

BY TELEGRAPH.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

SENATE.

WASHINGTON, 11.

Merriman submitted a resolution calling upon the Secretary of War for a statement as to the arms and equipments issued for use by officers of the treasury and interior departments and the department of justice; where such arms are now, and whether any of them have been sold. Agreed to.

On motion of Hamlin, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution submitted by Blaine in regard to the inquiry as to whether at the recent election the constitutional rights of American citizens were violated, etc.

Blaine said he offered the pending resolution, first, to place on record, in definite and authentic form, the frauds and outrages by which some recent elections were carried by the democratic party in the Southern States; second, to find if there be any method by which a repetition of these crimes against the free ballot may be prevented. The newspaper is the channel through which the people of the United States are informed of current events, and the accounts given in the press represent the elections in some of the Southern States to have been accompanied by violence in a lot of new cases, reaching to destruction of life; to have been controlled by threats that awed and intimidated a large class of voters; to have been manipulated by fraud of the most shameless and shameful description. Indeed, in South Carolina there seems to have been no election at all in any proper sense of the term. It is but just and fair to all parties, however, that an impartial investigation of the facts shall be made by a committee of the Senate, proceeding under the authority of law and representing the power of the nation. We do not need an investigation to establish certain facts already of official record. We know 106 representatives in Congress were recently chosen in States formerly slaveholding, and that the democrats elected 101 or possibly 102, and the republicans four or possibly five. We know that 35 of these representatives were assigned to southern States by reason of the colored population, and that the entire political power thus founded on the numbers of colored people has been seized and appropriated to the aggrandizement of its own strength by the democratic party of the south. The issue thus raised before the country, Mr. President, is not one of mere sentiment for the negro, though far distant be the day when the rights of any American citizen, however black or however poor, shall form the mere dust of the balance of any controversy; nor is the issue one that involves the waving of the "bloody shirt," to quote the elegant vernacular of democratic vituperation. Take the States of South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana. They send 17 representatives to Congress. Their aggregate population is composed of 1,035,000 whites and 1,224,000 colored, the colored being nearly 200,000 in excess of the whites. Of the 17 representatives there, it is known that nine were apportioned to these States by reason of their colored population, and only eight by reason of their white population, and yet in the choice of the entire 17 representatives, colored voters had no more voice or power than their remote kindred on the shores of Senegambia, or on the gold coast. The 1,035,000 white people had the sole and absolute choice of the entire seventeen representatives. In contrast, take two states in the north—Iowa and Wisconsin—with seventeen representatives. There I have a white population of 2,247,000, considerably more than double the entire white population of the three southern states I have named. In Iowa and Wisconsin, therefore, it takes 132,000 to send a representative to congress, but in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana every 60,000 white people send a representative. In other words, 60,000 white people in these southern states have precisely the same political power in the government of the country that 135,000 white people have in Iowa and Wisconsin. Georgia and Alabama have a population of 1,580,000 and a colored population of 1,020,000. The said seventeen representatives to congress, of whom nine were apportioned on account of the white population and eight on account of the colored; but the colored voters are not able to choose a single representative, the white democrats choosing the whole seventeen. The four northern states, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska and California, have seventeen representatives based on a white population of 2,250,000, or almost double the white population of Georgia and Alabama, so that in these relative groups of states we find the white man south exercises by his vote double the political power of the white man north. The eleven states that formed the confederate government have by the last census, a population of 9,500,000, of which, in round numbers 5,500,000 were white and 4,000,000 colored. On this aggregate population seventy-three representatives in congress were apportioned to those states, forty-two or forty-three of which were by reason of the white population, and thirty or thirty-one by reason of the colored population. At the recent election the white democracy of the South seized seventy or seventy-three districts, and thus secured a democratic majority in the next House of representatives. Thus it appears that throughout the States that formed the late confederate government 65,000 whites—the very people that rebelled against the Union are enabled to elect a representative in Congress, while in loyal States it requires 132,000 of white people that fought for the Union to elect a representative. In levying every tax therefore, in making every appropriation of money, in fixing every line of public policy, in decreeing what shall be the fate and fortune of the republic the confederate soldier south is enabled to cast a vote that is twice as powerful and twice as influential as the vote of the Union soldier north; but the white men south did not acquire and do not hold this superior power by reason of law or justice, but in disregard and defiance of both. The Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution was expected to be, and was designed to be, a preventive and corrective of all such possible abuses. The colored citizen is thus most unhappily situated. His right of suffrage is but a hollow mockery. I know a great deal about the views, wishes and purposes of the republican party. Within that entire great organization there is not one man whose opinion is entitled to be quoted that does not desire peace and harmony and friendship and patriotic and fraternal union between the North and South. Nor should the south make the fatal mistake of concluding that injustice to the negro is not also injustice to the white man, nor should it ever be forgotten for the wrongs of both, a remedy will assuredly be found. I tell men of the south here on this floor, and beyond this chamber, that if even they could strip the negro of his constitutional rights, they can never permanently maintain the equality of white men in this nation, they can never make a white man's vote in the south doubly as powerful in the administration of the government as a white man's vote in the north.

