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APPLEJACK WON THE WAR!

What was the stuff that made the stock
Of the fighting men of Plymouth Rock?
What was the drink that made them dare
To run the redskins out of there?
It was nothing less than applejack!

Who felled the forest from the land
With unabating zest,
And made the U. S. A. expand
Across the rolling West?
It was the men, who had with them,
A jug of applejack!

When Britishers our drink decry,
And say that applejack
Was never fit to drink,
Let them remember, ere too late,
The fourth day of July,
Which we could never celebrate
Except for applejack!

We venerate the mother land
Across the distant sea;
In friendship now we grasp her hand,
For both of us are free.
We recognize her might and worth,
But in the days gone by
She might have ruled "Old Mother Earth"
Had she drunk applejack!

Wm. Sulzer.





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The Interest-Bearing Debt of the United States.

In the conflict which is now on I want to see the people win and the Government of the Republic restored to them, to be wisely, honestly, and economically administered, not for the advantage of the few, but for the benefit of all.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, January 31, 1898.

The House having under consideration the following concurrent resolution:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That all the bonds of the United States issued or authorized to be issued under the said acts of Congress hereinbefore recited are payable, principal and interest, at the option of the Government of the United States, in silver dollars of the coinage of the United States containing 412½ grains each of standard silver, and that to restore to its coinage such silver coins as a legal tender in payment of said bonds, principal and interest, is not in violation of the public faith nor in derogation of the rights of the public creditor"—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Owing to the limited time at my disposal it will be impossible for me to discuss the important question now before the House to the extent that I should like to, and hence I shall have to be brief and to the point.

At the very outset let me say that it is a matter of sincere regret to me, as it must also be to other members, that we can not have ample and sufficient time to properly deliberate and debate this all-important question—the greatest question, in my judgment, now agitating the American people—and beyond doubt the paramount issue to-day in American politics. The question of the money of the people is an issue that will live and will not down until it is finally settled, and settled right, in the interest of all the people and not for the benefit of the few.

On this question of currency reform my position is well known. I stand now where I always stood, squarely on the Chicago platform of the great Democratic party. I have taken my place on the side of the masses, the toilers, the producers, the taxpayers, and the yeomanry of the land, and as long as I am in public life I shall fight for their rights and champion their cause, confident they are right, that their cause is just, and that ultimately it must and will prevail.

The more I study this question the more I am convinced that the position of the Republican party on the financial issue is untenable, and that its advocacy for the single gold standard must

give way to the inexorable mandate of the Constitution and the triumph of national bimetallism as the true policy of the Government.

This resolution which we now have under consideration passed the Senate last Friday afternoon by the decisive vote of 47 to 33. Saturday it was referred in this House to the Ways and Means Committee. To-day is Monday, and I am informed the Committee on Ways and Means hastily met this morning and by a strict party vote agreed to the report which was submitted by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY] when the House to-day convened. Then followed, in accordance, no doubt, with a prearranged plan, the report of the Committee on Rules limiting the debate on the question to 5 o'clock this afternoon, when the previous question will be ordered and a vote for or against the resolution will be taken.

This plan of procedure gives the House of Representatives about four hours' time to discuss this very important subject. This is indeed hasty legislation, and against the best interests of the people. Why, it will be asked, this undue haste? Why railroad this resolution to its grave in this precipitous, unseemly, and unparliamentary way? For answer we respectfully suggest that you ask the Speaker of this House. Under his autocratic rule and tyrannical procedure the House of Representatives is no longer a deliberative body.

The Senate discussed this question for weeks. But here in the House of Representatives, under the whip and spur of the Speaker, who owns you Republicans, controls you, and dominates you like so many automatons, this very important resolution is to be strangled to death in a few hours, discussion suppressed, and every right of free speech trampled on and the prerogatives of members ruthlessly violated.

This high-handed proceeding is an outrage on the people, a curtailment of our rights as Representatives, a gross abuse of power, an insult to the Senate, and for one I desire to enter against it my emphatic protest.

If this kind of revolutionary procedure continues in the House of Representatives, free government will soon become a farce and our institutions a laughing-stock.

The majority in this House have surrendered all their rights, privileges, and prerogatives to the Speaker. He has you bound and gagged. His will alone prevails. He is the House of Representatives. No bill or resolution can pass unless he approves it and sanctions it. What he opposes is suppressed and killed, and that is the end of it. It is a sad commentary on the dignity of this House and on our manhood. I wonder how much longer it will last?

How much longer will the members of this House submit to it?

Let me say right here in regard to this resolution that there is nothing new or startling about it. Some people may think so and say so, but that does not make it so. It is merely a reaffirmation of existing law. This same resolution passed Congress in 1878 by an almost unanimous vote and received the approval of a Republican President. Nearly every Republican now in Congress and who was in Congress then voted for it. Mr. William McKinley was one of the Republicans who voted for it as a member of this House in 1878.

It is the law of the land to-day and has been for twenty years,

and you all know it. The only new and startling thing in connection with the matter is the present Republican aversion to it, their complete change of front on it, and their determination to vote against it.

There is not in this House a Republican who dares deny it is the law of the land, and yet you oppose the reaffirmation of it by the passage of this resolution. This is indeed consistency! Why, if you are opposed to it, do you not be fair, manly, and honest and vote to repeal it? You know you dare not do that, and yet you sullenly vote down an identical resolution which is nothing more nor less than a redeclaration of fixed governmental policy.

It has been asked by gentlemen on the other side why the necessity for the passage of this resolution, if it is merely a reaffirmation of existing law. We answer, first, to make you show your true colors and take off the mask of false pretense and hypocrisy you have been wearing to deceive the people; secondly, to put you on record, so that your constituents and the taxpayers will know you as you are; and, thirdly, to declare to all the world anew and again the true financial policy of this Government in regard to this question.

That, to my mind, is the object and the sole object of this resolution. If you Republicans now vote against it you stultify yourselves, go back on your word, and repudiate your promises to the people. If you now vote against it, which no doubt you intend to, you will have something to explain to the taxpayers and your constituents next fall.

As I said before, this identical resolution passed Congress in 1878 by a practically unanimous vote. Democrats and Republicans voted for it, as the record will show. It was then called, and is now called, the Stanley Matthews resolution, because that gentleman, being then a Senator from the State of Ohio, introduced it in the United States Senate. It is the unquestioned law of the country, and never has been attacked, misunderstood, or criticised until to-day.

It affects every taxpayer and every citizen in the land now and for years to come, and yet the Republicans in this House are about to change front on this vital question, stultify their records, and violate their pledges.

This resolution, this law, will affect generations yet unborn, and yet the Republicans in this House treat it with contempt, denounce it, and hurl against it their choicest anathemas.

The position you gentlemen occupy on this resolution before the people of the country to-day is an unenviable one. Why do you stultify yourselves? What has compelled you to go back on your record? What power, what influence, has compelled you to change front on this great question, affecting as it does all the people of the land? I will tell you. It is the money power, the bondholders and their agents, the trusts, the syndicates, and the plutocrats. They are opposed to the repassage of this resolution. They are in favor of changing the contract so that they shall hold the option instead of the Government. They would commit treason against the Government in order to gain an advantage over the people.

The Republican party to-day is the mere agent of the money trust, and in every department of the Government carries out its wishes and registers and records its decrees.

It must be apparent to the least observing citizen that President McKinley is the absolute slave of the money power. He is

doing all he can to-day by virtue of his position to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. He is doing all he can to permanently fasten on the American people the British single gold standard. He is doing all he can to give the bondholder and the creditor an undue and an unjust advantage over the taxpayer and the debtor.

Every bonded obligation of the Government outstanding to-day, as is well known, is payable in coin, and coin means, as is also well known, gold or silver, at the option of the Government. The Government has the option, and the Government can exercise it whenever it will. The President and his party by the defeat of this resolution desire to take this option away from the Government and give it to the creditor, the bondholder, so that the creditor can always demand the payment of the bond in gold. This new policy of the Republican party is in violation of the expressed terms of the contract.

It takes away the advantage now held by the Government and gives it to the holders of the bonds of the Government. Such a policy is just as unfair, just as inequitable, and just as dishonest to the people of our country as it would be for Congress to change the terms of the contract and pay the bonds held by the creditors of the nation in paper money.

No one should find fault, no one should complain, if the contract is strictly lived up to and strictly carried out without advantage to either party.

