of Monroe County, Arkansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1833) for the relief of C. L. Thomas, administrator of Lewis Thomas, deceased, of Clark County, Arkansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1834) for the relief of Eli T. Diamond, of Phillips County, Arkansas; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 1835) granting a pension to Wesley W. Taylor; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1836) granting an honorable discharge to Hiram H. Benefiel, late of Company C, Fifty-ninth Indiana Volunteers; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1837) to remove the charge of desertion from Harlem Brewer; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1838) for the relief of James McD. Hayes; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FAULKNER (by request) introduced a bill (S. 1839) to provide for a Three-Americas and World's Exposition at the National Capital in 1892; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Select Committee on the Quadro-Centennial.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

On motion of Mr. PASCO, it was

Ordered, That the papers in the case of Mrs. Hester Perrine, Walker, and Henry E. Perrine, heirs of Dr. Henry Perrine, be withdrawn from the files of the Senate under the rules of the Senate.

CIRCUIT COURT EXPENDITURES, ETC., IN FLORIDA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution submitted by the Senator from Florida [Mr. CALL] on a previous day. The resolution will be read.

The resolution submitted by Mr. CALL December 21, 1889, was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney-General of the United States is hereby directed to report to the Senate the expenditures made by the circuit court of the United States for the northern district of Florida at Jacksonville, Fla., in the months of November and December of this year, and the several items of such expenditure.

2. That the Attorney-General forward to the Senate copies of all communications between the Attorney-General and the officers of said court relating to criminal prosecutions during the months of November and December.

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

Mr. CALL. I ask leave to amend the resolution so as to include the month of October.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That modification will be made, if there be no objection.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to modify the resolution so as to read:

In the months of October, November, and December of this year.

Mr. PLATT. Of this year?

Mr. CALL. Strike out "this year" and insert "1889."

The CHIEF CLERK. So as to read:

In the months of October, November, and December of the year 1889.

Mr. SHERMAN. I should like to have the resolution read again. I did not comprehend it exactly.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read as modified.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Attorney-General of the United States is hereby directed to report to the Senate the expenditures made by the circuit court of the United States for the northern district of Florida, at Jacksonville, Fla., in the months

of October, November, and December of the year 1889, and the several items of such expenditure.

2. That the Attorney-General forward to the Senate copies of all communications between the Attorney-General and the officers of said court relating to criminal prosecutions during the months of October, November, and December, 1889.

Mr. SHERMAN. In my judgment, resolutions of that character ought always to go to a committee; and I think this resolution ought to go to the Committee on the Judiciary. I never like to resist or stand in the way of a call for information, but this resolution calls for papers which perhaps ought not to be made public. Suppose a suit was pending there that involved matters which ought not to be made public pending the suit. If that be the case, the Attorney-General will be compelled under this resolution to send the papers to the Senate, although his judgment would be against the propriety of that course.

It seems to me, with due deference to my friend from Florida, that the better way would be to allow the resolution to go to the Committee on the Judiciary, and if there is no objection in regard to the material matter, as to why the information should not be sent here, let it be reported back and passed. Certainly there is no objection to any information desired by any Senator, unless it be for public reasons such as ought not to be communicated, and in judicial proceedings it is very often improper to communicate to the public letters that are passed between the Attorney-General and his subordinates.

Mr. CALL. I have no objection to amending the latter clause of the resolution by inserting the words "so far as it may be done without prejudice to the public interest." That will meet the objection of the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. SHERMAN. There is another objection. Resolutions of the Senate when sent to the heads of Departments are always mandatory and do not leave to the heads of Departments the discretion to deny the information. With the President, by courtesy, a different rule is established, and there the expediency of the matter is left to the President. I think it is better to preserve the form of the resolution, and if the information is called for to have it mandatory; and if it is referred to the Committee on the Judiciary it can be reported back the next day, and in that way without changing the form of our resolutions this safeguard may be maintained. The committee might propose some amendment. I am not a member of that committee, and I do not see the chairman present, or I would not interpose this objection.

Mr. CALL. The proposition I have made to the Senator from Ohio meets entirely the objection he has made, leaving the Attorney-General to decide whether there is or is not in any particular case a danger of prejudicing the interests of the prosecution or the Government in that case. There can be no objection to communicating to the Senate the expenses incurred at a term of the court nor the items of expenditure. That is a public matter as to which there can be no two sides.

The information may be valuable to us in respect to general legislation relating to the courts or in respect to special legislation for that court, and the amendment I suggest entirely meets the objection of the Senator from Ohio in reference to danger to the public interest in communicating facts relating to a special case pending in the court.

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

Mr. EDMUNDS. What has become of the last amendment to the second resolution?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The last amendment has not been agreed to. The last amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to add to the resolution:

So far as may be done without prejudice to the public interest.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I think it better, as there are a good many criminal prosecutions going on down there, that the resolution should be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and we will make inquiry into it, if it be the pleasure of the Senate. I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CALL. I hope that will not be done. There can be no good purpose served by referring the resolution to the Committee on the Judiciary. Without referring to the special purpose the Senator from Vermont may have, which may be a very correct one, there can be no rational end to be obtained in referring the resolution to the Judiciary Committee. The only result would be to suppress this information or to delay it. If, in the State of Florida, the judge and officers of the court are carrying on needless prosecutions, in the interest of personal malice, in the interest of a corrupt administration of justice, if they are accumulating vast expenses there for their own individual ends, the country ought to know it. Reports are in circulation in Florida that the court and its officers have been acting in those political prosecutions under the instructions of the Attorney-General. The Senate and the country ought to know it.

The amendment I have proposed, that if in the discretion of the Attorney-General there is in any particular case a danger of prejudicing the interests of the prosecution the information may be withheld, meets the objection which has been raised to the adoption of the resolution. As to the items of expense there can be no reason whatever why the resolution should not be passed. It might be referred to the Judiciary Committee a dozen times and considered over and over again and still that single fact remains that the information is necessary both

for general legislation and for the protection of citizens of the United States against the arbitrary, the improper, and the corrupt exercise of judicial power and the Treasury and tax-payers from unlawful and unnecessary expenditures.

Mr. EDMUNDS. For one, I am in favor of turning on the lights everywhere into the state of society, judicially or otherwise, in every State in the Union, but I am not in favor of interfering with the administration of justice in the courts by making public or calling for in advance the precise steps and machinery by way of witnesses, indictments, and other things that the administration of the judiciary department of the United States may see fit to resort to in order to get at the truth.

Therefore, I think it better that the Committee on the Judiciary should look into this matter and see what it means before the Senate takes any step about it. My honorable and distinguished friend from Florida may be sure, I think, that the Committee on the Judiciary will make a speedy report upon the subject.

Mr. CALL. All I have to say is that I have no power to prevent a reference to the committee if such is the will of the Senate, but the suggestions and statements of the Senator from Vermont do not meet this case. There is nothing in the resolution that can possibly interfere with the administration of justice by the court, whether it is corrupt or honest, or by the Attorney-General, so far as he has any power in it. There is nothing that can disclose any particular witnesses. If they have been served with process the fact is upon the records of the court and known to everybody. The mere items of expense can give no information one way or the other, except as to the character of the prosecution, and other facts must determine whether it is necessary or unnecessary. There can be no good purpose served by a reference to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Vermont that the resolution be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The motion was agreed to.

LOCATION OF WORLD'S FAIR OF 1892.

Mr. JONES, of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the following resolution, reported it without amendment; and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Select Committee on the Quadro-Centennial, or a subcommittee thereof, be, and it hereby is, authorized to employ a stenographer to report such hearings as may be had before said committee, and to order such reports printed for the use of the Senate and the committee, the expense therefor to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had yesterday approved and signed the joint resolution (S. R. 32) to authorize the expenditure for rent of a portion of the appropriation for the irrigation survey for the present fiscal year.

ASSISTANT CLERK TO JUDICIARY COMMITTEE.

Mr. EDMUNDS. I am authorized by the Committee on the Judiciary to report a resolution for reference to the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

The resolution was read, and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and it hereby is, authorized to employ an assistant clerk for the residue of this present session of the Senate only, at a salary not exceeding \$8 per day; and that the Secretary of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay the said salary out of the appropriation for miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate.

PREVENTION OF ARREST OF WILLIAM W. DUDLEY.

Mr. VOORHEES. I offer a resolution and ask that it be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Whereas it is alleged in the public press, without contradiction, that on or about the 10th day of December, 1889, at Indianapolis, Ind., Smiley N. Chambers, United States district attorney for the district of Indiana, interfered in his official capacity and prevented the arrest of William W. Dudley by due process of law upon the charge to the effect that he, the said Dudley, did willfully, unlawfully, and feloniously violate the election laws of the United States at the general election held in Indiana November, 1888: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Attorney-General of the United States be directed to inform the Senate what instructions, if any, the Department of Justice has issued to the said Chambers on the subject of the arrest of said Dudley, or his exemption from arrest, and by what lawful authority the said Chambers, as United States district attorney, whether acting under instructions or not, was entitled to prevent the arrest of said Dudley, or any one else charged with crime in due form of law.

Resolved, That the Attorney-General is further directed to transmit to the Senate all correspondence which may have taken place between the Department of Justice and the said Chambers on the subject of the arrest of the said Dudley.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the resolutions may be printed and go over until to-morrow, when I shall ask leave to submit a few remarks thereon.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The order to print will be made, if there be no objection.

Mr. EDMUNDS. That is right. I think I am in favor of the substance of the resolutions, but I should like to see them in print.

SIMPLIFICATION OF REVENUE LAWS.

Mr. CALL. In introducing a bill this morning to simplify the laws for the collection of the revenue I omitted to state that the bill is the work of Mr. J. W. Crary, of the State of Florida, a man of very great research and who has given great study to the tariff laws and the laws for the collection of the revenue.

The bill was sent to me accompanied by a short statement of facts and propositions relating to the specific provisions of the bill, and, instead of reading the statement, which has been highly approved and commented upon by some of the leading journals of the United States, I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the RECORD. It is a very brief and short statement of facts and propositions.

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

Mr. MANDERSON. What is the paper, I would ask the Senator?

Mr. CALL. It is in relation to a bill to simplify the laws for the collection of the revenue, which was presented by me by request, a bill prepared by Mr. Crary, of Pensacola, Fla., a man of great experience in matters connected with the revenue and the tariff and of great research. He has accompanied the bill with a statement, which I ask to present for the consideration of the Senate, and, as it is short, in preference to reading it and detaining the Senate, I ask that it may be inserted in the RECORD to accompany the bill which I have presented.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask the Senator from Florida if the purpose he has in view will not be reached by simply ordering the paper to be printed? The RECORD is so very large that I think we should not add unnecessarily to it.

Mr. CALL. If the Senator has any particular objection to printing the statement in the RECORD, I will adopt the course he indicates; but it is a brief statement and it will not occupy as much time as our remarks upon it. I have no objection, if the Senator objects to the statement going into the RECORD, to pursuing the course which he suggests.

Mr. EDMUNDS. It will save a good deal of money.

Mr. MANDERSON. I have no objection to its being printed as a document, but I do object to its being printed in the RECORD.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let it be printed in connection with the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. That order will be made.

Mr. CALL. Not in the RECORD?

Mr. EDMUNDS. No; not in the RECORD.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no objection the paper will be printed, not in the RECORD, but as a document in connection with the bill.

ALASKA SEAL FISHERIES.

Mr. PLUMB. I desire to give notice that the resolution which I offered yesterday, which would naturally come up in order to-day, and which I consent to have go over in order to accommodate the convenience of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], I shall call up to-morrow at the close of the proper order of the morning business.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. MCPHERSON, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 845) to change and fix the time of holding terms of the district and circuit courts at Austin and Brownsville, Tex.; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

EMIGRATION OF COLORED PERSONS.

Mr. MORGAN. If there is no further morning business I ask leave of the Senate to call up the bill (S. 1121) to provide for the emigration of persons of color from the Southern States.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] offered in the Senate and has laid upon the table a bill of the following title: "To provide for the emigration of persons of color from the Southern States." The calling up of that bill for the purpose of debate for the moment gives me an opportunity to submit some remarks upon a branch of that subject which I think deserves the present earnest consideration of the Senate.

Mr. President, when Mr. Windom, who is now Secretary of the Treasury, was a member of this body he advocated a plan for dispersing our negro population through the States by voluntary, but invited, migration.

I was then in favor of the policy he advocated, and am still in favor of any such plan as can be devised to meet the evil which the movement confessed and sought to cure.

The measure proposed by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] is based upon the same theory, and is supported by our further experience as to the facts that first gave rise to this movement of Mr. Windom. It seems that only a few of our statesmen really desire that the negroes shall be or remain massed in certain States with a view to their taking the control of the State governments. The opinion and will of the people of the United States may be safely stated as being firm and resolute against such a fate. The reverse of this policy is the result of a sentiment and conviction in the minds of our people that the policy of separation is necessary for preserving the present distinc-

tions between the white and black races, and that such distinction will be preserved, whatever else may happen.

There is much anxious and honest inquiry now as to what is best to be done.

I have reached the conclusion, after mature reflection, and, I hope, without prejudice or any feeling that relates to the political or sectional strife in which the negro race has been a conspicuous and dangerous element in this country for a century, that there is a natural incongruity, "an irrepressible conflict," between the races that nothing will cure, except their final separation.

Temporary expedients may do good to both races, in the modification of evils that are obvious to all, but our duty to both races will not be performed until we have done all that is possible to restore the negro to his native land.

This is apparently too great a task for a single generation, when we look to history for examples to justify our hopes. But the appliances of modern science have brought the west coast of Africa so near to us in respect of time, and the capacity of ships has been so greatly increased, and the wealth of our country has been so expanded, that it is easy now to accomplish a work in a single year that could not have been done in twenty years when the negro race was being imported into the United States.

I will state the distances, approximately, between the mouth of the Congo River and several of the great ports of Europe and America, that we may have a more exact understanding of the time within which 2,000,000 of people could be conveyed to Africa and the rapidity with which commerce with that country may be conducted.

Approximate distance from mouth of Congo River to—	Miles.
Lisbon, Portugal.....	4,200
Buenos Ayres.....	4,800
Rio Janeiro, Brazil.....	3,400
Pará, Brazil.....	3,720
Savannah, Ga.....	5,820
Charleston, S. C.....	5,790
Norfolk, Va.....	5,640
New York, N. Y.....	5,580
Boston, Mass.....	5,520
Liverpool, England.....	4,890
Hamburg, Germany.....	5,340

My purpose will be chiefly to present to the Senate and to my own constituency, who are so vitally interested in the negro question, an outline of statement, based upon facts that are easily in reach of all inquirers, and to invite their investigation of this subject.

I do not presume to extract the lessons of political economy from these facts that greater wisdom than I have may fail to discern or may find fallacious, but merely to present the question for consideration, whether the separation of the two races is not practicable and essential to the welfare of both, and whether the return of the negro race to Africa is not the only real and final solution of this great controversy.

The facts that I will present are gathered from the best authorities, and are, so far as I know, undisputed.

They ought to reconcile us to unimpassioned and sincere debate, to faithful investigation and a sedate verdict, free from all political influences or bias. That verdict should respond honestly to the issue, whether it is better for both races that they should be separated.

If the question was reversed from its present attitude and should now be, whether we would consent to the importation of 8,000,000 of negroes from Africa to the United States, the answer of every human being of intelligence in this country would be "No! Never!"

No appeal of humanity, no demand of necessity connected with scarcity of labor, not even the missionary spirit of the church, would induce us to invite, or prevent us from resisting, the influx of such a population. We have settled that policy in the prohibition of Chinese immigration, on the naked question of race aversion; and, in doing that, we have felt compelled, for reasons of self-protection, to ignore the plain engagements of a solemn treaty.

The emigration of the negro race to Africa is urged by our race instincts and aversions, for similar and stronger reasons. The question is embarrassed, however, by the fact that we have formed many strong attachments for our former slaves, and have conferred upon them the highest political privileges. We have also educated them to a condition so greatly above that of their African brethren that it seems almost cruel to ask them to renew their association with their own blood kindred. I would not ask this if I were not convinced that the American negro will not degenerate in Africa, but will there grow rich and powerful and great, and will, after due effort, and without personal sacrifice, lift up his people to a higher level, and so perform a task that Providence has reserved to him and has denied to all other men the power to perform.

It is necessary to a proper understanding of this subject that we should be careful to observe the wide difference that exists between the negroes of the Congo basin and those along the Atlantic coast of Africa.

In both there is found, in every tribe, a marked aversion to the white race, the institution of domestic slavery, polygamy, fetish worship, the degradation of woman, human sacrifices, and cannibalism. Yet in physical form and power, in mental endowment, and in tractability the Congo negro is greatly the natural superior of the coast

negro. It is proper to study both these classes in order to ascertain the features that are common to both and are to be removed by civilizing influences. This is especially important in reference to the employment of the best agents to promote their civilization.

I am convinced that the American negro is the only man who can accomplish this work, and that the white race can only civilize them in Africa, as it has done in America, through the compulsion of a slave code.

THE PEOPLE OF CONGO AND ANGOLA COMPARED.

A range of hills, or rather the breaking down of an elevated plateau towards the seacoast on the west and towards the basin of the Congo River and its tributaries on the north and east, is distant from the Atlantic Ocean about 100 miles. Over this table-land all the interior waters find their egress to the ocean, descending in cataracts from a mean elevation of 1,000 feet.

Between this elevated table land and the sea the forests are heavy but open, with little jungle or morass. The soil is fertile and supplied abundantly with running streams. The heat is not excessive, and is tempered by sea breezes to an agreeable range of 60° to 90°. West of this plateau the negro tribes are lower in all their traits and conditions than they are upon the elevated lands or eastward in the valley of the Congo. They have been four hundred years in contact with the civilization and religion of the Portuguese people without having acquired from that source any real relief from their barbarity.

This is the only country I have ever heard of where the Catholic Church seems to have surrendered ground it had once gained in its efforts to civilize mankind.

There seem to be a degenerate tendency and a hatred of white man's government in the negro race in this narrow belt of country that drag the natives beyond the reach of civilizing influences at the hands of white men. It is not uncommon to find among them crucifixes and other religious emblems taken from ruined chapels and churches and used by the negroes as conjuring wands and fetishes.

They adopt the vices of the Portuguese and imitate their manners, and many of them read and write their language, but they reject their influence and refuse their moral codes and examples, looking with suspicion upon every movement of the Caucasian race that is designed to affect their condition.

No fact more important is to be considered in connection with the leading forth of the negro races of Africa into a higher civilization than the innate suspicion they all have of the white race. This natural caution or aversion which is excited instinctively towards the white man does not seem to exist towards the Arab or Semitic races. The almost universal prevalence among the negro tribes of the rite of circumcision argues a traditional association, if not a family relationship, with the yellow men of Arabia. The bronze complexion of the races in the Congo Basin argues a former miscegenation of the negro with the Arab tribes.

This fact probably accounts for the other fact that Arab rulers in Africa have extensive influence and dominion over the negroes of the Congo region, notwithstanding their frequent maraudings, in which millions of their people have been captured and carried to foreign countries in slavery, and other millions have been cruelly destroyed by the Arabs; but, whatever may account for these serious conditions, the fact remains that the wild, untutored African is strongly prejudiced against the Caucasian. It is only in a less degree that the most cultivated negro is also constantly armed with inveterate suspicions toward the white race.

This natural aversion, whatever may cause it, is the most serious difficulty in the way of the white race in their efforts to give to the African negro the blessings of civilization. If this can ever be overcome it seems unquestionable that the task must be accomplished either through the entire subordination of the negro to the white race or by the separation of the races and the creation between them of international relations, instead of domestic relations under the same government.

The impossibility of their friendly association under the same government is demonstrated in the history of Hayti and Santo Domingo, and is scarcely less conspicuous in the destruction of mutual confidence and esteem that has followed emancipation in our country. It is undeniable that the aversion of the races has greatly increased since slavery was abolished. It will increase everywhere in this country so long as any large proportion of our population is of the African race.

The experiences of every day will not permit us to say that this feeling of aversion exists only in the South. It is not so intense in the South as it is in the North, for it is not softened in the North by the personal sympathy of long and friendly association. It is not so strong between the negro and his former master as it is between the negro and those who never owned slaves.

Separation of the races is the only thing that will extinguish these race aversions, if that is possible; but it will better the situation by removing the fatal consequences that it will engender, whether or not the cause of this aversion is eradicated.

In Africa, that was prepared for the negro as certainly as the Garden of Eden was prepared for Adam and Eve, he can grow up to the full measure of his destiny, and that may be great enough to dispel from

his consciousness the sense of inferiority that now prevents him from being the peer of the other races.

In the Congo basin we find the best type of the negro race, and the American negro, if he is to have any useful agency in elevating his race, can find here the field for his efforts and the workers whom he can control and lead upwards in the paths of civilization, and himself become rich and powerful.

The civilized world will unite in aiding the American negroes in this work, whenever he is willing to begin it. They will place in his reach a boon that no other race ever enjoyed—*independence, liberty, and power, without a sacrifice; and wealth, as the ripened fruit gathered from trees that he has not planted.*

THE NEGRO RACE.

In every negro in the United States, whose blood has not been affected by the illicit intercourse of the white man, there is a perfect identity of all the physical and mental traits and form, features, and color with the tribe in Africa from which he is descended.

The negroes found here are as varied in their characteristics as the many tribes are to which their ancestors belonged, but there is a uniformity in their traits of character, no less striking than in their general physical traits, that shows distinctly the race to which they belong—a race that is so isolated from all others, and so distinctive, and so peculiar, that it is never mistaken for any other race of men.

Whatever of civilization, cultivation, improvement, and Christianity the negro in the United States has acquired, has not been bred into him by an admixture of races, but has been copied, or absorbed, by him, as the pupil of the white race.

To ascertain the degree of progress he has made during his residence in the United States, it is only necessary to lift the curtain that shades the negro country in Africa and observe his kinsmen in their native haunts.

I will not resort to this method of investigation for the purpose of humiliating any man, for I speak in their praise, but to show them the grand possibilities that are in their reach if they shall be as kind and patient and generous towards their own kindred as we have been to them. And in this effort I will not confine my examination, as I might well do, to the evident fruits of kindness that our slave laws and practices have bestowed upon them, but I will include, also, their emancipation from slavery and their promotion to the rights and privileges that belong to the most advanced and honorable of all political conditions—*American citizenship.*

Grouping all these advantages into a means by which the American negro may bless the African negro, and assisting him in a duty so natural and so enticing, if the American negro refuses to aid his kinsmen to escape from their present barbarous condition he will deserve to lose the respect and confidence of all civilized men. The extracts which I will now read from the book of an English traveler, an anti-slavery man and a friend of the negro race, will best describe the traits of the American negro who has no care for the regeneration of the African negro.

This writer, Mr. Monteiro, spent sixteen years in Africa, in the Portuguese possessions in Angola, and on the Lower Congo River. His wife accompanied him, and his time was diligently employed in conducting mining and commercial operations, in traveling, and in the collection of specimens of flora and fauna for the British Zoological Society and the Royal School of Mines, of which he was an associate and corresponding member. Writing in 1874, before Stanley had discovered and threaded the Upper Congo, he says (pages 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 247, 248):

In the first instance, it is not easy to dispossess one's self of the prejudices both against and in favor of the negro. It is so natural to judge him by our own standard, and as we should wish him to be; so easy to think of him as agreeing with the preconceived idea that he is just like one of ourselves, but simply in a state of innocent darkness, and that we have only to show him the way for him to become civilized at once.

It is very disagreeable to find in the negro an entirely new and different state of things to that we had fondly imagined, and to have to throw overboard our cherished theories and confess our ignorance and that we have been entirely mistaken; but the truth must be told, and we shall have to run counter to the self-satisfied wisdom of the great number of people who judge from not always willfully false reports, but from hasty or superficial descriptions or tales that agree with their foregone conclusions, and whose benevolent feelings and sympathy for the negro are therefore established upon baseless grounds.

It is not my intention to depreciate any efforts for the benefit of the negro race, but simply to show that the good seed in Africa will fall on bare and barren ground, and where weeds will rise and choke it; and I must warn philanthropy that its bounty is less productive of good results on the negro of tropical Africa than perhaps on any other race.

The character of the negro is principally distinguished not so much by the presence of positively bad as by the absence of good qualities and of feelings and emotions that we can hardly understand or realize to be wanting in human nature. It is hardly correct to describe the negro intellect as debased and sunken, but rather as belonging to an arrested stage. There is nothing inconsistent in this; it is, on the contrary, perfectly consistent with what we have seen to be their physical nature.

The negro knows not love, affection, or jealousy. Male animals and birds are tender and loving to their females; cats show their affection by delicious purring noises and by licking; horses by neighing and pawing; cocks by calling their hens to any food they may find; parrots, pigeons, and other birds, by scratching one another's polls and billing and cooing; monkeys by nestling together and hunting for inconvenient parasites on each other's bodies; but in all the long years I have been in Africa I have never seen a negro manifest the least tenderness for or to a negro. They have no words or expressions in their language indicative of affection or love. Their passion is purely of an

animal description, unaccompanied by the least sympathetic affections of love or endearment. It is not astonishing, therefore, that jealousy should hardly exist. The greatest breach of conduct on the part of a married woman is but little thought of.

The negro is not cruelly inclined; that is to say, he will not inflict pain for any pleasure it may cause him, or for revenge; but at the same time he has not the slightest idea of mercy, pity, or compassion for suffering. A fellow-creature or animal writhing in pain or torture is to him a sight highly provocative of merriment and enjoyment. I have seen a number of blacks at Loanda, men, women, and children, stand round roaring with laughter at seeing a poor mongrel dog that had been run over by a cart twist and roll about in agony on the ground, where it was yelping piteously, till a white man put it out of its misery.

An animal that does not belong to them might die a thousand times of hunger and thirst before they would think of stirring a foot to give it either food or drink, and I have already described how even their own animals are left to fare and shift as best they can on their own resources, and their surprise that my wife should feed some little chickens that did not belong to her, at a town on the road to Bembe.

To sum up the negro character, it is deficient in the passions and in their corresponding virtues, and the life of the negro in his primitive condition, apparently so peaceful and innocent, is not that of an unsophisticated state of existence, but is due to what may be described as an organically rudimentary form of mind, and consequently capable of but little development to a higher type—*mere peaceable, vegetarian, prolific human rabbits and guinea pigs, in fact. They may be tamed, and taught to read and write, sing psalms, and other tricks, but negroes they must remain to the end of the chapter.*

The negro has no idea of a creator or of a future existence; neither does he adore the sun nor any other object, idol, or image. His whole belief is in evil spirits and in charms or "fetiches"; these "fetiches" can be employed for evil as well as to counteract the bad effect of other malign "fetiches," or spirits. Even the natives of Portuguese Angola, who have received the idea of God or Creator from the white men, will not allow that the same power rules over both races but that the God of the white man is another and different from the God of the black man; as one old negro that I was once arguing with expressed it, "Your God taught you to make gun powder and guns, but ours never did," and it is perfectly established in their minds that, in consequence of our belonging to another and more powerful God, their "fetiches" are unavailing either for good or evil to the white man. Our ridiculing their belief in "fetish" only serves to make them believe the more in it.

This description, given by the learned and scrutinizing English anti-slavery man, applies alike to the slave and the negro slave-holder in Angola.

It is not now true of the kindred of these people in the United States, as a class. The world may, hereafter, conclude that it is true of them if, instead of lending a helping hand to raise their kindred from this degradation, they coldly turn away from the task of their regeneration and refuse them all sympathy. When the African negro is raised to the level of his American kinsman, as he can certainly be, the redeeming power of Christian civilization will put on its brightest coronet of glory.

This work will be accomplished either through the assistance of the Arab or of the educated Christian American negro, if it is to be a work that centuries to come will not still find to be incomplete.

Portugal has wrestled with the problem of civilizing the coast tribes by exerting its direct influence over them for four centuries, and has expended vast sums of money and thousands of lives in the struggle, and the negro there, while he is more cunning and better informed for his teaching, is more a barbarian than he was when Diogo Cam first landed on the coast of West Africa. Mr. Monteiro, after looking over the field of British and Portuguese efforts in Sierra Leone and Angola, says (volume 1, page 112):

There can be no doubt that our attempts to civilize the negro by purely missionary efforts have been a signal failure. I will say more; so long as missionary work consists of simply denominational instruction and controversy, as at present, it is mischievous and retarding to the material and mental development and prosperity of Africa. Looking at it from a purely religious point of view, I emphatically deny that a single native has been converted, otherwise than in name or outward appearance, to Christianity or Christian morality.

Civilization on the coast has certainly succeeded in putting a considerable number of blacks into uncomfortable boots and tight and starched clothes, and their women outwardly into grotesque caricatures of Paris fashions, as any one may witness by spending even only a few hours at Sierra Leone, for instance, where he will see the inoffensive native transformed into a miserable stalling bully, insolent to the highest degree, taught to consider himself the equal of the white man, as full as his black skin can hold of overweening conceit, cant, and hypocrisy, without a vice or superstition removed or a virtue ingrafted in his nature, and calling the native whose industry supplies him with food "Younigga, sah!"

This is a bad account of the missionary efforts of white men. It is time the educated negro had taken a hand.

Mr. Johnston, an Englishman, and also a fellow of the Royal Zoological and Geographical Societies of London, in years preceding 1884 traveled on a scientific tour through Angola and on the Congo River as far as Leopoldville. Speaking of the Ba-Kongo, one of the most civilized tribes of the coast region, he says (pages 402-404):

In character the Ba-Kongo are indolent, fickle, and sensual. They dislike bloodshed, as a general rule, and save for certain superstitious customs, are rarely cruel, showing kindness and gentleness to animals. When their passions are excited, however, by fear of witchcraft or a wish to revenge grave injuries, they can become very demons of fanatical rage; and the people that in their calmer moments will shudder at an abrasion of the skin in a friend or neighbor, will, when he is convicted of sorcery, leap and shout with frenzied joy around his fiery stake while he frizzles alive. Witch or wizard burning (as a rule, there are more witches killed) is very common among the debased tribes of the coast, and the poison ordeal, already mentioned in chapter 3, prevails largely over the Lower Congo lands.

In fact, in many a Ba-Kongo village, life must be rendered miserable by the constant accusations of sorcery. At Pallaballa, for instance, for every one—child, woman, or man—who dies somebody is suspected of having caused the death by supernatural means, and the horrid old *nganya*, or "medicine man," who holds the inquest over the corpse, is called upon to detect the guilty person, and generally fixes upon those possessed of worldly goods, in order that

they may buy him off from his fell accusation. Should the accused, however, either through poverty or the force of public opinion, be unable to evade the charge, he or she is compelled to take the caska, the infusion of a poisonous bark, and, according as the potion is regulated in strength by the nganga, so the suspected tamperer with witchcraft either vomits up the poison and recovers, dies at once from its effects, or retains it on the stomach and does not die, in which latter case the natives have rare sport in hacking the ill-doer to pieces with their blunt knives or in "cooking" their victims over a slow fire. And yet, when the fears and passions of these people are not roused, they are gentle and effeminate, with many expressive words with which to caress and sympathize.

These citations from the highest and least prejudiced authorities prove that English and Portuguese effort to civilize these coast tribes has been abortive.

Still, they must be civilized, or else they must be discarded from the other free races of men and classed with those whose reclamation from barbarism is impossible and who must be constrained and compelled by force to do their duty to themselves and their fellow-men.

If there is an agency through which this may be accomplished without enslaving these people, it should be sought out and set at work, at whatever cost to the civilized and christianized nations.

The people I have been just now describing are fairly typical of those along the entire littoral region of Angola and Congo, extending 15° south of the equator. I have selected them because they are as darkly barbarous as any of the tribes in Central Africa, and have for four centuries resisted the influence of civilization brought into contact with them. Their race aversion has been strong enough to keep them in unmitigated barbarism.