In a memorable debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Macauley reminded Daniel O'Connell, when he was moving for a repeal, that English Whigs would endure calumny, abuse, popular fury, loss of position, exclusion from Parliament, rather than the great agitator himself should be less than a British subject, and Mr. Macauley warned him that they would never suffer him to be more. Let me now remind you that the government under whose protecting flag we sit to-day, sacrificed myriads of lives, and expended thousands of millions of treasure, that our countrymen of the south should remain citizens of the United States, having equal personal rights and equal political privileges with all other citizens, and I venture now and here to suggest to the men of the south, in the exact words of Macauley, that we will never suffer them to be more.

Debate followed, participated in by Thurman, Lamar, Edmunds and Blaine. The debate between Lamar, Blaine and Edmunds was characterized by a good many personal allusions. Thurman then submitted an amendment to Blaine's resolution instructing the committee to inquire if any citizen of any state had been dismissed, or threatened with dismissal, from employment, by reason of his vote or intention to vote at the late election, or been

otherwise interfered with; and whether, in 1878, federal employees had been assessed for election purposes, and the circumstances attending such assessment, its use, and whether the law was thereby violated; also to inquire into the conduct of United States election supervisors and the number of marshals and others employed to conduct the election, with the salary paid or promised, and under what law. Thurman said his side would have waived all argument had this amendment been incorporated in the original resolution, but Blaine had refused to give way for it. He wished, to-day, to make only a few general observations. The Senator from Maine had frankly admitted that his purpose was to assail the democracy of the south. There were some doubts as to the propriety of this investigation as the session is short and important legislation is pressing, yet no committee could make, with any sort of thoroughness or justice, the examination required, within the time remaining of the session. He, therefore, had wondered why this resolution was introduced, unless to hang on speeches for the purpose of arousing sectional hatred against an almost defenseless portion of the Union. Referring to the previous speech, the speaker said he had declared then that there was a deliberately formed purpose to array a solid north to rule the south and nearly half the north, under the pretense that there was a "solid south." I thought then, and I think now, that a purpose more unpatriotic, more unjust, more fraught with ruin to this country, never entered the brain of man. That is my belief. Why, Mr. President, of what is that the senator of Maine complains? That there were not enough republican votes in the south; that is the amount of it, and how does he make that out? He assumes, without a shadow of truth produced here, that the negroes of the south were prevented from voting or forced to vote the democratic ticket. He assumes, therefore, that owing to these causes the negroes of the south are not represented by the members of the House of representatives who come from that section of the Union, or by the senators on this floor who represent the southern States. What right has the senator from Maine to say the negroes of the south are not represented by the chosen representatives of the south and the chosen senators of the south? What right has he to vote those negroes on one side himself, and say the men who bear credentials of election do not represent their constituents? It is a bare assumption on his part that he has no right whatever to make. But again, the senator ought to have thought of this when he was framing his fourteenth or fifteenth amendments, or when he was assisting in framing them. There were men then, men of his own party, too, who told him, with long foresight, that in the end, property and intelligence will rule the land, and ignorance cannot. Mr. President, those were men of his party who foresaw that those people who have the intelligence, the education and the property will not be ruled by those who have neither, and that it is not necessary to separate a community into white people and colored people, not at all is it necessary to do that. The result of these constitutional amendments was easy enough to be foreseen. I am not here, to-day, to justify a violation of the right of any man, however humble, whatever may be the poverty of his situation. If I know my own heart, I am here as much in favor of respecting the rights of every man under the Constitution, as the senator from Maine, or any other senator on this floor. But I do know that property, intelligence and education will assert their supremacy everywhere on this globe. Who was it that drew the color line between the whites and negroes in the South? Let me tell you, sir, that millions of the people's money were expended by the Freedmen's Bureau agents in forming loyal leagues of negroes and swearing them never to vote for the democrats. The color line began there. That bureau controlled the negro utterly, and spent millions appropriated directly, and turned over to it indirectly, in drawing the line which menaced with destruction the whole social system of the South, and when they unite against destruction the cry of "solid South" is raised. This system of legislation towards the South is reaping