All bonds of the Government are payable in coin, and it is conceded by all that coin means gold or silver. The Government has never issued a bond payable in gold. If it had done so, it could have sold the bonds for a much greater price. Much of the bonded indebtedness now outstanding against the Government consists of bonds which were sold for very much less than their face value. During the last Administration the Government issued coin bonds and sacrificed \$16,000,000 for the privilege of making them payable in gold or silver, at the option of the Government.

The Government has always reserved the option, and in order to make it clear to all the world the Stanley Matthews resolution was passed in 1878.

The Republican party now apparently seem to desire to take this option from the Government and give it to the bondholder. Your defeat of the repassage of this resolution can be interpreted in no other way. It is an outrage on the taxpayers and puts the Republican party on record in favor of repudiation. You practically favor repudiating a part of the bond by changing the terms of the contract.

We denounce your action and warn you that the people will never submit to such a surrender of their rights. We will pay the bondholders the same money they paid the Government for the bonds. No denunciation of the money power will deter us from doing our duty. As John Sherman once said:

The bondholder can only demand the kind of money he paid, as stipulated in the bond, and he is a repudiator and extortioner to demand more valuable money than he gave.

We stand by the terms of the contract. That is all the Democratic party wants to do, and it will resist with all its power any effort on the part of the Republican party to do anything contrary. On this question the Democratic party stands on the side of the people and demands absolute fair play for the debtor as well as exact justice for the creditor. The Republican party has taken its stand on the side of the money lender and the bondholder and

is to-day doing all it can to give them an unfair and an undue advantage. This outrageous policy of the Republican party, if continued and successfully carried out, would mean the gradual enslavement of the masses and would be the most gigantic crime against humanity and the ages yet to come that the mind of man can conceive.

Let the people study this question for themselves and be prepared to guard their own interests and defend their own rights.

What is the true significance of this remarkable action to-day on the part of the Republican party? It means, if it means anything, that the Republican party is finally and unalterably committed to the single gold standard. It means, just as Mr. Gage, the Secretary of the Treasury, said a short time ago, "to commit the country more thoroughly to the single gold standard;" to still further oppress the poor; to rob the debtor still more for the benefit of the creditor; to take from the many for the benefit of the few. This is and has been for years the gradual and undeviating policy of the Republican party.

There is no doubt, and never has been any doubt, as to where Mr. Gage stands on the financial question. He is and always has been for the single gold standard. He is a banker, and he is working in the interest of the bankers. President McKinley has now joined him, and they are now in complete accord.

At the Waldorf-Astoria plutocratic banquet the other night in the city of New York, given by the bondholders of the Government and the beneficiaries of the Dingley tariff law, the President threw off the mask of hypocrisy, bade farewell forever to the elusive hopes of international bimetalism, and the will-o'-the-wisp of reciprocal help from foreign powers, and came out boldly for a permanent continuance of the single gold standard. He now stands on the same platform with his Secretary of the Treasury.

To do this he is compelled to repudiate his record in Congress, where, on November 5, 1877, he voted for and advocated the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the consent of any other nation on earth. Was he an honest man then? And again, in the House of Representatives, January 29, 1878, William McKinley, of Ohio, "voted to pay the bonds of the United States, principal and interest, in 16 to 1 silver dollars, and that to restore to its coinage such silver coins as legal tender in payment of said bonds, principal and interest, is not in violation of the public faith nor in derogation of the rights of the public creditor."

Was he an honest man then? That was this identical resolution, word for word. And again when he wrote to his constituents in Ohio, saying he was, and always had been, for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1? Yes; to now stand squarely with his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gage, for the single gold standard, the President must go back on his record in Congress, his letters to his friends and constituents, his public speeches, and all his campaign promises for twenty years. Was he honest then, or is he honest now?

What a pitiful, what a sorrowful spectacle of financial hypocrisy and inconsistency we behold in Mr. McKinley's public record.

We know now where you Republicans stand. We welcome this issue, as we do all the other issues you have made for us by your faithless pledges and broken promises to the people.

The issue is now clearly drawn between gold monometallism of the Republican party and bimetalism of Democracy. We meet

the issue with renewed courage, fresh hope, and manly hearts confident of the result. Every true friend of the people, every sincere bimetalist, must now fight under the banner of the Democratic party.

You have repudiated almost every plank in your national platform, and now you want to repudiate the law of the land and still further oppress the toilers and the taxpayers by a continuance of the single gold standard.

The people and the taxpayers will answer next fall in no uncertain tones. And they will answer all things faithfully.

The money power is insidious and works in a mysterious way its wonders to perform. Heretofore it has generally succeeded. The history of Republican financial legislation in this country for the past quarter of a century has been a series of secret and inexplicable victories for the money power. How have they been gained? Search the records for an answer and you will find it not. Search the hearts of men who have betrayed their trust and the cause of the people and the answer will bring the blush of shame to the face of every patriot.

Let me briefly recite the facts, which can not be successfully contradicted and which every man on the floor of this House knows.

The law providing for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 was in force until the passage of the act of February 12, 1873 (Coinage Laws of the United States, page 36). This was an act of more than sixty sections for "revising and amending the laws relative to the mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States," and was in 1874 incorporated into the Revised Statutes of the United States (Coinage Laws of the United States, page 44). The act of 1873 omitted the silver dollar from the list of coins and made the gold dollar the unit of value.

The silver dollar was demonetized. The single standard was substituted for the double standard; the unit, which, according to Jefferson and Hamilton, "must stand on both metals," was made to stand on one only, and one metal was required to do the work as money previously done by two. The passage of this law was the crime of 1873. Its effect was not known by those who voted for the bill. It was done secretly and surreptitiously. No one who will read the record can possibly escape that conclusion.

This gigantic crime against the people was committed, as most heinous crimes are, secretly.

The report of the United States Monetary Commission of 1876 refers to the enactment of this law in the following words, to be found on page 89:

In no section of the act was it specifically pointed out or referred to that the effect of the act was to change the standard of values from gold and silver to gold alone. The title of the act, instead of containing any intimation of the change made in the standard of values, was "An act revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States."

As comprehensive a title as this would have been required for an act making some insignificant change in the nickel coinage or in the mode of purchasing chemicals used in assaying.

The act when passed was not read except by title, and it is notorious that this transcendent change in the money system of the country, affecting the most vital interests, was carried through without the knowledge or observation of the country. It was neither demanded by the resolutions of public meetings nor asked for in petitions of the people.

Senator Beck, in a speech made in the Senate January 10, 1878, said:

It [the bill demonetizing silver] never was understood by either House of Congress. I say that with full knowledge of the facts. No newspaper reporter—and they are the most vigilant men I ever saw in obtaining information—discovered that it had been done.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 280.

General Garfield, in a speech made at Springfield, Ohio, during the fall of 1877, said:

Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so, but it is the truth to say that, I at that time being chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and having my hands overfull during all that time with work, I never read the bill. I took it upon the faith of a prominent Democrat and a prominent Republican, and I do not know that I voted at all. There was no call of the yeas and nays, and nobody opposed that bill that I know of. It was put through as dozens of bills are, as my friend and I know, in Congress, on the faith of the report of the chairman of the committee; therefore I tell you, because it is the truth, that I have no knowledge about it.—*Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 989.

When the act of 1873 was passed, James G. Blaine was Speaker of the House and Daniel W. Voorhees a prominent member. February 15, 1878, both were Senators, and the following colloquy was had as to the history of that bill:

MR. VOORHEES. I want to ask my friend from Maine, whom I am glad to designate in that way, whether I may call him as one more witness to the fact that it was not generally known whether silver was demonetized. Did he know, as Speaker of the House, presiding at that time, that the silver dollar was demonetized in the bill to which he alludes?

MR. BLAINE. I did not know anything that was in the bill at all. As I have before said, little was known or cared on the subject. [Laughter.] And now I should like to exchange questions with the Senator from Indiana, who was then on the floor and whose business it was, far more than mine, to know, because by the designation of the House I was to put questions; the Senator from Indiana, then on the floor of the House, with his power as a debater, was to unfold them to the House. Did he know?

MR. VOORHEES. I very frankly say that I did not.—*Congressional Record*, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, part 2, page 1063.

President Grant, who signed the bill, was ignorant of the fact that it struck down silver. In a letter to Mr. Cowdrey, written eight months after he had approved the act, he said:

I wonder if silver is not already coming into the market to supply the deficiency in the circulating medium.

When it does come, and I predict that it will soon, we will have made a rapid stride toward specie payments. Currency will never go below silver after that. The circulation of silver will have other beneficial effects. Experience has proved that it takes about forty million of fractional currency to make small change necessary for the transaction of the business of the country. Silver will gradually take the place of this currency, and, further, will become the standard of values, which will be hoarded in a small way.