The most distinctive proofs of their degradation are found in their cannibalism; their fetish and phallic worship, or superstition; the sacrifice of slaves to be put in the grave with their dead masters; their enslavement of their own race, either by capture in war or as a penalty of violated law, or under the condemnation of wizards. These horrid laws and practices are common in a more or less modified form to nearly every tribe in the interior of Africa.

The institution of domestic slavery, which is really the mildest form of subordination known to the tribes of Central Africa, prevails everywhere. Its requirements are, in fact, less onerous than are those that attend the marital relation, as between husband and wife.

The character of the slavery that obtains as a domestic institution in Central Africa is thus described by Mr. Monteiro, in 1874 (volume 1, pages 56 to 60):

In no part of Angola or among tribes to the interior have slave hunts ever existed as in the north; there are no powerful or more civilized nations making war on weaker tribes for the purpose of obtaining slaves and devastating the country by fire and sword. There is very little cruelty attending the state of slavery among the natives of Angola, I believe I may say even in the greater part of the rest of tropical Africa, but I will restrict myself to the part of which I have an intimate knowledge. It is a domestic institution and has existed as at present since time immemorial, and there is no more disgrace or discredit in having been born of slave parents, and consequently in being a slave, than there is in Europe in being born of dependents or servants of an ancestral house and continuing in its service in the same manner.

There is something patriarchal in the state of bondage among the negroes, if we look at it from an African point of view (I must again impress on my readers that all my remarks apply to Angola). The free man, or owner, and his wife have to supply their slaves with proper food and clothing, to tend them in sickness as their own children, to get them husbands or wives, as the case may be, to supply them with the means of celebrating their festivals, such as their marriages, births, or burials, in nearly the same way as amongst themselves; the slaves, in fact, are considered as their family, and are always spoken of as "my son" or "my daughter." If the daughters of slaves are chosen as wives or concubines by their owners or other free men, it is considered an honor, and their children, though looked upon as slaves, are entitled to special consideration.

There is, consequently, no cruelty or hardship attending the state of slavery; a male slave can not be made by his master to cultivate the ground, which is women's work, and the mistress and her slaves till the ground together.

A stranger set down in Angola, and not aware of the existence of slavery, would hardly discover that such an institution prevailed so universally amongst them, so little apparent difference is there between the master and slave. A not very dissimilar condition of things existed in the feudal times in England and other countries. Yet many hundred thousand slaves were brought down to the coast to be sold to the white men and shipped off, and I will now explain how this was the case, paradoxical, though, as it may appear after what I have just said.

The number was partly made up of surplus slave population sold off by the owners, probably from inability to feed or clothe them. Cases of famine from failure of the crops, from drought, etc., a common local occurrence, also supplied larger numbers of slaves; but by far the greatest part were furnished by the effect of their own laws, almost every offense being punishable by slavery, to which not only the guilty party, but even in many cases every member of his family, was liable.

Offenses against property are especially visited by the severe penalties of slavery, fine, or death. Any one caught in the act of stealing, be the amount ever so small, becomes at once the property or slave of the person robbed. It is a common thing to see blacks working in chains at factories and houses where they have been caught stealing, the custom among the Europeans generally being to detain them until their relatives shall have paid a ransom for them.

I must do the natives the justice to say that they are very observant of their own laws, even to a white man alone in their territory, who claims their protection against offenders. Certain offenses that we should consider trifling are by some tribes visited with heavy punishment, such as stealing Indian corn whilst growing or an egg from under a sitting hen. In other tribes, breaking a plate or other article of crockery is a great offense; this is especially the case to the interior of Novo Redondo, where the punishment is death or slavery.

Mr. Johnston, writing in 1884, says (pages 27, 28):

Slavery certainly exists on the Lower Congo, as much as it ever did; the only difference is that it is internal, so to speak, and that, owing to the vigilance of British cruisers and the absence of a lucrative market nowadays, slaves are no longer exported from the Congo as in former days. And slavery will continue to exist, no matter under what name, as long as European merchants stand sorely in need of labor and native chiefs are willing to "apprentice" or sell their superfluous subjects for an important consideration in gin, cloth, or guns.

Any traveler who visits the factories on the Lower Congo, except perhaps in those belonging to the English, may see groups of slaves in chains, who are so punished for having run away, and if he arrives at a time when a slave has just been recaptured—possibly by his own relatives, who have brought him cheerfully back, sure of a reward—he will have an opportunity of studying the application of the formidable cowhide whips to the runaway's skin and see the blood spurt from his well-flogged back.

As a rule I am bound to say the Krumanos are kindly treated. They are well fed, and have their wives and children often with them in their huts. If they were allowed to regain their liberty at the end of seven years of service, without being forced to renew their contract, there would not be so much harm in this system. The Portuguese method of government apprenticeship is one tolerably free from abuse and would work well on the Congo.

This learned and frank Englishman is evidently impressed with the conviction that the sway of the white man over the ignorant negro is only the result of force, compulsion, and duress, and that there is no other way for a white man to govern him than through a slave code, and that I believe.

Mr. Stanley, on his journey up the Congo in 1883, when he was planting civilization along the shores of that great river, found slavery, in its worst forms, a domestic institution in all the tribes, numbering millions of people, with whom he came in contact. The arbitrary power of the king of a tribe, and the universal recognition of slavery as a punishment for crime, is thus stated by Mr. Stanley in the case of the son of King Kokoro, who had stolen some goods from the white men. His arrest in the presence of an assemblage of kings in council caused great surprise and excited their serious indignation.

Mr. Stanley thus describes the scene and the severity and suddenness with which the law against theft was executed by the condemnation of the thief, without a formal trial, to suffer death or slavery, at the will of the owner of the stolen goods, unless they were at once restored to him (volume 2, pages 178, 179):

A few whispered instructions to one of my confidential servants served to bring twenty of the boats' crews ashore with cords under their clothes. The thief was pointed out, and the obedient fellows so maneuvered that he was captured amidst the circle of chiefs. Of course there was confusion and excitement, wild talk, and furious gestures, but nevertheless my men conveyed the thief aboard and bound him hand and foot. The council continued its sitting after the subsidence of the alarm, but in a few minutes another thief was arrested from behind one of the chiefs, and, despite menaces, which one time proved patience to the very verge of safety, he was carried away captured.

Old Mata Bwyki enjoyed himself immensely. Njugu and Mbembé remained strangely quiet at all this, which caused all the chiefs to ask them what it all meant.

Mata Bwyki rose and said: "It only means that Bulu Matari knows the customs of the Bangala. If a thief is known he may be held in bond until a restitution of the stolen property is made. Bulu Matari has now got three prisoners, one of whom is my own grandson. He shall keep them, sell them, or kill them—just as he may—unless his property be returned to him. Bulu Matari has acted like a brother. He was robbed. He went away for ten days; he came back to give us another opportunity. Now find the goods you have stolen from him, or else he shall take his captives away and cut them up in little pieces if he likes. I have spoken."

The rigor of their laws, and the power of the kings summarily to enforce them, are not greater in any code that ever existed; and, while the morality of the people, tested by our standards, is as low as it can be, still, when they have a law, or a fixed, traditional custom—for that is all the law they have—it is adhered to and obeyed. In no country is obedience to acknowledged or enforced authority more thorough; and this is the very essence of slavery. We can not despair of a people who enforce the death penalty for any theft; we only say that the penalty is barbarously disproportionate to the crime.

The sacrifice of slaves to attend the spirit of their dead masters, or of a person of distinction, in its journeyings into unknown lands, illustrates still more vividly the nature of the slave code as it exists in Central Africa, and the utter absence of mercy or humanity in its enforcement.

Mr. Stanley makes the following statement, in this connection, of facts, as they occurred in 1884 (volume 2, pages 180-182):

An important chief in a neighborhood—an old and long-ago superannuated potentate, of whose existence I had previously been unaware—died, and, according to the custom of the By-yanzi and Bakuti, slaves had to be massacred to accompany him to the land of spirits. Accordingly the relatives and free men began to collect as many slaves as could be purchased. Lieutenant Vangele was chief of about fifty men, and on account of the good discipline of the station, and the prompt obedience paid to his commands by the garrison, the Bakuti imagined the soldier laborers in the pay of the association to be slaves, and proposed to purchase a few of them.

Vangele was curious to know why they wanted the men, and he was then informed of the preparations being made to celebrate the burial of their chief with an execution of slaves. Of course the proposal was rejected with horror, and the garrison chased the Bakuti with sticks out of the precincts of the station.

The mourning relatives finally secured fourteen men from the interior, and, being notified by the villagers that the execution was about to begin, M. Vangele and his friend proceeded with a few of their men to view the scene.

They found quite a number of men gathered around. The doomed men seen were kneeling with their arms bound behind them in the neighborhood of a tall young tree, near the top of which the end of a rope had been lashed. A number of men laid hold of the cord and hauled upon it until the upper part of the tree was bent like a bow. One of the captives was selected, and the dangling end of the rope was fastened round his neck; the tree sprang several inches higher, drawing the man's form up, straining the neck, and almost lifting the body from the ground.

The executioner then advanced with his short broad-bladed falchion, and measured his distance by stretching his weapon from the position he intended to strike across the nape of the neck. He repeated this operation twice. At the third time he struck, severing the head clean from the body. It was whipped up in the air by the spring of the released tree and sent rebounding several yards away. The remaining captives were dispatched one after another in like manner. Their heads were unflashed by boiling, that the skulls might decorate the poles round the grave. The bodies were dragged away and thrown into the

Congo; the soil saturated with the blood was gathered up and buried with the defunct chief.

However much our young military lieutenant might have wished to exert himself to save the victims of savage usage, since money would not buy their liberty, he had to content himself with knowing that he was as yet helpless. The year of grace will no doubt come in its own destined time, but it may not be hurried. To violently resist the butchers with rifles would simply have been to make them victims instead, and to depopulate the land.

All this cruel waste of life was perpetrated, not because of the love of the negro for bloodshed, but because of his indifference to the rights and sufferings of men when they stand in the way of his notions of a religious duty. May we not cite the bloody tortures of the Inquisition, the Aztec sacrifices in Mexico, the holocausts that have perished in religious wars, to show how far the convictions of even enlightened men may lead them in these sacrificial orgies?

It may be justly considered as the most monstrous exhibition of human depravity, or else the most abject submission to a rule of government that is found by experience to be essential to the negro race, that a people should be found enforcing slavery in their own tribes as a law of domestic economy, who have suffered so severely at the hands of the Arab slave-hunters, as is described in the following extract from Mr. Stanley's Congo (volume 2, page 144 to 148), of what he saw during his voyage up the Congo River in 1883. He says:

We discovered that this horde of banditti—for in reality and without disguise they were nothing else—was under the leadership of several chiefs, but principally under Karema and Kiburuga. They had started sixteen months previously from Wane-Kirundu, about 30 miles below Vinya Njara. For eleven months the band had been raiding successfully between the Congo and the Lubiranzi, on the left bank. They had then undertaken to perform the same cruel work between the Biyerré and Wane-Kirundu. On looking at my map I find that such a territory within the area described would cover superficially 16,200 square geographical miles on the left bank, and 10,500 miles on the right bank, all of which, in statute mileage, would be equal to 34,570 square miles—just 2,600 square miles greater than the island of Ireland—inhabited by about 1,000,000 people.

The band, when it set out from Kirundu, numbered 300 fighting men, armed with flint-locks, double-barreled percussion guns, and a few breech-loaders; their followers, or domestic slaves and women, doubled this force.

After spending the morning listening to such of their adventures as they chose to relate, I was permitted in the afternoon to see the human harvest they had gathered, as many of my people had exaggerated the numbers of the captives they had seen in the camp.

Their quarters were about 150 yards above the place we had selected. It was surrounded with a fence made of the hut walls of the native town of Yangambi, which lay without in ruins, the square plats of raised and tamped earth with a few uprights alone indicating where it stood. The banana groves had been leveled, and their stalks employed to form the fence around about their camps.

Within the inclosure was a series of low sheds, extending many lines deep from the immediate edge of the clay bank, inland, 100 yards; in length, the camp was about 300 yards. At the landing place below were fifty-four large canoes, varying in carrying capacity. Each might convey from ten to one hundred people.

The first general impressions are that the camp is much too densely peopled for comfort. There are rows upon rows of dark nakedness, relieved here and there by the white dresses of the captors. There are lines or groups of naked forms upright, standing, or moving about listlessly; naked bodies are stretched under the sheds in all positions; naked legs innumerable are seen in the perspective of prostrate sleepers; there are countless naked children, many mere infants, forms of boyhood and girlhood, and occasionally a drove of absolutely naked old women bending under a basket of fuel, or cassava tubers, or bananas, who are driven through the moving groups by two or three musketeers.

On paying more attention to details, I observe that almost all are fettered; youths with iron rings around their necks, through which a chain, like one of our boat-anchor chains, is rove, securing the captives by twenties. The children over ten are secured by three copper rings, each ringed leg brought together by the central ring, which accounts for the apparent listlessness of movement I observed on first coming in presence of the curious scene. The mothers are secured by shorter chains, around whom their respective progeny of infants are grouped, hiding the cruel iron links that fall in loops or festoons over their mamma's breasts. There is not one adult man captive among them.

Beside the shaded ground, strewn over so thickly by the prostrate and upright bodies of captives, the relics of many raids lie scattered or heaped up in profusion every where, and there is scarcely a square foot of ground not littered with something, such as drums, spears, swords, assegais, arrows, bows, knives, iron-ware of native make, of every pattern, paddles innumerable, scoops and balers, wooden troughs, ivory horns, whistles, buffalo and antelope horns, ivory pestles, wooden idols, beads of wood, berries, scraps of fetishism, sorcerers' wardrobes, gourd of all sizes, nets, from the lengthy seine to the small hand-net, baskets, hampers, shields as large as doors (of wood or of plaited rattan), crockery (large pots to hold 8 gallons down to the child's basin), wooden mugs, basins, and mallets, grass cloth in shreds, tatters, and pieces, broken canoes and others half excavated, native adzes, hatchets, hammers, iron rods, etc.

All these, littering the ground or in stacks and heaps, with piles of banana and cassava peelings, flour of cassava, and sliced tubers drying, make up a number of untidy pictures and details, through all of which, however, prominently gleam the eyes of the captives in a state of utter and supreme wretchedness.

Little perhaps as my face betrayed my feelings, other pictures would crowd upon the imagination; and after realizing the extent and depth of the misery presented to me, I walked about as in a kind of dream, wherein I saw through the darkness of the nights the stealthy forms of the murderers creeping towards the doomed town, its inmates all asleep, and no sounds issuing from the gloom but the drowsy hum of chirping cicadas or distant frogs—when suddenly flashes the light of brandished torches: the sleeping town is involved in flames, while volleys of musketry lay low the frightened and astonished people, sending many through a short minute of agony to that soundless sleep from which there will be no waking.

I wished to be alone, somewhere, where I could reflect upon the doom which has overtaken Bandu, Yomburri, Yangambi, Yaporu, Yakusu, Ukanga, Yakonde, Ituka, Yaryembi, Yaranche, populous Isangi, and probably thirty scores of other villages and towns.

The slave-traders admit they have only 2,300 captives in this fold, yet they have raided through the length and breadth of a country larger than Ireland, bearing fire and spreading carnage with lead and iron. Both banks of the river show that one hundred and eighteen villages and forty-three districts have been devastated, out of which is only educed this scant profit of 2,300 females and children, and about 2,000 tusks of ivory.

The spears, swords, bows, and the quivers of arrows show that many adults have fallen. Given that these one hundred and eighteen villages were peopled only by 1,000 each, we have only a profit of 2 per cent; and by the time all these captives have been subjected to the accidents of the river voyage to Kirundu and Nyangwé, of camp life and its harsh miseries, to the havoc of small-pox and the pests which miseries breed, there will only remain a scant 1 per cent. upon the bloody venture.

These facts, selected from a great mass of statements made by all the travelers who have visited that region, show sufficiently the existence of domestic slavery in Africa under conditions far more inhuman than ever attended its existence among the slaves deported from Africa to any civilized country.

Mr. Monteiro, an English abolitionist, draws a pen picture of slavery in Loanda, the most advanced province of Angola, and compares it, as many others have ignorantly done, with slavery as it existed in our Southern States, much to our disadvantage. Still, it will be seen, he is so impressed with the necessity for slavery in Angola that he puts in a plea for its very gradual abolition in that country. He says (pages 39 to 42):

Servants in Loanda are almost all slaves. It is very difficult to hire free men or women. Those seeking service as carriers, porters, etc., are nearly all slaves to other natives. Slaves, as a rule, are very well treated in Angola by the Portuguese, and cases of neglect or ill-usage are rare. Public opinion is strongly opposed to ill-treatment of slaves, and there is a certain amount of rivalry in presenting household slaves especially well dressed and with a healthy appearance, and even on the plantations inland or removed from such influence, I never knew or heard of slaves being worked or treated in the hard and cruel manner in which they are said to have been in the Southern States of America or at the present day in Cuba.

It is easy for slaves in Angola to run away, and it is hardly worth while to take any steps to recapture them; and if they have any vice or bad habits, it is so well known that harsh measures will never cure them of it that they are sold at once. An ordinary slave is not worth [much], £3 to £5 being the utmost value. If proficient in any trade, or good cooks, then they reach as much as £20 or more. Many of the old-established houses make it a point of never selling a slave they have once bought; and when a slave requires correction or punishment he is delivered over to the police for that purpose, and, as desired, he is either placed in the slave-gang, chained by the neck to others and made to work at scavenging, carrying stone, etc., or receives a thrashing with a cat-o-nine-tails or a number of strokes on the palms of the hands with a flat, circular piece of wood, pierced with five holes, and with a short handle.

The abolition of slavery in the Portuguese possessions was decreed some years ago. The names of all the existing slaves had to be inscribed in the government office at Libertos, and the owners were obliged to supply them with proper food, clothing, and medicine, and were not allowed to punish them; while they, on their part, were required to work for seven years as compensation to their owners, at the expiration of which time they were to be free.

This has been allowed to remain virtually a dead-letter, the slaves never having had the law explained to them and the authorities not troubling themselves to enforce their liberation at the end of the seven years.

The complete abolition of slavery in Angola has, however, been decreed to take place in the year 1878, and should the measure be strictly enforced the total annihilation and ruin of the thriving and rising cotton and sugar-cane plantations, etc., will be the result, with a vast amount of misery to the thousands of liberated blacks.

It is a pity that philanthropy should blindly put so sudden a stop to a custom that has existed from time immemorial, and of which the evils are, in a country like Angola, exceedingly slight. The effect of this measure will be to destroy its nascent industry, the only means for its progress and development, and will plunge a great part of its population into helpless misery for years to come. Let slavery be abolished by all means, but only in the most gradual manner, and in proportion to the industrial and moral advancement of the race.

Sir, slavery will be abolished in all Central Africa. This will be done as it was accomplished in the United States, by raising the negro race to a condition where their ancient slave code will no longer be suited to their further progress. Slavery will be abolished among the Africans as we have abolished villanage in our own race. If this work is left to white masters it will be slow and painful, but the American negro will accomplish it, if he dwells among those people, sooner, better, more effectually, and with less suffering than any other race of men can do.

The theory advanced in this extract I have just read is based on the same conception of the innocence, faithfulness, and quiet disposition of the negro race that is constantly asserted as the cause of the peacefulness and fidelity of the negroes in the South during our late civil war. This is a great fallacy. A softness of character that is inconsistent with a struggle for liberty attended with peril and great sacrifice is equally inconsistent with the ability to nurture, develop, and preserve the fruits of liberty and self-government. If the negro race has this defect of character it can never become a factor in free self-government.

The truth is, however, that the negro race has always been, and will forever be, subordinate to the white race whenever they are found in the same country, and the negro can not resist his natural tendency. It is this subordination that enables a single white man, or even an Arab, to lead a thousand negroes from ocean to ocean through the untrodden wilds and savage tribes of Africa, hundreds of them being armed as soldiery, and they and other hundreds bearing heavy loads on their heads, beneath a tropical sun, in the face of death in almost every painful form.

In such a caravan one negro rebel could easily destroy the leader and divide the plunder with his associates. This would certainly have occurred in the many instances of severe trial and distress that these parties have encountered, were it not that the negro has no faith in his own powers when he is confronted with those of the white man.

It was the impossibility of concerted and organized effort that prevented the negroes in the South from rising in rebellion, while nearly all who could escape the service of the Southern white man threw

themselves upon the protection of the Northern white man, and large numbers of them went into the Northern army. They had enough of spirit or incentive to escape the service of one white man and enter the service of another, but without such protection they were as easily governed by the non-combatant people of the South while war was flagrant as they had ever been by their masters and overseers while the country was at peace.

THE POPULATION OF CENTRAL AFRICA.

The most prominent and important fact relating to the negro country in Africa is its heavy masses of population. The watershed of the Congo River is nearly coterminous with the boundaries of the Free State. The streams that flow to the Congo Basin and through it are very numerous. There is no desert country in all that vast area of 1,508,000 square miles. On the elevated plains and in the open savannas everywhere grass grows abundantly and very thick and rank. There is no region of the earth that produces a heavier crop of vegetation than the Congo Basin and Angola.

Such a country must supply immense quantities of food for men and the inferior animals, and it is surprising and almost incredible that with an agriculture where the ground is cleared by fire and is cultivated without the assistance of any beast of burden or draft animal, for wagon, or sled, solely by human muscle, and with the use of an iron hoe of native manufacture, wielded only by the women, any country could sustain one-third the population of Central Africa.

Mr. Stanley estimates the population of the watershed of the Congo at 57,000,000. If only half, or a third, of that number of people are found to exist there, the proposition is established that this country has the largest and best reserve of productive power in its soil and people, and the most easily available for all the purposes of human development, through agriculture and commerce, that exists in the world.

I will let Mr. Stanley tell how he figures the population of the Congo country up to 57,000,000. He says in his "Congo" (pages 348 to 352):

The superficial area drained by the various rivers above mentioned is 1,090,000 square statute miles, into which we have direct navigable access by steam of 5,250 miles. This, by passing one rapid, we may increase to over 6,000 miles. The wealth of equatorial Africa lies in this section. It is bisected by the equator, over which the rain belt discharges its showers during ten months of the year. As we recede from the equatorial line, either north or south, the dry periods are of longer duration. At south latitude 4°, the long dry season lasts four months, from the middle of May to the middle of September; the shorter season lasts six weeks, from the middle of January to the end of February. At south latitude 6°, the dry season is about three weeks longer in the year.

The population of this enormous area of the Upper Congo section may be approximately ascertained by estimating the number of inhabitants at each district according to our observations, on the right bank and on the left of that great curve of the Congo between Stanley Pool and Stanley Falls, and of the Biyerré, the Mohindu, the Kwa, and the Lukanga, dividing the entire area by the belts which were explored.

Here follows a series of tables of population by districts. He then says:

Arranged in a tabular form, the populations thus estimated would present the following numbers:

Along 1,068 miles, both banks of the Congo	632,800
Along 96 miles, both banks of the Biyerré	94,500
Along 281 miles, both banks of the Kwa River and Lake Leopold II.	54,000
Along 70 miles, both banks of the Lukanga River and Lake Matumba	25,000
1,515	
2	
3,030 miles. Total population of both banks	806,300

If we estimate these 806,300 people as being settled along a belt of 3,030 miles long with a breadth of 10 miles, and suppose the same density to exist throughout the area of the Upper Congo section, our quotient in population will amount to 43,294,000. Of the southern portion of this section Dr. Pogge and Lieutenant Weissman, who crossed the Upper Lublilash, write:

"The country is densely peopled and some of the villages are miles in length. They are clean, with commodious houses shaded by oil palms and bananas and surrounded by carefully divided fields, in which, quite contrary to the usual African practice, man is seen to till the soil whilst woman attends to household offices.

"From the Lublilash to the Lumani there stretches almost uninterruptedly a prairie region of great fertility, the future pasture grounds of the world. The reddish loam overlying the granite bears luxuriant grass and clumps of trees, and only the banks are densely wooded.

"The rains fall during eight months of the year, from September to April, but they are not excessive. The temperature varies from 63° Fahrenheit to 81° Fahrenheit, but in the dry season it occasionally falls as low as 45° Fahrenheit."

Tippoo Tib, the great Arab trader in the interior, who has traversed the south-east portion of this section, described to me personally his astonishment at the density of the population. He told me how he had passed through several towns which took a couple of hours to traverse, of the beauty of savanna, park, and prairie country he saw, and how the site of the camp left in the morning might be seen from the evening camp after a six hours' march.

From the northeast of this section we have the testimony of Dr. Schweinfürth in the following words: "From the Weill to the residence of the Monbuttu king, Munza, the way leads through a country of marvelous beauty, an almost unbroken line of the primitively simple dwellings standing on either side of the caravan route."

He estimates the Nyam-Nyam country to be about 5,400 square miles in extent, populated by 2,000,000, which would be equal to the extraordinary number of 370 per square mile!

"The Mohinda and Himbiri Rivers, a certain portion of which we explored, confirm what Miyongo of Usindi related respecting the Lubungu, namely, that the further we traveled from the immediate banks of the great river the more numerous became the people."

THE ANIMALS, VEGETATION, AND MINERALS OF CONGO.

The negroes of Central Africa are not addicted to the use of meats in large quantities. Differing from our Indian tribes in that respect,

they rely chiefly upon agriculture, poultry, fruits, and fisheries for food. Large game abounds, such as elephants, hippopotami, red buffalo, and antelopes, but they are hunted chiefly for ivory and hides, even where the negroes are supplied with guns and ammunition.

On the upper reaches of the navigable Congo, for 1,000 miles, the inhabitants have considerable herds of cattle, and along the whole length of the river buffalo, antelopes, hartbeests, and goats are found in large herds. Mr. Stanley says there is nothing fatal to cattle-breeding in the Congo Basin. No country affords greater abundance of grass and browsing for such animals. Leopards are the most numerous of the beasts of prey, but they are shy and timid and do little harm to the wild or domestic grazing animals in the country, and never attack the people.

Lions are far from being numerous and avoid the inhabited country. Compared with tropical India the Congo region is quite free from dangerous beasts and reptiles. Indeed, the mention of these pests is seldom made in the notes of those who have explored Central Africa. In the sixteen years of Mr. Monteiro's travels and residence in Angola he never saw a lion and was but once in the near vicinity of one. Venomous snakes are far more numerous in our Western prairies than in Congo. Elephants are numerous along the Congo River, attracted thither by the abundant growth of the date palm and the bathing the river affords.

This animal proves by its presence the fertility and openness of the country and the richness of the forests that it seeks for food suited to its discriminating tastes.

If the Congo people had the courage and tact of the Hindoos the herds of elephants in their country would furnish them speedily with the assistance of the most powerful, the most intelligent, and the most docile beast that has ever entered into the service of man.

They are of such service in India and Siam that the governments provide for their capture and domestication, and use them in the armies as Hannibal did in the Alps, and in the heavy labor of their dockyards and other public works. Whoever has seen (and who has not?) the troops of performing elephants that are exhibited here, and all through the country, will readily understand what a fatal sacrifice it is to slaughter them for their ivory tusks in Africa, where they could be used with nearly the same advantage as we use locomotives in the United States.

If African elephants were used, as they are in India, the transportation question would be settled, as to the parts of the country remote from steam transportation, many years before a locomotive could be pushed into those regions. With civilization there will come to Africa, as by magic, the development and use of powers that are dormant, and wealth that is now undiscovered, which will rival that which was hidden for ages in the mountains and plains of our Pacific Slope.

The world is beginning to see all this very clearly, and almost every European power is alert with anxiety to plant colonies there to control and profit by the native labor.

The King of Belgium took the lead in this great movement and contributed, with wisdom and benevolence, many millions of dollars from his personal fortunes to its furtherance and support. His purposes are noble and disinterested, and deserve the grateful esteem of every man.

It is a very remarkable fact that maize, wheat, rice, manioc, oranges, pine-apples, limes, guava, and bananas were introduced from Portugal into Central Africa, where they grow in great abundance, and that their production furnishes the staple food of the entire population. These grains, fruits, and edible roots supply eight-tenths of the food that is consumed in Central Africa, and a large surplus for export and for traffic with the wilder tribes of the interior.

One need not be accused of superstition, or of giving a romantic coloring to facts that are very simple and practical, if he should find in this new supply of food resources to Africa, coming back from the land to which its people had been carried as slaves, into contact with Christian civilization, the divine hand of Providence, preparing that country for the future access of civilization and for the conquests that are yet due to the Christian banner of peace and good-will to men.

Mr. Stanley needs no support for the statements I will now read, as to the vegetable and mineral resources of the Congo country, but I will presently add to what he says the statements of men who could not risk an exaggeration and who explored the Lower Congo and Angola before he was ever in that region. Mr. Stanley, speaking of these resources, says (volume 2, pages 352 to 358):

The vegetable productions of this section are rich and varied, but until intercourse is facilitated little use will be made of them. This might be readily surmised from the country's bisection by the equatorial line, the ten months' rains, and the humid warmth which nourishes vegetation with extraordinarily prolific power.

The most remarkable among the vegetable growths are the palms, of which there are an immense variety, but the most useful to commerce is the oil-palm (*Elais guineensis*). Its nut supplies the dark-red palm-oil so well known on the West Coast, while its kernel is valuable for oil-cake for cattle. Not a grove nor an island scarcely can be found without this beautiful and most useful palm. In some places, such as the district between the Lower Lumani and Congo, there are entire forests of it.

On the Biyerré the *Raphia vinifera* usurps its place. The larger number of its islands are wholly forests of this palm. As the oil palm yields annually from five hundred to one thousand nuts, the quantity that might be collected from this section is enormous, and would well repay transportation by rail to the coast.

The next most valuable product of the forest, as yet untouched in this region, is the gum of the *Laudolphia florida*, or india-rubber plant. There are three kinds of plants producing this article, but that which exudes from *Euphorbia* is not so elastic in quality, although it may have its uses. On the islands of the Congo, which in the aggregate cover an area of 3,000 square miles, with 8,000 square miles of the banks of the main river, I estimate that enough rubber could be collected in one year to pay for a Congo railway.

Other gums, such as those of the *Trachytobum* and *gubourtia* species, are useful for varnishes. The fossil transparent white and red gum copals are too well known for their value to need remark. There are large deposits of these known to the natives. Among the Wanya I discovered large cakes over eighteen inches in diameter of pure white gum copal. At some fishing villages they contrive to make torches of it, but of its other uses they know nothing.

Vegetable oils are extracted from the *Arachis hypogea*, or ground-nut, the oil-berry, castor oil. The first is used for lights, the second for cooking and gravies; the third is medicinal, as with us.

Vast extents of forest are veiled with the orchilla moss. Between Iboko and Langa-Langa I saw a strip of forest about 60 miles in length draped with orchilla lying on the woods like a green veil. Every village contains its manufactured rolls of redwood powder, and few settlements between the equator and the Kwa could not furnish a few hundred weight at the first order. Every trading canoe floating on the Upper Congo possesses among its salable wares a certain store of this universally-demanded article.

The vegetation of the Upper Congo is also remarkable for the quantities of fibers it produces for the manufacture of paper, rope, basket-work, fine and coarse matting and grass-cloths; these are furnished by the *Papyrus antiquorum*, aloes, *Stipa tenacissima*, *Calamus indicus*, *Phanix spinosa*, *Raphia vinifera*, and *Adansonia*.

Just as Lake Mantumba furnishes the largest quantity of redwood powder; Iboko, palm-fiber matting; Irebu, calamus-fibered sun-shades and door-mats; Yatulima, double bells; Ubangi, swords; so Lukolela is famous for its tobacco coils, with which product they conduct an extensive river trade. Lukolela is also remarkable for its fine timber and its wild coffee.