its fruits. Why does the senator want more penal laws? No civilized country in the world has more minute penal laws. There is a whole army of treasury paid marshals, supervisors and deputies. What, then does the senator want? This is a note sounded to the northern people that they must retrace their steps and undo the amendments which they made in the interests of the so-called "colored people"—either directly or indirectly unto that legislation. Sir, the most disheartening thing to an American, who loves free institutions, is to see that, year by year, a corrupt use of money in elections is making its way, until the time may come, and that within the observation of even the oldest man here, when the elections in the United States will be as debauched as ever they were in the worst days of the parliamentary elections in the motherland.

One thing made me doubt a little as to the propriety of this resolution, although, as I said, I am going to vote for it, and what the senator from Maine has said has added to the great doubt which I entertained on that subject, and that is, that I am not quite sure there are not persons who favor this kind of resolution, and as much debate upon it as you can have, and as much investigation as you can have, in order to divert public attention from the real questions which ought to engage the Congress of the United States. Questions of economy, questions of finance, questions of government, all are shoved aside that the popular speeches may be made, tending to excite one section of the people against another, and to set their minds mad with passion, instead of appealing to their cool and deliberate reason. I certainly do not charge the senator from Maine with having gotten this up for the purpose of putting aside and throwing out of view that which should form the subject of our thoughts and of our legislation, but I fear that such may be, in some minds, one of the things to be desired by such a resolution.

Blaine said that he did not wish to detain the Senate, but Thurman had stated that property in the south would rule.

Thurman—"I said no such thing. I said no more of the south than that everywhere, property, intelligence and education will rule."

Blaine—"Regardless of numbers?"

Thurman—"The senator can make it regardless of numbers if he choose; but he meant by influence, as the senator did in Maine, influence many people, this year being an exception. The senator always influenced people because he had education, skill and property."

After some badinage, Blaine again raised the point that South Carolina had 150,000 more colored voters than white.

WASHINGTON, 12.—Anthony called up the Senate bill authorizing the public printer to print papers and documents for senators, representatives and delegates in Congress upon payment of cost and ten per cent. additional. Passed.

Windom called up the fortification appropriation bill. The amendments of the committee increasing the appropriation for the armament of sea coast fortifications from \$175,000 to \$250,000; for the preservation and repair of the fortifications from \$100,000 to \$200,000, were agreed to; and the bill then passed.