I estimate that this will consume from two to three hundred millions, in time, of this species of our circulating medium. It will leave the paper currency free to perform the legitimate functions of trade and will tend to bring us back where we must come at last, to a specie basis. I confess to a desire to see a limited hoarding of money. It insures a firm foundation in time of need. But I want to see the hoarding of something that has a standard of value the world over. Silver has this, and if we once get back to that our strides toward a higher appreciation of our currency will be rapid.

Our mines are now producing almost unlimited amounts of silver and it is becoming a question, "What shall we do with it?" I suggest here a solution that will answer for some years, and suggest to you bankers whether you may not imitate it: To put it in circulation now; keep it there until it is fixed, and then we will find other markets.—*McPherson's Handbook of Politics for 1874*, pages 134 and 135.

John G. Carlisle said in the House of Representatives February 21, 1878:

According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from

three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world.—*Congressional Record*, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, part 5, and Appendix, page 44.

A careful statistician, working on figures contained in the reports of the Census Office, has estimated that the total depreciation of lands, farm products, and other properties, mainly caused by the demonetization of silver in 1873, is about equal to the cost of the late civil war, which, including original cost and interest and pensions to date, exceeds the almost inconceivable sum of \$9,000,000,000. And this is the result of the financial system which the Republican party asks the people to perpetuate.

It must be apparent to every student that all our financial troubles for the past twenty-five years can be traced to the demonetization of silver.

Hard times and falling prices will continue until silver is remonetized and given the same rights and privileges at the mints as gold.

To accomplish this and restore to the people the money of the Constitution is the true mission and the highest duty of the Democratic party.

Until this is done all other reforms will be fruitless and of no avail.

National bimetallism is the shortest and the surest road to national prosperity.

Before silver was demonetized in 1873 a standard silver dollar was worth more commercially than a standard gold dollar. Open the mints again to silver and give it the same legal recognition as before, and there is no doubt but the same result will speedily follow.

Just so long as we have the single gold standard we shall have hard times, falling prices, panics, business depression, strikes, lockouts, bankruptcy, and commercial disaster.

Just so long as we follow in the wake of England's financial kite and continue for her benefit the single gold standard, the gold dollar will continue to get dearer and scarcer—going up, going up, while everything else will continue to go down and down, making the creditor richer and the debtor poorer. But the day must come, if this policy continues, when the debtor will be so poor the creditor can not collect and must lose all.

As that distinguished apostle of bimetallism, Senator JOHN P. JONES, eloquently expressed it in the Senate of the United States October 21, 1893:

If I should be asked to state in a single phrase what hard times meant, I should reply, "Falling prices." That phrase means the compulsory idleness of large numbers of workingmen; it means an increasing number of patients in lunatic asylums, and increase in the occupants of the almshouses and the prisons of the country. No two words in the English language cover so vast a field of misfortunes.

A condition of falling prices means the payment of an unjust and unearned increment to the creditor; it means an unjust exaction from the debtor. A condition of falling prices means a discouragement to every business venture, a thwarting of all business foresight; it means a juggling with mortgages by which they become deeds, and the property of the borrower becomes vested in fee simple in the lender.

This is the reason England wants us to continue the gold standard. She is the great creditor nation of the world. She is reaping the advantage of our financial folly. But let us look at another phase of this question.

In 1870, 152 acres was the average size of a farm; the average value of an acre of farm land was \$56, and the average value of a farm was \$3,430.

In 1880, 133 acres was the average size of a farm; the average value of an acre of farm land was \$46, and the average value of a farm was \$2,428.

In 1890, 107 acres was the average size of a farm; the average value of an acre of farm land was \$38, and the average value of a farm was \$1,620.

These figures show the results of the gold standard in a striking manner, and they are confirmed by other statistics. In 1867 an acre of land produced on an average \$23.05 if planted in wheat, \$18.87 if planted in corn, \$16.05 if planted in oats; in 1892 an acre of land produced on an average \$8.25 if planted in wheat, \$9.09 if planted in corn, and \$7.73 if planted in oats. Rye, barley, buckwheat, potatoes, hay, as well as cotton, have declined in like proportion.

And the gold-standard advocates give no hope for improved conditions.

Failures of business houses have kept pace with the depression in other occupations and the inability of the producer to sell his product at such a price as enables him to make more than a bare living. The liabilities of mercantile houses failing aggregated in 1864, \$8,579,000; in 1874, \$155,000,000; in 1893, \$346,000,000.

With such statistics before him can the farmer and the merchant advocate the gold standard?

Workmen belonging to labor organizations have suffered from the hard times; they have had to fight for a rate of wages that will enable them to support themselves and families. Strikes and lockouts grow out of the wage question nearly always. "The industrial disturbances which have been so frequent in this country since 1877," says the United States Commissioner of Labor, "really establish the period as one of strikes and lockouts."

Before the period of falling prices began there were very few strikes and lockouts. Only twenty are noted by the Commissioner of Labor as occurring in 1873. Since that time they have greatly increased in number, keeping pace with the widespread industrial depression.

The farmer earning by hard toil a bare living, the merchant forced into failure, the workingman constantly fighting for a living wage, such are the fruits of the gold standard. The great interests of the country, said Daniel Webster, are united and inseparable; agriculture, commerce, and manufactures will prosper together or languish together. Under the gold standard, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures are languishing together.

But all business does not languish. The dealers in money are prospering. Under the gold standard 8 per cent of the people own over two-thirds of the wealth of the United States.

This portion of our population is supporting the gold standard and appealing to the farmers and workmen to unite in perpetuating it. But the producers have spoken for themselves. A petition for "the immediate return to the money of the Constitution," and for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 has been presented to Congress from the National Grange, the National Farmers' Alliance, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,

the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the United Mine Workers of America.

Since 1873 there have been not less than four general tariff laws, but falling prices, failures, and strikes have been the rule.

The amount of gold and silver produced is shown in the following table:

[From Facts About Silver, by Gen. A. J. Warner, fourth edition, page 76.]

The production of gold and silver by periods, from 1792 to 1892.

Production of gold from 1792 to 1850	\$848, 186, 000
Production of silver from 1792 to 1850	1, 690, 217, 000

Excess of production of silver over gold	<u>842, 031, 000</u>
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Production of gold from 1850 (gold of California and Australia) to 1873	2, 724, 825, 000
Production of silver from 1850 to 1873	1, 150, 025, 000

Excess of production of gold over silver	<u>1, 574, 800, 000</u>
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Production of gold from 1873 to 1892, inclusive...	2, 060, 897, 000
Production of silver from 1873 to 1892, inclusive..	2, 264, 419, 000

Excess of production of silver over gold....	<u>203, 522, 000</u>
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Total production of gold from 1850 to 1892, inclusive	4, 785, 722, 000
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Total production of silver from 1850 to 1892, inclusive	3, 414, 444, 000
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Excess of the production of gold over silver from 1850 to 1892, inclusive	<u>1, 371, 278, 000</u>
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Total production of gold from 1792 to 1892, inclusive	\$5, 633, 908, 000
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Total production of silver from 1792 to 1892, inclusive	5, 104, 961, 000
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Excess of production of gold over silver for one hundred years, from 1792 to 1892.....	<u>528, 947, 000</u>
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An analysis of these figures shows that from 1792 to 1850 the production of silver was about double that of gold (for a part of this period, or prior to the increase in the production of gold from Russia, the production of silver was more than three times that of gold), yet, with coinage free, the ratio of silver to gold did not change; on the other hand, from 1850 to 1873 the production of gold exceeded that of silver by

	1, 574, 800, 000
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And still there was no change in the ratio, as all of both metals was absorbed in coinage or used in the arts.

Again the production of silver has slightly exceeded that of gold from 1873 to 1892, the excess, however, being but

	203, 522, 000
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But with silver demonetized, a change in the ratio has gone on till it has reached about 30 to 1. If, again, we take the entire period from 1850 to 1892, the production of gold has exceeded that of silver by..... \$1,371,278,000

"These figures show conclusively," says General Warner, "that it is not the excess of silver production that has caused a fall in silver, but the exclusion of silver from coinage, thus concentrating the entire demand for money on gold, that has caused the enormous rise in gold, and a corresponding fall of silver, and of prices generally.

This table confirms the statement of Mr. Carlisle when he said:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry.—*Congressional Record*, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, Part V and Appendix, page 44.