In this region, among the many minor items available, which commercial intercourse would teach the natives to employ profitably, are monkey, goat, antelope, buffalo, lion, and leopard skins; the gorgeous feathers of the tropical birds, hippopotamus teeth, beeswax, frankincense, myrrh, tortoise-shell, *Cannabis sativa*, and lastly ivory, which to-day is considered the most valuable product. It may be presumed that there are about 200,000 elephants, in about 15,000 herds, in the Congo basin, each carrying, let us say, on an average, 50 pounds weight of ivory in his head, which would represent, when collected and sold in Europe, £5,000,000.

To some, perhaps, this would appear a large estimate, but it is much more moderate than a statement made the other day to me by a gentleman, who solemnly declared he had met a herd of at least three hundred elephants in a small river, and that he and his servant had slaughtered so many that the river had overflowed its banks, and, like another angry Scamander, threatened to engulf him and his confederate. Mr. Ingham, a missionary, lately shot twenty-five elephants, and obtained money for the ivory; and Major Vetch, at another locality not far off, shot twenty. As the Congo Basin is a large area, and considering the tons upon tons drawn for the last eighty years from the eastern half of Africa, it may be that I have underestimated the number of elephants still living in the unexploited and virgin western half of the continent.

In my opinion the ivory, however, stands but fifth in rank among the natural products of the basin. The total value of the ivory supposed to be in existence in this region to-day would but represent 107,500 tons of palm-oil, or 30,000 tons of India rubber. If every warrior living on the immediate banks of the Congo and its navigable affluents, which are of the aggregate length of 10,800 miles, within easy reach of the trader above Léopoldville, were to pick about a third of a pound in rubber each day throughout the year, or to melt two-thirds of a pound weight of palm-oil, and convey it to the trader for sale, £5,000,000 worth of vegetable produce could be obtained without exhaustion of the wild forest productions.

Or if, in the same manner, each native warrior picked half a pound of gum copal per day, or collected half a pound per day of orchilla weed, or made his wife grind out half a pound of camwood or redwood powder, ample proof would be given that any one of the productions of the forest alone as articles of commerce has a value greatly superior to ivory. Although ivory is such a precious article, it is by no means inexhaustible, and therefore it can not be rated very high. By the most trifling labor of the able-bodied warriors living on the edge of the bank of the navigable river more of either palm-oil, rubber, gum, orchilla-weed, or camwood could be produced in one year than all the ivory in the Congo basin is worth.

At the same time, although limited, it is a valuable product, and as such will be an object to commerce. If 200 tusks arrived per week at Stanley Pool, or say 260,000 pounds per annum, it would still require twenty-five years to destroy the elephant in the Congo basin.

In minerals this section is by no means poor. Iron is abundant. Yatulima, Iboko, Irebu, and Ubangi are famous for their sword-smiths. The Yakusu and Basoko are pre-eminent for their spears. In the museum of the association at Brussels are spear-blades 6 feet long and 4 inches broad, which I collected among those tribes.

The copper mines near Philippéville supply a very large portion of western Africa with their ingots. At the market of Manyanga several hundredweights of these change hands. The southeastern portion of the section of the Upper Congo supplies numerous caravans with their stores of smelted copper. Plumbago is always abundant. Gold has been found by the roving Arabs in the beds of streams, and some of those met by me returning from their slave raids possessed small glass bottles which contained the treasures of small gold nuggets they had found.

Every native village on the Upper Congo has its sugar-cane plots and maize. Bananas and plantains naturally thrive marvelously. In the Kwa Valley the natives eat bread of millet flour; but the cassava or manioc, sweet and bitter kinds, furnishes the staple farinaceous food of the people along the main river. The leguminous plant most in favor is the black field bean, which is very like the grain of India; it is most prolific and hardy, needing but little cultivation.

Among the vegetables are yams, sweet potatoes, brinjalls, cucumbers, melons, pumpkins, tomatoes, etc. Lately the cabbage, the European potato, and onion have been introduced, and thrive most promisingly at Léopoldville and Kinshassa.

On the eastern edge of this section the Arabs are fast introducing the large-grained upland rice with extraordinary success. At Wané Kirungu they harvested, in 1882, 30,000 bushels of rice and about 500 bushels of wheat. While the association has advanced from the west with mangoes, pawpaws, limes, oranges, pine-apples, and guava, the Arabs have made remarkable progress from the east with the same fruits.

There is a countless number of valuable plants useful for their oils, like the "candle-berry" tree, etc., and for medicinal uses, like the cashew, the *Jatropha purgans*, the *Strychnas*, the *Amonum*, etc. There are also to be found the wild ginger and nutmeg, the *Semicarbus anacardium*, or marking-ink plant; but these have no value to commerce and more properly belong to the botanist. Cotton, however, is discovered wild and indigenous everywhere, especially on the sites of deserted settlements, and may in the future be considered something more than a curiosity in a broad and spacious region so well adapted for its growth.

The Senate will, I hope, excuse me for presenting these lengthy quotations, but they are as compact as they can be made with due reference to their importance.

I will add some brief statements from the books of Mr. Monteiro and Mr. Johnston, already referred to in my remarks.

Mr. Monteiro thus describes the vegetation of the country west of the southern sweep of the Congo Free State and between that region and the Atlantic coast (volume 1, pages 28-33). He says:

These successive elevations inland are accompanied by very remarkable changes in the character of the vegetation covering the surface of the country, and in my several excursions and explorations to the interior from Ambriz to Bembe, from Loanda to the Pungo Andongo Range, from Novo Redondo to Mucelas, and to the interior of Benguela and Mossamedes, I have had frequent opportunities of remarking these very singular and sudden changes. These are due, I believe, as Dr. Welwitsch has pointed out, to the difference of elevation alone, irrespective of its geological formation.

A sketch of the vegetation of the country traversed by the road from Ambriz to Bembe, where is situated the wonderful deposit of malachite, a distance of about 120 miles east-northeast, will give an idea of the general character of the change observed in traveling toward the interior of Angola. For about 25 miles from Ambriz the vegetation is, as already described, principally composed of enormous baobabs, euphorbias, a tall agave (or aloe), a tree called "Muxice" by the natives, bearing curious seed pods (*Sterculia tomentosa*), a few small slender creepers, great abundance of the *Sansevieria angolensis* in the thickest of prickly bushes, and coarse, short, luffy grasses, the branching grass being only found near the coast for a few miles.

The country is pretty level, dry, and stony; of weathered, large-grained gneiss. At Matuta the scene suddenly and magically changes, and in so striking a manner as to impress even the most unobservant traveler. The baobabs become much fewer in number; the agaves, the sansevierias, the euphorbias, suddenly and almost completely disappear, as also do most of the prickly shrubs, the fine trailing and creeping plants, the muxice, and several other trees, and a number of smaller plants. A new set of larger, shadier trees and shrubs take their place, the grass becomes tall and broad-leaved, and one seems to be traveling in an entirely new country.

This character is preserved for another stretch of road till Quibilla is reached, about 60 miles from the coast, where the rise in level is more marked; and again the vegetation changes, almost as remarkably as at Matuta, where, however, the difference in altitude is not so sudden, but a gradual rise is noticed all the way from Ambriz. Creepers of all kinds, attaining a gigantic size, here almost monopolize the vegetation, clasping around the biggest trees, and covering them with a mass of foliage and flower, and forming most exquisite festoons and curtains as they web, as it were, one tree to another in their embrace. No words can describe the luxuriance of these creepers, particularly in the vicinity of the shallow rivers and rivulets of the interior.

Several trees together, covered from top to bottom with a rich mantle of the india-rubber creeper (*Laudolphia florida*?), with bright, large, dark-green leaves, somewhat resembling those of the magnolia, thickly studded with large bunches of pure white jasmine-like flowers, loading the air for a considerable distance with its powerful bitter-almond perfume, and attracting a cloud of buzzing insects, form altogether a sight not easily forgotten.

Once, at Bembe, I saw a perfect wall of curtain, formed by a most delicate creeper, hung from top to bottom with bottle-brush-like flowers, about 3 inches long. But the grandest view presented to my eyes was in the Pungo Andongo range, where the bottom of a narrow valley, for quite half a mile in length, was filled, as they all are in the interior, by a dense forest of high trees; the creepers, in search of light, had pierced through and spread on the top, where their stems and leaves had become woven and matted into a thick carpet, on which their flowers were produced in such profusion that hardly a leaf was visible, but only one long sea of beautiful purple, like a glacier of color, filling the valley and set in the frame of green of the luxuriant grass-covered hillsides.

The very blacks that accompanied me, so little impressed as they are usually by the beauties of nature, beat their open mouths with the palm of the hand as they uttered short "Ah! ah! ah!" their universal mode of expressing astonishment or delight, so wonderful, even to them, appeared the magnificent mass of color below us as it suddenly came in view when we arrived at the head of the valley, down one side of which we descended to the plain below.

I have seen the surface of a large pool of water thickly covered with a layer of purple pea-shaped flowers fallen from the large wistaria-like bunches of blossom of a creeper overgrowing a mass of trees standing at the edge; it seems as if nature loth that so much beauty should fade quickly had kept for some time longer the fallen flowers fresh and lovely on the cool still water of the shady lake. This abundance of creeping plants is more or less preserved till at about 60 miles farther inland we arrive at Bembe and the comparatively level country stretching away to the interior; the oil palm (*Elais guineensis*) then becomes again abundant, these trees being only found on the coast in any number in the vicinity of the rivers; the beautiful feathery papyrus also again covers the lagoons and wet places.

The comparatively short and spare thin-leaved and delicate tufted grasses of the first or littoral region are succeeded in the second, as I have already said, by much stronger kinds, attaining an extraordinary development in the highest or third region. Gigantic grasses from 5 to as much as 16 feet high, growing luxuriantly, cover densely the vast plains and tracts of country in these two regions where tree vegetation is scarce.

Where nature is so inviting, it is no wonder that all Europe begins to look eagerly to Central Africa as the best field for planting new colonies. The negro must awake from his day dreaming if he would be the ruler of his native land.

In stating the articles of food in Central Africa that are to be classed as staple and of prime importance, the mandioca plant, so important to the people of civilized countries, is given a very conspicuous importance. This plant seems to supply, in the tropical regions, the uses to which the Irish potato is applied in the temperate zones, and other uses that this indispensable food does not so well supply. In the civilization of Africa no food product will have a more useful function.

Mr. Monteiro thus describes the mandioca or manioc, and its preparation and uses for food by the negro race in Africa (volume 1, pages 285 to 292):

Women's work is entirely restricted to cultivating the ground and preparing the food. Their simple agricultural operations are all performed with one implement, a single-handled hoe. This hoe is made of iron, nearly round, about the size and shape of a large oyster-shell, and has a short spike which is burnt into the end of the handle, a short, knobbed stick about 18 inches long. With this hoe the ground is cleared of grass and weeds, which are gathered into heaps when dry and burnt. The ground is then dug to a depth of about 6 to 8 inches and the loose, broken earth scraped together into little hillocks ready for planting the mandioca.

This plant, the cassava or cassava of the West Indies, etc. (*Manihot aipi*), grows as a peculiar thick round bush from 3 to 6 feet high, bearing an abundance of bright green, handsome, deeply-cut leaves; it flowers but sparingly, and bears few seeds; it is propagated by cuttings, any part of the stem or branches, which are soft, brittle, and knotty, very readily taking root. About the beginning of the rainy season is the usual time of planting, two or three short pieces of stem, about a foot long, being stuck in each hillock. In some places two or three pieces are of equal length, and planted near each other, the third piece being shorter, and planted in a slanting position across the other two.

This method of planting is supposed, but with what truth I know not, to produce a greater crop of roots than any other. The mandioca is of rapid and luxuriant growth, and in favorable soil the plant throws out many branches. The roots are very similar in outward appearance to those of the dahlia, though, of course, very much larger; the usual size is about a foot long, but roots two feet long and several inches wide throughout are of common occurrence. Where fresh they are white and of a peculiar compact, dense, brittle texture, more like that of a common chestnut than anything else I can compare it to, and not unlike it in taste, though not so sweet and more juicy. They are covered by a thin, dark, rough, dry skin which is very easily detached.

Gentle hill-slopes are the places generally chosen for the mandioca plantations, to insure good drainage, as the roots are said to rot readily in places where water stagnates. The mandioca root is sufficiently large and good to eat about nine months after planting, but is only pulled up then in case of need, as it does not attain its full perfection for fifteen or eighteen months after the cuttings are planted, and as it can remain in the ground for two or even three years without damage or deterioration, there is no need of a regular time for digging it up. It is eaten fresh and raw, as taken out of the ground, though the natives are fondest of its various preparations.

The roots peeled and dried in the sun constitute what is called "bala," and are eaten thus or roasted. "Bombo" is prepared by placing the roots in water for four or five days, running streams being preferred to stagnant pools for this purpose. The outer black skin then peels off very readily, and the roots have suffered a kind of acetous fermentation affecting the gluten and gum and setting free the starch, of which the bulk of the root is composed. They now have a strong, disagreeable acid taste and flavor, but on drying in the sun become beautifully white and nearly tasteless, and so disintegrated as to be readily crushed between the fingers into the finest flour. This "bombo" is also eaten thus dry or roasted, but most usually it is pounded in a wooden mortar and sifted in the "uzanzos" or baskets into the white flour called "fuba."

From this is prepared the "infundi," the food most liked by the natives, which is made in this way: Into an earthen pot half full of water, kept boiling on three stones over a fire, the "fuba" is gradually added, and the whole kept constantly stirred round with a stick. When the mass attains the consistency of soft dough the pot is taken off the fire, and being secured by the woman's toes, if she be sitting down, or by her knees, if kneeling, it is vigorously stirred with the stick, worked by both hands, for some minutes longer, or until it no longer sticks to the side of the pot.

Portions of the semi-transparent viscous mass are then transferred with the stick to a small basket or "quina," dusted with dry "fuba," and rolled around into a flat cake about 3 or 4 inches in diameter and a couple of inches thick. It is eaten hot, bits of the sticky cake being pulled out with the fingers and dipped for a flavor into a mess of salt-fish, pork, or beans, or into a gravy of stewed mandioca or bean leaves, chili pepper, and oil.

This "infundi," or "infungi," as it is also pronounced by some of the natives, is delicious eating with "palm-chop."

"Quinquanga" is also a very important preparation of the mandioca root, large quantities being prepared in the interior and brought down to the coast for sale and for barter for dried fish, salt, etc. The fresh roots are placed in water for a few days, in the same manner as described for "bombo," and peeled, but instead of being dried in the sun are transferred wet as they are taken out of the water to the wooden mortars and pounded to a homogenous paste; this is rolled between the hands into long, flattened cakes, about 8 inches in length, or into round, thick masses.

These are rolled neatly in the large, strong, smooth leaf of the *Phytium ramosissimum*—a beautiful trailing plant with a knotted stem, growing very abundantly in moist and shady places—and steamed over a pot of boiling water carefully covered up to keep the steam in, and then left to dry in the sun or air. The cakes then become fit to keep for a long time, and are of a very close, cheesy, indigestible character, with a disagreeable acid flavor. Cut into thin slices and toasted, the "quinquanga" is not a bad substitute for bread or biscuit.

It is curious that in the district of Loanda, and as far south as Mossamedes, the principal food of the people should be a preparation of the mandioca root, which is hardly ever used by the natives of the country from Ambriz to the river Congo. This is the meal called by the Portuguese and Brazilians "farinha de pão." It is made by rasping the fresh roots, previously peeled, on a grater, generally a sheet of tin-plate punched with holes or slits and nailed over a hole in a board.

The grated pulp is then put into bags and squeezed in a rude lever-press to extract as much of the juice as possible, and then dried on large round iron or copper sheets fitting on a low circular stone wall, where a wood fire is kept burning. When thoroughly dry it is nearly white, and has the appearance of coarse floury sawdust, and is excellent eating. Carefully prepared, it appears on all Angolan and Brazilian tables, and is taken dry on the plate to mix with a gravy of stews, etc. Scalded with boiling water and mixed with a little butter and salt, it is very nice to eat with meat, etc.

Another very favorite way of cooking it is by boiling it to a thick paste with water, tomatoes, chili pepper, and salt, with the addition of some oil or butter in which onions have been fried. This is called "pirão," and a dish of it appears at table as regularly as potatoes do with us.

With cold meat, fish, etc., it is also eaten raw, moistened with water, oil, vinegar, pepper, and salt, or, better still, with orange or lemon juice, with pepper and salt. This is called "farofa," and is an excellent accompaniment to the cold dinner. The natives generally eat it dry, or slightly moistened with water, and, from its being carelessly prepared, it is always very gritty with sand and earth and is the cause of the molaris of the natives being always ground very flat. A negro never makes any objection to grit in his food. Fish is always dried on the sandy beach; mandioca roots or meal, if wet, are also spread on a clean bit of ground and swept up again when dry, and he crunches up his always sandy food with the most perfect indifference, his nervous system not being of a sufficiently delicate character to "set his teeth on edge" during the operation, as it would those of a white man.

I will add a mere list of other vegetable foods and native fruits used by these people and entering largely into their internal commerce: bananas, plantains, honey, coffee, maize, beans, millet, ground-nuts, chili pepper, palm oil, palm wine, palm chop, sweet potatoes, and sugar-cane.

Tobacco flourishes in great richness of growth and is in universal use. Mr. Monteiro thus describes the growth of our common garden vegetables (volume 1, page 225):

The soil about Bumba is magnificent, and will produce almost anything. Sugar-cane grows to a huge size, and vegetables flourish in a remarkable man-

ner. During the time I was there I had a fine kitchen garden, and not only kept the miners supplied with vegetables, but almost every day sent as much as one, and sometimes two, blacks could carry to the fort for the soldiers. Greens of all kinds and cabbages grow beautifully, although the latter seldom form a hard head; all kinds of salad grow equally well, such as endive, lettuce, radishes, mustard, and cress, etc.; peas, turnips, carrots, mint, and parsley also flourish, and tomatoes, larger than I ever saw them even in Spain and Portugal. Cucumbers, melons, and vegetable marrows we obtained very fine the first season, but the succeeding year a swarm of very small grasshoppers prevented us from getting a single one. Broad beans, although growing and flourishing luxuriantly, never produced pods. I gave seeds to the old king of Matuta and promised to buy their produce from him, and we very quickly had a load of beautiful vegetables every day.

The spread of the fruits introduced from Portugal is illustrated in the following extract from Mr. Johnston's book, *The River Congo* (page 152), which I want to read, because it is very interesting:

The succeeding day, a bright sun dried up the remaining dampness in the ground and atmosphere, and we trudged along merrily through beautiful scenery. We are here following the great trade route from Stanley Pool to the coast, and the sides of the way are strewn with the top leaves of pine-apples, which, when the fruit is eaten, are thrown away, and, taking root in the rich red soil at the side of the path, serve to spread this plant along the whole route between Lutet and Stanley Pool, in some places, especially in the dank, moist ravines, forming an almost impenetrable ledge on each side of the narrow path. The inhabitants come to these narrow valleys and fill their long wicker baskets with the beautiful golden fruit which forms now so large a part of their diet.

In one village we came to there was a perfect orgy of pine-apples going on. The people were too indolent and careless even to sell them, and one lady, with whom from pure habit, I was disputing the price of her basketful, said in a languid way to Paraji, "Here, take them; as he does not want to pay he can have them for nothing." The dogs, the cats, the pigs, the goats, the fowls, and the children all lived on pine-apples.

The very people had a golden tinge about them, as if from the absorption of such quantities of mellow fruit, and the fowls I bought here had a flavor that was quite inexplicable save for this theory of an exclusive pine-apple diet. Here it was quite impossible to resist halting; we arrived at about eight in the morning, and for two whole hours sat and ate pine-apples. A few brass rods paid for the entire feast, and the generous natives, moreover, brought us a heaped-up basketful to carry on our journey. However burdened the men might be, this was an extra load they never refused.

THE NATIVE MARKETS.

No one institution in Central Africa will give a better idea of the domestic productions and trade of the people and of the efficiency of their public laws than the open markets that are held at stated times by all the negro tribes. Mr. Johnston thus describes a market he attended near Isangila, in the hill country between Vivi and Stanley Pool (pages 117, 119, 120):

One of these native markets is a curious and interesting sight to see. They are generally held every four or every eight days, either weekly or fortnightly, for the native week is of four days only. One of the days of the week often bears a distinctive name of "selling" or "market" day. The natives will often come a hundred miles to attend one of these big markets, and there are generally over a thousand present. They bring sheep, goats, pigs, Muscovy ducks, and fowls for sale or barter, the fowls most carefully packed in long wicker cages fastened between two stout poles, conveying at each end. Eggs are usually carried in large finely-plaited baskets; indeed some of their basket work is so tightly made that it will hold water. At the markets between Isangila and Manyanga five hundred eggs may be bought at a time. The natives also sell fresh vegetables, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, and even a wild cabbage, bananas, plantains, pine-apples, ground-nuts, sugar-cane, maize, kola-nut tobacco, and "kikwanga."

He goes on then to describe "kikwanga," but I shall not detain the Senate about that. He then proceeds:

An African market with so many commodities to sell and so many eager sellers and loungers is a most animated scene. The din of voices may be heard afar off, and when you enter the great open square, where, under the shade of great trees, perhaps a thousand people are disposed in little chattering groups round their heaps of wares, it is worse than the parrot-house at the zoological gardens. The women are the keenest traders; they haggle and scream and expostulate, and chuckle aside over their bargains, whilst the hulking men lounge about in good-humored listlessness, or squat in rows stolidly smoking. Although the strife of tongues is great, few real quarrels occur.

There is in most cases a chief of the market, perhaps an old fetich man, who regulates all disputes, and who so heavily fines both litigants that all are chary of provoking his arbitration. This babble lasts but one day, and then for the rest of the "week" or "fortnight" the market place is void and desolate.

Rev. Herbert Probert, a missionary, whose book of *Life and Scenes in Congo* was published in 1889 by the American Baptist Publication Society, thus describes these markets (pages 143 to 147):

There are four days in the Congo week. Here they are: "Konzo," "Nkenge," "Nsona," "Nkandu." On each of these days a market is held somewhere. Local markets are commonly called by the day on which they are held. A love of trading is characteristic of the African, though by no means confined to that race. If a Congo man has a pig to sell, and a purchaser is at hand to-day, the owner will wait until the morrow and sell it at the market. Even the little children love to buy and sell. Each person loves to feel that he has an active interest in the affairs of life. As Mrs. H. G. Guinness says: "The market, to the natives of Africa, seems to be what the Royal Exchange is to the merchants of London, the universal and important rendezvous." Stanley graphically describes the African markets:

"These markets on the banks of the Congo, at intervals of 3 or 4 miles, are central resorts of the aborigines from either bank, and considered as neutral ground which no chief may claim nor any individual assert claims of tribute for. Many of them are wide, grassy spaces under the shade of mighty spreading trees, affording admirable river scenes for an artist.

"In the background is the deep, black forest, apparently impenetrable in its density; here and there a taller giant, having released itself from acquaintance and familiarity, overlooks its neighbors; its branches are favored by the white-collared eagle and the screaming ibis. Here and there rise the feathery and graceful fronds of the elms palm. In the foreground flows the broad, brown river. In the morning, on market days, the grassy flats are thronged. From the depths of the forest and from isolated clearings, from lonely islands, and from the open country of the 'Bakusa' come together the aborigines with their baskets of 'cassava,' their mats of palm fiber and sage, their gourds of palm wine, their beans and maize, millet and sugar-cane, crockery, and the handwork of their artisans in copper and iron and wood, the vermilion camwood, their vegeta-

bles, and fruit of banana and plantain, their tobacco and pipes and bangles, their fish-nets and baskets, fish, and a multitude of things which their wants and tastes have taught them to produce.

"All in animation and eager chatter until noon, when the place becomes silent again and untenanted, a prey to gloom and shade, where the hawk and the eagle, the ibis, the gray parrot, and the monkey may fly and scream and howl undisturbed."

The money or currency is brass rods, "cowries" (small shells), blue beads, white beads, and formerly ironware. In the Congo market rats find a ready sale. Often have we seen the vendor of rats taking his place in the busy throng with his commodity, which the native is very expert in catching. With a small basket-trap of his own construction, he will disturb the rats by beating or burning the tall grass, and will invariably secure his prize. After he has captured a number he will singe the hair off and fix them on rods, say ten on each rod. In this condition he offers the tempting morsels for sale.

The butcher of the market is an object of interest. He drives his pig to market and kills it just outside the circle of trade. He cooks it also partially. As a sign of his calling, the butcher takes a piece of fat and secures it to the top of his head by means of a skewer. The natives sometimes get very excited in trading and can hardly control themselves. Under the influence of palm wine, guns and other weapons would be dangerous instruments in their hands, and they are conscious of this. Because of this, for their own safety, they have a law which forbids any one to carry a gun within the limits of the market. All who bring weapons must hide them in the grass outside the market place, and any one who violates this law endangers his own life. Although the punishment for stealing at the market is so terribly severe, yet instances of theft are by no means of rare occurrence.

A thief may possibly escape with his life the first time, if he has friends who can pacify the injured parties; but for the second offense there is no escape, he is chief or slave. This is not because of their admiration for the negative commandment, known to us as the eighth in the Decalogue, but because they find it absolutely necessary, in order to make their markets a success; or, at least, they appear to think that these severe laws are necessary. Apart from that, honesty, be it remembered, is not a predominating virtue in a Congo native. When a thief is captured, he is speedily condemned to die, and that sentence is quickly carried into effect.

TRADE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE NEGROES.

The negro tribes are all given to traffic, and will work to enrich themselves in cloth, brass rods, gewgaws, and rum, but in the main they have little conception of the real comforts that civilization brings within their reach. All they attempt to do is to gratify some barbarous taste or desire, without any apparent effort to improve their comfort, either in food, clothing, or houses, or to increase their knowledge. They work and endure hardships better than any other savage race, but they seem to have no idea of personal, social, or governmental improvement.

Progress with them is a mere continuing to live. The negroes are not a governing race. This fact is placed beyond dispute by the vast number of petty kingdoms into which the political power of the country is separated.

Any race having the capacity for self-government would not hesitate for a day to establish a powerful government by uniting these petty kingdoms under one rule.

If they ever really govern themselves some body of civilized men will have to teach them the art. Government amongst the negro tribes is purely arbitrary and absolute.

Kings are sometimes chosen by the people, but the choice is a mere ratification of pretensions, and the selection is a type of fetish rule, and the result of the dread of hidden power, rather than of the apparent power of the king. The bronze-colored people who occupy the entire Congo Basin, to the exclusion of the real negro, are all house-builders and live in villages. Their houses are comfortable and clean, and are shaded with trees, ornamented with vines, and often separated from other holdings by hedges planted for the purpose.

Their cookery is palatable and sometimes quite inviting.

Their drinks are beer made of Indian corn, malted and fermented, and the juice of the sugar-cane, fermented, and palm wine, drawn fresh from the tree, and also fermented into an intoxicant. In either form it is a delightful and refreshing drink. Their hospitalities are usually attended with offers of convivial drinking and eating, and the abundant supply of palm wine and palm-nut oil or butter makes these hospitalities inexpensive.

All the writers describe them as people of amiable disposition towards their equals and superiors, not even resenting personal insult or punishment, but as being cruel to their inferiors in strength and to those who deprive them of property by theft or violence.

In what I have stated and read to the Senate about these people, I have been compelled to omit more than a brief reference to the facts upon which I have based my statements, and have given only a general outline of their character.

They have a decided capacity for the mechanic arts. The tools they use are made by them in their rude bloomeries, with bellowses, hammer, and anvil, all worked on the ground. They make spears, arrow-points, and knives of various patterns, and well tempered. With these implements, formed into various shapes, they construct their houses and make canoes for war purposes that will carry 100 men. In one flotilla Mr. Stanley estimated that there were 5,000 men.

Mr. Stanley describes the natives along the Congo as people "whose manners are gentle, and their instincts are entirely for trade."

I have tried thus to present the characteristics of the people in the Congo country and the general outline of its productions, with a view to establish two propositions:

First. That this region is capable of producing vast abundance of food and raiment of the descriptions required by the climate and the

physical peculiarities of those people, with an immense surplus of articles in great demand in other countries to swell the balance of the world's commerce; and

Second. That the natives of that region are prepared for useful employment in these important labors. Famine in the interior of Africa, with an annual rainfall of 41 inches and a mean temperature of about 75° Fahrenheit, the highest being 97.7 and the lowest 67.3, and with a soil of great and general fertility, is as little to be expected as it is in the United States. Indeed, no country can be more relied upon for steadiness of yield in its agricultural and forest crops.

The following table of exports from the Lower Congo for 1882 is given by Mr. Stanley (volume 2, page 370):

Factories, where stationed.	Produce.	Gross value.	Weight.
			Tons.
Isangila	Ground-nuts	£370,000	25,000
Manyanga	do	370,000	25,000
Isangila and Manyanga	Palm oil	310,000	10,000
Stanley Pool, etc.	Orchilla weed	450,000	10,000
Do	Ivory	260,000	232
Do	Hippo teeth	11,200	20
Upper Congo	Rubber	1,530,000	10,000
Do	Skins	20,000	1,800
Do	Palm oil	1,240,000	40,000
Do	Beeswax	5,000	50
Do	Copal gum	600,000	10,000
Lake Leopold II and Mantumba	Cane wood	480,000	20,000
Kwa Mouth	Sesamum seed	20,800	4,000
Total		5,667,000	156,102

The portage on these exports from the place of production to the trading stations, Mr. Stanley estimates at £52,000, which, he insists, would alone pay 5½ per cent. on the cost of a railway 235 miles long to connect Vivi with Stanley Pool and open up 5,200 miles of uninterrupted river navigation. The trade of the west coast of Africa in 1882 amounted to £32,000,000, of which £17,000,000 were exports.

It will be noticed that india-rubber, palm oil, and copal gum are the leading articles of exports from the Congo River. Copal, white and red, is found in great abundance, both in the growing state and in the gum that is found in the earth, a probable exudation from extinct forests. Palm nuts abound everywhere on this wonderful family of trees that yield bread, wine, and oil in great abundance.

India-rubber, which nearly approaches leather as a staple commodity, is furnished, in Central Africa, from three distinct families of forest growth. The importance of getting access to this wide and rich field of production in reference to the india-rubber trade alone could not easily be overstated.

I should also state that few of the waters of rivers and seas afford fish in greater variety, excellence, and abundance than the Congo River and the Atlantic coasts of Africa. Devil-fish have been for centuries a leading article of commerce between the littoral tribes and those of the hill country of the interior.

Passing by many high authorities and many statements of other travelers in Africa, for the want of time, I will read another extract from the "Congo" of Mr. Stanley, which will bring me directly to the point of this apparently discursive presentation of facts of great importance (volume 2, pages 374, 375):

Let us take North America, for instance, and the richest portion of it, namely, the Mississippi Basin, to compare with the Congo Basin, previous to its development by that mixture of races called modern Americans. When De Soto navigated the Father of Waters, and the Indians were undisputed masters of the ample river basin, the spirit of enterprise would have found in the natural production some firs and timber.

The Congo Basin is, however, much more promising at the same stage of development. The forests on the banks of the Congo are filled with precious redwood, lignum-vite, mahogany, and fragrant gum trees. At their base may be found inexhaustible quantities of fossil gum, with which the carriages and furnitures of civilized countries are varnished; their boles exude myrrh and frankincense; their foliage is draped with orchilla-weed, useful for dye. The redwood, when cut down, chipped, and rasped, produces a deep crimson powder, giving a valuable coloring; the creepers which hang in festoons from tree to tree are generally those from which India-rubber is produced (the best of which is worth 2 shillings per pound); the nuts of the oil palm give forth a butter, a staple article of commerce, while the fibers of others will make the best cordage.

