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EVENING NEWS.

Friday, . . June 9, 1882.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 2, 1882.

During the past ten days the public at large have become painfully familiar with the words "filibuster" and "deadlock," in connection with the House of Representatives, and while I personally am of the opinion that there was just cause to filibuster, and thus bring about a deadlock, yet no one having the interests of the nation at heart can do otherwise than regret that such a condition of affairs should be possible in so great a legislative body. The cause of all this trouble rests solely and absolutely with the Republicans, for it assuredly does not follow that because a certain political party has a majority in a certain legislative body, that the said majority can do business without respecting the rights of the minority. If I understand anything at all about the rules of parliamentary procedure, it is the fact that these rules are framed with a view to protect the minority, for it is always presumable that the majority can protect themselves But the Republican majority of the House during the whole of this session, have exhibited such an overbearing spirit, such an utter disregard for the rights of the minority, that it is really not to be wondered at that a climax arrived sooner or later. There is an end to human patience; it is "the last straw that breaks the camel's back." Arrogance cannot always win, though it may do a great deal of harm before it is checked.

It was this high-handed policy that carried the Edmunds bill through the House. With an honest Speaker in the chair instead of an unprincipled tool in the hands of men who are openly branded as thieves—the Edmunds bill would not yet have become a law; for it is now an undisputed fact that the point of order made against the bill was as good a point as ever was made in the House of Representatives. The subsequent application of President Arthur for an increase of the commissioners' salary puts this beyond all doubt. But on the occasion of the passage of the bill, as well as on other matters this session, the law had to be trampled under foot to satisfy the infamous, prearranged designs of certain corrupt, loud-mouthed demagogues. When any party,—no matter of what kind—has to resort to fraud to gain its ends, it must be at once conceded that that party is in a mighty bad fix.

Some ten days ago or more it was decided at a republican caucus, that the South Carolina contested election case (Mackey vs. Dibble) should be called up for decision. A question of alleged fraud in connection with the evidence in the case having arisen, the democrats agreed that the case should not be discussed at the present time, but that it should be recommitted to the election committee with instructions to investigate and report as to the truth or falsity of the allegations made against the contestee. Whether or not the republicans thought it would be suicidal to their prearranged plans to send the case back to the election committee it matters not, but they flatly refused to send it back, and thereupon commence the fight. Calkins, the chairman of the election committee, backed by Robeson and Keifer—a beautiful couple—endeavored to force the issue; but the democrats, thinking the time had now arrived when they must take a stand, were just as determined that there should be no force in the matter.

The only means way of resisting the issue was to "filibuster"—in other words, to introduce motions which would have the effect of preventing the case being discussed. For ten days these "filibustering" tactics were successfully kept up by the democrats. They refused to allow the case to come up, and as a consequence the business of the House came to a "deadlock." The republicans now found themselves in a dilemma, To back down would be to show weakness. Hence some sort of scheme must be devised whereby the case could be reached, by hook or by crook. It was therefore decided at a republican caucus, held last Saturday, that a proposition should be introduced to amend the rules of the House by which dilatory motions should not be permitted in cases of contested elections. Even so unprecedented a proposition as that however, took very few persons by surpise; for the high-handed policy of the majority has led people to the conclusion that the Republicans are ready to resort to any kind of fraud so as to gain the deserved end in this instance, the unseating of Dibble in the Democratic side, and the seating of Mackey on the Republican side.

The introduction of this motion was made on Monday last, and in anticipation of some lively scenes, the galleries of the House were packed during the whole day. At no time could there have been less than one thousand people in the galleries; and as for the reporters' gallery, it contained a larger number of representatives of the press than I have seen on any previous occasion. I mention these facts to give an idea of the interest taken by the general public in the "deadlock" and in the discussion which was about to begin.