The following table shows the commercial ratio of gold to silver while the policy of free coinage of both metals prevailed:

Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.
1687.....	14.94	1727.....	15.24	1767.....	14.84
1697.....	15.20	1737.....	15.06	1777.....	14.55
1707.....	15.44	1747.....	15.27	1787.....	14.67
1717.....	15.13	1757.....	14.85	1792.....	15.17

In 1792 the mints of the United States were opened to the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 15 parts of silver to 1 of gold.

The following table shows the commercial ratio of gold to silver during that period:

Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.
1792.....	15.18	1830.....	15.83	1870.....	15.57
1800.....	15.67	1840.....	15.62	1873.....	15.92
1810.....	15.72	1850.....	15.70		
1820.....	15.62	1860.....	15.29		

In 1873 silver was secretly demonetized. At that time the silver contained in a silver dollar was worth in the markets of the world 103 cents.

The following table shows the decline in the commercial ratio of silver to gold since 1873:

Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.
1873.....	15.93	1881.....	18.16	1889.....	22.10
1874.....	16.17	1882.....	18.19	1890.....	19.76
1875.....	16.59	1883.....	18.64	1891.....	20.92
1876.....	17.83	1884.....	18.57	1892.....	23.72
1877.....	17.22	1885.....	19.41	1893.....	26.49
1878.....	17.94	1886.....	20.78	1894.....	32.56
1879.....	18.40	1887.....	21.13	1895.....	31.60
1880.....	18.05	1888.....	21.99		

As silver has fallen because of denial of equality of coinage with gold, gold has risen in value and prices have correspondingly declined. How can there be any other result? "Money," says an eminent writer, "is the wings of commerce. One wing has been cut off, and yet complaint is made that the bird will not fly. Is it the vehicle in which commerce is conveyed? One wheel is off, and yet we grumble that the chariot drives heavily. Is it the breath of commerce? The oxygen in it has been withdrawn, and is it matter for astonishment that the air becomes stifling?"

The facts that have been given demonstrate the disastrous consequences of the existing gold standard, and but confirm, on a large scale, the knowledge of business disasters, fall of prices in lands and the products of land, lack of employment for workingmen, and general distress, which each one has observed on a smaller scale in his own business and in the neighborhood in which he resides.

From 1792 to 1873 free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver prevailed in the United States. From 1873 to the present time free and unlimited coinage of silver has been prohibited. For eighty-one years gold and silver had free access to the mints; for twenty-three years equality of coinage privilege has been denied. Free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver has, therefore, been the rule, and denial of free coinage to silver the exception.

Under the policy of free and unlimited coinage of both metals the wealth of the United States increased from \$627,778,500 in 1790 to \$26,342,364,500 in 1870, or 4,096 per cent, while the population increased from 3,929,214 in 1790 to 38,558,371 in 1870, or 881 per cent. Wealth increased faster than the population.

Mr. President—

Said Allen G. Thurman in the Senate of the United States, February 6, 1878—

has there ever been, so far as we know, a more prosperous country than were the United States from 1789 to 1861? Did any nation ever exceed the progress we made in population, wealth, education, refinement, and the general well-being of the people in those seventy-two years? And yet during all that period we had bimetalism, for we gave no preference to gold over silver or silver over gold.—*Congressional Record*, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, Part 1, page 787.

For the first time in the history of any political party in the United States, the Republican party in convention assembled at St. Louis in 1876 declared for the maintenance of the existing gold standard until changed by international agreement. The international agreement qualification has been knocked out by the failure of the President's international monetary commission. "If the gold standard is a good thing, why do you want to get rid of it? And if a bad thing, why wait for some one else to help you to get rid of it?"

The question is whether the time-honored rule of eighty-one years of free coinage of gold and silver, under which the country prospered abundantly, shall be followed, or whether the experiment of twenty-three years of gold monometallism, under which the country has suffered disastrously, shall be continued?

Daniel Webster said in the Senate, December 21, 1836:

I am certainly of opinion, then, that gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard, or to displace this.

Listen to James G. Blaine on this question. February 7, 1873, he said in the Senate:

I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property.—*Congressional Record*, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, Part I, page 321.

The Democratic party proposes to undo the crime of 1873 and to restore the constitutional money of gold and silver. It proposes to return to free coinage, which was the rule of our financial policy, and to abandon monometallism, which has been the experiment. To the ruin produced by the gold standard it prefers the prosperity the country enjoyed under free coinage.

If foreign nations will not help us, is it not high time that we legislated for ourselves, to undo the evil we did in 1873, and revive business and restore prosperity to all our people?

All we need to do is open the mints—demonstrate to the nations of the earth our own financial independence—and there will be an international agreement in less than five years.

There can be no doubt of this; all experience teaches it. Bimetallism is sure to come. The next House will be Democratic, and in 1900 the people will win a sweeping Democratic victory under the leadership of that fearless champion of the plain people, William J. Bryan.

Let me briefly quote some more from good authorities:

President James A. Garfield said, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1881:

By the experience of commercial nations in all ages it has been found that gold and silver afford the only safe foundation for a monetary system.

And said that great Republican leader, James G. Blaine:

I believe gold and silver to be the money of the Constitution—indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution, which that great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare that either metal should not be money. Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold; no more power to demonetize either than to demonetize both.—*James G. Blaine in the Senate*, February 7, 1873; *Congressional Record*, volume 7, part 1, page 320.

President Andrew Jackson, in his farewell address, said to the American people:

My humble efforts have not been spared during my administration of the Government to restore the constitutional currency of gold and silver; and something, I trust, has been done toward the accomplishment of this most desirable object.

Said Mr. Hunter, of Virginia:

When contracts are made by a standard which is gradually contracting, the advantages are on the side of capital as against labor, and productive energy is cramped by receiving less than a fair share of the profits of its enterprises.

No better indictment against the single gold standard was ever penned than the following, attributed to ex-United States Senator John J. Ingalls.

I quote it because it expresses my views, and the money power of the country, when called on to plead at the bar of public opinion, admits the truth of it and pleads guilty:

No people, in a great emergency, ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty that it

does not break; it has no friend it does not betray. Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the agency and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold; on the contrary, in the crisis of the greatest peril it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle has been won and peace secured, gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory.

If I had the time I could quote on and on from all the statesmen of the Republic, giving facts and conclusions upholding on this question the position of the Democratic party.

Mr. Speaker, if the Republican party would pass this resolution, restore bimetalism, and legislate for the people of the whole country, it would intrench itself in power for twenty years to come. All it needs is courage, determination, and patriotism. It is a grand opportunity, but you dare not take advantage of it. You are hannaized. You are in the power of the money trust—the most dangerous combination and conspiracy that ever threatened the stability of our free institutions. The goldbugs have got you, and you must shout for gold, struggle for gold, and legislate for gold.

Gold! Gold! Gold! Gold!
 Bright and yellow, hard and cold,
 Molten, graven, hammered, and rolled;
 Heavy to get and light to hold;
 Hoarded, bartered, bought and sold,
 Stolen, borrowed, squandered, doled,
 Spurn'd by the young, but hugg'd by the old
 To the very verge of the churchyard mold.

That is a good old song for the Republicans to sing until the money of the Constitution is restored, and restored it will be, by the industrial masses of our land whom you are endeavoring to enslave by the gold standard.

Let me quote a sentence from that sterling Democrat and patriot, Thomas A. Hendricks:

That gold and silver are the real standard of value is a cherished Democratic sentiment not now or hereafter to be abandoned.

And a paragraph from a speech of William McKinley in the House of Representatives June 24, 1890, before Mr. McKinley saw the great light of the money power and experienced a change of heart:

I am for the largest use of silver in the currency of the country. I would not dishonor it; I would give it equal credit and honor with gold. I would make no discrimination. I would utilize both metals as money and discredit neither. I want the double standard.

Why is he opposed to it now? Let him answer. What a spectacle he presents!

That eminent political economist, John Stuart Mill, succinctly states the whole proposition in an axiom when he says:

The value of money, other things being the same, varies inversely as its quantity, every increase of quantity lowering the value and every diminution raising it in a ratio exactly equivalent.

Alterations in the cost of the production of the precious metals do not act upon the value of money, except just in proportion as they increase or diminish its quantity.

And here it will do no harm for me to quote the financial plank from the Republican national platform of 1888:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

What is the Republican party doing now?

What a difference between the Republican party now and then! What great strides, what rapid progress the grand old party has

made in the interest of the plutocrats, the trusts, and the money power in the last few years!

But what can be expected of an Administration controlled by MARK HANNA and a gagged House of Representatives dominated by THOMAS B. REED?