Among the wild shrubs are frequently found the coffee-plant. In its plains, jungle, and swamp luxuriate the elephants, whose teeth furnish ivory worth from 8 shillings to 11 shillings per pound; its waters teem with numberless herds of hippopotami, whose tusks are also valuable; furs of the lion, leopard, monkey, otter; hides of antelope, buffalo, goat, cattle, etc., may also be obtained. But what is of far more value, it possesses over 40,000,000 of moderately industrious and workable people, which the red Indians never were; and if we speak of prospective advantages and benefits to be derived from this late gift of nature, they are not much inferior in number or value to those of the well-developed Mississippi Valley.

The copper of Lake Superior is rivaled by that of the Kwilu-Niadi Valley, and of Bembe. Rice, cotton, tobacco, maize, coffee, sugar, and wheat would thrive equally well on the broad plains of the Congo. This is only known after the least superficial examination of a limited line, which is not much over 50 miles wide. I have heard of gold and silver, but this statement requires further corroboration, and I am not disposed to touch upon what I do not personally know.

In the following extract from Mr. Stanley's "Congo" the question is suggested that I propose, for the present, to answer with a few brief

facts. At some early day I hope that the Committee on Foreign Relations will make a better-considered answer than I can make now, and that the Executive will employ the treaty-making powers to carry out a plan, having reference to colonization in Africa, that will be of great value to the world. Mr. Stanley, in the conclusion of his book on Congo, says (volume 2, pages 376, 377):

It is specially with a view to rouse the spirit of trade that I dilate upon the advantages possessed by the Congo Basin, and not as a field for the pauper immigrant. There are over 40,000,000 native paupers within the area described who are poor and degraded already merely because they are encompassed round about by hostile forces of nature and man denying them contact and intercourse with the elements which might have ameliorated the unhappiness of their condition. European pauperism planted amongst them would soon degenerate to the low level of aboriginal degradation.

It is the cautious trader who advances, not without the means of retreat, the enterprising mercantile factor who with one hand receives the raw produce from the native in exchange for the finished product of the manufacturer's loom—the European middleman, who has his home in Europe, but has his heart in Africa, is the man who is wanted. These are they who can direct and teach the black pauper what to gather of the multitude of things around him and in his neighborhood. They are the missionaries of commerce, adapted for nowhere so well as for the Congo Basin, where are so many idle hands and such abundant opportunities all within a natural "ring-fence." Those entirely weak-minded, irresolute, and senile people who profess skepticism and project it before them always as a shield to hide their own cowardice from general observation, it is not my purpose to attempt to interest in Africa.

Of the 325,000,000 of people in civilized Europe there must be some surely to whom the gospel of enterprise preached in this book through the medium of eight languages will present a few items of fact worthy of retention in the memory and capable of inspiring a certain amount of action. I am encouraged in this belief by the rapid absorption of several ideas which I have industriously promulgated during the last few years respecting the Dark Continent. Pious missionaries have set forth devotedly to instill into the dull, mindless tribes the sacred germs of religion; but their material difficulties are so great that the progress they have made bears no proportion to the courage and zeal they have exhibited. I now turn to the worldly-wise traders, for whose benefit and convenience a railway must be constructed.

"The spirit of trade" which Mr. Stanley desires to arouse is the agent upon which I rely to establish a current of voluntary and self-supporting emigration of our American negroes returning to the land of their fathers.

That trade will be as lucrative to those engaged in it, after the full resources of the country are developed, as any that the East Indies have furnished to England or the West Indies to Spain, compared with the numbers who will engage in it. The American negro will have great advantages over the people of any other race or country in opening, conducting, and promoting this trade.

The first and essential advantage will be that, in establishing this trade, he will not only avoid, entirely, the race aversion which the African negro has to the white man, and which he has never yielded, and, reading the future in the light of our home experience, he will never forget it. The American negro will naturally and justly employ this race aversion to secure a monopoly of this African trade, and of the labor which will produce the articles that will constitute this commerce.

The next advantage will be that the American negro will organize and employ the labor in Africa, so strong, healthy, acclimated, and abundant in all the pursuits that are invited by its agriculture, forestry, mines, and fisheries.

In this new régime, and without any necessary political disturbance among those tribes, the American negro will take hold of this elementary condition of civilization, which is legitimate commerce.

Then will come the modification and ultimately the abolishment of domestic slavery through the upward growth of social order and justice, and the release of women from the thralldom of barbaric oppression. Christianity will find a door opened by her hand-maiden, Commerce, through which the heart of Africa will be entered in triumph by the Prince of Peace. Christianity, civilization, wealth, and the consciousness of a free and responsible moral and political manhood will imbue those people with a sense and feeling of their right and capacity ultimately to govern themselves. In this new career their escape from their present laws and rulers will be the richest blessing that man ever enjoyed at the hand of his fellow-man.

The wealth and honors that will crown and bless the American negroes who shall accomplish this work will rejoice the whole world. I turn from the description of these opportunities to consider what it is that the American negro is doing or can do for himself and his race in this cis-Atlantic home of the stranger to his family, to his natural traits and instincts, and to his hopes of progress.

The negro race have no enemies in the United States, but they have millions of despairing friends who feel that it is not meet that their own race should be tarnished and its prestige destroyed in the effort to incorporate the negroes into our family circles, and to seat them, as kindred, at our firesides, which are the true units of our representative government.

The task of elevating this mass of 8,000,000 of negroes to the high plane required by American citizenship is too great for the combined efforts of both races. It must be remembered, when we consider the weight of this arduous task, that the negroes in the United States represent almost every tribe in Africa. If I were now endeavoring to base a great movement of population upon the intelligence, moral power, or the physical strength of our Guinea negroes, or those who came to us from the sea-coast of west Africa, with their degradation, which is ex-

pressed in every trait and feature, thought and movement, both mental and physical, even to the fetid odors from their bodies, I would think that all such efforts were futile.

I could not shut my eyes to the results of such efforts in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Angola. But the tribes in the Congo Basin are elevated by nature far above those of the coast region. They possess the physical and mental traits of our best people of African descent, and in their moral natures they seem to be awaiting with anxiety the coming of a purer and better light. I would be glad to present the abundant proofs of this great and essential fact, and to discuss it more fully, but this is not the best time for that duty.

It is plain to any observer who is acquainted with our African people in this country how those descended from the better tribes advance to the front in every effort that is made to lift the negro race into a higher condition. It is equally plain that the negroes of lower grade are millstones about the necks of those who would swim out of the deep waters with them.

But all such efforts in this country are in vain. The best negro in the United States, though he may have great physical strength and comeliness, normal qualities that are unimpeachable, mental powers that are equal to any task in art, science, learning, invention, or business, and abilities to compass and to lead in any great movement in war, or in statesmanship, or in the church, can not find a place suited to his worth in any part of the United States.

The more conspicuous his abilities may be, the less chance he will have for a position where he can make them felt. All of us, in every part of the Union, with one accord refuse to the negro the power and influence for which we have endeavored to qualify him by immense expenditures of money and with the utmost care.

Let us give an honest answer to the following questions, that we may see what are the practical benefits to the 8,000,000 negroes about whose advancement we are having such convulsive strife. How many bank presidents are negroes? How many railroad presidents? How many presidents of manufacturing companies or of mining or navigation companies? The answer is, None!

How many directors, cashiers, or tellers in such corporations are negroes? The answer is, None! How many railroad engineers, conductors, or expressmen are negroes? The answer is, None! How many State or Federal judges are negroes? The answer is, None!

How many governors of States or Territories are negroes? The answer is, None. How many negroes are in the State Legislatures? The answer is, None from the Northern States, where negro rights are most earnestly advocated, and only a few in the Southern States, where negro influence is most tolerated.

What Northern State has ever sent a negro to either House of Congress? The answer is, None. How many negroes are presidents or professors in universities, colleges, or high schools that are attended by white students, male or female? The answer is, None.

In what family or social circle of white people is the negro race admitted, all other things being equal, on terms of cordial brotherhood? The answer is, None! Or, if there are exceptions, they provoke the censure and contempt of the white people who know of them and add nothing to the happiness of the negro.

What white churches or charges are placed under the ministry of negro clergymen? The answer is, None!

Besides the limited number of occupations in which the negro is to toil, by sufferance, for his personal support or enrichment, his entire field of endeavor is limited to political exploiting. This field he occupies with great industry and with little benefit to himself, and without giving any aid to the science or practice of good government. He is, in fact, little more than a mere follower of party leaders, to whom he looks for personal rewards in the dispensation of official patronage.

It will not be denied, I suppose, that the narrow limits to which caste and prejudice and race aversion have confined the labors of the negroes in this country will not be sufficient to accommodate and encourage the aspirations of eight millions of people if they desire to grow in knowledge and power. Political influence can never lift the negro race in this country above its present level. On the contrary, the friction and collision caused by the use of the ballot will, more and more, create enmity against the negro race, and every material and social interest of that race will become the subject of political controversy.

The one thing that the real interests of the negro race in the United States can least afford is to be drawn or driven into the vortex of party politics. When the results of elections are adverse to their party they lose hope and relax their efforts for success in their individual pursuits; when their party has success, they are inflamed with delusive hopes of personal advantage and social advancement, and they are soured against the white race when they fail to get the personal rewards of their party adhesion, in the division of the spoils of office.

If there is any human privilege or duty for which the negro race is thoroughly unfit, it is to control in the political direction or the legislation of a complex government like ours. And if there is one pursuit that is of less advantage than all others to the negro, it is to exploit politics in a country where he has no chance to rule and must be

the unquestioning subordinate of his political associates of the white race.

I do not underrate or ignore the merits and abilities of the men of African descent in our country, and I would gladly assist to make them useful. Higher education only makes more clear to them the barriers to wealth, power, and social elevation that are erected against them by race aversions in this country, while, in a degree, it unfits them for the ordinary employments that are opened to their race. That is not the cure for the ills that are incidental to their condition. Compared with their kindred in Africa, it is a marvel of progress that they have made in two centuries.

Under our form of slavery they have advanced to a condition that it is now thought that their blood kindred in Africa can never attain to. The weight of the argument is in the other direction. Not only is it possible that the people of the Congo Free State can improve as much in one century as our negroes have in two, but it is certain that a homogeneous people, as those are, with a very perfect language, of simple and musical particles and easily written in the Roman alphabet, can be educated in their native tongue by an English-speaking people with great rapidity.

The missionaries find no trouble in translating other languages into the native dialects, and even the coast negroes have acquired the Portuguese language, so that a great number of them both speak and write it intelligibly. I look forward to the establishment of free republican government in that country as a task that the American negro will accomplish with certainty, and as rapidly as will be for the welfare of the people. The influence he will acquire in the use of the native labor will bring him into such associations and under such conditions that his moral power and authority over them will naturally grow into actual authority over those people. This will eventuate in the adoption, by their free choice, of the government that the American negroes will recommend.

This work will be, necessarily, slow, but it will be virtually established when a large share of the labor and commerce of that country shall come under the control of American negroes. This is the first hold that our negro citizens will gain upon that country. Whether we will find it best for them to continue their citizenship, and to colonize them in that country, is a question that time will determine. It is also a question to be provided for, if at all, through the treaty-making powers of our Government.

But the question whether the American negro shall gain the control of the future of African civilization which must begin with the organization and control of the commerce of those people, by the control of their labor, is of the first and highest importance. I do not refer to the destination of this commerce after it is created, for I do not care how much or how little of it comes to this country, if it is not to the advantage of the Congo Free State and its people that it should reach our shores.

Such vast abundance of labor in immediate possession of such fields of production will compel the attention of enterprising men the world over. Somebody will control it, and everything is now in condition to invite the enterprise. It will yield wealth to many millions of people, and that will draw to that country men who otherwise might be digging gold in Alaska under the Arctic circle or digging canals in the Isthmus of Darien. With the advantages of wealth and of ultimate political power and of leadership in the march of christianity presented to the American negro, it will disprove every conjecture and disappoint every hope that the world entertains of him if he shall fail to see and to grasp this golden opportunity.

The political conditions of the Congo Free State are already most favorable to this grand work. The United States have had a timely and most benign influence in the inauguration of the Free State of Congo.

Mr. Stanley thus writes about the part taken by the United States in that great event (volume 2, page 353), which I will read very briefly:

The recognition of the United States was the birth unto new life of the association, seriously menaced as its existence was by opposing interests and ambitions; and the following of this example by the European powers has affirmed and secured its place among sovereign states. This act, the result of the well-considered judgment of the American statesmen, was greatly criticised abroad, as was the participation of the United States in the Berlin conference, to which it directly led up, by the press of America. It was an act well worthy of the great Republic, not only as taking the lead in publicly recognizing and supporting the great work of American civilization in history, and in promoting the extension of commerce, but of significant import, in view of its interest for the future weal of the 7,000,000 people of African descent within its borders.

The Congo Free State has, since that date, made most rapid and successful progress in that work, which will stand while Governments shall last.

Mr. Taunt, our commercial agent, accredited to that Government, in his report to the Secretary of State, dated in October, 1889, describes, in some respects, the present condition of the Free State of Congo.

I will append to my remarks portions of that report, so that it may more completely show what progress has been made along the threshold of entrance to the great Congo Basin.

A fully-equipped government has been organized, with many stations along the river, above and below the Yellalla Falls, with its capital at Boma; with a governor, vice-governor, inspector-general,

secretary-general, department of justice, department of finance, and a medical department, all under the suzerainty of the King of Belgium. They have a standing army of well-equipped blacks, consisting of 1,500 men and officers, and several steamers on the Upper and Lower Congo. They have courts of law, post-offices, customs stations, and a currency of gold, silver, and copper.

The use of coin has taught the negroes the value of goods and of labor. As late as 1885 they paid three or four times the prices for goods, imported, that they now pay, in consequence of competition and the coin measure of values. Carrying a load of 60 pounds from Matodi to the Pool was \$3 in 1885, and in 1889 it was from \$7 to \$10. Food is growing scarce along the caravan route because the natives have moved away from it, farther from the river.

The aversion to the white man has caused this change. Whenever that country is civilized it will be found that the American negro has been the really efficient agent.

On this occasion I have attempted to do little more than to group the general and leading facts upon which we can safely predicate whatever of special effort the United States may make to induce our negroes who may have the desire and the enterprise to help themselves and their kindred in Africa to attain to a better condition, to engage in the opening of Central Africa to civilization and christianity.

Under the auspices of the Congo Free State, such a movement would meet with encouragement and security. All the great states of Europe have agreed upon an inviolable basis of public law for that country, which will give peace and permanence to every such effort and a hearty welcome to its promoters. There will be, doubtless, some occasional conflicts with the natives, but they can neither be extensive nor protracted, as they can not make successful war with the Congo Free State, which, with its allies—the great powers of Europe—will stand by to aid the colonists and traders in their honest enterprises.

All has been arranged and provided for that can be useful to the growth and progress of this new state in that fertile and beautiful land, so far as government is concerned. A short and easy line of railway transportation, of not more than 300 miles, is to be provided, to connect the Upper and Lower Congo. This will, in all likelihood, be built within five years, as will be seen from Mr. Taunt's report. The one element that is wanting to assure an early, natural, kindly, and rapid progress in this work is the assistance of the educated American negro. In his presence opposition to this beneficent work will yield readily, and pride of race will cause the African negro to rejoice in his coming as the redeemer and regenerator of his fatherland.

All the civilized nations, and especially those that deported the ancestors of these people under slavery, will feel that they have redeemed the time and have restored justice to humanity, as a permanent right, in giving their cordial and helpful assistance to a work in which their honor is bound up.

There are powers that are adequate, and resources that are abundant, and reasons that are cogent in our country to induce Congress and the treaty-making power to bestow upon this subject earnest thought, active and well-contrived plans for its promotion and immediate consideration.

I have a plan in my mind, which I will present, as well as I can, to the Committee on Foreign Relations, already charged by a resolution of the Senate to examine into this subject, but I shall indulge the hope that some plan better than mine will be found to facilitate this important work of civilizing the interior of Central Africa, of inducing the 8,000,000 negroes in this country to contribute their strength, knowledge, and christianity, and of finding for them a home, where their light shall be as a city set upon a hill, that can not be hid, and their strength as that of a young lion.

No American negro can be forced to return to Africa, nor can any be induced to go there against his best interests. It is truly said of the African negro that he never sent an expedition or a ship from his country, and that he has never embarked for a foreign country except in the chains of slavery. But if we will organize a trade company composed of our most intelligent negroes and give them ample powers and protection, and through our diplomatic agents prepare a place for them in the Congo Free State, and under its protection, where they can accumulate the native commercial wealth of that land and send it abroad, we will soon find the keels of their steamers plowing the oceans.

They have money to build vessels and to freight them, and will soon acquire skill to navigate them and to build others, and if they need more it is our duty to provide for them, under proper conditions as to their emigration.

Living in the fields of production that will create this wealth from agriculture, mines, fisheries, and forests, they will find pleasant homes, personal freedom, and national independence; and their feeling of caste, based on race peculiarities, will cause them to grow into increased power as education is given to the masses, and they will cease at last to be either the physical, moral, or political slaves of any other race of men.

And we in the United States will be freed from the necessity of a general amalgamation of races, to correspond with the unity and equality of the powers and rights of the two races in a common government, or the evil that must result from the constant, increasing, and inevitable friction between the white race and the black.

I am much obliged to the honorable Senate, Mr. President, that they have listened to me with such extraordinary patience while I have been so long engaged in the discussion of these subjects.

APPENDICES.

Extracts from report of Emory H. Taunt, commercial agent at Boma, on the Lower Congo.

ORGANIZATION OF CONGO FREE STATE.

Since my report made to the honorable Secretary of the Navy in February, 1887, the organization of the Congo Free State has been perfected, and I now find a well-equipped Government, with a full corps of officials, courts of law, post-offices, customs stations, a standing army of from twelve to fifteen hundred men, currency of gold, silver, and copper, in fact, everything in proper shape to successfully conduct a well-organized government. The European branch of the Government is vested in His Majesty King Leopold II, King of the Belgians and sovereign of the Congo Free State, with three advisers or administrators, namely, foreign affairs, finance, and interior. The European seat of government is at Brussels.

BOMA SETTLEMENT.

This settlement, about 90 miles from the mouth of the Congo River and pleasantly situated on the north bank, is the seat of the Government in Africa and the capital of the State.

Officials.—The three chief officials in Africa are stationed at Boma, namely, the governor, vice-governor, and the inspector-general. By the constitution either of the two last, in the order named, is authorized to assume the duties of governor in case of absence or illness of the others. Should it so happen that all three are either absent or ill the Government will then devolve upon an executive committee composed of the secretary-general, the director of justice, and the director of finance.

Secretary-general.—This official is next in rank to the inspector-general, is connected with the office of the governor, and is his general assistant. He has immediate charge of the transport service, buildings, and laborers, and of the marine department.

Department of justice.—At Boma this department is composed of the director of justice, who is also judge of appeals, a judge of lower courts, and the public attorney, or prosecutor for the state.

Department of finance.—This department has the director of finance, director of posts, and public notary; the latter has the sale and renting of land, collecting of taxes, etc., throughout the state.

The army, or public force.—These troops are distributed among the different stations of the Upper and Lower Congo. They are composed of from twelve to fifteen hundred well armed and disciplined blacks, officered by officers of the Belgian army. At Boma are the headquarters and school of instruction. Stationed here we find the commandant of troops, one captain, and two lieutenants, with about three hundred men under instruction. These men are Zouziboris from the east coast, Hourros from the gold coast, and Bangolos from the Upper Congo. This branch of the government has greatly improved during the last two years, and is now well established. The troops are well drilled, and will, I think, thoroughly police the river, even against the well-armed Arabs of Central Africa.

Medical department.—At Boma are stationed the chief medical officer and one assistant.

COMMUNICATION WITH EUROPE.

There are four lines of steamers from Banana and Boma communicating with Europe, namely: The British-African Steamship Company, of Liverpool; the German line, of Hamburg; the Portuguese line, of Lisbon; and the new French line, from Havre. These steamers will run up as far as Matodi if they have sufficient cargo.

In addition to the regular lines the Dutch-African Trading Company, of Rotterdam, runs the company's steamer about every three months; also Hutton & Cookson's steamers, from Liverpool, make about the same trips.

Cable communication can be had at the mouth of the Gaboon River and at the island of St. Thomas; both stations are about forty-eight hours' steaming north of the Congo; also, from St. Paul de Loanda, about fifteen hours' steaming south of Banana. The cable company stands ready to connect the cable at Banana whenever the Free State will guaranty them the required amount per annum.

COMMERCIAL COMPANIES.

The Dutch-African Trading Company, of Rotterdam, is the oldest and most flourishing of any trading company on the Congo. They have stations some 300 miles both north and south of the river, and during the last two years have established on the Upper Congo to Stanley Falls, 1,500 miles inland. They also have stations on the principal affluents of the Upper Congo. They employ a large force of white agents. In addition to their steamers running to Europe, they have coasting steamers and small steamers on the upper and lower river. This company have built a hotel at Banana, with accommodation for some twenty guests.

The Dutch house keeps a supply of steamer coal on hand. They will not coal vessels outside of Banana Creek, but vessels that come inside can buy coal for 50s. (\$12.50) the ton if loaded at the wharf, or 52s. (\$13) the ton loaded in the stream. This company are the financiers on the Lower Congo in raising coffee, tobacco, cocoa, etc. About three years ago the French Government offered special inducements for planters cultivating within their territory. This was taken advantage of by the Dutch company, and they settled on a tract about 10 miles square, most of which is now under cultivation and planted with coffee, tobacco, cocoa, etc. The Liberian coffee has proved far more prolific and of better flavor than any experimented with.

The first of the yield was gathered this year, and the crop next year promises to be abundant. The Dutch company receives from the French Government, first, a premium for being the pioneers; then they obtain their land free of cost and of all taxation, provided the tract is under cultivation within four years' time. For every laborer employed they receive a yearly premium of 50 francs (\$10). The laborers contract for one year, and they are forced to respect their contract in every particular. The pay of each laborer, in cloth at European prices, is about \$15 per annum, rations not included. Settlers or planters can obtain the same advantages that the Dutch now enjoy, with the exception of the first premium mentioned.

The French company—Dumas Berezet & Co., of Paris—ranks next to the Dutch. They have stations on the lower river and on the upper river and its affluents. One steamer on the Lower Congo and two small steamers on the Upper Congo belong to this firm.

Hutton & Cookson, of Liverpool, have stations on the Lower Congo, and their own steamer runs to Europe and return. This firm had a large number of stations north of the mouth of the Congo.

The Portuguese company have a few stations on the Lower Congo, but the bulk of their trade is south of the mouth of the river.

The Belgian Joint Stock Company of the Congo, a new trading society organized on a large scale, backed by immense capital, and which promises to absorb the greater part of the trade of the valley of the Congo, has lately been started in Brussels. It is composed largely of Belgian capital, but considerable Ameri-

can, English, and French money is also interested in the stock. The joint stock company is divided into five separate, distinct subcompanies, namely: (1) The Company for Commerce and Industry on the Congo; (2) the Company of General Stores for the Congo; (3) the Belgian Joint Stock Society for the Commerce of the Upper Congo; (4) the Joint Stock Society of Matabe for the Production of Palm-oil and the Breeding of Cattle; (5) the Company for Developing the Products of the Congo.

The Company for Developing the Commerce and Industries of the Congo, a subcompany, has as its main object the building of a railway from Matodi, the head of navigation of the lower river, to Stanley Pool, the commencement of navigation of the Upper Congo, a distance of about 240 miles, and thereby connecting the Upper and Lower Congo, and reducing the time of transit through the lower cataract region to as many hours as it now takes days; which, it is justly claimed, will be the opening wedge for the suppression of the extensive slave trade of Central Africa.

The survey for this railway was made in 1887-'88 by competent engineers, and an exhaustive report was published at that time. This report claimed that the construction of this railway would be practicable, and estimated that four years would be required to complete it at an estimated cost of about 32,000,000 francs. Of this sum 10,000,000 francs have been taken by the Belgian Government, and the remaining 22,000,000 francs were offered to syndicates in America, England, Germany, and France. The entire amount was at once subscribed. Some \$500,000, it is reported, was taken by a single capitalist in the United States.

The company has established plantations in the most fertile stretches of the cataract region, and proposes cultivating native produce, breeding cattle, sheep, goats and fowl for the subsistence of the large force of laborers and white men that it is expected will be employed in constructing the railway. In May last word was received at Boma to prepare every thing for an immediate start. It was proposed to break ground for the construction of the railway in July.

The terminus on the Lower Congo will be at Matodi Station, on the south bank, about 170 miles from Banana. As before stated, this point is the head of navigation on the lower river for all vessels drawing 21 feet and less. Some point on Stanley Pool will be the terminus on the upper river. The first 40 or 60 miles from Matodi will be difficult cutting; after that the road will meet with but few difficulties more serious than bridging the small streams.

The General Store Company of the Congo has been organized for the purpose of establishing depots for the sale of merchandise and European food, also to control hotels to be erected as the occasion may require. They are at present erecting a hotel at Boma with a large commercial depot attached.

The Joint Stock Company for the Commerce of the Haut (Upper) Congo was originally the Sanford Exchange, organized by the Hon. H. S. Sanford, late United States minister to Belgium. The Sanford had been trading for about eighteen months, and their five steamers on the Upper Congo, together with the eight trading stations, were taken over by the Belgian company.

The Matabe Company was organized for the production of palm-oil and breeding of cattle. Matabe is a large island a few miles below Boma. For the last two years a Belgian company has been working the oil-palms that cover the island.

The Society for the Products of the Congo will start plantations throughout the valley of the Congo for the production of coffee, tobacco, cocoa, and other tropical products.

While the Belgian Joint Stock Company of the Congo is not officially connected with the Government of the Congo Free State, it is unquestionably greatly favored by them, and will prove a formidable rival to any commercial company operating in the valley of the Congo. Immense grants and concessions have been allowed the railway company. The present inspector-general and acting governor at Boma is a director of the joint stock company. A large number of their agents are on temporary leave from the State. The constitution of the joint stock company provides that the bulk of merchandise, supplies, etc., for subcompanies must be purchased in Belgium.

TRADE PROSPECTS.

I am not ready at this writing to pass upon the prospect for American trade throughout the Congo Valley.

There is a great demand now as in 1887 for cotton goods, canned food, cutlery, and lumber, and ready-built frame houses are constantly called for. The bulk of the cotton goods used by all traders and by the missions and State are purchased in Manchester, England. Brass wire, beads, cutlery, etc., come from Birmingham, the canned food from England and France, although much of this last article came originally from the United States.

The consumption of cotton goods at present is very large, and when the Upper Congo is opened up this will increase tenfold, for we will then have the immense trade of the Arabs of Central Africa in addition to the Congo natives. The question will then arise, can our American cotton manufactures compete with Manchester?

Transportation from our sea-ports to Europe or the Congo will be a drawback to us and in favor of Manchester. As at present the traders and others pay freight only from Europe to the Congo, our people will have to deliver in Europe or at Banana. A direct line of steamers to the Congo would solve this question at once. If the trade in cotton goods could be once established, the rest would soon follow.

As I stated in 1887, all inquiries must be made to the heads of the different trading houses in Europe. The traders on the Congo can not make contracts for supplies and merchandise, everything being supplied them by the home directors. I am preparing a schedule of the prices paid for goods in Manchester and Birmingham. When finished I will forward to the Department.

MISSIONS ON THE LOWER CONGO.

The Protestant missions on the Congo are the American Baptist, American Methodist (Bishop Taylor's), American Faith Cure (Dr. Simpson's), the English Baptist, the Bolola Mission (English), and the Swedish Mission. The Roman Catholics are the Belgian and the French missions.

The American Baptist Mission, formerly Livingstone English, is doing excellent work and is in a flourishing condition. It is under the control of and supported by the Baptist Mission Board, of Boston. Its five well-equipped stations extend to the equator, on the upper river. M'Pausaba, on the lower river, is the headquarters. The steam-launch Henry Reed, on the Upper Congo, belongs to this mission. The majority of the members are English, formerly of the Livingstone Inland, but now almost every steamer brings out American missionaries. The other two American missions are in anything but a flourishing state.

In my report submitted to the honorable Secretary of the Navy in 1887 I had occasion to comment upon the Simpson Mission, sent out in 1885, and dwelt upon the fact that of the six men sent out one had died, four were returned to Europe by the charity of the English Baptists, and the other (Mr. Gerrick) was taken into the American Baptists, and I had hoped that this failure would suffice to stop the continuance of the self-supporting Faith Cure missions on the Congo.

I stated in the same report that "failure and destitution will always happen unless the religious societies are made to understand that it is useless to send missionaries to the Congo who are not provided with means for their establishment and permanent support. If they neglect this provision, they send their people to certain death, unless they are succored by the charity of other missions, who can ill afford the double burden." Every circumstance at this date only confirms my opinion given nearly three years ago.

I am compelled to dwell upon this matter, and trust that in some way it may be rectified. Religious societies sending people to the Congo River under such circumstances must be ignorant of what is required in the country, or they would never allow them to come.

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

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator withdraw the motion for one moment?

Mr. CULLOM. I will.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will lay before the Senate a bill from the House of Representatives, for reference.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

The bill (H. R. 845) to change and fix the time of holding terms of the district and circuit courts at Austin and Brownsville, Tex., was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

GEORGE PAULS.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, was, on motion of Mr. FRYE, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I herewith inclose a report from the Secretary of State, with accompanying papers, in relation to the death of George Pauls, a German subject, at Wilmington, N. C., May 8, 1886, and the claim of his widow for compensation on that account. In view of the statements made by the Secretary of State, I earnestly recommend that an appropriation of \$5,000 be made in behalf of Mrs. Pauls.

BENJ. HARRISON.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, January 7, 1890.

PUBLIC LANDS IN ALABAMA.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (S. 370) to further provide for the disposal of certain public lands in the State of Alabama.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. CULLOM. I now renew my motion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois moves that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After fifteen minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 3 o'clock and 48 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, January 8, 1890, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate the 7th day of January, 1890.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL.

David B. Miller, of Iowa, to be marshal of the United States for the southern district of Iowa, *vice* Edward Campbell, jr., removed. Appointed November 21, 1889, during recess of the Senate. The nomination of Daniel B. Miller to the above-named office, which was delivered to the Senate December 16, 1889, is hereby withdrawn.

SURVEYOR OF CUSTOMS.

George Fengler, of Iowa, to be surveyor of customs for the port of Dubuque, in the State of Iowa, in place of Owen McGloughlin, removed.

LAND-OFFICE REGISTER.

Otis H. Culver, of Murray, Idaho, to be register of the land office at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, *vice* Robert E. McFarland, whose term of office will expire January 26, 1890.

RECEIVER OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

J. Walfrid, of Taylor's Falls, Minn., to be receiver of public moneys at Taylor's Falls, Minn., *vice* Ernst A. Umland, to be removed.

INDIAN AGENT.

Everett W. Foster, of Frankfort, S. Dak., to be agent for the Indians of the Yankton agency, in South Dakota, *vice* Samuel T. Leavy, resigned.

POSTMASTERS.

J. P. Squires, to be postmaster at Redlands, in the county of San Bernardino and State of California; the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1890.

Robert H. Sterling, to be postmaster at Napa City, in the county of Napa and State of California, in the place of Richard H. Piatt, whose commission expires January 20, 1890.

Nebemiah D. Sperry, to be postmaster at New Haven, in the county of New Haven and State of Connecticut, in the place of Benjamin R. English, whose commission expires January 20, 1890.

Thomas J. Fuller, to be postmaster at Way Cross, in the county of Ware and State of Georgia, in the place of Abraham H. Morgan, removed.

Elkanah H. Brush, to be postmaster at Carbondale, in the county of Jackson and State of Illinois, in the place of John W. Toler, removed.

J. E. O. Clark, to be postmaster at Newton, in the county of Jasper and State of Illinois, in the place of Daniel O'Donnell, removed.

William Harbaugh, to be postmaster at Geneseo, in the county of Henry and State of Illinois, in the place of Joseph Dunham, whose commission expires January 13, 1890.