The debate on the proposition began in the usual manner. There was an evident feeling of bitterness on both sides. The principle about to be attacked was one of extraordinary importance, and several lively "scenes," it was generally expected would be sure to occur. Space at my disposal will not permit me to give a detailed account of the discussion. Suffice it to say that the Republicans, led by Mr. Reed, of Maine, maintained that their action in this matter was perfectly justifiable; that the course pursued by the democrats for the last ten days amounted to "obstruction" and "revolution;" and that to overcome the difficulty, they proposed to amend the rules so as to prevent dilatory motions being entertained in cases of contested elections. The Democrats, on the other hand,—led by Mr. Randall—indignantly repelled the charge that in "filibustering" they had acted in any revolutionary spirit. All they wanted was that a proper hearing should be granted to the contestee by the Committee on Elections as to the allegations of forgery and fraud in the evidence submitted by the contestant, and that that might be obtained they insisted on the case being sent back to the committee, and offered to proceed with the consideration of the case as soon as the allegations had been duly investigated. They plead with the majority not to set so dangerous a precedent as the one now proposed to be set and pointed out how the Republicans had "filibustered" in times gone past. The minority took every pains to show the fallacy of the stand taken by the majority; but during the whole of the debate it was very evident to me that, no matter what arrangements could be brought to bear on the question, the Speaker had made up his mind to sustain the proposition. During the debate, which was conducted in very good order, (for the House) he pretended—and it was only pretence—to be very busily engaged taking notes and writing out his decision. At last, after some five hours had been occupied, the debate was closed. Keifer—I haven't the patience to call him Speaker—then proceeded to pass judgment. He got his manuscript in order, but as soon as he fairly commenced to read it, it was plainly to be seen that he *brought the decision in his pocket*—that, in fact, it had been written for him by the leaders of the Republican caucus; for the very language which Robeson had used in the debate was clearly traceable in the previous document from which this unprincipled man from Ohio was reading Yet with impenetrable cheek he delivered his "decision," sustaining the proposition; which had the effect of creating an intense feeling of disgust in the mind of every sensible person in the House. The fraud was so palpable that even the majority seemed ashamed; but they had carried their point, and were jubilant. As soon as Kiefer had finished reading his "decision," dozens of members on both sides were on their feet, and confusion became the order of the day. An appeal was entered by Mr. Randall, which on the motion of Mr. Reed was laid upon the table. Mr. Cox, of New York, then, in the midst of great uproar, rose to a question of privilege, and said he desired to make the paper which he held in his hand a part of his statement of the question of privilege, and wished to have it read from the clerk's desk. Considerable opposition was manifested to the admission of the document, which was a protest of the minority against the proceedings of the majority, but ultimately the Chair ruled that it might be read. The paper is as follows:

Whereas, The minority have offered to proceed to the consideration of the case as soon as said allegations have been duly investigated; and

Whereas, The majority, in order to prevent and avoid such an investigation, have proceeded to change the rules, in a manner not provided for in the rules by which alone they can or ought to be changed; and

Whereas, The Speaker has made a ruling which justifies a proceeding unknown to the principles of Constitutional and parliamentary law and subversive of the rights of the minority,

Therefore, the undersigned, representatives of the people, hereby protest against the proceedings of the majority and the ruling of the Speaker, as unjustifiable, arbitrary, and revolutionary, and expressly designed to deprive the minority of that protection which has been established as one of the great monuments of the elective system, by the patient, and patriotic labors of the advocates of parliamentary privilege and civil liberty.

Shortly after this protest had been read, Mr. Calkins, in the midst of great uproar called up the contested election case of Mackey vs. Dibble. Before it could be reached, however, several motions to adjourn were made, but ultimately the case was reached about seven o'clock, whereupon the House adjourned.

Tuesday and Wednesday were occupied in discussing the case; and as was expected Dibble was unseated and Mackey sworn in. Immediately after this Mr. McLane, (Md.) rose to a question of privilege, and sent to the Clerk's desk a resolution reciting the fact that the House, in the exercise of a power expressly conferred upon it by the Constitution, has established and ordained a code of rules for the government of its proceedings and for the guidance of its presiding officer; also reciting the facts in connection with the Speaker's refusing to entertain the motions and appeals of Mr. Springer on Monday last, declaring that he was not allowed his right as a representative of the people to submit motions affecting the merits of the measure then pending, and that thus the right of the House to construe its own rules was not accorded; also declaring that it is the duty of the House to maintain the integrity and regularity of its proceedings and to preserve the rights and privileges of its members, and therefore resolved that in the judgment of the House the said motions and appeals were in order at the time they were made and taken under the existing rules, and ought to have been entertained and submitted by the Speaker to the House for its action thereon, and censuring such decision and ruling of the Chair and his refusal to allow appeals therefrom were arbitrary and are condemned and censured by the House.