The rights of the people are in jeopardy; the liberties of the people are in danger.

In the conflict which is now on I want to see the people win and the Government of the Republic restored to them, to be wisely, honestly, and economically administered, not for the advantage of the few, but for the benefit of all.

If any one will study this question in an impartial and unprejudiced way he will reach the conclusion that the only remedy for our financial ills and evils is a speedy return to the system of bimetallism which existed prior to 1873.

The Republican party promised prosperity through the instrumentality of the Dingley bill. It has been a law for six months and is a dead failure. Instead of increasing the revenues it has decreased them. Instead of opening the mills it has closed them. Instead of raising wages it has lowered them. Instead of bringing prosperity it has brought panic, disaster, and business paralysis.

The restriction of immigration, another wild panacea you now cry for, will not relieve the congestion, the disaster, and the depression.

You have no other remedy to offer. You dare not attempt to retire the greenbacks as the bankers of the country desire you to do. You dare not legislate on the financial issue, and the best thing you can do is to quickly pass a bankruptcy bill, the necessary appropriation bills, adjourn, and go home.

The people now know the Republican party is impotent to give the country the relief it so sorely needs.

The Democratic party, united to-day on every issue, will do it and can do it.

The people will make no mistake the next time. You can defeat this resolution in this House to-day; and if you do, it will not, as you suppose, more permanently fasten the gold standard on the oppressed people of our land. On the contrary, your selfish action and short-sighted policy will only hasten the restoration of bimetallism and the speedy good riddance of the single gold standard.

For my part, I shall vote for this resolution, and I shall be glad to see the Republicans vote it down. The record will then be made, and we welcome the issue.

The defeat of this resolution to-day will be a fraud and an imposition on every solvent man and on every honest debtor in the United States.

It will be a blow at the home and the hearthside of the poor. It will be done in the interest of avarice and for the benefit of greed.

Wall street and the bondholders may win to-day, but you will hear from the people next fall and in 1900.

"You can not fool the people," as Lincoln said, "all the time." They are watching you, and they comprehend the situation.

They know that your action here to-day is a futile attempt to rob industry, arrest thrift, assassinate labor, defraud honest debtors, violate the obligation of contracts, and perpetrate on the masses the most frightful crime that can be committed in order to seemingly bolster up and perpetuate the single gold standard.

Do not be deceived. You may delude yourselves, but you can not the producers of this nation. Do not mock the masses. They understand the issue you make here to-day. The battle of the standards will be fought to a finish, and the double standard of the people will and must triumph when the question is finally settled and settled right.

O men howed down with labor,
 O women, young, yet old,
 O hearts oppressed in the toiler's breast
 And crushed by the power of gold,
 Keep on with your weary battle
 Against triumphant might—
 No question is ever settled
 Until it is settled right.

[Applause on the Democratic side.]

2996



THE BANKRUPTCY BILL.

IT IS BETTER TO PREVENT BANKRUPTCY
THAN TO REGULATE IT.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 18, 1898.

WASHINGTON.

1898.

S P E E C H
O F
H O N . W I L L I A M S U L Z E R .

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 1035) to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The question of a uniform bankruptcy law is one of the most important and imperative questions this House has been called on to determine this session.

The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy throughout the United States, and in my opinion the time is opportune for the passage of a fair, just, and equitable bankruptcy law. From all parts of the country, for some time past, the people have asked for this legislation, and petitions innumerable have been sent to Congress demanding the enactment of such a measure. There can be no doubt that to a great many of our fellow-citizens a good bankruptcy law is a consummation most earnestly desired.

I have carefully read this bill, and in many respects it does and ought to meet the just expectations of the business people of the country. There is no doubt of the imperative demand for some legislation of this character, caused by and incident to the hard times, business depression, falling prices, and other evils that today afflict the body politic. It is not an absolutely perfect bill, and I doubt if any bill of this scope, magnitude, and importance can be made in the first instance absolutely perfect. With few exceptions all important acts of legislation in the past have been and doubtless always will be in the nature of a compromise.

I favor the passage of this bill as a whole and shall give it my support and vote, believing it is desired by and for the best interests of a vast majority of the business men of this country, and

that it will meet with popular favor and answer a pressing and urgent demand.

If the bill is not entirely perfect, if there are some defects in it, they will soon be disclosed when it becomes a law, and these defects, if any, can be remedied and cured by subsequent legislation. Take the bill, then, all in all, in my judgment it is beyond question the best bankruptcy measure that can be enacted at this time, and a great improvement on all previous similar acts.

The members of the Judiciary Committee, and especially the distinguished chairman of that committee, are to be congratulated on the result of their arduous labors.

So far as the voluntary features of the bill are concerned they meet my most hearty approval. They are entirely in the interest of the poor and honest debtor. No honest debtor anxious to begin business life again can possibly find fault with that part of the bill, and I do not think the bill in that respect can be improved.

There is another part of the bill that I like, and that is the provision that gives a preference to and carefully safeguards the wages of employees and the rights of the producers and the wage-earners of the country. Under the provisions of this bill these worthy people are absolutely protected in every respect and every safeguard is thrown around their rights to protect their wages and earnings. They have received all that can be asked for, and this measure can not be improved so far as they are concerned.

In regard to the involuntary features of the bill I do not wholly concur in the views of the committee, and believe the bill in that respect could be perfected, at least to some extent. I understand an amendment to this section of the bill will be offered, and at present I feel inclined to support it and think it ought to prevail. If, however, that proposed amendment should fail, I shall vote for the bill, take it all in all, as it is, and I hope it will pass and speedily become a law. If we will enact this measure into law at this session of Congress, I feel confident it will be in response to the wishes of the people and for their best interests. Let us then pass this bill and give it a fair trial. It will grant some relief to hundreds and thousands of people in all parts of the land. It can do no harm and is bound to do many distressed persons a great deal of good. It will be a boon to the oppressed and struggling debt-

ors hoping for a chance to begin again and make a new start, and it is fair and just to the creditor.

My sympathies are all with the poor, the oppressed, and the unfortunate. My heart goes out to those who toil and struggle and fail. I know in the long race of life's tempestuous battle only the few win, that the many lose heart, become discouraged, and give up the fight in hopeless despair. This bill will help the honest debtor who has failed, give him renewed courage, and raise again the star of hope above his sinking and despondent head. It will afford no relief to the dishonest debtor; it will not wrong the creditor, but it will give the honest debtor another opportunity and a new start on the road to success. For these reasons I favor a measure of this kind, and want to see it become a law. It will grant some relief, and it will do some good. I can not see how it can do harm.

I know of my own knowledge that there are a great many business people in the city and State of New York, which I have the honor in part to represent on the floor of this House, who are anxious for the passage of this bill. Many of my constituents have written to me requesting me to vote for this bill, and several have personally asked me to advocate it and vote for it. I have received no protests against it, and no one has requested me to oppose it.

The business people of this country want a uniform bankruptcy law. This will meet that want. It will give more stability to credit, increase business confidence in commercial transactions, revive trade, stimulate languishing industries, arrest fraud, insure an equitable distribution of an insolvent debtor's assets among all his creditors, and grant the honest bankrupt his discharge. It will help the unsuccessful and the unfortunate, do no man an injustice, but protect and guard the rights of all. I hope the bill will meet with the approval of a majority of the members of the House and the Senate and speedily become a law.

Mr. Speaker, while I am discussing this bill I desire in a brief and hasty way to call the attention of the House to a matter of grave and imperative importance, a matter that concerns every citizen of this country.

The Government of the United States is about to sacrifice to a

Wall street syndicate by the sale of the Kansas Pacific Railroad the enormous sum of \$7,000,000. This is one of the greatest outrages on the taxpayers of this country which has been committed in years.

It is a plain steal out of the pockets of the people of \$7,000,000. Who gets this enormous sum of money? The people want to know; and there ought to be and there will be a rigid investigation. As is well known, the Kansas Pacific Railroad has paid in earning capacity 4 per cent on \$30,000,000 for the last twenty years, and this during a period of business depression, commercial disaster, and hard times. There is no doubt the road is worth much more, and there is no doubt that its business in the near future will make it worth much more. I believe in the next few years the Kansas Pacific Railroad will be worth at least \$50,000,000. There is absolutely no reason why the taxpayers of this country should lose a dollar on the sale of this railroad. The Government received every dollar, with interest, from the sale of the Union Pacific Railroad, and if the Department of Justice was alive to its duty, the Government would receive every dollar, with interest, from the Kansas Pacific Railroad.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Kansas Pacific Railroad would bring at a fair and just sale every dollar due the people of this country. This railroad owes the Government about \$13,000,000. The Government has only received about \$3,000,000 by reason of the action of the Attorney-General, making a clear loss to the taxpayers of about \$7,000,000. This is a flagrant outrage and a public scandal. It is a gigantic steal. It is a disgrace to the Administration. It is a shameful sacrifice of the rights of the people and a humiliating surrender on the part of the Government to the reorganization committee.