James L. Hastings, to be postmaster at Mason City, in the county of Mason and State of Illinois, in the place of William A. Mehan, whose commission expires January 13, 1890.

Elam W. Hill, to be postmaster at Maroa, in the county of Macon and State of Illinois; the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1890.

John H. I. Lacy, to be postmaster at Effingham, in the county of Effingham and State of Illinois, in the place of Charles H. Kelly, whose commission expires January 13, 1890.

L. T. Linnell, to be postmaster at Cobden, in the county of Union and State of Illinois, in the place of Drake H. Vancil, removed.

John McKinney, jr., to be postmaster at Aledo, in the county of Mercer and State of Illinois, in the place of J. F. Henderson, whose commission expires January 13, 1890.

E. A. Nattinger, to be postmaster at Ottawa, in the county of La Salle and State of Illinois, in the place of William Osman, whose commission expires January 20, 1890.

William H. Norris, to be postmaster at Carlyle, in the county of Clinton and State of Illinois; the appointment of a postmaster for the said office having, by law, become vested in the President on and after January 1, 1890.

A. Judson Phillips, to be postmaster at Anna, in the county of Union and State of Illinois, in the place of William C. Rich, removed.

A. H. Rue, to be postmaster at Jerseyville, in the county of Jersey and State of Illinois, in the place of Henry O. Goodrich, resigned.

Frank N. Tice, to be postmaster at Mount Morris, in the county of Ogle and State of Illinois, in the place of Henry Sharer, whose commission expires January 13, 1890.

George J. Warren, to be postmaster at Red Cloud, in the county of Webster and State of Nebraska, in the place of Alvin S. Marsh, resigned.

Alfred R. Robbins, to be postmaster at East Las Vegas, in the county of San Miguel and Territory of New Mexico, in the place of Cilicia E. Milligan, removed.

J. J. Crawford, to be postmaster at Barnhart's Mills, in the county of Butler and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of Peter A. Rattigan, removed.

Henry P. McKallip, to be postmaster at Leechburgh, in the county of Armstrong and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of William B. Jack, removed.

William J. Neyman, to be postmaster at Grove City, in the county of Mercer and State of Pennsylvania, in the place of David M. Morrow, removed.

Leonard R. Owens, to be postmaster at Marion, in the county of Marion and State of South Carolina, in the place of Mrs. Mary S. Sellers, removed.

Romulo A. Mills, to be postmaster at Aberdeen, in the county of Brown and State of South Dakota, in the place of John H. Firey, removed.

John B. Strong, to be postmaster at Tullahoma, in the county of Coffee and State of Tennessee, in the place of William L. Norton, whose commission expires January 12, 1890.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, January 7, 1890.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by Rev. Dr. CUTBERT, of Washington, D. C.

On motion of Mr. ALLEN, of Michigan, the reading of so much of the Journal as relates to the introduction and reference of bills was omitted.

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

MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT.

The SPEAKER laid before the House a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting estimates from the Secretary of War of appropriations for the construction of a commissary store-house at the Military Academy at West Point, and for the purchase of land for target practice and drill grounds at Fort McPherson; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

UNITED STATES COURTS OF TEXAS.

Mr. CULBERSON, of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am directed by the Committee on the Judiciary to report back the bill (H. R. 845) to change and fix the time of holding terms of the district and circuit courts at Austin and Brownsville, Tex., which I now send to the desk, and ask its immediate passage.

The SPEAKER. The bill will be read.

The bill was read at length.

Mr. CULBERSON, of Texas. This bill is reported from the committee without amendment.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

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

The latter motion was agreed to.

PRINTING FOR COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

Mr. CUTCHEON. I am directed by the Committee on Military Affairs to offer the following resolution and ask its present consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be authorized to have printed and bound such papers and documents for the use of said committee as it may deem necessary in connection with subjects considered by the committee during the present Congress.

The resolution was adopted.

ADDITIONAL STENOGRAPHER, WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution and ask its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Ways and Means be authorized to employ a stenographer to assist the official stenographers to committees during the continuance of the hearings now in progress before that committee, the expense to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

The resolution was adopted.

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

The latter motion was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS COMMERCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. CARLISLE. Mr. Speaker, I am instructed by the Committee on Rules to report the resolution I send to the desk, and ask its immediate adoption.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Speaker be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint two additional members, to serve during the present Congress, on the Committee on Commerce.

The resolution was adopted.

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

The latter motion was agreed to.

APPRAISERS' WAREHOUSE, NEW YORK.

Mr. LANSING introduced a bill (H. R. 4319) to amend sections 2 and 4 of an act providing for the erection of an appraisers' warehouse in the city of New York, and for other purposes; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and ordered to be printed.

CUSTOM HOUSE, NEW YORK.

Mr. LANSING also introduced a bill (H. R. 4320) to increase the appropriation made by section 2 of chapter 1018, public laws, Fiftieth Congress, first session, which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

EQUALIZATION OF PENSIONS.

Mr. BROSIUS (by request) introduced a bill (H. R. 4321) to equalize pensions in certain cases; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed.

RELIEF OF HONORABLY DISCHARGED SOLDIERS.

Mr. BROSIUS also introduced a bill (H. R. 4322) for the relief of honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the late war who are disabled or infirm; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions, and ordered to be printed.

LABORATORY FOR AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

Mr. FUNSTON introduced a bill (H. R. 4323) to erect a laboratory building for the use of the Department of Agriculture in Washington, D. C.; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on Agriculture, and ordered to be printed.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER, OREGON.

Mr. HERMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution I now send to the desk.

The SPEAKER. The resolution will be read subject to objection. The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, requested to transmit to the House such information and special reports which may be in his Department since his last annual report relative to the necessity for early resumption and continuation of the improvements of Columbia River, in Oregon and Washington, with any recommendations in reference thereto.

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

There was no objection.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. HERMANN moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was adopted; and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Mr. STONE, of Missouri. I ask indefinite leave of absence for my colleague, Mr. WALKER, on account of sickness.

There was no objection, and the leave was granted.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. CLEMENTS, indefinitely, on account of sickness.

To Mr. CARTER, indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. SANFORD, on account of sickness.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that in compliance with the resolution yesterday adopted the Speaker administered the oath of office at his residence to Hon. SAMUEL J. RANDALL, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, and the Clerk will make a record in the Journal.

MUSKEGON AND LUDINGTON HARBORS.

Mr. CUTCHEON. I offer the following resolution, and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration:

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be requested to transmit to the House any information or reports which may be in his Department relative to the further improvement of the harbors of Muskegon and Ludington, in the State of Michigan, together with any recommendation or estimates in relation thereto made by the United States engineer in charge.

The SPEAKER. This requires unanimous consent. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none.

The resolution was adopted.

D. M. SPRAGUE AND WILLIAM TILTON.

Mr. GROSVENOR, from the Committee on War Claims, reported back favorably the bill (H. R. 1786) for the relief of D. M. Sprague and William Tilton.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman present the bill for consideration?

Mr. GROSVENOR. I desire to have it go on the Calendar, when there is one.

The SPEAKER. The bill can lie on the table.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I ask unanimous consent to consider that bill at this time. It is a bill which passed here at the last session.

The SPEAKER. The bill can now be considered without unanimous consent, as the gentleman presents it from a committee with a report, if the House so desires.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I raise the question of consideration.

The SPEAKER. The bill will now be read.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I withdraw the proposition. I do not care anything about it.

SAULT STE. MARIE CANAL.

Mr. SNIDER. I present the memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of St. Paul, Minn., favoring an adequate appropriation for Sault Ste. Marie Canal, and request that it be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent that the memorial be printed in the RECORD without reading. If there be no objection it will be so ordered.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

The memorial is as follows:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, St. Paul, Minn.

Report of the mercantile committee on the resolution offered by Col. James H. Davidson, November 18, 1889.

ST. PAUL, MINN., December 23, 1889.

By Col. James H. Davidson:

Resolved, That Congress be, and is hereby, urged to make an adequate appropriation, at the earliest moment possible, sufficient to protect the work already done at Sault Ste. Marie, and to complete it at the earliest date possible, with the least possible interruption to commerce.

Referred to the transportation committee.

Your committee, to whom was referred the resolution of Colonel Davidson regarding the appropriation for a new lock at the Sault Ste. Marie, beg leave to report:

That, in the opinion of your committee, there is no one matter before Congress, or likely to come before that body, that is of so much importance to the people of the Northwest as the matter of appropriating sufficient money to enable the engineers in charge of the work of building a new lock at the Sault Ste. Marie Canal and deepening the shallows in the Great Lakes and the rivers connecting them to a depth of 20 feet, to complete the work at the earliest possible date.

The importance of the cheap water transportation via the Great Lakes to the people of the Northwest can be best understood and appreciated when we consider carefully the saving there is in it. During the season of navigation just closed the superintendent of the canal reports 1,629,197 tons of coal having passed through the lock. On this there was a saving in freight to the people of the Northwest of not less than \$3,000,000 as compared with all-rail transportation from the mines. This, too, on a basis of freight rates adjusted by the railroad companies to meet, as nearly as possible, the cheap water rates, which, without doubt, are very much lower than they would be if we had no water

transportation. Of this \$3,000,000 saved, between \$200,000 and \$300,000 of it is saved to the city of St. Paul, and a like amount to Minneapolis.

The superintendent of the lock reports a total tonnage of 7,516,022 tons having passed through during the season just closed, upon all of which, it is fair to suppose, there was a like saving. This saving is on freight carried in vessels drawing an average of 15 feet to 15 feet 6 inches of water and carrying a maximum tonnage of 2,200 tons.

The new lock and the improvements being made on the shallows connecting the Great Lakes contemplate a depth of 21 feet. This would very soon increase the size of the vessels to an average carrying capacity of from four to five thousand tons, which would work a further saving of from 25 per cent. to 33 per cent. of the present rates of freight charged.

Your committee can not find language strong enough to impress upon the minds of this chamber and upon the people of the whole Northwest, the importance of bringing every possible influence to bear upon our Representatives in Congress to have sufficient money appropriated to prosecute the work on these improvements, day and night so far as practicable, until they are completed. The engineer in charge has asked for \$1,236,000 for continuing the work of enlarging the Ste. Marie Falls Canal, and \$500,000 for Hay Lake Channel, during the coming fiscal year; and these sums have been approved by the Chief of Engineers and the Secretary of War.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That our Representatives in both Houses of Congress be, and they are hereby, requested to do everything in their power to secure the appropriation of the full amount of money asked for by the engineers in charge of the improvements on the Ste. Marie Falls Canal and the shallows connecting the Great Lakes, and to secure instructions to be given the engineers in charge of this work to push the work day and night as far as shall be practicable, to the end that the work shall be completed at the earliest possible date.

And further, That the secretary of this chamber be requested to send a copy of this resolution to all the commercial bodies in the Northwest, and along the chain of lakes, requesting them to adopt it, or a similar one, and forward to their Representatives in Congress with the request that they use their best influence to secure the appropriation asked for.

P. H. KELLY,
W. S. MORTON,
A. PUGH,
E. W. PEET,
Committee.

By General C. C. Andrews:

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Minnesota are hereby requested to endeavor to have this report and resolution printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Adopted.

A. S. TALLMADGE, *Secretary.*

The memorial was referred to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. McCook, its Secretary, announced the passage of bills of the following titles; in which concurrence was requested:

A bill (S. 5) for the relief of Bessie S. Gilmore;

A bill (S. 835) to increase the pensions of certain soldiers and sailors who are totally helpless from injuries received and from diseases contracted while in the service of the United States; and

A bill (S. 1417) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for taking the eleventh and subsequent censuses," approved March 1, 1889.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. Mccomas. I offer the following resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill of the House H. R. 3711, the District of Columbia appropriation bill, and that general debate thereon shall be limited to ——— time only, after which the bill shall be considered by clauses or paragraphs under the rules of the last House relating to the consideration of general appropriation bills in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. Mccomas. I left the time for general debate blank. I think my colleagues on the committee, Mr. Dockery and Mr. Sayers, are present. As to the general debate I do not know of any desire for general debate on this side, and whether gentlemen on the other side desire general debate is what I would like to know.

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. My understanding is that the gentlemen on this side who are on the subcommittee are Mr. Dockery, of Missouri, and Mr. Clements, of Georgia. Mr. Clements is sick and Mr. Dockery was sick yesterday and I do not see him in his seat here.

Mr. Mccomas. I was informed that my colleague, Mr. Dockery, of Missouri, was present.

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. I have not seen him this morning. Mr. Clements, a member of that subcommittee, has obtained leave of absence.

Mr. Mccomas. I will say to my colleagues of the committee I took the precaution to send word to my colleagues, particularly those on the subcommittee. Mr. Clements unhappily is sick and confined to his room.

Mr. Sayers. I would state to the gentleman from Maryland that Mr. Dockery left here yesterday quite unwell.

Mr. Mccomas. I myself have been unwell for the last ten days, but as I think there will be no controversy in this matter I left my bed to come here to expedite public business, and I do not think there will be any objection to the consideration of this bill. I think it had better be disposed of.

Mr. Sayers. I do not think it will be without objection.

Mr. Mccomas. Perhaps not; but my colleague on the committee is very well versed in the business of the committee.

Mr. Bland. Does not the gentleman consider that the proper way to expedite the public business is by universal and general rules, and

that therefore it is better to wait until the Committee on Rules has made its report?

Mr. Mccomas. If the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Bland] had listened to the resolution he would have discovered that the proposition there made is that this bill shall be considered under the rules of the last House so far as they apply.

Mr. Bland. If the gentleman will go further and provide that this House shall proceed in its regular course of business under the rules of the last House I have no objection; but I do object to taking up business by piecemeal and applying the old rules to it in this way. Let us wait until our rules are adopted and let this business be postponed until we have rules under which to consider it.

The SPEAKER. How does the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Mccomas] propose to fill up the blank in the resolution as to the time for general debate?

Mr. Mccomas. I will ask my colleagues on the committee what time is desired on the other side for general debate. We on this side do not desire any, I understand.

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. The position in which I am is this: I have read over the bill, but, not being on the subcommittee which prepared it, I am not familiar with the details, and both of my colleagues who are on that subcommittee are sick.

Mr. Mccomas. I suggest to my colleague on the committee [Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky] that in Committee of the Whole any debate which is desired can take place on the different clauses of the bill, and we will consent to any reasonable suggestion as to time and will ask unanimous consent when debate is desired.

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. We on this side of the House do not feel willing to take up the bill in the absence of the gentlemen who are on the subcommittee and who took part in the preparation of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Mccomas] please state how he proposes to fill the blank?

Mr. Mccomas. Well, I suggest five minutes for general debate. How much time do gentlemen on the other side desire?

Mr. Bland. I hope no proposition of that kind will be entertained—

Mr. Mccomas. Then I will say one hour.

Mr. Bland. I object to that.

Mr. Forney. We do not want any time fixed at all. We want to have the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Clements] and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Dockery] present, and they ought to be present to represent this side of the House when the bill is considered.

Mr. Mccomas. I propose, Mr. Speaker, to fill the blank by inserting "one hour."

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the resolution as it will then stand.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill of the House H. R. 3711, the District of Columbia appropriation bill, and that general debate thereon shall be limited to one hour, after which the bill shall be considered by clauses or paragraphs, under the rules of the last House relating to the consideration of general appropriation bills in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The SPEAKER. The question is upon agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. I now raise the question of consideration on that resolution.

The SPEAKER. The question of consideration can not be raised on a motion—

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. But, Mr. Speaker, this is more than a motion. It is not a simple motion to go into Committee of the Whole, but is a motion to go into Committee of the Whole upon certain conditions and with certain limitations contained in the resolution, which constitute virtually the adoption of a rule or rules for the guidance of the House. It is not, therefore, a simple motion, but it is a motion separate and divisible.

The SPEAKER. It is a motion to instruct the committee, which is created by the motion itself.

Mr. McMullin. But it proposes to adopt rules for the government of the committee.

The SPEAKER. It is a motion to instruct the committee, which is created by the motion, and the question of consideration can not be raised on an order of business.

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. Then I respectfully take an appeal to the House from the decision of the Chair, because it seems to me that this is not a mere motion.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Breckinridge] appeals from the decision of the Chair. The question is: Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the decision of the House?

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. Now, Mr. Speaker, I suppose I have the floor upon that question?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has the floor.

Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. I yield five minutes of it to my colleague from Kentucky [Mr. Carlisle].

Mr. Carlisle. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the Chair that the question of consideration can not be raised against a simple motion that

the House do now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, either generally or for the purpose of considering an appropriation or revenue bill; but, as already stated by the gentleman from Kentucky, my colleague [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], this resolution contains much more than that. It proposes not only that the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering a general appropriation bill, but it proposes, also, to regulate the time during which there shall be general debate upon the bill, and to adopt, for the purpose of considering this bill, the rules of the last House applicable to the subject.

Now, I think the question of consideration raised by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] is of much less consequence to the House at this time than the question, which is also involved, whether we shall proceed to the consideration of a certain class of business in this House by the adoption, temporarily, from time to time, of a part of the rules of the last House, leaving all the other business of the House to be conducted without any conventional rules whatever. For my own part, I think the time has come when this House, if it is to be governed by any general rules in the transaction of its business, should have those rules [applause on the Democratic side], so that all the gentlemen upon the floor of the House upon both sides may know precisely what their rights are here as representatives of their respective constituents. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

This is now the 7th of January. The House has been in session, except during the holiday recess, since the first Monday in December; yet all that we have done towards the adoption of rules for the government of our proceedings has been from time to time to agree that we should be governed by a part of the rules of the last House.

I have no special objection to the consideration of an appropriation bill at this time; but if we are to establish this practice, then, sir, we upon this side of the House have no assurance that the House is not to go on until the close of this Congress without any rules of which we can have knowledge in advance so as to govern ourselves accordingly.

Rules are made not merely for the purpose of facilitating the transaction of business and enabling the majority to express its will in the form of legislation, but in a large measure they are made for the protection of members who represent here the minority of the American people. They have a right to know by what rules they are to be governed, so that they can prepare themselves for the consideration of business in the House.

Now it is proposed to take up a particular bill, and adopt, in the consideration of that bill alone, a part of the rules of the last House. When the next bill comes before the House, in all probability it may be proposed—at least it would be perfectly competent to move—to proceed to its consideration, adopting some other part of the rules of the House, not permanently but temporarily, while that measure is pending.

Sir, we are ready here to proceed at any time to consider the whole body of the rules to be adopted for the government of the proceedings of this body; and until that is done I submit that it is scarcely fair to thrust upon us from time to time parts of the rules temporarily, leaving us entirely without knowledge as to what rules are to govern us when the next matter comes up for consideration.

I think that the question of consideration may properly be raised against this resolution for the reason I stated very briefly at the outset: that it is more than a mere resolution that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. Before the adoption of the rules which have heretofore prevailed in the House, the question of consideration, under general parliamentary law, came up of itself, so to speak, whenever any measure was presented. But by a rule which has always prevailed in this House, or at least has been in operation for a great number of years, the question whether the House would proceed to consider the matter presented was not put by the Speaker unless demanded by some gentleman on the floor. But now we have no such rule; and by the general parliamentary law the question of consideration, I repeat, arises at the very threshold upon the presentation of every measure in a legislative assembly; and it arises now possibly even upon the motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. But assimilating my argument so far as I can to the rules which have heretofore prevailed in the House, I insist simply that the question may be made here on the ground that this is something more than a mere motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

I think, therefore, that the point of order is well taken; and if it is not well taken I believe that this House ought to vote down this resolution and stand where we are until there are permanent rules adopted for our government. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CRISP].

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, it is well to consider the effect of the precedent established by the Speaker in his ruling before we vote upon this appeal from that ruling. For the purposes of the argument, I would be willing to admit that the question of consideration can not be raised upon a simple motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole. But, as stated by the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CARLISLE], this motion is

more than that. There is coupled with it a rule by which the House shall be governed in the Committee of the Whole. It is not a question, Mr. Speaker, of limiting debate in the Committee of the Whole, but it is a question of providing for the first time the rule by which the Committee of the Whole shall be governed. If a member, Mr. Speaker, can not demand a vote of the House on the question of consideration of a resolution of this character, then it is impossible to conceive of any matter on which the question of consideration can be raised.

As stated by the gentleman from Kentucky, it ought to be the privilege of every parliamentary body to determine at any time whether or not it will proceed to consider any proposition that is brought before it. The effect of the ruling of the Speaker in this case is to deprive this House of that very important privilege.

I appeal to the House to decide this question, not upon the general merits or demerits of the proposition presented, but to consider the parliamentary question raised. Sir, we now have no rules but general parliamentary law. This resolution seeks to carry with it a rule which, although it is temporary, is as much a rule, as much requires the action of the House, as if it were a resolution to adopt rules for the whole of the remainder of this session. Do gentlemen contend that the question of consideration can not be raised against a resolution to adopt rules for the government of the House?

Now, gentlemen, what particular necessity exists for the passage of this bill at this time? We have been for six weeks waiting for the Committee on Rules to present to us rules for our government. There does not exist any legislative body on earth which proceeds without rules. Why may we not have rules reported from the Committee on Rules for our government before we proceed with the general business of the session? If the Committee on Rules are not ready to report we are willing to give them all the time they may require. Let the House adjourn over from day to day until they are ready to report.

Some of us protest against a practice which empowers the Speaker of the House to determine what is and what is not in order, without express written rules.

Let me call your attention to a statement made by a distinguished English writer on parliamentary rules. It is to be found in the Digest as a part of Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice. In speaking of the importance and necessity of plainly-expressed and well-understood rules for the government of parliamentary bodies the writer says:

And whether these forms be in all cases the most rational or not is really not of so great importance. It is much more material that there should be a rule to go by than what that rule is, that there may be a uniformity of proceeding in business not subject to the caprice of the speaker or captiousness of the members. It is very material that order, decency, and regularity be preserved in a dignified public body. (2 Hats., 149.)

We appeal to you, gentlemen, to give us rules for the government of this body, so we may know what is in order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I will extend the gentleman's time, if he so desires.

Mr. CRISP. Only for a minute or two longer.

So we may know what is in order. As it is now, Mr. Speaker, no man knows what the order of business is to be. No man knows what motion is or is not in order.

Always in the history of this House there has been a rule reciting priority of motions, there has been a rule prescribing the order of debate, there has been a rule fixing the time allowed to a member in debate. We are drifting along now without any rules, and the minority appeal to you as fair-minded men to present to us and fix that uniform rule which you are willing to stand upon. You can make that code of rules to suit yourselves, but we have a right to ask you to make them and present them so that we may know what our rights are in this regard and so that the business of the country may proceed in "order, decency, and regularity."

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I yield now for five minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND].

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, there are two propositions, which ought to be divisible certainly. The first proposition relates to the adoption of rules by the House. That is the first proposition. In that resolution we have a right to demand its separate consideration and division. Some gentlemen may desire to go into the Committee of the Whole to consider this bill. Some gentlemen may not desire to consider it under the proposition made in the beginning of the resolution, or the first part of it.

And that portion of the resolution which provides for the establishment of rules for the government of the Committee of the Whole is a matter for the consideration of the House, and is a matter which the House can consider or postpone at its pleasure.

Besides, Mr. Speaker, if I understand the general parliamentary law, we have a right, when a committee reports, to refuse to receive that report. That is the first question to be considered—as to whether the House shall receive it or not; and if the House under the proposition raises the question of consideration and refuses to receive the report, that is a question we have the right to raise at this time.

So that I say the first proposition in that resolution is separate and

apart, and must be considered by itself and separate and apart from the mere resolution to go into Committee of the Whole; and therefore we have the right to raise the question of consideration upon the adoption of any special rule or of the general rules of the House, for there can be no difference.

I can not add to what has already been so well said in reference to the necessity for general rules for the government of the House; but, as I said in the beginning, I am opposed to the adoption by piecemeal of certain rules of the last House to govern some particular bill, and then to leave the whole body of the rules of the House hereafter to be considered.

If the gentleman from Maryland is willing to embody in his proposition a suggestion that the rules of the last House shall be adopted to govern this House, and to govern the Committee of the Whole, I shall have no objection whatever to it; but I shall object here, and from now on, to the adoption of any special rule for any particular occasion, and shall insist upon the rules being adopted for the use of the House, both as a House and in Committee of the Whole; and, until the Committee on Rules shall have reported rules for the government of the House, for one I shall continue to insist, sir, that no other business shall be transacted.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ROGERS].

Mr. ROGERS. I shall not occupy so much of the time, Mr. Speaker. The importance of the adoption of some line of procedure or some rules for the government of the House of Representatives is forcibly illustrated in another aspect, and that is by the fact that the committees of this House are here without any sort of government or rules for their control, guidance, or management in the consideration of public matters. Even during the recess of Congress, without leave, without permission, perhaps without any sort of organization, the committees have sat day after day and have taken into consideration matters of public importance, far-reaching propositions, affecting the public interests.

Here we are now in the second month of the session, and still we are proceeding without any rules, nothing to govern the committees or their organization; nothing to control them at all, either inside or outside of the House. For these reasons I concur fully with the views which have been so ably expressed by other gentlemen upon this subject, and believe that we ought not to proceed to the consideration of any public measure of importance until we have adopted some code of rules for the guidance of the proceedings of this body.

I yield the remainder of the time back to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. HOOKER].

Mr. HOOKER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to be heard briefly upon this question. The resolution of the gentleman from Maryland proposes to resolve this House into a Committee of the Whole for the consideration of a general appropriation bill, but he accompanies the motion with an additional proposition to adopt for the governance of the Committee of the Whole, while considering the bill in question, a part of the rules of the last House of Representatives. It seems to me, sir, that that method of procedure would be objectionable, not only for the reasons already cited by other gentlemen, but for the additional reason that this is a proposition to supersede the action of your Committee on Rules entirely, and to allow the House, for the purpose of considering this special appropriation bill, to adopt certain parts of the rules of the last House of Representatives *pro tanto* for the consideration of this measure, not as permanent rules of the House, not as rules to guide it in the consideration of all general measures of legislation or appropriation, but rules to be in existence only during the time that the House shall be in Committee of the Whole for the consideration of this specific measure.

Surely, sir, the House ought not to proceed in this manner with the consideration of general public business; nor should it, in my judgment, supersede the deliberate action of the committee of the House created, raised, and constituted of certain gentlemen on that side of the Chamber and certain gentlemen on this side of the Chamber, who have now in the quietude of the committee room to consider with deliberation the question as to what code of rules they will adopt and present for the consideration and adoption of this body. When that proposition shall be submitted, and when this committee shall have acted, as I hope it will be permitted by the House, without anticipating its action as each particular measure may arise—I say when that committee shall have acted with deliberation, with judgment, with reflection, and presented a code of rules for the government of the House, not with reference to any specific measure, but of a general nature, covering all legislative questions, we will be permitted to know what are the rules, as has been well said by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CARLISLE], which govern the House in its consideration of any question.

For these reasons I concur in the views expressed so ably by other gentlemen who have preceded me in this discussion, and maintain that there should not be such a course of procedure as that contemplated by the resolution.

Mr. MCCOMAS rose.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MCCOMAS] desires to proceed now I will yield to him.

Mr. MCCOMAS. I thank the gentleman from Kentucky, but if I am recognized I will ask time in my own right.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I will reserve the remainder of the time, but am perfectly willing to yield to the gentleman from Maryland if he wishes to be heard.

Mr. MCCOMAS. I desire after the gentleman's time has expired to be recognized in my own right.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Under what rule does my time expire? [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MCCOMAS. The gentleman requires a great deal of time, and I know of no rule which can bind him. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. Strictly speaking, the time of the gentleman from Kentucky expires when he leaves the floor. [Laughter.] The Chair has been indulging the gentleman from Kentucky in that regard.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Then I suppose I have the floor?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has as long as he occupies it. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I do not know of any better use I can make of the floor than by retaining possession of it. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. Has the gentleman any further observations he desires to make?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Yes, sir. This shows, if I may say it with all respect, the absurdity of the position we are now in. It exemplifies the helplessness of the House to transact its business except as the Speaker, with a majority, may determine that it shall be done, and the absolute uncertainty of what business shall be transacted.

Now, this illustrates the condition of the House. A gentleman on the Committee on Appropriations, with two colleagues, especially assigned to undertake the examination of that particular subject, absent sick, calls up for consideration a bill that might as well lie over for a couple or three days as not. There is no rule of the House that indicates what rule it is to come under or under what rule it is to be considered or by which we shall be bound. These gentlemen assigned by the Speaker to the committee and by the chairman of that committee to this subcommittee being absent leaves the House without any fair statement that the minority may have to make about a bill that is for the government of the District of Columbia. We are practically without any information that the minority may give, because it is well known that these bills are prepared by a subcommittee. They are reported by the subcommittee to the main committee, and the items are too numerous and there are too many matters to be considered for every member of the committee to understand them all, and therefore they are obliged to be considered specially by members assigned for that purpose.

Therefore when we called the attention of the gentleman from Maryland to the fact we stated it was not the time that was to be inserted for general debate, but it was the presence of the two gentlemen we desired; and he, in spite of that, presses the motion so that the minority have to take advantage of whatever parliamentary law there may be in order that the House may have whatever information those two sick absent members have to submit to this House.

The District of Columbia has no representative. We are its legislative body. The gentlemen have considered these matters, and the House, if the question is decided that we go into the consideration of this bill, decides to go into it shorn of an opportunity to obtain the information those two gentlemen specially assigned for that purpose have acquired.

This statement I make as the ground for the argument that under parliamentary law there ought to be the right to demand as preliminary to the consideration of a proposition that the sense of the House be taken as to whether it will enter upon that consideration.

If the bill be considered under the motion of the gentleman from Maryland it absolutely deprives the House of important information. I can see no higher reason why the House can say "We will not consider that question."

It therefore is pertinent in the argument of the question of order (for these questions of order are semijudicial in their nature) and it is germane to show that there may be reasons, not intrinsic in the proposition, why the House ought to refuse to enter upon its consideration.

The question is, Shall the House consider the motion? The Speaker decides that it is not within parliamentary law for any member to raise an objection to that, and that the only mode in which he can do it is to vote on the resolution.

All on this side of the Chamber are perfectly willing that resolution should, at the proper time, pass. There is no member on this side of the House who is not in favor of considering that bill; and when we take it up we want to take it up under rules not merely of the last House, but rules that have preceded them for many years—that is, in Committee of the Whole, by general debate, by the reading of the bill by sections, and its consideration in the orderly way heretofore found to be the proper way by experience. So that what we desire to do is not to defeat the resolution or postpone the resolution, but that it should not be taken up for consideration until we can have some as-

surance whether either of these gentlemen shall be present or that other gentlemen may make the necessary preparation which the business necessitates.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Will the gentleman permit me to make an inquiry, then?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Is it on that ground that the gentleman from Kentucky asks that the consideration of this bill be delayed?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Partly, yes; and so far as I am concerned, altogether yes; for being a member of the committee I felt it my duty to insist on that objection. Personally, I would not have made it otherwise. But it would be uncandid in me if I were to make that answer and stop there, because I do not believe that it is the only ground why we ought not to consider it.

Mr. MCKINLEY. It seems to me that ought to be a very reasonable ground.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I am now trying to argue the question that is before the House. I am trying to confine myself to that question. Hereafter, upon proper occasion, I may argue the other propositions argued by my colleague from Kentucky [Mr. CARLISLE], by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CRISP], and by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], with whom I agree. But I am now trying to make my argument to the House upon the appeal, and upon the appeal alone. The Speaker of the House has decided that this motion is not a motion upon which the question of consideration can be raised. I am arguing that that decision would deprive the House of a very great and important right which it has, namely, that of refusing to go into Committee of the Whole when in its judgment it ought not to go into Committee of the Whole. That is the gist of the argument.