A brief discussion as to the order of business resulted in an agreement that the vote on Edmunds' bill in regard to counting the electoral vote will be taken to-morrow.

The bill from the House to correct the enrollment in the sundry civil appropriation bill of last year in regard to the Hot Springs reservation in Arkansas, passed without amendment.

Davis, Illinois, presented a petition from citizens of Chicago, asking that a tract of land, not less than 1,000,000 nor more than 3,000,000 acres be held and used for a national charity farm, where all classes of poor, disabled and infirm persons may have a home.

Burnside, from the joint select committee to prepare a plan for the reorganization of the army, submitted a report accompanied by bills and numerous documents bearing on the subject. The bill, entitled "A bill to reduce and organize the army of the United States, and to make rules for its government and regulation," was placed on the calendar and it was

ordered that all the papers be printed.

Eustis called up the bill introduced by him on the 4th of December, asking \$5,000,000 for constructing, rebuilding and repairing the levees on the Mississippi river and made some remarks on it.

Paddock introduced a bill to amend the *posse comitatus* clause of the army appropriation bill for the present fiscal year, so as to provide that it shall not apply to any part of the army employed in states or territories subject to Indian incursions. Referred.

On motion of Burnside, the bill reported by him from the joint commission in regard to the reorganization of the army, was made the special order for January 8.

Windom called up the House bill making appropriations for the support of the West Point Military Academy, which was amended in some unimportant particulars and passed.

After executive session the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

WASHINGTON, 11.—The bill reported last year for a committee on commerce to regulate inter-State commerce and prevent discrimination by common carriers, was taken up and discussed.

The bill makes it unlawful for persons engaged in transporting property by railroad from one State to another, or to or from any foreign country, to discriminate against any person in the price charged. It prohibits the pooling of freights, combinations and drawbacks.

Mr. Towsend, of Illinois, advocated the bill. Combinations of trunk lines had recently increased the cost of transportation on wheat from St. Louis to New York 8 or 9 cents a bushel. The farmers of the West, who anticipated higher prices for their wheat, have been injured thereby. The bill was as much in the interest of those living in terminal points as at intermediate points. Every Western producer was interested in having the strong hand of the government to prevent monopolies levying taxes on produce.

Mr. Phillips, of Kansas, favored some parts of the bill and opposed others. Railroads should be permitted to carry great quantities of freight cheaper than small.

Mr. Cannon said he favored the provision against pooling, but not the section prohibiting a reduction in rates for long distances.

Mr. Hewitt said it was an unwise measure. An inter-State commission of experts was the proper remedy for grievous existing abuses; which demanded careful attention from all who wished to develop the great foreign trade that is pulling the country out of the quagmire into which bad financial legislation has plunged it. The bill then passed, 139 to 110.

The House took up the Geneva Award bill and soon adjourned.

Wood offered a resolution directing an inquiry into the conduct of chief supervisor of election Davenport, at the last election in New York, and its consideration was postponed till to-morrow. The allegation is that Davenport was guilty of illegal, unjust and oppressive exercise of pretended authority in causing the arrest, detention and imprisonment of citizens innocent of offense, by which he deprived them of the right to vote, and subjected them to indignity, insult and intimidation, without warrant of law or justification, which arrests have been declared illegal by the United States judges.

The resolution was adopted ordering a recess from December 20th to January 6th.

The House resumed consideration of the Geneva Award bill and was addressed by Willis, of New York in favor of the majority report of the judiciary committee.

Latham supported the minority report.

Bicknell and Potter spoke in favor of the majority report.

The matter then, without action, went over.

Banning submitted the report of the military commission which was ordered printed and made the special order for Jan. 9.

Baker, from the committee on appropriations, reported a bill repealing so much of the civil sundry bill as appropriates \$39,000 to the payment of the claims of Charles P. Burdick, late Indian agent of the Ponca agency. He stated that it was a unanimous report. The item had been added to the bill in the Senate, but it had been since