The Attorney-General of the United States has played into the hands of the Wall street syndicate, and has allowed the syndicate to fix its own price, have its own way, and make a cool \$7,000,000. This loss is a national crime. I raise my voice against this outrage to-day because it is not yet too late for the Attorney-General to act, and if he will do his duty now there is no doubt this \$7,000,000 can be saved and one of the greatest scandals in the history of our country averted. As a lawyer, I have had occasion

to investigate this matter very closely, and I unhesitatingly give it as my opinion that if the Department of Justice will bid at the sale, do its full duty, and insist on all its rights, the Government will receive every dollar, with interest.

Make no mistake; the people will hold the Administration responsible. In the present stage of the Treasury, with a deficit of millions and millions, and growing larger daily, owing to the failure of the Dingley tariff law, this crime becomes most glaring. Every honest man in this country who has looked into this matter knows that at a fair sale, with all the rights of the people safeguarded and protected, the Government would get every dollar, with interest. Why this outrageous sacrifice? If the Government goes on losing money in this way, it will not be long before the Treasury will be bankrupt and the Government compelled to take the benefit of this act or begin issuing bonds again.

I wish, at this time, here and now, as a representative of the people, to enter my most emphatic protest against this outrageous sacrifice of the Kansas Pacific Railroad to the Wall street syndicate and monopolists. It is not too late for the Attorney-General to take immediate action. Will he do his duty? If he does, there is no doubt the \$7,000,000 can be saved. It ought to be saved. The railroad runs through one of the richest and most prosperous districts in our country and is worth a great deal more than its entire debt.

It is due to this House and to the people of this country that the Attorney-General save this \$7,000,000 or give good and sufficient reasons why he has allowed that vast sum of money to be sacrificed.

At some future time, if I can get an opportunity, I will have something more to say in regard to this matter. Why did not the Attorney-General take the same action regarding the sale of the Kansas Pacific Railroad that his predecessor took in regard to the sale of the Union Pacific Railroad? There is dereliction somewhere. Unless this matter is satisfactorily explained there must be a rigid and searching investigation. The people are watching the McKinley Administration in regard to this and other matters, and you can rest assured you will hear from them.

The Attorney-General is charged with the responsibility of pro-

tecting the interest of the taxpayers in regard to this matter. He has acted in the interest of the syndicate and not in behalf of the people. The people will not be robbed and outraged in this manner. They know their rights, they demand them, and they are going to have them. Any dereliction on the part of the Administration in a matter of such great importance as this will be a grave public scandal and will not be overlooked or condoned by the people of this country. The Attorney-General must do his duty to the people or they will know the reason why. This loss of \$7,000,000 is a matter of the first importance and concern to every man in the Republic. The whole matter has a suspicious look. The day is not far distant when we will know the true facts in the case, and woe betide those officials of the Government who have been recreant to their trust.

The Kansas Pacific Railroad sale is an outrage and a steal. It is a shameful scandal and ought to be stopped. It can be stopped. We call upon the Attorney-General to do his duty. Will he do it? We will know during the next few days.

Yesterday the Senate passed a resolution to prevent the consummation of this fraud. This House has done nothing in regard to it, and probably will do nothing. Why? Ask the syndicate. It seems to have played its cards well, and won. Has the game been closed? Is the record made? If so, the record will tell a tale of shameful betrayal of a people's confidence, and on that record the Republican party will be judged in the coming campaign.

The McKinley advocates promised much before election. What has the Administration done since it came into power last March?

The Republican party during the last Presidential campaign promised the people in the event of its success immediate prosperity. The Republican party by fraud, false pretense, and mendacity humbugged the people and elected its President, but prosperity failed to materialize. The promises made during the campaign were a delusion and a snare. They were made to get in on, but not to be carried out.

The producers, the wage-earners, and the industrial and manufacturing interests of the country continue to be as helpless, as hopeless, and as bad off, if not worse, than before. Conditions do not improve and times do not get better.

Immediately after Mr. McKinley was inaugurated President he convened Congress in extraordinary session to pass a new tariff law. The Republicans then claimed that the Dingley bill, if enacted into law, would give immediate relief to the country, speedily restore business confidence, and bring about an era of prosperity without a parallel. It has been a law for more than six months, and is the greatest failure as a revenue-producing measure in the history of this or any other country. It was a fraud on its face and in results the most conspicuous tariff failure of the century.

At the time of the passage of the Dingley bill, in a speech which I delivered on the floor of this House on the 31st day of March, 1897, I said that the Dingley bill would not provide additional revenue for the Treasury nor encourage the languishing industries of the United States. I pointed out that the bill was not what it purported to be on its face, and predicted that it was destined to be a worse failure as a tariff measure than the original McKinley law.

I then claimed, and my claims have come true, that it would not restore prosperity, encourage industries, increase wages, protect the laboring man, help the toiler and the wage-earner, benefit the farmer, or bring additional revenue to the Treasury, but that it would decrease the revenue, stagnate business, paralyze industrial progress, imperil labor, and cause a worse condition of affairs than ever existed before. I further said it was the worst piece of class legislation and favoritism ever offered in Congress, and that everything in the bill from the beginning to the end was in favor of the manufacturers, the monopolists, the trusts, the syndicates, and the other gigantic combinations which contributed large sums of money to the Republican campaign fund in the last Presidential election to defeat the will of the people.

I pointed out at the time that it was one of the worst specimens of special legislation ever introduced in Congress, and that it would add burdens on the consumers of our country beyond the calculation of the human intellect; that its sole object was to take from those least able to pay and give to those most able to pay. All that I said at that time in opposition to and in denunciation of the passage of the Dingley bill is to-day practically true.

The Dingley law has now been in operation for over six months, and it has caused a deficit in the revenues of over \$50,000,000. Surely it must be admitted now by the champions and the advocates of the Dingley measure that it is a complete failure and has not in any way accomplished prosperity or met to the slightest extent the expectations of its friends.

How much longer will the people humbly consent to be robbed and submissively permit a continuation of this outrageous system and policy of favoritism and class legislation? All legislation of this kind, bestowing special benefits on the few, is unjust and against the masses and for the classes. It has gone on until less than 8 per cent of the people own more than two-thirds of all the wealth of our country. It has been truly said that monarchies are destroyed by poverty and republics by wealth. If the greatest Republic the world has ever seen is destroyed, it will fall by virtue of this vicious system of robbing the many for the benefit of the few.

The total population of the United States, according to the last census, is about 70,000,000. The total aggregate wealth of the United States, according to the best statistics that can be procured, is estimated at about \$62,000,000,000, and it appears, and no doubt much to the surprise of many, that out of a total population of 70,000,000, less than 40,000 persons in the United States own more than one-half of the entire aggregate wealth of the land. And this has nearly all been brought about by legislation during the last twenty-five years.

The centralization of wealth in the hands of the few by the robbery of the many during the past quarter of a century has been simply enormous, and the facts and figures are appalling. Three-quarters of the entire wealth of our land appears to be concentrated in the hands of a very small minority of the people, and the number of persons constituting that minority grows smaller and smaller every year. The legislative schemes which have been most favored for checking this growing centralization of wealth are generally the most delusive and the most impotent. Taxing the many for the benefit of the few by operation of a law such as that bearing the name of Mr. DINGLEY is the meanest kind of hypocrisy and robbery, and the most effective device for robbing

the poor for the benefit of the rich that human ingenuity can devise.

Impartial students of these startling facts and statistics can hardly escape the irresistible conclusion that a conspiracy exists, and has existed for some time, to convert the Government of the United States into a powerful oligarchy of wealth. The millionaires, the plutocrats, the trusts, the monopolies, and the syndicates seem to be supreme, and legislate for their own interest, benefit, and protection. If it continues, the yeomanry of our country will soon be reduced to a condition of industrial and financial serfdom more pitiable than ever existed before in the history of the world.

The money power, the octopus of the gold combine, the plutocrats, the trusts, the syndicates, and the favored few of the land threaten the perpetuity of our free institutions by subsidizing the pulpit, buying the press, seating well-paid attorneys in legislative halls and courts of justice, stifling free speech and the right of lawful assembly, and stretching out their tentacles to the colleges of the land to crush professors who have the courage of their convictions and dare to tell the truth regarding economic and social principles.