Now, as to the parliamentary law and history so far as I am informed of it. The rules of the last House, as decided by the late Speaker and as decided by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS] during the present session of this Congress, form a large part of the body of parliamentary law, and the decisions made by this body are important. Now, for years one rule has been, when any motion or proposition—I beg the attention of the House to this rule, because I am now simply making an argument on the appeal, and so far as I am concerned the argument is not made upon any partisan idea or for any partisan advantage, but only for the purpose of having this question properly decided so that it may be a proper precedent, for I have tried, on all questions of order, to vote as my sense of duty and my conception of the parliamentary law require me to vote.

The rule is this: "When any motion or proposition"—it does not draw the distinction which the Speaker seems to have in his mind, confining the application of the rule to certain motions or propositions, nor does it even, I think, justify the intimation of my colleague from Kentucky [Mr. CARLISLE], who I do not hesitate to say is, in my judgment, the best parliamentarian now in America, and from whom I would differ with infinite deference and reluctance. The rule, I say, does not, in my opinion, even justify his partial agreement with the Speaker that there are motions or propositions upon which the demand for consideration can not be made by any member.

It is: "When any motion or proposition is made, the question: Will the House now consider it? shall not be put unless demanded by a member."

So that when any member demands that the Speaker shall put the question of consideration, it is the duty of the Speaker to put it.

Now, this is not a rule of the last House merely, but it has been the rule of many Houses. It is semilegisative, for, by the Constitution of the United States, each body of Congress has the power to create rules for its own government, and when it does create those rules they become a part of the law of the land, *quo ad hoc*, and if it were an original question I have no doubt it would be decided that, until repealed, they remain the law of the particular body, the body itself never dying, but only its personnel changing; but it has been so repeatedly decided the other way that that is now the settled construction.

But, as decided by the last Speaker and by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS], in this House, the body of parliamentary law is made up of all the rules of legislative bodies, of which bodies the largest and most important in this hemisphere, and one of the most important that have ever sat in the world, is the House of Representatives, and this rule which I have read is directly in the teeth of the decision of the Speaker.

Mr. ADAMS. Will the gentleman allow me a moment—

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Certainly, with pleasure; for I want to get at the truth of this matter.

Mr. ADAMS. I will admit that I am not clear as to the origin under general parliamentary law of the power to raise the question of consideration on a proposition; and I will ask the gentleman from Kentucky, for illustration, whether, in case I make a motion that the House do now adjourn, he would have the right under general parliamentary law to raise the question of consideration on that motion.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I am not a parliamentarian, and I may not answer the gentleman in such a way as to commend my

answer to the judgment of parliamentarians; but I will give my answer. The motion to adjourn, by the rules of our House—

Mr. ADAMS. We have no rules.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I mean under the rules as heretofore adopted, was a privileged question and did not require a quorum to be present—

Mr. ADAMS. Then let me substitute—

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Therefore that proposition stood upon peculiar grounds; and it might well be decided that there was nothing about it on which to raise the question of consideration, because "no" or "yes" could be answered to it, and the House go on with the business it had been transacting. But where any motion or proposition for the House to transact business is involved—this would be the distinction I would desire to draw—when there is a motion or proposition which is to be followed by the transaction of business, the proposition being that the House proceed to do substantive, affirmative work, then I think under parliamentary law the Speaker can not submit the proposition before asking the old parliamentary question, "Will the House now consider it?"

The House, by the rules which have heretofore prevailed, having repealed the general parliamentary law on this point and relieved the Speaker from the necessity of putting that question, and said that he need not put it unless demanded by a member, if the gentleman is right in holding that we have no rules, then the repeal has fallen to the ground, and it is the duty of the Speaker—not upon the demand of anybody, but under parliamentary law—to submit the question, "Will the House now consider the proposition?" For it looks to me—I say it with great respect—to be absolutely a *non sequitur* to say that it having been once the duty of the Speaker before submitting a proposition to the House to put the question, "Will the House now consider it?" and the House of Representatives, under its constitutional power in adopting rules, having said, "The Speaker need not do that as to this House unless some member demands it," therefore, when a new House comes into existence and no rules have been adopted, he is not obliged to submit that question. That looks to me absurd. The legitimate conclusion appears to me to be that in the absence of rules specifically adopted by the House the Speaker is obliged to put this question, even if not demanded.

Mr. ADAMS. Now, will the gentleman allow me one further question, which I ask for information? The gentleman spoke of this question which the Speaker is supposed to be under an obligation to propound as an "ancient parliamentary question." I had supposed that in ancient times the speaker listened to the debate in order to enable him to frame the question, and that when he himself had framed the question he simply asked the House whether it was ready to consider it; that is, whether anybody desired to debate it further. Now, I ask the gentleman how ancient that question is which he has spoken of as "an ancient parliamentary question?"

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. How ancient it is, so far as I am concerned, I frankly say I do not know. I am not acquainted with the antique history of parliamentary law. I find it to have existed prior to the rules of the House of Representatives, to have been modified by those rules; and now it has been decided that those rules do not exist. If the rules do exist and are a part of the parliamentary law, then it is the duty of the Speaker to put that question upon the demand of a member. If the rules do not exist, then it is the duty of the Speaker to do it without demand. In either case the decision of the Speaker is erroneous.

My friend from Georgia has read a sentence from a distinguished Englishman. I desire to read a sentence from a still more distinguished American, who was the great parliamentarian of his day, and whose Manual is still probably the greatest parliamentary manual in existence. Speaking of the Senate, Mr. Jefferson in his Manual says:

The Senate have accordingly formed some rules for its own government, but, these going, only to few cases, they have referred to the decision of their President, without debate and without appeal, all questions of order arising either under their own rules or where they have provided none. This places under the discretion of the President a very extensive field of decision, and one which, irregularly exercised, would have a powerful effect upon the proceedings and determinations of the house. The President must feel weightily and seriously this confidence in his discretion, and the necessity of recurring for its government to some known system of rules, that he may neither leave himself free to indulge caprice or passion, nor open to the imputation of them.

It therefore seems to me it would be a bad precedent for this House of Representatives to establish, that the Speaker, after a Committee on Rules has been appointed and after weeks have elapsed, shall not have some system of rules for his guidance, so as not to be subjected to the imputation of deciding upon "caprice or passion." And while that is an argument for this House on the assumption that a parliamentary law exists for our guidance—and I think it does—it is an argument that this House, so far as it may be within its power, should adhere to those rules which the House preceding it adopted; for the rule I have quoted was not adopted by the Democratic House when it came into power after the Forty-seventh Congress for the first time, but it is an old rule. Therefore I confidently ask the House, not as a motion of partisan division, but as a matter which belongs to all of us, for the majority and minority are not always certain and fixed quantities in a House

like this, charged with the consideration of so many multiplied and multiform questions which will arise in matters it is our duty to our constituents to look into and decide upon and about which we must always have a majority and minority constantly fluctuating.

We divide by the main aisle on partisan questions, but we do not divide by that aisle on many questions of taxation, of appropriation, of interstate commerce, of railroads, and lands, which may come before us. When there are rules each of us will have knowledge of what he must be bound by in carrying out his duty to his constituents upon this floor. But, sir, if we have no rules, and nothing but the will of the Speaker, based upon some vague parliamentary law, casting aside all the experience of the past, we will find ourselves constantly involved, as we are to-day, in apparent confusion. For it is absolutely certain that the gentleman from Maryland can not get his bill through in an orderly, systematic, and speedy manner under that vague, undefined, and unagreed-upon system known as general parliamentary law.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether I have the right to reserve my time under the general parliamentary law. I do not know what the general parliamentary law is, but I do not propose to take any appeal from the decision of the Chair on an immaterial matter. I presume I have the right, however, under the general parliamentary law, temporarily to yield the floor, for an explanation, amplification, or elucidation of the subject-matter involved in this discussion, to any gentleman I thought might do one of these three things. If I can, I will yield five minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN], who will do all three of them, in my judgment, in a most satisfactory manner. [Laughter and applause.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not agree with the gentleman. [Laughter.]

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. But, as I have stated, I do not propose to raise any question on that score, although I do not agree with the Speaker. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair is thankful to the honorable gentleman from Kentucky for not differing from him even if he does not agree with him. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. MCCOMAS. Mr. Speaker, with respect to the proposition discussed here, it is well to remind the members of the House that the question formally submitted and the one really discussed here are distinctly and altogether different. My colleague on the committee, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE], has now stated that in part the reason of his opposition to considering this appropriation bill is the temporary absence of several gentlemen, his colleagues and mine on the Committee on Appropriations. I beg to remind my colleague from Kentucky that his reference is most inopportune, for when the last bill of appropriations for the District of Columbia, in the last House, was considered it was called up and considered in the absence of the Republican minority of that committee, and with the presence of the Democratic gentlemen who constituted the majority of that committee.

Myself and my colleagues, the minority, then absent, made no formal complaint because there was then, as now, substantial agreement between the Democrats and Republicans upon the bill. The subcommittee and the full committee with respect to the bill making appropriations for the District of Columbia were in harmony. What was done then the gentleman now complains of. We complained not then. Our absence we held ought not to block the consideration of public business on a matter of mere opinion.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I was not familiar with what was done then in the committee of the last Congress—

Mr. MCCOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. But did either the gentleman or any of his colleagues intimate to the chairman of the subcommittee that they would like him to allow this bill to lie over until certain members, then absent, could be in their seats?

Mr. MCCOMAS. No, sir. That is precisely the point I am coming to.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. That is, if I understand the gentleman, that, as you did not ask that courtesy, therefore you ought not to grant it now.

Mr. MCCOMAS. No, sir; the gentleman misunderstands me. And in this case my colleagues on the committee were considered when this bill was called up for consideration on yesterday—for I had myself sympathized with my colleagues, suffering perhaps from the same malady—I was unwilling to consent to the suggestion of gentlemen that the bill should be considered until I had an opportunity to notify my colleagues on the committee when its consideration was to be had; and I went to the trouble to have them both personally written to, and I believed that one of my colleagues was on the floor until I was advised that he was not present.

But I will be exceedingly clear, and if the gentleman from Kentucky will rise in his place and say that upon this bill, to which our colleagues on both sides of the House on the subcommittee have agreed with substantial unanimity, either of those gentlemen now wishes to have the consideration of the bill postponed, and desires him to make that request that it shall lie over for a day or longer because he had anything to object to in the bill or was specially interested in any points of difference in the bill, I will myself, upon the authority of the gentle-

man that he has permission to make that request from him, take the responsibility of withdrawing the motion. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. So far as I am individually concerned I did not know that the bill was coming up. But the point I make is that neither of the gentlemen on the subcommittee had an opportunity to know that fact. My colleague on the committee, Governor SAYERS, was not aware of it longer than a half hour ago. I do not know whether my colleague, Mr. FORNEY, had any information at all in regard to it, while Mr. RANDALL is absent sick. So that the three members, I am informed, had no opportunity of knowing that it was the desire and intention of the gentleman to call up the bill. But, be that as it may, the idea that a bill carrying millions of dollars should be presented and considered in this manner is especially objectionable.

Mr. MCCOMAS. Still the suggestion that I have made remains precisely in that form, that if either of my colleagues desire, having been notified yesterday that the consideration of this measure, upon which there is substantial agreement, should be brought up to-day—desire that there should be a postponement for the reason stated, I will withdraw the motion. But my colleague on the committee says that he had no such knowledge or information. My colleague did not know either that I had gone to the trouble to have letters written so that our other colleagues of the subcommittee should be informed in person yesterday before the bill was called up.

Now, in respect to the merits of the bill, I apprehend the rules of the House will be presented for its consideration, and that within a proper and reasonable time. I have no knowledge, of course, upon that subject. But, sitting here as a member of this House, it has occurred to me that when a member of that Committee on Rules on that side of the House was absent sick, and another on this side of the House has been diligently engaged in another committee, in listening to the people in their rights in respect to the industrial interests of the country, there is very good excuse for the delay in presenting a code of rules for our guidance.

I happen to know, as a matter of public notoriety, that the distinguished Pennsylvanian who is so eminent a member of that committee is still sick and is confined to his chamber, daily improving in health, as I am informed; and another member has been unhappily called away from his duties in this House by reason of a calamity in his family, leaving, as I apprehend, the other member of the committee occupying the chair. There seem to be very good human reasons, therefore, why the rules should not be reported on the 7th of January. I can see that it is impossible with my own eyes.

Now, what is the result? Members on the other side of this Chamber have time and again by amendment and by speech urged and goaded the then Democratic majority in the consideration of public appropriation bills. Distinguished gentlemen who have talked here to-day have insisted that all the appropriation bills of this House ought to be reported on the Calendar and considered and passed within sixty days from the time that Congress was convened.

Mr. CARLISLE. I think that the rules of the House ought to be brought in and adopted in less than sixty days. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MCCOMAS. And after the rules are adopted that these appropriation bills be passed under the permanent rules of the House. That is not a reasonable ground of objection.

Mr. Speaker, it is not apparent that there can be a just reason for failing to consider this bill. This bill is one which is non-partisan, a bill which excites the least interest in this House of any appropriation bill.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. MCCOMAS. Certainly.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I hope the gentleman does not understand me to say that we do not desire, at the proper time and under the proper rules, to consider the bill. The point which we make is that we have no desire to consider it in the absence of general rules.

Mr. MCCOMAS. I suppose—to be very frank—it is a matter of rules and no other matter which causes this controversy.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I wish to be very brief. A proposition is made in the absence of the rules to consider this appropriation bill under the rules of the last House, under rules which have prevailed for four years, and get out of the way and let the Senate have this bill to consider and forward with other bills, that you may shorten the session, that you may thus have the business dispatched rapidly; but objection is taken on every proposition, and not taken on an appropriation bill which is substantially agreed to by both sides of the House. We submit it in the interest of the dispatch of the public business, and the opposition which the distinguished gentleman makes, therefore, in my judgment, to the proposition to consider this bill, is that the Republican majority are diligent, that they are more diligent than they are—too diligent—and they prefer to lie in cold obstruction across the path of public business.

I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

Mr. CANNON. I only want a minute.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I rise to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois. Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. But in his own right. [Laughter.]

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message in writing was received from the President, by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, we have met after a fifteen days' recess. Under the action of the House, acting under general parliamentary usages, and by proper order taken from time to time, the House was organized into committees before the holidays, quite as early as the late precedent in former Congresses. Under the order of the House these committees have proceeded to organize, and many of them to work. Important bills from time to time were passed and enacted into law before the adjournment, and for the first time since I have served in this House, in sixteen years, the Committee on Appropriations before the holidays reported the District of Columbia appropriation bill, and it has rested upon the table for between three and four weeks.

Now, the gentlemen upon the other side, when we propose that the House shall proceed with the business of the country and pass this bill that was reported nearly one month ago, hold up their hands in horror and say: "We can not do that; we have no rules; we can not pass the bill under general parliamentary rules." Anticipating that objection, a resolution is offered that we proceed to consider the bill in Committee of the Whole under the rules of the last House. The gentlemen are responsible for those rules and were greatly attached to them, and they hold up their hands in horror and say: "We will not proceed under the rules of the former House to consider this bill." Well, you will not have it hot and you will not have it cold. [Laughter.] There is the situation.

Now, then, the gentleman from Kentucky, as a member of the Committee on Appropriations, I believe, sat with the committee when the bill was being considered and when this report was authorized. It is aimed this morning, in addition now to all this lecture about the rules—concluded with prayer [laughter]—it is claimed that, after all that is said and done, somebody is sick, namely, two gentlemen who are upon the subcommittee and prepared this bill in the first place for the consideration of the Appropriations Committee. Now, if the gentlemen are not prepared to go on on that account, for one I am willing to say at this early stage of the session (they taking the responsibility) I am perfectly willing it should go over, and let it go over a day, and let the gentleman from Kentucky and other Democrats who are upon the Appropriations Committee make themselves familiar with this bill if they are not already familiar with it.

Mr. McCOMAS. If I can I will yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY].

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman desires to take the floor he can do so.

Mr. MCKINLEY. It is well, Mr. Speaker, I think, that the House should consider the real question which is before it. The Committee on Rules, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, have not yet reported any code of rules. Therefore the question of rules is not now before the House and can not properly be until the committee having the subject in charge has made its report.

Mr. CRISP. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question there?

Mr. MCKINLEY. Certainly.

Mr. CRISP. Has the Committee on Rules had any meeting for the purpose of considering the general rules of the House?

Mr. MCKINLEY. The Committee on Rules has had no meeting to consider any general plan of rules for the House; but I have no doubt that in good time—and that will be a reasonable time—the committee will report a code of rules for consideration and action upon the part of the House. But the point I make is that in that the committee has made no report we have got no code of rules before us for consideration. The committee is not ready yet to make any report, and may not be for several days; and therefore the question is, Shall we, because the committee is not ready to make its report, suspend all business?

That is the real question, and the only question, before this House.

Mr. BLAND. Can the gentleman state to the House some definite time when the Committee on Rules will be prepared to report?

Mr. MCKINLEY. I can not, of course, tell the gentleman when the Committee on Rules will be ready to report, but I can say this to the gentleman, it will not be a very long time.

Mr. BLAND. What would the gentleman from Ohio call a very long time?

Mr. MCKINLEY. Well, I would call five or six or seven days a reasonable time, and my own judgment is that within that period the Committee on Rules will be ready to make its report. I certainly hope so.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MCKINLEY. One at a time. In the mean time, Mr. Speaker, what I want is that this House shall proceed to do business.

Now, what is the question before us? It is whether we shall proceed to consider public business. We do not seek to deprive the minority of any of its rights; we do not seek to enforce upon this House a new rule, or a different rule, under which to conduct the public business. We simply ask the House of Representatives to consider a bill which has come from a regular committee, about which there is no dispute. We are not seeking to take from the minority a single right or to curtail them of a single privilege; we are simply seeking to consider a bill with the fullest freedom for debate and amendment, under a rule made by a former Congress, which was Democratic, a rule made by those now objecting, when their party was in the majority here. That is all there is of this question.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Now, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MCKINLEY. I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HEMPHILL. I would like to know of the gentleman whether he is not of the opinion that if the time we are now consuming and shall consume in the discussion of this matter were devoted by the Committee on Rules to the preparation of its report, the House would sooner have rules to guide its consideration.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I think that if we had devoted the time which has been wasted in this discussion to the consideration of this District bill it would have been passed and out of the way by this time.

Mr. HEMPHILL. The gentleman does not answer my question. I will ask another one and perhaps he can answer that better. My other question is, whether or not, the Committee on Rules has had any meeting at all.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Why, if the gentleman had been giving any attention to this discussion he would have known that I have already answered that question. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, what is the real proposition before us, the exact issue? Gentlemen on the other side talk about raising a question of consideration. A question of consideration on what and for what? There is no other committee in this House that is seeking its attention. There is no other committee that has reported a bill upon which it wants action. There is no contest here between committees as to the right of precedence or priority upon this floor. There is no other business to do so far as we know; no other business reported from any committee except this bill making appropriations for the District of Columbia.

That is all there is before us. There are no committees contending for the ear of the House. Nobody offers a counter-proposition. Nobody says: "Here is an item of business more important than this bill, and therefore it ought to have the right of way." But these gentlemen simply say: "Because you have not a general code of rules you shall not do any business whatever;" and they say this although we offer them to guide, in the consideration of the business that we propose, the very rule which they themselves gave us in the last three Congresses. [Applause on the Republican side.] This is surely no denial of rights to any member here.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. MCKINLEY. Well, the gentleman from Kentucky has occupied a good deal of time already, but I will yield to him.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. And if the gentleman from Ohio has given me his attention, I have no doubt that he has profited considerably by my occupation of the floor. [Laughter.] But what I want to ask him is this: Does he mean to say that the question now before this House is the one which he has discussed, the question whether the House shall consider this bill?

Mr. MCKINLEY. That is the question, and the only real question before this House.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. On the contrary, if the gentleman will allow me to correct him, that question is not before the House at all. The question is on an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I understand the gentleman. I understand that he has appealed from the decision of the Chair, but I say that the substantial question and the only real question before this House is whether we shall proceed to do public business [applause on the Republican side] or whether we shall suspend all public business and all legislation because, forsooth, the Committee on Rules has not brought in a general code of rules for the government of the House. That is all there is of it, that is the substance of this contention, and I say to the gentleman that the country is infinitely more concerned in the things we do than in the rules under which we do them. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. McMILLIN. Mr. Speaker, there is one argument made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY] which I think should not be allowed to pass without notice. He makes the point that there is no other committee asking the consideration of a bill at this time and putting it forward in opposition to this bill; leaving us to infer that therefore the right to raise the question of consideration does not exist; and that that right depends upon the existence of other measures which are being pressed for consideration.

This "question of consideration" does not depend under general

parliamentary law, and never was made to depend, upon what comes up after that question was disposed of. The House has a right to determine that question, even if there were not another measure before the House, nor one ready to be brought before the House. It has a right to determine this question, whatever may be its action after the determination is had.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the question here is not simply one as to whether the House will resolve itself into Committee of the Whole, but by this action we are called upon to vote upon the adoption of rules for the government of the Committee of the Whole; and I submit, with all respect to the Speaker, that there has never been a decision in the House of Representatives, or, so far as I know, in any body proceeding in a legislative way, that the right did not exist in that body to raise the question of consideration as against the question of the adoption of rules.

It seems to me we might, for the purposes of this discussion, suppose that there were no bill to be considered, for there are two distinctive propositions—one of which is the consideration of an appropriation bill, the other the adoption of rules for the government of this body; and on such a proposition as this the right to raise the question of consideration exists at all times. I think the records will be searched in vain for a single instance in which that right has been denied or in which a Speaker presiding over the House of Representatives has refused or failed to submit the question of consideration to the House when so requested.

Now, on the subject of the adoption of rules, Mr. Speaker, I do not think this House has been unreasonable in urging rules. I do not think this demand that we should have laws to govern us before we are asked to go on with important business day by day is at all unreasonable. It is more than a month since this House assembled, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY], the leader of the House, has confessed that not only has no report been made from the Committee on Rules, but there has been no meeting of the committee; the Speaker, the appropriate officer of this House, has never called that committee together for the purpose even of considering the adoption of a body of rules for our government.

We have been told from year to year that when there should be a political change here there would be rules adopted under which the House could proceed. I think I have heard that declaration in the familiar tones of the Speaker of this House. In addition to that, it seems to me of the utmost importance that such a code should be adopted. It is the parliamentary experience of every member of this floor that the House will do more business, will succeed better in the transaction of business, under any code of rules, however vicious, than it will where no rules are adopted and where members and committees are continually bumping heads for the right of way.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted a further suggestion, I will say it appears to me that if one-half of the diligence which has been boasted as characterizing the Appropriation Committee by members on the other side of this Chamber had been evinced by the Committee on Rules, we might have had a report embodying a code of rules. Gentlemen have in the past complained that the rules did not allow all the bills to be acted upon. This would be so under any system of rules. There are more measures pressing than time for their consideration. Let us show the country that this House is going to proceed in an orderly way. Let us notify the members of the House under what code of rules they are expected to proceed. Let each man know what his rights are and what every other man's rights are, and we shall proceed without difficulty in the transaction of the public business.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the two sides of this Chamber may as well understand each other on this question, and the country is interested in understanding the issue involved in this debate. If I comprehend it, it means this: That the gentlemen on the other side are opposed to doing anything without rules, and they want rules adopted under which nothing can be done. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] They lecture us about "speed" and "action" and "diligence." Sir, the committees of the last Congress, as the records will show, were announced on the 5th day of January, and it was weeks after that time before we were equipped to perform the business of the nation. The committees of this Congress were announced on the 21st day of December, and some of them days and days anterior to that time; so that, under Republican leadership and energy, when we adjourned for the holidays the committees were at work, and sessions have been held daily to prepare for the business of the country.

Now, what is the charge against us? Gentlemen on the other side are undoubtedly uncomfortable because even before the recess we put through and made a law one appropriation bill, and we completed in committee and put upon the Calendar another. It is a startling situation to the Democratic portion of the House; but it is history now.

As to speed, then, that is answered. What is the next thing? Why, we are trying to ravish the other side of the House without rules! [Laughter.] How? By proposing, for the time being only, to take up and consider and pass one bill upon the Calendar under the rules made by a Democratic Congress. Is that ravishment? [Laughter.] No innovations are proposed in the consideration of it, but merely to take up a bill upon the Calendar and consider it under the rules of a former

Congress made and run by the Democracy. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, if they would put it on the sole ground that two of the Democratic members of the subcommittee are absent, and they did not desire in their absence any action to be taken, I would vote with them if every other member on this side voted no. But the chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations himself proposed to withdraw his motion if they put it on that sole ground.

But we are not to be lectured for negligence and driven from our position on the other proposition. But I want to see this side of the Chamber, as the point has been presented, come up shoulder to shoulder and show that they are ready to do the business of the country. [Applause.]

We are lectured, Mr. Speaker, because the Committee on Rules has not acted in vacation. I should think they would tread lightly who make that argument in the presence of the facts known to us all. One distinguished member of the committee [Mr. RANDALL], I profoundly regret to say, is locked in his sick chamber. Another member of that committee by the Hand above was called away from us to perform a sad duty. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, a third member of the Committee on Rules, was presiding over daily sessions of that committee and listening to the great interests of the country heretofore denied a hearing by the Democracy. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Speaker, I differ from my friend, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY], that the country is not interested in the rules. It is interested in them. We may lose a week or ten days now debating the rules that will speed the great work of the country by weeks and months hereafter. The country is interested in this debate. They want the American Congress under the Constitution to adopt rules to do the business of the nation and not to block it. [Applause.]

Take your time, gentlemen of the Committee on Rules. Mature well your work; come in with working rules, based on the Constitution of the country, and this side of the Chamber at least will stand by you till your work is crystallized into law for this body or it is demonstrated that the people have not given this side of the House a majority sufficient to do their work. [Applause.]

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the question presented to the House, as I understand it, is a parliamentary question. What is it? My honorable friend from the Committee on Appropriations [Mr. MCCOMAS] presented a resolution that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering the District of Columbia appropriation bill, and that in the consideration of that bill the committee should proceed under the rules which governed the consideration of like bills in the Fiftyth Congress. [Applause.]

My friend from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] against that resolution raised the question of consideration. The Chair, if I understand it—and I want to get the Chair's ears, or one of them, for a moment [laughter]—I understand the Chair to decide that under general parliamentary law the question of consideration, as it is technically known to this House, can not be raised against the resolutions offered by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MCCOMAS].

Let us see as to that. If it were true that under the rules heretofore adopted by the House the question of consideration could have been raised, it was a right conferred by those written rules and not one that existed by virtue of general parliamentary law. This House, not having adopted a code of rules, is acting under what is known as general parliamentary law, which does not recognize this technical, formal privilege of opposing in a particular manner the immediate consideration of a motion or proposition. The Chair, therefore, declined to entertain the question.

From that decision of the Chair the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] appeals.

Now, will it be contended that the right to raise the question of consideration is one which may be exercised under the authority of general parliamentary law, or must it exist, if at all, by virtue of rules adopted by this body and which expressly confer that right?

The Chair holds that it is not a parliamentary right, but one that may be conferred by rules which the House adopts. At least that is my understanding.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Will the gentleman from Ohio allow me to correct what I believe to be a misapprehension on his part?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Certainly.
Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The rule of the House took the power or the duty away from the Speaker. The rule of the House provided that—

When any motion or proposition is made, the question, "Will the House now consider it?" shall not be put unless demanded by a member.

The contention I make is that it was the duty of the Speaker to put that question by parliamentary law, but that that duty was taken from him by the written law, unless demanded by a member. Now, the rule not having been adopted, the rule of parliamentary law still existing made it his duty to put the question, certainly when demanded by a member.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I understand the position of my friend. I will say, repeating myself, that the right of a member to raise the question of consideration is one which must be conferred by a rule of the House, and not otherwise. That, as we understand the term, "raising a question of consideration" is not a recognized parliamentary right, and the Speaker has so ruled. If the ruling is right, the appeal should be laid upon the table; in other words, the ruling of the Chair should be sustained.

In my judgment, the right is not one which pertains to the unwritten law which governs parliamentary bodies, but has been a privilege conferred by the code of rules adopted from term to term by the House for the transaction of its business. If I am right, it follows that the ruling of the Chair should be sustained.

Now, Mr. Speaker, a word further. I only have to say that, until we have adopted rules which authorize the members of the House to raise questions of consideration, it is a right that does not belong to the House or the members, and hence the ruling of the Chair was correct. A vote upon the proposition as presented of course in effect goes to the question of consideration.

Another word in reply to suggestions made by gentlemen on the other side touching the expediency or wisdom of the proposition made by my colleague on the committee. They say that we have no rules for the consideration of this bill. Granted. They do not say that the bill is not ready for consideration by the House. They do not pretend that it has not had full and ample consideration by the Committee on Appropriations. You do not pretend that the proposed consideration is not timely. The only objection is that we have not yet adopted a code of rules. Is that objection well taken? Do we propose to consider the bill in the absence of rules?

No, sir; not at all. Under what rule do we propose to consider it? Under a rule which was of your own contriving, which was adopted by you when in the majority, and which, as you well know, in its practical operation met your approbation time and again; which has been approved by you and the wisdom of its adoption confirmed, at least by your action, term after term and session after session. Therefore, with good reason, this side of the House brings in this bill that has been fully and amply considered in subcommittee and in full committee, and now proposes to have it considered in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for final action, not without a rule, but under a rule which had the approval of the Democratic side of this House for over a decade; and you, brethren, object for that it is ill-timed.

Ill-timed, why? It had all the consideration ever bestowed upon any bill by the Committee on Appropriations. It is reported in its regular order. It is here for consideration with a written report and has been on your table for almost a month. What else? It is proposed to consider it as you have considered every such bill since I have been a member of this House. Now, your objection is what? Not that we have not adopted rules for the consideration of *this* business, but for the consideration of other business which is not before the House and which it is not contemplated to bring before the House. Is that fair or candid?

Mr. HEARD. Will the gentleman allow me a suggestion?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Always.

Mr. HEARD. I desire to correct my friend from Ohio in this. Our objection is not as he states only that the House is now without rules, but that is re-enforced by the apprehension on this side of the House that our friends on the other side do not intend that we shall have any rules or to bring forward a code for our consideration at all.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. In other words, you will say to the country that if the House is ready to discharge a duty which devolves upon the House and which ought to be discharged promptly, that you will oppose the discharge of that duty lest peradventure you may not discharge some other duty. This is a brave objection!

Mr. HEARD. Does my friend insist that there is such an exigency present as demands the consideration of this bill in advance of the adoption of the rules? Should we not have rules before we proceed to dispose of any business of this House?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. There is always an exigency that demands that we do a thing when it is timely and proper to do it. This bill has been considered by the proper committee, reported in the regular way, and is presented to this House, and no gentleman rises in his place to object to the bill as a whole, or to a letter or syllable in it, or says he is not ready by reason of any obstacle which ought to prevent or delay its consideration.

Mr. CRAIN. Suppose we adopt this resolution and consider this bill, what rules are we governed by in its consideration?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Why, if my honorable friend had listened to the resolution he would have been informed on that question. It provides that it shall be considered under the rules which governed the consideration of appropriation bills in the Fiftieth Congress.

Mr. HERBERT. The gentleman from Ohio has suggested the real point upon which this discussion must turn, and it is this: Is it or is it not the natural right of this House of Representatives, unguided by any particular body of parliamentary laws, to consider or not consider a particular motion that is made?

The gentleman from Maryland sent up and had read at the Clerk's desk a motion in writing. Now, is the House of Representatives bound to consider that motion simply because the gentleman from Maryland was recognized by the Speaker and because the motion was read at the desk? Has not this House the power to say, "We will not consider that motion now?"