While these resolutions were being read, the scene on the floor of the House baffles description. More than half the members were on their feet showing great excitement, and, as soon as the reading was concluded, Mr. Reed, (Me.) moved to lay the resolutions on the table. Mr, McLane, however, in spite of this motion insisted on retaining the floor—and he was backed by all the prominent democrats; but after a very noisy scene, the Speaker, in the most arbitrary manner, denied him the privilege, ruling that he (McLane) was debarred by the motion to lay the resolutions on the table.

Before an adjournment was taken the Florida contested election was called (Bisbee *vs.* Finley), and Finley will go the same road as Dibble. Indeed it is asserted that the republicans have agreed to unseat every southern democrat whose seat is contested, no matter what the merits of the case may be, This seems to have been the programme arranged at the beginning of the session, and it now appears that it is going to be carried out to the very letter.

This communication I know has assumed considerable length; but as a fitting conclusion to the whole, and with a view to finding a clue to the infamous conduct of the republicans in this affair, I annex the opinion of Mr. S. S. Cox, as expressed to a representative of the *World*.

"I agree entirely," said Mr. Cox, "with the view to which wide expression has been given to-day, that the Speaker's outrageous ruling is more than likely to be applied to other than election cases. Indeed, I am glad to see that my speech of Monday seems to have given the one upon which the public are likely to be fully warned against the mischievous designs of the Republicans. I do not hesitate to say that the course of that party and their Speaker's course admits of the reasonable interpretation and leads to the almost inevitable conclusion that this arbitrary proceeding is but the entering wedge for a break into the Treasury that threatens to wipe out our surplus. My speech called attention to the fact that the Navy bill, which usually reaches the calendar within three weeks after the opening of the session, was yet in committee. The Monitor bill has also been held back. I wanted to know the reason of this, and repeatedly put the direct inquiry in my speech. It has not yet been answered, and I do not believe they will dare answer it. I have not posted myself specially upon this election case, and was reluctant to speak pending its consideration; but upon the urgency of friends I consented to point out by an off-hand illustration or so some of the dangers likely to follow or to be involved in the high-handed course that the Republicans had entered upon. I rather think that I made home thrusts. It will be of quite as great public interest to know that this proceeding is but a step towards a raid on the Treasury as that it is merely a temporary expedient, as the Republicans pretend, for seating a man with a fraudulent record. They have broken down the rules and there is nothing to prevent them going again to extremes in furtherance of any job they may wish to carry through. The public ought to understand this at once, for this Congress is the most profligate, mercenary and corrupt of any that I ever sat in. The majority is not so bold as when the Democrats did not have enough members to force a call of yeas and nays, but it is quite as unscrupulous and grasping, and it is reaching out for that $150,000,000 with the hundred hands of Briareus. I care nothing for this Mackey case in comparison with the opportunity which the Republicans have made for themselves by arbitrary and outrageous methods to capture and manipulate the public funds."

It is plunder they are after, and nothing but plunder will satisfy them.

J. I.

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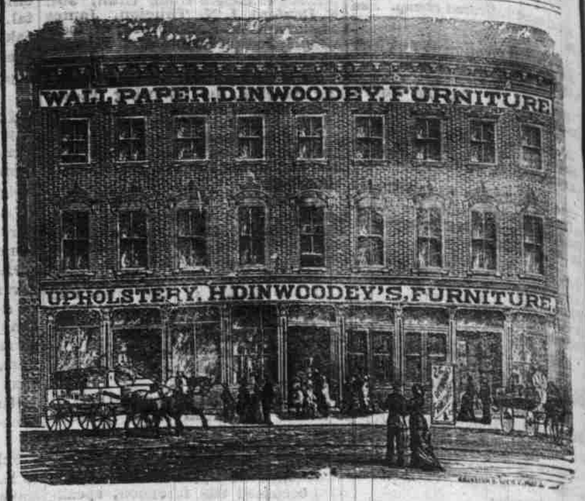

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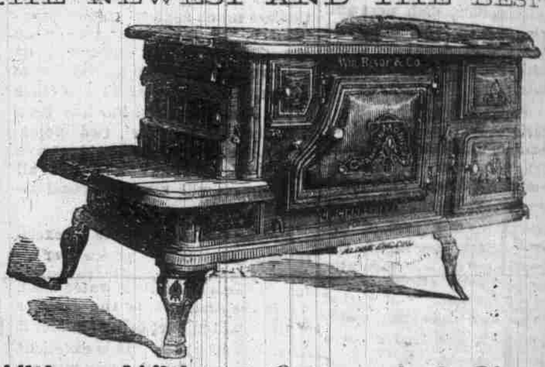

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