The money power to-day practically owns and runs the Government. The mighty masses are denied their just rights and prevented from sharing in the benefits of government.

If this goes on for a few years more, there will only be two classes of people in this country—namely, plutocrats and paupers. But more about this at a future time.

Mr. Speaker, to advert again to the bankruptcy bill, it seems to me the first thing we ought to do is to look for the cause that necessitates this kind of legislation and makes the enactment of such a law at this time an imperative legislative duty. We know and see all around us the effect. There must be a cause, and there must be a reason for it. What is the cause? In my judgment it is our highest duty, and incumbent on us, to ascertain the cause, and when discovered to speedily eradicate it by remedial legislation. It is better to prevent bankruptcy than to regulate it.

In my opinion all the ills we suffer from to-day as a nation are caused by unjust, hasty, dishonest, and discriminating legislation.

If you will carefully investigate existing conditions and past legislative history, you will irresistibly be led to this conclusion.

For the last quarter of a century nearly all important legislation in this country, State and Federal, has been in the interest of the few and against the rights of the many. Class legislation has been stealthy, but it has been the order of the day, and it has been successful. No fearless student of our legislative history can honestly deny this fact. The evil consequences and financial losses resulting from this unfair discrimination in special legislation against the people are deplorable and beyond computation. It has robbed thrift, arrested enterprise, paralyzed progress, stifled ambition, assassinated the hopes of the toilers, centralized power, and made the rich richer and the poor poorer.

It has fostered syndicates, created monopolies, and nourished trusts. It has plundered the producers, wronged the wage earners, and caused the commercial industries of our land to languish and to die. It has made mammon a fetich, hoarded money, centralized wealth, and threatens the very stability of our institutions. If it continues, is it any wonder farseeing patriots fear for the life of the Republic? The demand from all over the country for a national bankruptcy law directs attention to our sorrowful situation and accentuates the evil tendencies of the time.

It is high time to sound a note of warning. It is a good time to go back to first principles.

The ship of state is rapidly drifting from the safe moorings of the fathers of the Republic and getting dangerously near the maelstrom of national disaster.

Is it any wonder there is a crying demand from all parts of the country for a national bankrupt law when we consider the nature and tendency of discriminating legislation for the last twenty-five years?

Is it any wonder that thousands and thousands of sincere, sober, honest, hard working people in every State of the Union, toiling day in and day out, are unable to make both ends meet, are in financial despair, hopeless despondency, and welcome any kind of a bankruptcy law that will afford some relief and give them an opportunity to shako off the incubus of disaster, raise their heads

in the sunshine of hope, and once more, with renewed energy and greater determination, try again?

The despotism of class legislation has wrought its most frightful effect on the wage earners and producers of our land. I am glad to raise my voice in behalf of the latter. They constitute the bone and sinew of our national greatness. Their prosperity means national prosperity. Capital and labor should go hand in hand; each should carefully guard the rights of the other and with a jealous care prevent any injustice by means of inequitable, unjust, and injurious legislation. I stand for the rights of labor, and in my humble way will do all that I can to protect, to uphold, and to dignify those rights. I believe that all wealth is created by labor and, as Lincoln said, "is prior to capital and independent of it;" that "capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed." I believe with Lincoln that:

No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty, more less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against them and fix new disabilities and burdens on them till all liberty is lost.

How true these words are to-day. The workingmen of our country must be alive to the dangers which confront them. They must realize the result and the consequences of unjust class legislation which discriminates against them. If it continues, how much longer will their rights be secure and their liberties endure? For their own interests they must study this question of discriminating legislation, cry out against it, and do all in their power to stop it, and stop it at once.

Instead of legislating against the people for the benefit of the few, we must return to the early policy of the Republic and legislate for all the people. The trusts, the monopolies, the syndicates, and other unlawful combinations must go. They are merely a growth incident to this odious system of legislation. The laws on the statute books must be enforced against these oppressors of the people, and where they are insufficient they must be strengthened and made more effective. If the Republic is to live and prosper in the future as it has in the past, we must get back to the teachings and principles of Thomas Jefferson and write across our legislative banners the motto, "Equal rights to all, special privileges

to none." If our institutions are to be perpetuated and our Government to be in fact "a government of the people, and by the people, and for the people," we must obey the mandates of the Constitution and carefully legislate for all the land and all the inhabitants thereof.

Let us in the future make the north star of our legislative efforts the happiness, the prosperity, and the contentment of all.

If we will do our duty, if we will act with a singleness of purpose to do no injury to anyone, the evils that now threaten us will soon pass away and the Republic of the people will go on and on to its greater and its grander destiny.

If the people will study these questions for themselves and not let others do their thinking, they will find the cause of all the evils now complained of due to iniquitous special legislation.

The effects of this kind of legislation grow more glaring and startling every day.

The remedy is plain. Stop legislating for favored and special interests, and legislate for the benefit of all the people. Stop legislating to intrench the money power and establish an oligarchy of plutocrats. Stop all legislation that seeks directly or indirectly to enchain humanity and enslave the industrial masses. Legislate for the best interests of all, and make the path of opportunity a public highway.

As I have had occasion to say several times before on the floor of this House, we will never have national prosperity until we have national bimetallicism. We must return to first principles. We must look to the Constitution and obey its mandates.

I believe that the evils which I have endeavored to point out have chiefly arisen during the last twenty-five years, or since 1873, when the law for the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver was repealed by stealthy and surreptitious legislation.

The demonetization of silver, by the act of 1873, was the legislative crime of the century, and has caused more woe, more misery, more poverty, more distress, more failures, more bankruptcies, more labor strikes and lockouts, more business depression, more industrial paralysis, and more commercial disaster than any other act of crooked legislation in the history of the Republic.

That act wronged every poor man's family and the hearth side of every toiler. It was an imposition on every honest debtor, and

the most gigantic fraud on the masses in the interest of the money trust ever perpetrated in our legislative history. It is the true cause of most of the evils we denounce and deplore to-day. It is the meanest and most sneaking piece of class legislation on our statute books, and should be repealed at once.

The people owe it to themselves to right this wrong by insisting on the immediate repeal of this obnoxious and odious law. Until it is done, all other reforms will be ephemeral and of no avail.

Restore bimetalism, and you will stop falling prices, revive languishing industries, and immediately inaugurate an era of prosperity in this country unprecedented and unparalleled. Open the mints and the mills will open as if touched by a magic wand. Restore the money of the Constitution and you give willing hands and courageous hearts the longed-for and hoped-for opportunity.

The Republican theory of taxing the people, by protective-tariff laws, to make them rich and happy is untenable and now exploded. The Republican party will never win another victory with that false remedy as a panacea and a shibboleth.

Legislating away millions and millions of dollars of the people's money to a favored few will not restore prosperity to all the people, and sacrificing millions and millions of dollars more to a railroad syndicate in Wall street will not make times better or the Treasury of the country stronger.

This bankruptcy bill, if it becomes a law, will alleviate some distress, but will not, and can not, become a permanent remedy for hard times and falling prices.

What other legislation have the Republicans to offer? They dare not attempt to legislate on the money question, which is the most vital, the most important, and the paramount political issue to-day in American politics.

Mr. Speaker, the issue in the coming campaign and in 1900 has been made. It can not be evaded or ignored. In the contest between the rights of the people and the selfish and sordid greed of the plutocrats, the people must and will win; the Government of the fathers, pure and undefiled, must and will be restored to them, and the efforts of a united and triumphant Democracy crowned with success. [Applause.]

INTERNATIONAL BANKING BILL.

"While I am a Member of Congress I will do all in my power to defeat legislation in the interest of the trusts and for the benefit of the monopolies."

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1898.

WASHINGTON.
1898.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 10807) to carry into effect the recommendations of the International American Conference by the incorporation of the international American bank—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This measure should be entitled "A bill to create the international bank trust." That is just what it does, and it would be the greatest trust the world has ever seen. In less than five years, if this bill becomes a law, it will own and control all the other trusts in this country and every other country where it can secure a foothold.

In my judgment this is one of the most iniquitous bills ever presented to Congress. It seeks to create, and does create, the greatest and most gigantic trust ever conceived by the ingenuity of the human mind; a trust that would for all practical purposes own, control, and monopolize almost everything under the sun. According to the terms of this charter there is no limit to its powers and no end to its possibilities for evil when manipulated by clever and unscrupulous men.