By what law, by what rule, I ask, is it cut off from the power so to say? The gentleman suggested this question, but did not answer it, except by saying that the Chair held, as he understood, that the question of consideration was not a right at common law; that the right to raise the question of consideration owed its existence to the rules that governed former Houses. What I contend is that the right existed before any rules were ever made at all for the House of Representatives, before there ever was any House of Representatives in existence. It is an inherent right growing out of the common-law right of any parliamentary body to consider whatever question it may please. Is a body like this to be deprived of the power to say, "We will not consider this motion or that?" If so I would ask some gentleman to suggest what rule there is that has such effect? Where is it found? When was it adopted?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I would like to ask my friend if a vote in the negative is not a refusal to consider, and if that does not cover the point?

Mr. HERBERT. A vote in the negative upon the motion of the gentleman from Maryland?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Undoubtedly.

Mr. HERBERT. Of course not. If the gentleman would think for a moment he would not ask that question. If the motion is put on the passage of the resolution of the gentleman from Maryland a negative vote would be to negative that motion. That would simply show that the House was not in favor of passing that resolution. But it is a very different question whether the House is now ready to take up and consider it and decide whether it favors the resolution or not. The House has the power, as I contend, to say it will not consider or decide that question at this time.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I understand they object first to consider it at all; next they do not want to consider it in this way. Now, a vote against this motion affects both and is in point of fact a refusal to consider in any way.

Mr. HERBERT. A vote upon the resolution itself is a very different thing from a vote on the question whether or not we will consider it. The resolution is divisible, is amendable and debatable in every phase it may assume, and the debate which may arise on the resolution is totally different from that which would legitimately pertain to the question of postponement.

My position is simply this: When a member of this House makes a motion the House has a natural right to say: "We do not wish to consider the question now;" and we have adopted no rule to deprive it of that power.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, the question which is technically before the House is whether the Speaker is correct in the decision which he has made. He has decided that a question of consideration can not be raised on this motion. The real question, however, which gentlemen have argued and considered is whether we ought to proceed to the consideration of one matter of business until we have rules covering the business of the House generally. Those who have been in Congress no longer than I have know from experience that this House has suffered more from a surplus of rules than from a lack of them. We know it is true, as the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] has said to-day, that rules of parliamentary procedure are intended to facilitate the dispatch of public business. That is the theory of the matter. We know as a matter of fact that the practice has been such that the rules of the House, as they have prevailed for the last six years, have been used frequently to prevent the dispatch of public business. If the Committee on Rules requires additional time in order to devise a more practical system of rules it is in the interest of this House and in the interest of the people that they should have all the time they want. Gentlemen seem to apprehend some danger if we try to transact the business of the House under general parliamentary law. I for one, Mr. Speaker, should like to see the experiment tried. Why not try it? What harm can result? Let us try it, and from time to time adopt such rules as we find are necessary. Let the Committee on Rules frame a complete code when they have thoroughly considered the question, but I for one believe that this House could dispatch its business much more successfully under parliamentary law, in the general sense of that term, than under any set of rules which I have had any knowledge of in my limited experience as a member of this House.

Mr. CRISP. If the gentleman will permit me, I will ask him where he would go to find what he calls general parliamentary law?

Mr. ADAMS. I can not answer that question.

Mr. CRISP. Exactly.

Mr. ADAMS. Does the gentleman doubt the existence of general parliamentary law?

Mr. CRISP. The gentleman does not; but the great trouble about it is that the writers on parliamentary law differ so much in regard to the various questions that come before parliamentary bodies that at last you leave it in the hands and the power of the Speaker to determine what

parliamentary law is, and that is our objection to it. We want a written law.

Mr. ADAMS. You do not leave it in the power of the Speaker. You leave it in the power of the majority of the House.

Mr. CRISP. That is where it ought to be.

Mr. ADAMS. It has never been so left since the gentleman has been a member or since I have been a member of this House. He knows that a minority of less than one-half, or less than one-quarter, or even a little clique of five or ten members, have time and time again obstructed the entire business of the House, and have done it under the rules.

Now, the gentleman says that there is a difficulty in applying general parliamentary law. Admitted. Will not the gentleman admit that there is a difficulty in the transaction of the public business under the rules of the House, such as he and I have known them? He can not deny it.

Mr. CRISP. If there are provisions in the rules which, in the judgment of the gentleman and his friends, obstruct the public business, that is a reason why the Committee on Rules should report us a code of rules with those provisions stricken out.

Mr. ADAMS. A reason why they should do it with deliberation.

Mr. CRISP. But my friend must understand that we, on this side, do not know whether the Committee on Rules propose to report any rules or not. My friend has seen it in the newspapers and I have seen it in the newspapers that the Committee on Rules do not propose to report any rules during this session of Congress.

Mr. ADAMS. I have never seen it.

Mr. CRISP. Why, the gentleman from Illinois himself [Mr. ADAMS] has just stated that he would like to see the experiment tried of doing business without rules.

Mr. ADAMS. I have. We might succeed better under general parliamentary law than under the rules such as we have known them.

Mr. CRISP. And this side of the House, being in the minority, protest against that system, and simply ask that you gentlemen of the majority, before you invite us to consider bills, shall present us a general code of rules such as you consider fair and just to govern the proceedings of the House.

Mr. ADAMS. That side of the House, the political minority, will have ample time to raise that question when any business comes up of a political character involving the rights of the minority. It is not to the credit of that side of the House that they make the first appropriation bill reported before the holidays in sixteen years an occasion to obstruct the public business, the question being one which does not involve in the slightest degree the rights of the minority. The minority which I should like to see suppressed is not a political party. The minority which I desire to see suppressed by the rules of this House is the little minority of one, two, three, or some small number of men who prevent a great majority of members on both sides of the House from transacting the public business, and if the Committee on Rules require a month to devise a code of rules that will deprive that minority of its power. I hope they will take all the time they require.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. If you have no rules and the motion of the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. McCOMAS] has been carried and this bill is considered and passed, under what section of the Constitution or the statute is the Speaker authorized to sign or authenticate the bill and send it to the President? The gentleman says he would like to see the experiment tried of doing without rules. I ask him what he would do, under such a system, with the bill after it has passed the House?

Mr. ADAMS. Why, sir, that question does not arise. Does the gentleman think that question arises?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I think the question arises—

Mr. ADAMS. That is a question of the law and the Constitution; it is not a question whether we shall now devise a rule for this particular occasion, just as the Committee on Rules, during the last six years, has time and time again devised rules for particular occasions.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. What I wish to say is this: While I argued this question on the appeal, the gentleman has gone far beyond that and argued it on the proposition that we had better have no rules at all; that we had better try that system. Now the proposition I want to put to him is this: If that is so, what is he going to do with this bill after its passage, if there is no rule prescribing the manner in which it shall be authenticated and conveyed to the other House and to the Executive?

Mr. ADAMS. I will avoid the force of that argument by withdrawing the statement I made. [Laughter.] But the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CRISP] and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. McMILLIN] insisted or appeared to insist that we could not transact any business without a code of rules. Now, I simply desire to see fewer and simpler rules than we have had during the last six years.

Mr. CRISP. I think that the gentleman has hardly stated my position fairly. I did not wish to be understood as saying that the House could not—

Mr. ADAMS. Ought not.

Mr. CRISP. My position was that the House should not undertake to proceed without a code of rules—

Mr. ADAMS. Yes.

Mr. CRISP. And the whole argument of my friend from Illinois [Mr. ADAMS], and my distinguished friend from Ohio [Mr. BUTTERWORTH], on the question of the merits of their proposition, has nothing to do with this case, Mr. Speaker, except to mislead. All bad precedents are made in the consideration of good cases; and our proposition is that we should have a general rule. If you sustain the view of the Chair in this case, because, as you say, this is a meritorious measure and ought to be considered—

Mr. ADAMS. I have not said that.

Mr. CRISP. It will be a precedent when some resolution is offered to consider a measure which is not meritorious and ought not to be considered. All I ask is uniformity and dignity in the proceedings of this body, so that we may know the written law and observe it, and may ask that you do the same.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I said when I arose that the question technically before the House is the question as to the correctness of the decision of the Speaker. The Speaker decided that when a motion is made to go into Committee of the Whole the question of consideration can not be raised upon that motion under general parliamentary law. No gentleman has shown how this question of consideration has arisen or by force of what principle it now exists under general parliamentary law. The general parliamentary law provides other means for a House that is not ready to act, "yes" or "no," upon any definitive proposition. There are the motion to postpone indefinitely, the motion to postpone to a day certain, and other motions of the same kind. But under the general parliamentary law I have failed to discover myself, and I have not heard anybody cite, the source of the proposition that the question of consideration can be raised in that form.

Mr. CHIPMAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BUTTERWORTH] stated that the gentlemen on this side of the House either did not wish to consider this bill at all or did not wish to consider it in the method proposed. I have no right to speak for other gentlemen on this side, but for one I wish to say distinctly that I am opposed to considering this bill in the manner proposed by the gentleman from Maryland. I am not particularly in love with, or the champion of, the rules of the late House of Representatives. But I contend that we must have some rules which will bind the majority as well as the minority; that there must be some standard erected by which we may ascertain what our rights are on this floor.

I say frankly—and you would wish me to be frank—that from the course of this debate, from the course of the proceedings of the House thus far during this session, it seems to me the design is to have no rules whatever, and to leave everything to the discretion of the majority. We have no promise of early action in regard to the rules. We have no promise of any action in regard to the rules. All efforts to get a promise have been evaded here to-day. We may as well take our stand now and have it determined whether this great minority here—great, I mean in numbers—has any rights which the majority of the House are bound to respect. We have no Calendar; we have none of the usual methods of information by means of reports, as to what this bill contains. We have no reason given for urgency in regard to this matter. We have no argument given to us save that for some reason upon the other side it is determined that this bill shall be put upon its passage.

There is a position on the other side that they propose to show the country the alacrity with which they will do business. It is not doing business to stifle the voices of nearly one-half of the House. It is not transacting the business of the country to prevent a full and free discussion of every measure which comes up. Not only is it not doing business, but it is overriding the constitutional rights of the people for a majority to determine that they will take up measures as it were spasmodically, here and there, without giving any opportunity for consideration, without giving any opportunity for investigation, without giving any reasons for urgency, simply saying in their sweet will they propose to do what their numerical power enables them to do, to wit, to force the consideration of a measure without regard to the wishes, right of discussion, of the minority.

Mr. BROSIUS. Will the gentleman from Michigan consent to be interrogated?

Mr. CHIPMAN. No, sir; not at present. When I get done the gentleman can get the floor and interrogate me as much as he pleases. I should like to hear his interrogations then, his manner is so pleasant; but not now. [Laughter.]

Mr. BROSIUS. I am much obliged to the gentleman. [Laughter.]

Mr. CHIPMAN. Mr. Speaker, the proposition before the House is whether the question of consideration can be raised at this time. Here we have not only a measure proposed for passage, but a method—an unwise method proposed for putting it on its passage. We have no rules of the House now; none have been reported by the committee to the House, and we do not know whether they will report any; certainly none have been reported. But here is a measure which involves not only putting a bill on its passage, but the way to legislate in doing it.

Mr. KERR, of Iowa. Do you object?

Mr. CHIPMAN. Excuse me, my brother from Iowa, I believe it is.

I supposed I would be the only man in Congress you did not interrupt, but it seems I can not escape, humble as I am. [Laughter and applause.]

You will see, Mr. Speaker, this resolution proposes a new method. It embraces an old rule of past Congresses; but it is new to the present House. It is a stranger in the Fifty-first Congress. It proposes a manner and method by which this legislation shall be secured, and is as great a stranger here as if no rules had existed before. Each House deals with rules *de novo*, and therefore the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BRECKINRIDGE] has raised the question of consideration.

If that question can not be raised on a matter of this kind, it can not be raised on a report from the Committee on Rules. It could not be raised on the body of the rules if it was proposed to adopt them now. It could not be raised, indeed, on any conceivable matter which can come before the House. So, in my judgment the decision of the Chair—and I have personally great respect for the Chair—I say the decision of the Chair is tantamount to the abolition of all rules of parliamentary law on the subject, and the question of consideration can not be raised on any matter. I am done, and the gentlemen on the other side may have the floor to ask their questions.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, the question before the House legitimately is not the one discussed mainly during the debate. So far a large portion of the discussion has been on a matter not before the House. I think it is wise we should make no mistake on the point of what the country expects.

For something like, I suppose, one hundred years there has been growing up here, more by natural accretion than by enactment of law, rules of procedure for the government of the House. It is a system of rules under which we have proceeded to transact the business of the nation, but under which we have more often wholly failed to transact business. [Laughter and applause.] We have reached the point of time now when it seems we may as well call things exactly by their right names. [Laughter.]

And while I would not suggest for a moment that there was any bad faith in the position taken by the opposite side of the House, I imagine that the objection to the adoption of the resolution of the committee was the outgrowth of a purpose to attempt to procure from the Speaker of the House the recognition of a right or a power, or whatever else you may choose to call it, that has no existence except in the written rules of former Houses of Representatives now put an end to by the adjournment of the Fiftieth Congress. So it becomes important for that purpose, and that alone, that we make no mistake about this; for, if the Chair had recognized the existence of one rule, he would as well have committed himself to the recognition of the entire code of rules.

Now, what is the question of consideration that has been raised here, and what is the position of the pending question? It was first attempted to be raised by the gentleman from Kentucky this morning, when in opposition to a small unimportant private bill I attempted to pass he sought to object. I do not agree that it is either important or necessary that there should be another committee seeking the floor, nor do I believe that it is important or necessary that one measure should be antagonized by another measure, or by the representatives of another measure. The whole question is one of parliamentary procedure: Will the House proceed to consider the measure which has been suggested? and the question was—the law question—whether the sense of the House can be tested by the technical procedure of raising the question of consideration or whether it must be done in some other way. The practical result is precisely the same.

In the British House of Commons the question of procedure, the question of whether or not the house will proceed to the consideration of a measure, is determined by the simplest form of resolution—a motion to adjourn, a motion to take a recess, or any other motion which turns aside the house and procures a vote of the house against a proposition to proceed to the consideration of a measure. So, now, all that has been said here about the minority on this floor being deprived, by the ruling of the Chair, of the opportunity to test the question, the opportunity to place their votes in opposition to the consideration of this bill, falls to the ground if my position is well taken, for all that any member of the minority needed to have done was to make a motion to lay the resolution of the gentleman from Maryland on the table, or offer a motion to adjourn or take a recess, or any other kindred legitimate motion which was in competition or in conflict with his motion. Therefore, the whole question is, is there existing, by virtue of any authority at this time, the right to raise the question of consideration as a parliamentary motion in opposition to the proposition to proceed to the consideration of the bill?

Why, most clearly, Mr. Speaker, I am of opinion that there is not. And I say so simply because I know of no technical rules of what we call parliamentary procedure. The House either proceeds to the consideration of a bill or declines. How shall it decline? By some measure not provided for by any existing rule, or shall it proceed to express its opposition to the procedure by the simple mode of moving to lay the resolution on the table? Hence I say, not because I do not recognize the right of a minority to be heard on this question or to be heard *in limine*, upon the threshold, but because I deny that they have the right to invoke a technical mode of procedure recognized by no exist-

ing rule, when there is within their reach a measure, or a series of measures, by which they can express their opinions exactly as well as by recognizing the form of procedure under the rules of a former House, by which this opposition could be interposed. For these reasons I shall vote to sustain the Chair.

Mr. CUTCHEON. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Maryland has moved that we proceed to the consideration of a certain appropriation bill, on which motion the gentleman from Kentucky raises or attempts to raise a question of consideration, which has been held by the Chair not to be in order. The burden of the argument, the burden of proof for sustaining this motion or question of consideration lies upon the gentleman who raised it. In other words, briefly stated, the question is, whether or not, under the parliamentary law of this country, the question of consideration can be raised in this way, and the burden of sustaining the proposition is upon the gentleman who attempts to raise it.

As yet I have heard no valid argument made or authority cited to support this proposition. As stated by the gentleman who has just taken his seat [Mr. GROSVENOR], under the parliamentary practice in England this question can be raised in various ways. The question of consideration under the general parliamentary law, as practiced in the English Parliament, can always be raised by making a motion of higher privilege. A motion to adjourn, to take a recess, to lay on the table, any of these privileged motions will bring the House directly to a vote as to whether it will now proceed to consider the question or not.

Now, sir, we are admonished, we are advised in terms that this is the opening skirmish of a battle that is on; and the issue is not whether the House shall proceed to consider this measure, but whether the House shall be permitted to proceed to consider any measure at all until the Committee on Rules has made its report and the House has adopted it. We might as well meet the question *in limine*; we might as well meet it at the threshold. The minority appear in their places, and as evidenced by those who have spoken are in direct antagonism to doing any business until the committee shall have reported a code of rules.

It is not claimed that this is not proper legislation; on the contrary, it is conceded to be. It is not claimed that this does not come from a committee of the House which has proper jurisdiction, or which has not duly and deliberately considered the question they now present. That also is conceded. It is not claimed that the rules provide for the consideration of this question. It is conceded that a proper rule is provided in the resolution itself—the rule of consideration which prevailed in former Congresses, and which was adopted and readopted by the then majority side of the House. It is not, then, because it is not proper legislation; it is not because the legislation has not a proper rule for its consideration; it is not because the House has any other business that is pressing for consideration; it is not claimed here on any hand that there is any business that is being postponed by this. The proposition, and the whole proposition, is that the House shall not transact any business until the Committee on Rules shall report a code of rules and they have been adopted by the House.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is proper to invite the attention of the House, and the attention of the country, to the peculiar circumstances in which the Committee on Rules has been situated since the meeting of this House. But let me first draw a contrast with the Fiftieth Congress. The Committee on Rules made their report on the day before the holiday recess, on the 21st day of December, and we adjourned on the 22d. We reassembled upon the 4th day of January, and on the 5th day—the second day after the holiday recess—for the first time a single committee of this House was announced, except the Committee on Rules, the Committee on Mileage, and the Committee on Enrolled Bills. Just two years ago to-day the Committee on Appropriations was announced by the Speaker of this House, and here to-day the Committee on Appropriations, which has considered and matured its legislation, has this bill here ready for consideration, and we only ask that the rules made by the present minority of this House shall apply to the consideration of this measure. Here for the first time in many years a regular appropriation bill has been reported and placed upon the Calendar before the holiday recess.

I invite the attention of the country to this contrast, that in the last Congress preceding this, upon this very day, the second day after the holiday recess, the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations were announced, and we have had the Committee on Ways and Means in daily session during the recess maturing its legislation and preparing to have its bills ready for consideration, and we simply ask the minority not to obstruct the consideration of this most necessary legislation.

Another thing to which I desire to call attention. It is charged that the Committee on Rules has been derelict; that it has been wanting in diligence in considering the rules. Let me call the attention of the House to the fact that the chairman of that committee, the Speaker of the House, was busily engaged until the last day before the recess in the formation of the committees; that another distinguished gentleman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL], has been confined to his house, and yesterday the Speaker of this House was authorized

to go to his place of residence and administer to him the oath of office; that another member of the Committee on Rules (the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations), by a bereavement known to every member of this House, was called from the House before the holiday recess, and has just returned to his place in this House. It is a matter that the country should know, that it has been a practical impossibility for the Committee on Rules to perform the function of properly reporting a code of rules for the conduct of this House, and to-day we offer you a bill matured, and we offer you in the bill well-considered and necessary legislation, with a resolution for its consideration under the rules under which it was considered in the last Congress, and all that is asked is that the minority of this House will not at this time declare itself an obstructionist of this necessary legislation.

Mr. MCADOO. Mr. Speaker, our friends on the other side of the House are evidently very much troubled as to how they shall deal with the minority on this side, and they paid us the extraordinary compliment of deviating from the rules of the former House and attempt, under general parliamentary law, to get up a question, and, having gotten it up, then proceed under the rules of the former House. They remind me of the story that is told of an old Irish fiddler, who, when he was asked, "How do you play? Do you play by note or by ear?" replied, "I play by neither; I play by main strength." Now, they propose to rule the House by main strength. It seems to me that this is a preliminary skirmish on the part of the majority of the House to see if they can force upon it the consideration of any bill that they may bring in. We are to be disciplined; we are to be suppressed; we are to have an extraordinary stretch of parliamentary law.

The public business is to be offered, and then finally they are to bring in a code of rules, which this side of the House can not accept, and then they are to go to the country and say that the minority were not willing to adopt rules by which the business could be done. This side of the House is perfectly willing to consider any reasonable code of rules. We are perfectly willing, and I am speaking for myself, to consider any report which the Committee on Rules may make, and to adopt any rules which may facilitate within proper limitations the business of the House; but the minority can not be suppressed as to their constitutional rights. The mode of procedure now being attempted by the majority of the House is much more strenuous and unfair than that which prevails in the British Parliament, and which excited so much comment—the cloture. But in the House of Commons there is unlimited debate. There is no previous question, and there are more facilities in that house to-day, even with the cloture, than there is in this House for the disposition of any measure. The minority does not wish to obstruct public business, but we do want to know in advance, under the orderly rules of this House, what the measures are that are coming up. And what is it that we are asked to do to-day? The gentlemen are asking us to consider a bill expending millions of dollars of the people's money.

That is unfair to the people of the United States, as well as to their Representatives in the minority in this House. Let us have a code of rules; let us have the old Calendar; let us know in advance what public measures are to come up for consideration, so that we can prepare to discuss them in a reasonable and fair way. Much has been said by the gentlemen on the other side against this side of the House and against abuses under the former rules in the matter of obstructing the public business. I admit, with the gentlemen on the other side and with the writings and sayings of the distinguished Speaker himself, that there is a limit to constitutional obstruction; but until the minority of this House have had a full and ample opportunity, until they have been notified, under the orderly proceedings of the House, of the measures which are coming up, it is our constitutional right, it is our bounden duty to the American people, to stand here, if necessary, until the expiration of this Congress, acting like a single man, to maintain our liberties and to preserve the dignity and the rights of members of this House. [Derisive laughter upon the Republican side.]

Mr. KERR. Mr. Speaker, the question now before the House is the single question whether we shall take up and consider an important bill, a bill which gentlemen on the other side concede is a perfectly proper one and an important bill to the people of this District. Now, I do not see what the other side of the House can gain by a refusal to consider a measure of this kind. By agreeing to consider this bill they will certainly not be prevented from offering any proper obstruction that they may deem it necessary to make in the future to any other measure that may be proposed before this House. They are not "standing by their liberties," because nobody proposes to invade their liberties by the consideration of this bill under the rules which they themselves adopted, and which therefore they are estopped from saying prevented the rights of the minority from being properly protected in a former Congress.

It seems to me that in the performance of their duties to the American people they ought to allow us to go on and consider this measure and dispose of it, in order that we may have time and opportunity to consider other important measures as they may arise, about which there may be differences of opinion. I think no man on this side of the House has in any wise endeavored or is in any wise endeavoring to limit the rights of the minority or to prevent them from properly pre-

sending their side of the case before the American people, and when they have done that, if they are not satisfied with the result, let them appeal to the people at the next election.

But they certainly will stand a very poor chance of appealing successfully to the people, if at the threshold of this Congress they say that a measure about the propriety of which there is no question, this District appropriation bill, shall not be considered at all unless we adopt rules which they will approve; that without the approval of that side of the House no business shall be transacted. That is just what is meant by the position taken by gentlemen on the other side of the House when they say that they will not consent to proceed to the consideration of this important measure in the manner in which such measures have been considered heretofore in this House when they have been in the majority. It seems to me they ought not to be trespassing upon the time of the country and obstructing the proper discharge of public business by insisting, as they do, that rules shall be adopted here hastily, without due consideration, or else that no public business shall be transacted at all, however necessary it may be.

The SPEAKER. If no other gentleman desires to be heard—

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, one word more. I think it is proper for me to say that I do not desire to answer certain statements made by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON], the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BUTTERWORTH], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ADAMS] on the general subjects which they have discussed. I have confined what I have attempted to say on this motion of mine to the question that is before the House. At a proper time it may occur that I shall take an opportunity to comment upon their position, which, as I understand it, is simply this: That the Speaker of the House, backed by the majority of the House, has, under parliamentary law, unlimited power; while our position is that we are entitled to know by a written code of law the order of business of the House, and ought not to be subjected to the possibility of private preparation beforehand by the other side for the consideration of important business in which our constituents are vitally interested. To say that we should be subjected to that, is merely to say that there is to be no such thing as fairness or justice or law in the transaction of public business.

Mr. BUCHANAN, of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Jersey will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BUCHANAN, of New Jersey. My inquiry is this: Should the decision of the Chair be sustained would there not still remain to each member of the House the right to vote "yea" or "nay" upon the proposition itself?

The SPEAKER. There can be no doubt upon that question.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I suppose that the gentleman from New Jersey is the only man in this House that has any obscurity of judgment on that question. [Laughter.]

Mr. BUCHANAN, of New Jersey. Judging by the debate I supposed there was great obscurity on the question; that is the only hypothesis upon which I can understand the speeches of some gentlemen who have spoken.

Another parliamentary inquiry to still further enlighten the "obscurity" of gentlemen on the other side: Would there not still remain the right to each member of this House to call for a division of the proposition into so many parts as there are substantive propositions contained in it?

The SPEAKER. That would be in order. The question before the House arose on a motion to consider a certain bill in Committee of the Whole. Thereupon the question of consideration was raised; and the Chair, regarding the proposition itself to be a question of consideration, declined to entertain a secondary question of consideration, upon the ground that under general parliamentary law such doubling up of motions is always avoided. The question now before the House is, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the House?

The question having been put,

The SPEAKER said: The ayes seem to have it.

Several members called for a division.

The question having been again taken, there were—ayes 142, noes 120.

Mr. BLAND. I call for tellers.

Tellers were ordered; and Mr. MCCOMAS and Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky, were appointed.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I demand the yeas and nays.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 134, nays 125, not voting 71; as follows:

YEAS—134.

Adams,	Bingham,	Caldwell,	Craig,
Allen, Mich.	Bliss	Candler, Mass.	Culbertson, Pa.
Anderson, Kans.	Boutelle,	Cannon.	Cutcheon,
Atkinson,	Bowden,	Chad e,	Dalzell,
Baker,	Brewer,	Ch a ham,	Darlington,
Banks,	Bros us,	Cog well,	De Haven,
Bartine,	Brower,	Coleman,	De Lano,
Bayne,	Buchanan, N. J.	Comstock,	Dolliver,
Beck with,	Burrows,	Conger,	Dors v.
Belknap,	Burton,	Conn ll,	Dunnell,
Bergen,	Butterworth,	Cooper, Ohio	Evans,

Farquhar,	Kinsey,	Payson,	Struble,
Finley,	Lacey,	Perkins,	Sweney,
Flick,	La Follette,	Peters,	Taylor, Ill.
Funston,	Laidlaw,	Pickler,	Taylor, Tenn.
Gear,	Lansing,	Po- ^r ,	Taylor, Ezra B.
Gest,	Laws,	Pugsley,	Taylor, Joseph D.
Gifford,	Lehlbach,	Raines,	Thomas,
Greenhalge,	Lind,	Ray,	Townsend, Colo.
Grosvenor,	Lo'ge,	Reed, Iowa	Townsend, Pa.
Groat,	McComas,	Rockwell,	Turner, Kans.
Hall,	McCord,	Rowell,	Vandever,
Hansbrough,	McCormack,	Russell,	Wade,
Harmer,	McKenna,	Sawyer,	Walker, Mass.
Haugen,	McKinley,	Scranton,	Wallace, N. Y.
Henderson, Ill.	Miles,	Sull,	Watson,
Henderson, Iowa	Morey,	Sherman,	Wheeler, Mich.
Hermann,	Morrell,	Simonds,	Wickham,
Hill,	Morrow,	Smith,	Williams, Ohio
Hitt,	Nute,	Smyser,	Wilson, Ky.
Houk,	O'Donnell,	Snider,	Wright,
Kelley, Kans.	O'Neill, Pa.	Spooner,	Yardley.
Kennedy,	Owen, Ind.	Stivers,	
Kerr, Iowa	Payne,	Stockbridge,	

NAYS—125.

Abbott,	Culberson, Tex.	Les'er, Va.	Rowland,
Alderson,	Cummings,	Lewis,	Sayers,
Anderson, Miss.	Dargan,	Maish,	Shively,
Andrew,	Davidson,	Mansur,	Skinner,
Bankhead,	Dunphy,	Mar in, Ind.	Spinola,
Biggs,	Edmonds,	Martin, Tex.	Springer,
Banchard,	Elliott,	McAdoo,	Stahneck,
Bland,	Ellis,	McClellan,	Stewart, Ga.
Blount,	Enloe,	McCreary,	Stewart, Tex.
Boatner,	Fitch,	McMillin,	Stone, Ky.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Florian,	McRae,	Stone, Mo.
Breckinridge, Ky.	Flower,	Montgomery,	Stamp,
Brookshire,	Foreman,	Moore, Tex.	Tillman,
Brunner,	Forney,	Morgan,	Tracey,
Buchanan, Va.	Fowler,	Mutenler,	Tucker,
Buckalew,	Geissenhainer,	Oakes,	Turner, Ga.
Buok,	Goodnight,	O'Ferrall,	Turner, N. Y.
Bynum,	Grimms,	O'Neil, Mass.	Turpin,
Cambell,	Hare,	Outhwaite,	Venable,
Candler, Ga.	Haynes,	Owens, Ohio	Washington,
Calisle,	Heard,	Parret,	Wheeler, Ala.
Carlton,	Hemphill,	Paynter,	Witing,
Caruth,	Herbert,	Peel,	Wike,
Cate,	Holman,	Pendleton,	Willcox,
Chapman,	Hooker,	Pearson,	Wiley,
Claney,	Jackson,	Perry,	Williams, Ill.
Clarke, Ala.	Kerr, Pa.	Pierce,	Wilson, Mo.
Cobb,	Kilgore,	Quinn,	Wilson, W. Va.
Compton,	Lane,	Reilly,	Wise.
Cooper, Ind.	Lanham,	Richardson,	
Crain,	Lee,	Robertson,	
Crisp,	Lester, Ga.	Rogers,	

NOT VOTING—71.

Allen, Miss.	Covert,	Mason,	Rusk,
Arnold,	Cowles,	McCarthy,	Sanford,
Barnes,	Dibble,	McClammy,	Seney,
Barwig,	Dingley,	Milliken,	Stephenson,
Beiden,	Dockery,	Mills,	Stewart, Vt.
Boatman,	Ewart,	Moffitt,	Stockdale,
Brickner,	Flood,	Moore, N. H.	Tarsney,
Browne, Va.	Frank,	Morse,	Thompson,
Browne, T. M.	Gibson,	Niedringhaus,	Van Schaick,
Brown, J. B.	Hatch,	Norton,	Walker, Mo.
Bunn,	Hayes,	O'Neill, Ind.	Wallace, Mass.
Carter,	Henderson, N. C.	Osborne,	Whithorne,
Caswell,	Hopkins,	Phelan,	Wilber,
Catchings,	Kelley, Pa.	Price,	Wilkinson,
Clark, Wis.	Ketcham,	Quackenbush,	Wilson, Wash.
Clements,	Knapp,	Randall, Mass.	Yoder.
Clunie,	Lawler,	Randall, Pa.	
Cothran,	Magner,	Rife,	

So the decision of the Chair was sustained.

The following pairs were announced until further notice:

Mr. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania, with Mr. WILBER.
 Mr. NORTON with Mr. BELDEN.
 Mr. FORMAN with Mr. MASON.
 Mr. HATCH with Mr. FRANK.
 Mr. BRICKNER with Mr. VAN SCHAICK.
 Mr. COWLES with Mr. BOOTHMAN.
 Mr. BUNN with Mr. EWART.
 Mr. McCLAMMY with Mr. RANDALL, of Massachusetts.
 Mr. GIBSON with Mr. MORSE.
 Mr. WALKER, of Missouri, with Mr. NIEDRINGHAUS.
 Mr. SENEY with Mr. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania.
 Mr. YODER with Mr. CLARK, of Wisconsin.
 Mr. WHITHORNE with Mr. THOMAS M. BROWNE.
 Mr. COVERT with Mr. SANFORD.
 Mr. LAWLER with Mr. WILSON, of Washington.
 Mr. HENDERSON, of North Carolina, with Mr. RIFE.
 Mr. COTHRAN with Mr. THOMPSON.
 Mr. DOCKERY with Mr. OSBORNE.
 Mr. BARWIG with Mr. STEPHENSON.
 For this day:
 Mr. RUSK with Mr. MOFFITT.
 Mr. MILLS with Mr. CASWELL.
 Mr. CLUNIE with Mr. KETCHAM.
 Mr. WILKINSON with Mr. DINGLEY.
 Mr. PRICE with Mr. MILLIKEN.

Mr. DIBBLE with Mr. BROWNE, of Virginia.
 Mr. BARNES with Mr. WALLACE, of Massachusetts.
 Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi, with Mr. WRIGHT.
 Mr. O'NEALL, of Indiana, with Mr. CARTER.
 Mr. STOCKDALE with Mr. QUACKENBUSH.
 Mr. TARNSEY with Mr. FLOOD.
 Mr. BOOTHMAN. I am paired with the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COWLES]. If he were present and voting, I should vote "ay."

Mr. VAN SCHAICK. I am paired with my colleague [Mr. BRICKNER].

Mr. SPRINGER. I rise to a question of order. Is there any rule applying in this case which prohibits members from voting if they were not present when their names were called? I was not in the Hall when my name was called. Am I entitled to vote?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has a right to vote.

Mr. SPRINGER. I vote "no."

Mr. CARLISLE. Before the result of the vote is announced, I wish to state that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] is detained at his room on account of sickness, and asks to be excused for the remainder of this day.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has before him that request of the gentleman from Texas, and in the absence of objection it will be granted. The Chair submits a similar request in behalf of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DOCKERY] and the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BARNES]. If there be no objection, they will be excused for the day. The Chair hears no objection.

The result of the vote was then announced as above stated.

Mr. MCCOMAS. I move the previous question on the resolution which I have offered.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Pending that demand, I move that the House, in order to give the Committee on Rules a chance to make a report, adjourn until Thursday.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky moves that the House do now adjourn. [The question was put.] The yeas seem to have it.

Several members called for a division.

Mr. BLAND. I rise to a point of order. The motion was to adjourn over until Thursday.

The SPEAKER. That motion is not in order.

Mr. ANDERSON, of Kansas. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to adjourn; upon which a division has been called for.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The motion I made was to adjourn until Thursday.

The SPEAKER. That motion is not in order. The question is now upon ordering the previous question.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. The question I desired to make was, pending the previous question, that when the House adjourns to-day it adjourn to meet on Thursday next.

The SPEAKER. The Chair misunderstood the motion. The Chair understood it to be a motion to adjourn. The question now is on the demand for the previous question. [After a pause.] The yeas seem to have it.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I demand a division.

The House divided; and there were—yeas 140, yeas 94.

Mr. BLAND demanded the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 132, nays 122, not voting 75; as follows:

YEAS—132.

Adams,	Craig,	Kerr, Iowa	Russell,
Allen, Mich.	Culbertson, Pa.	Kinsey,	Sawyer,
Anderson, Kans.	Cutcheon,	Lacey,	Scranton,
Atkinson,	Dalzell,	La Follette,	Scull,
Baker,	Darlington,	Laidlaw,	Sherman,
Banks,	De Haven,	Lansing,	Simonds,
Bartine,	De Lano,	Laws,	Smith,
Bayne,	Dolliver,	Lehlbach,	Smyser,
Beckwith,	Dorsey,	Lind,	Snider,
Belknap,	Dunnell,	Lodge,	Spooner,
Bergen,	Evans,	McComas,	Stivers,
Bingham,	Farquhar,	McCord,	Stockbridge,
Bliss,	Finley,	McCormick,	Struble,
Boutelle,	Flick,	McKenna,	Sweney,
Bowden,	Funston,	McKinley,	Taylor, Ill.
Brewer,	Gear,	Miles,	Taylor, Tenn.
Brosius,	Gest,	Morey,	Taylor, Ezra B.
Browne, Va.	Gifford,	Morrill,	Taylor, Joseph D.
Buchanan, N. J.	Greenhalge,	Morrow,	Thomas,
Burrows,	Grosvenor,	O'Donnell,	Townsend, Colo.
Burton,	Groat,	O'Neill, Pa.	Townsend, Pa.
Butterworth,	Hall,	Owen, Ind.	Turner, Kans.
Caldwell,	Hansbrough,	Payne,	Vandever,
Candler, Mass.	Harmer,	Payson,	Wade,
Cannon,	Haugen,	Peters,	Walker, Mass.
Cheadle,	Henderson, Ill.	Pickler,	Wallace, N. Y.
Cheatham,	Henderson, Iowa	Post,	Watson,
Cogswell,	Hermann,	Pugsley,	Wheeler, Mich.
Coleman,	Hill,	Raines,	Wickham,
Comstock,	Hitt,	Ray,	Williams, Ohio
Conger,	Houk,	Reed, Iowa	Wilson, Ky.
CConnell,	Kelley, Kans.	Rockwell,	Wright,
Cooper, Ohio	Kennedy,	Rowell,	Yardley.

NAYS—122.

Abbott,	Crisp,	Lester, Ga.	Rogers,
Alderson,	Cummings,	Lester, Va.	Sayers,
Anderson, Miss.	Dargan,	Lewis,	Shively,
Andrew,	Davidson,	Maish,	Skinner,
Bankhead,	Dunphy,	Mansur,	Spinola,
Biggs,	Edmunds,	Martin, Ind.	Springer,
Blanchard,	Elliott,	Martin, Tex.	Stahlnecker,
Bland,	Ellis,	McAdoo,	Stewart, Ga.
Blount,	Enloe,	McClellan,	Stewart, Tex.
Boatner,	Fitch,	McCreary,	Stone, Ky.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Fithian,	McMillin,	Stone, Mo.
Breckinridge, Ky.	Flower,	McRae,	Stump,
Brickner,	Forney,	Montgomery,	Tillman,
Brookshire,	Fowler,	Moore, Tex.	Tracey,
Brunner,	Geissenhainer,	Morgan,	Tucker,
Buchanan, Va.	Goodnight,	Mutchler,	Turner, Ga.
Buckalew,	Grimes,	Oates,	Turner, N. Y.
Bullock,	Hare,	O'Ferrall,	Turpin,
Bynum,	Hayes,	O'Neil, Mass.	Venable,
Campbell,	Haynes,	Outhwaite,	Washington,
Candler, Ca.	Heard,	Owens, Ohio	Wheeler, Ala.
Carlisle,	Hemphill,	Parrett,	Whiting,
Carlton,	Herbert,	Paynter,	Wike,
Caruth,	Holman,	Pendleton,	Willcox,
Cate,	Hooker,	Pennington,	Wiley,
Chipman,	Jackson,	Perry,	Williams, Ill.
Clarke, Ala.	Kerr, Pa.	Pierce,	Wilson, Mo.
Cobb,	Kilgore,	Quinn,	Wilson, W. Va.
Compton,	Lane,	Reilly,	Wise.
Cooper, Ind.	Lanham,	Richardson,	
Crain,	Lee,	Robertson,	

NOT VOTING—75.

Allen, Miss.	Cowles,	McCarthy,	Rife,
Arnold,	Culberson, Tex.	McClammy,	Rowland,
Barnes,	Dibble,	Milliken,	Rusk,
Barwig,	Dingley,	Mills,	Sanford,
Belden,	Dockery,	Moffitt,	Seney,
Boothman,	Ewart,	Moore, N. H.	Stephenson,
Brower,	Flood,	Morse,	Stewart, Vt.
Brown, T. M.	Forman,	Niedringhaus,	Stockdale,
Brown, J. B.	Frank,	Norton,	Tarney,
Bunn,	Gibson,	Nute,	Thompson,
Carter,	Hatch,	O'Neill, Ind.	Van Schaick,
Caswell,	Henderson, N. C.	Osborne,	Walker, Mo.
Catchings,	Hopkins,	Peel,	Wallace, Mass.
Clancy,	Kelley, Pa.	Perkins,	Whitthorne,
Clark, Wis.	Ketcham,	Phelan,	Wilber,
Clements,	Knapp,	Price,	Wilkinson,
Clunie,	Lawler,	Quackenbush,	Wilson, Wash.
Cottrhan,	Magner,	Randall, Mass.	Yoder.
Covert,	Mason,	Randall, Pa.	

So the previous question was ordered.

The following additional pair was announced:

Mr. PEEL with Mr. PERKINS, for the rest of the day.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

The motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole was then agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole, Mr. BURROWS in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is now in Committee of the Whole for the purpose of considering a bill the title of which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 3711) making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, and for other purposes.

Mr. SAYERS. I would suggest to the gentleman from Maryland who has charge of the bill that perhaps consent might be obtained to dispense with the first formal reading of the bill in full.

Mr. MCOMAS. I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first formal reading of the bill.

There was no objection.

Mr. SAYERS. If the gentleman from Maryland does not desire to debate the bill, I should like to submit a brief statement.

Mr. MCOMAS. What is the wish of the gentleman?

Mr. SAYERS. Simply to incorporate in the RECORD a statement. I notice in the report accompanying the bill, prepared by the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Maryland, that a comparison is drawn between the present bill and the last appropriation made for the government of the District of Columbia. I desire, without detaining the House, to submit in reply to that report a brief statement showing the difference between the present bill and the bill of 1888 as it came from the Committee on Appropriations and passed the House.

Mr. MCOMAS. I understand that this statement is confined to a comparison between the several appropriation bills?

Mr. SAYERS. That is all.

Mr. MCOMAS. I have no objection to the insertion of the paper.

Mr. SAYERS. Then I ask that this statement be inserted as a part of my remarks.

The following is the statement referred to by Mr. SAYERS:

Accepting the statement made in the report which accompanies this bill as correct, the amount which the bill carries and recommends, not including the water department, is \$5,098,659.97.

Adding to this the water department as carried and recommended in the bill, \$233,274.18, we have a total of \$5,331,934.15.

The bill which was reported to this House on December 6, 1888, to cover the expenditures of the District of Columbia for the present fiscal year, not including the water department, carried and recommended \$4,691,831.97.

Adding to this the water department as carried and recommended in the bill, \$235,361.64, we have a total of \$4,927,193.61.

This latter bill passed the House with an addition of \$15,000 to the amount so reported and recommended by the committee; that is to say, when it reached the Senate it carried the sum total of \$4,942,193.61.

Comparing the bill under consideration with the one reported to this House on December 6, 1888, we find the difference between the two bills to be \$404,740.54, and with the bill as it passed the House and went to the Senate we find the difference to be \$389,740.54.

The bill of 1888 was returned to the House by the Senate with an increase, in the way of amendments, of \$1,300,823.30.

This increase by the Senate was reduced through the conference committee, so that when the bill became a law it amounted to \$5,682,409.91, accepting the figures given in the report which accompanies the present bill as correct, the conferees upon the part of the House having reduced the Senate amendments about \$560,607.

From this it will be seen that when there was a majority of Democrats upon the Committee upon Appropriations of this House the bill reported from the committee and which received the sanction of the House carried \$389,740.50 less than the amount of the bill under consideration. For the increase made and insisted upon by the Senate the Democrats of the House should not be held responsible.

The CHAIRMAN. By order of the House all general debate upon the bill is limited to one hour. If there is no further wish to debate the bill, the Clerk will read the first paragraph for amendment and debate under the five-minute rule.

The Clerk read as follows:

GENERAL EXPENSES.

SALARIES AND CONTINGENT EXPENSES.

For executive office: For two commissioners, at \$5,000 each; one engineer commissioner, \$924 (to make salary \$5,000); one secretary, \$2,160; one clerk, \$1,500; one clerk, \$1,400; three clerks, one of whom shall be a stenographer and type-writer, at \$1,200 each; one messenger, \$600; one messenger, \$480; one driver, \$480; one inspector of buildings, \$2,400; one assistant inspector of buildings, \$1,200; one assistant inspector of buildings, who shall also perform the duties of inspector of elevators and fire escapes without additional compensation, \$1,000; one assistant inspector of buildings, \$1,000; one clerk, \$1,600; one clerk, \$900; one messenger, \$480; one janitor, \$700; one laborer, at \$1 per day, \$313; one steam engineer, \$900; one property clerk, \$1,600; one clerk, \$900; one clerk, \$720; one messenger clerk, \$600; one messenger, \$480; three watchmen, at \$480 each; one chief inspector of plumbing, \$2,000; two assistant inspectors of plumbing, at \$1,000 each; one harbor-master, \$1,200; for rent of property yards, \$1,000; in all, \$43,577.

Mr. SAYERS. I move to strike out the last word, for the purpose of asking the gentleman a question. Does not this bill contain a provision for another officer that is not known to the present law, that is, one assistant inspector of buildings, at \$1,000?

Mr. MCOMAS. It provides an additional assistant inspector on account of the growth of the city, for fire escapes, etc.

Mr. SAYERS. I withdraw the motion.

The Clerk proceeded to read the bill.

Mr. MCOMAS. In view of the wish expressed by several gentlemen around me, I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. BURROWS reported that the Committee of the Whole, having had under consideration the District of Columbia appropriation bill, had come to no resolution thereon.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS TO COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE.

The SPEAKER announced the appointment of Mr. ANDERSON, of Kansas, and Mr. DAVIDSON, of Florida, as additional members of the Committee on Commerce under the action of the House taken during the day.

Mr. MCOMAS. Pending a motion to adjourn I yield a moment to the gentleman from Arkansas.

DUTIES OF THE SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

Mr. MCRAE, by unanimous consent, introduced a bill (H. R. 4324) designating the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives as a disbursing officer, and defining his duties as such; which was read a first and second time, referred to the Select Committee on the Accounts of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and ordered to be printed.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, indefinite leave of absence was granted to Mr. GIFFORD, on account of sickness in his family.

And then, on motion of Mr. MCOMAS (at 4 o'clock and 9 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned.

PRIVATE BILLS INTRODUCED AND REFERRED.

Under the rule, private bills of the following titles were introduced and referred as indicated below:

By Mr. C. L. ANDERSON: A bill (H. R. 4325) for the relief of the legal representatives of John H. Kelly, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BAYNE: A bill (H. R. 4326) for the relief of the heirs of George W. Welsh—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4327) granting unpaid pension of William Lindsay to Mary C. McCurry—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BREWER: A bill (H. R. 4328) granting a pension to Rufus Squire—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JAMES BUCHANAN: A bill (H. R. 4329) for the relief of Forman Mathews and David Stout Parker—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CANNON: A bill (H. R. 4330) for the relief of James E. Nidiffer—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CATE: A bill (H. R. 4331) for the relief of John T. Jones—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. W. C. COOPER: A bill (H. R. 4332) granting a pension to Ruth Misner—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4333) granting a pension to Hiram P. Edwards—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4334) granting a pension to Rebecca L. Partridge—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4335) granting a pension to Annie M. Freeman—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4336) granting a pension to Joanna W. Turner—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4337) granting a pension to Margaret M. Dutt—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4338) granting a pension to Sarah W. Marple—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4339) granting a pension to David A. Lawrence—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4340) granting a pension to Mary J. Curtis—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4341) granting a pension to Isabel Shull—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4342) granting a pension to Charles Guest—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4343) granting a pension to Mrs. R. A. Oden—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4344) granting a pension to David Sparrow—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4345) granting a pension to Jesse Lovell—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4346) granting a pension to Cynthia A. Butler—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4347) granting a pension to Abraham B. Stricker—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4348) granting a pension to Lucinda Phifer—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4349) granting a pension to Robert Mickle—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4350) granting a pension to Michael Blue—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4351) granting a pension to Sophia Weis—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4352) for the relief of Frederick Durall—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4353) for the relief of Isabel Derry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4354) for the relief of Edward Onsey—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4355) for the relief of Emeline Beam—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4356) for the relief of Samuel Engle—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4357) to remove the charge of desertion against Theodore F. Cook—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4358) to extend to officers of colored troops the benefits of the act approved February 3, A. D. 1887, providing for the muster and pay of certain officers and enlisted men—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GEAR: A bill (H. R. 4359) granting a pension to Elizabeth Ogden—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4360) granting a pension to Rev. W. F. Baird—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GEISSENHAINER: A bill (H. R. 4361) granting a pension to Mary E. Johnson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HARMER: A bill (H. R. 4362) granting a pension to Elizabeth Whitt—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HITT (by request): A bill (H. R. 4363) granting a pension to William O. Noble—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOUK: A bill (H. R. 4364) for the relief of Julia Ann Corder—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KILGORE: A bill (H. R. 4365) for the relief of R. L. Jennings—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LEE: A bill (H. R. 4366) for the relief A. B. Carter—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MORRILL: A bill (H. R. 4367) for the relief of D. H. Mitchell—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NUTE: A bill (H. R. 4368) for the removal of Pier Rock from the Piscataqua River at Portsmouth, N. H.—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. OUTHWAITE: A bill (H. R. 4369) to increase the pension of Milton Barnes—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PAYNTER (by request): A bill (H. R. 4370) for the relief of Basil A. Carmichael—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 4371) for the relief of Payman O. Collins—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. QUINN: A bill (H. R. 4372) granting a pension to John Dean—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4373) for the relief of the estate of Isaac P. Tice, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROBERTSON: A bill (H. R. 4374) for the relief of Lucius J. Seals—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ROGERS: A bill (H. R. 4375) for the relief of W. Jasper Blackburn—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SPOONER: A bill (H. R. 4376) for the relief of Washington L. Parvin and Henry A. Greene—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CHARLES STEWART: A bill (H. R. 4377) making appropriations for continuing harbor improvements at Galveston, Sabine Pass, and Aransas Pass, Tex.—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4378) making appropriation for continuing work on Galveston Bay ship-channel—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4379) making an appropriation for continuing the work of improving Buffalo Bayou, Texas—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. STONE, of Kentucky (by request): A bill (H. R. 4380) to correct the record of John Holloran, and for other purposes—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4381) for the relief of the estate of Mary H. S. Robertson—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. STRUBLE: A bill (H. R. 4382) granting an honorable discharge to William W. Wedgwood—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4383) granting a pension to Jered R. Cox—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 4384) for the relief of Ransom L. Harris—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS: A bill (H. R. 4385) appropriating \$517.60 to George B. Kane & Co., in full payment of a balance due them for printer's ink furnished by them to the Public Printer—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. WHITING: A bill (H. R. 4386) granting pay and allowances of a second lieutenant of infantry to Samuel Bevins—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4387) granting a pension to David Keys—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4388) granting a pension to Dennis O'Neil—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4389) for the relief of Mary White—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4390) for the relief of Mary Locke—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4391) for the relief of John Donahue—to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4392) for the relief of David Sarsfield—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4393) for the relief of Mary Dockham—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. F. W. WHEELER (by request): A bill (H. R. 4394) for the relief of Lieut. Col. Michael P. Small—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4395) to correct the military record of George Haskin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4396) granting a pension to John Grant—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILKINSON: A bill (H. R. 4397) for the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth A. Gill—to the Committee on War Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BAKER: Papers in the case of Ellen Shears, for a pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BAYNE: Petition of Mary A. McCurry, for allowance of unpaid pension of William Lindsay—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of ex-soldiers and sailors of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, for pensions for Sara L. and Jane W. Patterson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BLAND: Petition of David B. Taylor, for payment for stores and supplies—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BOWDEN: Papers in support of claim of Sally Hardmond—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. C. R. BRECKINRIDGE: Petition of the heirs of Rice M. Ballou, deceased, and William C. Coulsten, that their claims be referred to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BURTON: Petition of Lydia Benjamin, for widow's pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Susan Fuller, for widow's pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BUTTERWORTH: Petition of the estate of John H. Piatt, for relief—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CANNON: Papers relative to claim of Isaiah Humrichouser, for increase of pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers relative to claim of James McD. Hays, for relief—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of Sylvanus Sandford, for relief—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. W. C. COOPER: Petition of Union soldiers of Union County, Ohio, for further pension legislation—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, memorial of wool-growers of Menard, Schleicher, Kimble, and Sutton Counties, Texas, for removal of duty on wool in accordance with scale of 1867—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. D. B. CULBERSON: Petition of I. W. Throckmorton and 200 citizens of Collins County; H. E. Russell and others, of Camp County; T. H. King and 75 citizens of Hunt County; C. L. Galloway and 100 others, of Harrison County, Texas, for the improvement of the water-way between Jefferson, Tex., and Shreveport, La.—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. DORSEY: Petition of Carpenters and Joiners' Union of Kearney, Nebr., for location of world's fair of 1892 at Chicago, Ill.—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FITCH: Petition of 250,000 citizens of New York, to locate the world's fair of 1892 at New York City—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FITHIAN: Petition of Amity Lodge, F. M. B. A., Jasper County, and York Lodge, No. 953, F. M. B. A., Clay County, Illinois, to collect statistics relative to farm mortgages—to the Select Committee on the Eleventh Census.

By Mr. HANSBROUGH: Petition of soldiers of North Dakota, for a per diem pension law—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of residents of Walsh County, North Dakota, to collect statistics relative to farm mortgages, etc.—to the Select Committee on the Eleventh Census.

Also, petition of residents of North Dakota, relative to the irrigation of arid lands—to the Select Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands in the United States.

Also, petition of citizens of Walsh County, North Dakota, relative to the loaning of money by the Government, etc.—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HARE (by request): Petition of sundry citizens of Knox, Dallas, Wilbarger, and Hartley Counties, Texas, to remove Federal court from Graham to Vernon, Tex.—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYNES: Petition of Col. John T. Toland Post, No. 695, Grand Army of the Republic, Sandusky, Ohio, for further pension legislation—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, protest of Carl Leuk and 1,127 citizens of Toledo, Ohio, against the passage of the Blair bill—to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. T. J. HENDERSON: Petition of John Fuller, for relief—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of E. R. Swain, for relief—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of Dennis Pride, for relief—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of heirs of Levi Held, for relief—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HOLMAN: Papers in relation to the case of Lorenzo D. Whiteford, for pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers in support of claim of Esther Todd, for pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOOKER: Petitions of Henrietta L. U. Johnston and A. Karpe, that claims be referred to Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of John Hall, administrator of Judith W. Horton, or Wharton, that claim be referred to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. HOUK: Petition of John Lester, that claim be referred to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of Sarah C. Webb, for pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, memorial of citizens of Tennessee, asking for improvement of the Tennessee River and tributaries—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. JOSEPH: Petition of Edward H. Bergmann, that his claim be referred to Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of citizens of Bernalillo County, New Mexico, against confirmation of the San Joaquin del Nacimiento grant—to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

By Mr. HARRISON KELLEY: Petition of 51 soldiers and members of Hays Post, No. 94, department of Kansas, Grand Army of the Republic, and of 155 ex-soldiers and sailors, citizens of Pottawatomie County, Kansas, for further pension legislation—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LANHAM: Petition of citizens of Brown County, Palo Pinto County, and Tom Green County, Texas, for the payment of Indian depredation claims—to the Select Committee on Indian Depredation Claims.

By Mr. LEE (by request): Petition of George Smith, for reference of claim to Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MCRAE (by request): Petition of W. H. Cayce, relative to certain lands claimed by him in Miller County, Arkansas—to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

Also, petition of J. M. Wilson, for reference of his claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. MAISH: Petition of Jacob J. Morningstar, for an increase of pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MASON: Petition of Minnie Lysles, widow of Alfred Lysles, for relief—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MOREY: Petition of John Q. Larman, for relief—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, petition and papers in the case of A. H. Brooks, for relief—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MORRILL: Petition of Kiziar E. Harry, for arrears of pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Charles H. Oehler and 30 others, of Allendale, Mo., and James Marley and 12 others, of Carrsville, Ky., asking for pension legislation—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. O'DONNELL: Petition of Iron Molders' Union, Battle Creek, Mich., and Board of Trade of Grand Rapids, Mich., for the location of the world's fair of 1892 at Chicago, Ill.—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial from E. B. Griffith, Commander Union Veterans' Union, for passage of the per diem bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Jasper H. Keys, for pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of 209 farmers of the Third Congressional district of Michigan, to prohibit option dealings—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a petition of 89 farmers of Branch County, Michigan, to pay bounty on flour exported in American vessels—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, a memorial of National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, relative to adulteration of foods, etc.—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. OUTHWAITE: Petition of Milton Barnes, for pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PAYNE: Petition of Local Assembly No. 5945, Knights of Labor, for statistics of farm mortgages—to the Select Committee on the Eleventh Census.

By Mr. PAYSON: Petition of American Short-horn Breeders' Association, for location of world's fair of 1892 at Chicago, Ill.—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PEEL: Petition of Benjamin E. Gambell, that his claim be referred to Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. PETERS: Twenty-three petitions of ex-soldiers and sailors, citizens of Kansas, for passage of service-pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of Mary V. Tolle, for pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence and papers in case of John Summers—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, evidence in case of Joseph A. Blair—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ROBERTSON: Papers in claim of William J. Poitevent—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ROCKWELL: Petition of H. M. Castle and others, citizens of Springfield, Mass., to establish port of entry at that place—to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. ROGERS: Petition of Charles E. Littleton that his claim be referred to Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SAWYER: Petition of Sarah Jane Fowler, widow of John H. Fowler, late patrolman, Metropolitan police, District of Columbia, for relief—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SAYERS: Petition of citizens of Coleman County, Texas, for payment of Indian depredation claims—to the Select Committee on Indian Depredation Claims.

By Mr. SKINNER: Petition of W. T. Paul and 97 citizens of North Carolina, for the improvement of Drum Inlet—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, petition of John A. Shaw that claim be referred to Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. STEPHENSON: Memorial of Board of Trade, Grand Rapids, Mich.; memorial of American Short-horn Breeders' Association; and memorial Carpenter and Joiners' Union No. 523, Ishpeming, Mich., for the location of the world's fair of 1892 at Chicago, Ill.—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. E. J. TURNER: Petition of ex-soldiers and sailors, asking for pension legislation—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WHITING: Memorial of board of supervisors of Ottawa County, Michigan, for the improvement of Grand River—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, petition of M. M. Stone and 23 others, citizens of St. Clair County, Michigan, to prohibit option dealing—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of Frank N. Bagg and 15 others, of Port Huron, Mich., asking amendment to interstate-commerce law permitting reduced rates to commercial travelers—to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. WISE: Memorial of General Assembly of Virginia, for location of Three-Americas Exposition in the District of Columbia—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, January 8, 1890.

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

REPORT OF BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a report of the operations of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the year 1889; which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and ordered to be printed.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. COKE presented a petition of many citizens of Texas, praying Congress to make some provision at this session to pay the Indian depredation claims which have been filed in the Indian Bureau of the Interior Department; which was referred to the Select Committee on Indian Depredations.

He also presented a memorial of many citizens of El Paso, Tex., remonstrating against the establishment of the Free Zone by the Mexican Government along the Rio Grande border; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. DAWES presented the petition of Eben L. Sylvester, late a private in Company I, Seventh Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, praying for an extension of the pension arrears act; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. DAVIS presented sundry petitions of ex-Union soldiers and sailors of Wadena, Minn., praying for legislation recommended by the pension committee of the Grand Army of the Republic; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of citizens of Minnesota, praying for the enactment of laws to prohibit sales for future deliveries, etc.; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. PETTIGREW presented a petition of Delos Eldridge and 54 other ex-soldiers of the late war, praying for additional pension legislation; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CAMERON presented a resolution adopted by the Philadelphia (Pa.) Board of Trade, favoring the passage of the bill providing for the transfer of the revenue marine to the Naval Establishment; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Philadelphia (Pa.) Board of Trade, favoring the enactment of such liberal measures as will establish regular lines of American steam-ships between our ports and the ports of Central and South America, China, and Japan; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PLUMB presented a petition of ex-soldiers of McPherson County, Kansas, and a petition of ex-soldiers of Arkansas City, Kans., praying for certain pension legislation; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a resolution of members of Joe Hooker Post No. 17, department of Kansas, Grand Army of the Republic, favoring legislation donating Fort Hays military reservation to the State of Kansas for purpose of a soldiers' home; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the Providence (Kansas) Farmers' Alliance No. 7, praying that the next census contain certain information in reference to the ownership, occupancy, and mortgages of homes and farms; which was referred to the Committee on the Census.

He also presented a resolution adopted by a mass-meeting of people of the southern portion of Oklahoma, favoring the creation of a county south of Oklahoma City; which was referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. CULLOM presented a petition of ex-soldiers and sailors of the United States Army and Navy, praying that Congress give consideration to pension legislation immediately after organization; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a petition of the Grand Army of the Republic of Illinois, favoring Chicago as the site for the proposed world's fair in 1892; which was referred to the Select Committee on the Quadro-Centennial.

Mr. MITCHELL presented a petition of citizens of the State of Oregon, praying that an appropriation be made for the purpose of commencing work on a harbor of refuge at Port Orford in that State; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a petition numerously signed by ex-Union soldiers, officers and privates, residing in the State of Oregon, earnestly

praying legislation in accordance with the recommendations to Congress of the Grand Army of the Republic national pension committee as to pension legislation, and that such legislation be had before any action is taken looking to a reduction of the revenues; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. VEST presented a resolution adopted by the St. Louis (Mo.) Typographical Union, No. 8, favoring a restoration of the rate of wages which was in existence in the Government Printing Office prior to 1877, as favored by Columbia Union, No. 101, of the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. COLQUITT presented additional papers to accompany the bill (S. 1377) for the relief of the steamer Leesburg; which were referred to the Committee on Claims.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. DOLPH, from the Committee on Public Lands, submitted a report to accompany the bill (S. 269) granting the State of California 5 per cent. of the net proceeds of the cash sales of the public lands in said State, heretofore reported by him.

Mr. DOLPH, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 4) authorizing acceptance by Dr. W. J. Hoffman of certain decorations from foreign powers, reported it with amendments.

Mr. BUTLER, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition of George F. Ormsby, late an ensign in the United States Navy, praying for relief from sentence of a court-martial, submitted on adverse report thereon; which was agreed to.

Mr. CAMERON, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 129) for the relief of Assistant Engineer Howard D. Potts, United States Navy, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. CHANDLER, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 733) for the presentation of badges to the officers and men of the Greely relief expedition, reported it without amendment.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 304) defining the positions and salaries of assistant astronomers at the United States Naval Observatory, and for other purposes, reported it without amendment.

Mr. SPOONER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 962) for the relief of Samuel Hein, reported it with an amendment.

TRANSIT OF CHINESE LABORERS.

Mr. DOLPH. From the Committee on Foreign Relations I report back favorably with amendments the resolution submitted by my colleague [Mr. MITCHELL] on the 16th of December, and I ask for its present consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the President be, and he is hereby, respectfully requested, if not incompatible with the public interests, to transmit to the Senate copies of all diplomatic correspondence between the United States and the Empire of China occurring subsequent to the passage of the act entitled "An act supplemental to an act entitled 'An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,' approved the 6th day of May, 1882," and approved October 1, 1888, and having reference to the construction of such act and the rights of parties thereunder.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none, and the amendments of the committee will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In line 2, after the word "if" it is proposed to insert the words "in his opinion," so as to read:

If, in his opinion, not incompatible with the public interests,

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to add to the resolution:

And any other information he may possess on the subject.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Mr. VANCE. I am instructed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate to report back a resolution referred to that committee, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution submitted by Mr. VANCE December 19, 1889, was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay, out of the appropriations for miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Mrs. Eliza Johnson, widow of Samuel Johnson, deceased, late a laborer of the Senate, the sum of \$360, being an amount equal to six months' salary as a laborer aforesaid; and said sum shall be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. FRYE. Is that reported from the Committee on Contingent Expenses?

Mr. VANCE. Yes, sir. It is in the usual form.