The advocates of this bill would have us believe it is a simple measure and clothes the company with no far-reaching and unusual powers. This is not so. Under the provisions of this bill there is hardly a conceivable thing this trust could not do. Read it, and I believe you will agree with me. It legislates away, in my opinion, the most sweeping franchise I have ever read.

It seems almost incredible that the daring and farseeing manipulators behind this colossal scheme, devised for the purpose of swindling the people, could ever hope to successfully pass it. It must be clear to all that it ought not to pass. It never should have been reported. It ought to be, and it will be if we do our duty, the worst beaten bill in this Congress.

During the debate this morning I have carefully listened to all that has been said for and against this bill, and, sir, I have yet to hear one good reason why this bill should become a law. The arguments of those who favor this bill show, if they show anything, that sweeping legislation of this character is unwise and a step in the wrong direction. There is no good reason why we should give away to a banking trust such unusual powers. If we do, I believe it will open the door to a continuance of abuses which will never end and to the possibilities for evil beyond the calculation of the human intellect. All legislation giving additional advantages to corporations and trusts is a direct blow at the rights of the people. These combinations of capital already enjoy too much favor at the hands of the law.

I have carefully read this bill and the report of the committee. The report, so far as I can see, fails to give a single reason why this bill should meet with the approval of the members of this House.

The most cursory examination of the provisions of this bill will demonstrate to the most thoughtless man in the House that the bill is radically wrong and inherently bad. It is essentially a piece of legal favoritism. It takes from the many for the benefit of the few. It is monopoly pure and simple, and in its meanest form. It is class legislation of the worst type. Its sweeping provisions constitute a mighty stride in the wrong direction. It fashions a mighty trust, and places it on a pedestal beyond the law. I am against this kind of legislation, and I will always do all in my power to defeat it. All legislation of this special and exclusive character is absolutely wrong. The saddest comment on our legislative history is the just criticism that there has been too much special legislation for the past thirty years. I view this kind of special legislation with alarm, and sound a note of warning against it. We all know what it has done, what it is doing, and what it will continue to do. The history of the past teaches, if it teaches anything, that it quickly becomes an instrument for the robbing of the people for the benefit of the trusts—a legalized tyranny to oppress the people for the advantage of greedy corporate interests.

The bill confers unheard-of powers on a few individuals, who

will be able to make wealth beyond the dreams of avarice by the operation of its provisions. We should not legislate to create for a few advantages denied to the many. All legislation, so far as possible, should be general, not special. In my opinion, more injury has been done the people of this country by corrupt special legislation than by any other single agency. In nearly every instance the great fortunes of our millionaires and multimillionaires are the simple results of this obnoxious special legislation.

This bill will create the greatest financial trust of the century. No doubt nine-tenths of the members of this House, if asked, would say they were against the trusts, and yet I fear many of these same members will vote for this bill and do all they can to enact it into law.

Let me say to the members of this House that I am unalterably opposed to trusts. I am opposed to all the trusts, each and every one, now in existence, and to all and any legislation seeking to create new and more trusts.

I am opposed to the Government delegating away the rights of the people to a few individuals associated together for the purpose of making money under the title of the "International Bank." Ever since the civil war the Government has been delegating away its powers to selfish and soulless corporations. We should not delegate to corporations the powers vested in the Government by the people. If we do, the corporations and the trusts will soon become greater and more powerful than the Government.

Under the provisions of this bill this gigantic financial trust, with unlimited capital, unrestricted powers, and unparalleled opportunities, would soon absorb and ere long control the financial and commercial business of the whole country. It could do anything that can be done to-day by any copartnership, trust, monopoly, or corporation in this country or in any other country where it could get a foothold. It could absorb the wealth, the treasure, and the business of the land, and do it on its own terms. It would become the trust of trusts, and by its charter do a general pawn-brokerage business and fix its own rates of interest. In fact, it could do anything from buying a farm to loaning money on a watch.

For the Government to give away a great franchise like this

will be an irreparable wrong to the people of this country. This is the greatest franchise, in the opinion of many, ever devised and that Congress ever attempted to give away.

This bill creating this financial trust is the greatest scheme ever invented by man to oppress and enslave his fellow-man. No doubt the true design of the men behind this great corporation is to get this franchise to organize a tremendous banking and pawnbrokerage trust, with all the powers and privileges of a national bank except the privilege of issuing money, and finally to relieve the Government of that attribute of sovereignty, and do it all without governmental control or supervision.

What a spectacle of legislative audacity this unrivaled proposition presents! It could never originate on this side of the House. Read the legislative history of our country and you will find that all legislation similar in character and purposes to this is the handiwork of the Republican party. It can not be successfully controverted that the policies and principles of the Republican party create and foster trusts and monopolies.

The Democratic party is opposed to special legislation, and is the natural foe and the unswerving enemy of trusts. By virtue of its principles and through the instrumentality of its policies they can be crushed, and they will be crushed and destroyed.

The Congress of the United States should legislate, not for the trusts, but against them; not for the few, but for the many. We do entirely too much for special interests, not enough for the general welfare of all the people of our land. The crying evil of our times is special legislation which robs the many for the benefit of the few, and does it all under the guise of law. I am opposed to all special legislation of this character. I stand for equal rights to all, special privileges to none. I hope the day is not far distant when a Democratic Congress will pass a law making it impossible for a trust or a monopoly to exist in this country.

I am opposed to this bill because I believe it will create the greatest monopoly and the most gigantic trust in the world. While I am a member of Congress I will do all in my power to defeat legislation in the interest of the trusts and for the benefit of the monopolies. This bill should challenge the honest criticism of every man in our country. Its passage would be an outrage

on every taxpayer and an insult to every honest toiler. I can not believe it has any chance to become a law now, but the very attempt to pass it should arrest the attention of every patriot in the land and put the thinking citizens of our country on their guard. Ere long, I doubt not, another effort will be made. The representatives of the trusts are most tenacious and ever active and watchful. The representatives of the people must be so, too, or our free institutions will be doomed.

Mr. Speaker, for the past thirty years the Congress of the United States has been delegating to trusts and monopolies vast powers and privileges. All of this legislation has been against the rights of the people and for the benefit of a few individuals who have been made millionaires and multimillionaires by operation of law. The future historian of our country, viewing with an impartial eye this period of law-made wealth in our wonderful history, will call this legislative epoch the "crime of the century," and its pernicious results will affect generations yet unborn and blight the opportunities of millions yet to come.

These great trusts and monopolies are springing up every day, and they flourish like the green bay tree. Many of them are so intrenched in power that they are to all intents and purposes above law and no longer amenable to legislative action. They limit the supply of the product which they control, and force out of employment thousands and thousands of honest toilers. They enhance prices, lower wages, and write the terms of their own contracts. They destroy all competition, and have every consumer in the country in their power. You must pay their price or do without. Every man, woman, and child in all our land, every home, and every hearth side must pay tribute to the trusts. This is the ransom the trusts exact for the people's right to live. Legislation has done all this; legislation can remedy it all.

To-day about 200 trusts control, wholly or in large part, every conceivable product and industry of the country. These combines dictate the supply and manipulate the price. They control legislation, national, State, and municipal. They escape taxes and construct and maintain tariffs to suit their own selfish ends. They regulate foreign and interstate commerce, declare quarterly dividends on watered stock, and make fortunes every year out of

the people. From the Standard Oil trust down they are all the same, all doing business on the same line, all robbing the many for the benefit of the few. And the many submit to it. Why? I know not. The people can, if they determine to, settle this question in one election and crush forever out of existence every trust in the land.

Why is it people seldom rebel against being robbed indirectly by operation of law? However, I believe the trusts can not permanently exist in the United States if the people once become alive to the great injustice done them by these combinations of capital. To think otherwise would be a bitter commentary on our intelligence in the last decade of the dying nineteenth century.

The power of the trusts has been a thing of rapid growth and of recent times. Prior to the civil war there was not a trust in this country.

The Republican party is responsible for the trusts and stands sponsor for them to-day. The only hope of the people is in the Democratic party and through its representatives.

The Democratic party must make the destruction of the trusts and the monopolies one of its leading issues in the next campaign. If the trusts now practically own and run the Government and their insatiable greed and power are not soon checked, another quarter of a century will witness free institutions subverted, the Constitution dethroned, industrial slavery the corner stone of the Government, and an obligarchy of wealth sitting in high places and the rulers of the land.

These gigantic trusts, in my judgment, constitute a greater menace to our Government and our free institutions than anything else. I would like to see every chamber of commerce, every board of trade, every labor organization, every business man, and every taxpayer take up this fight against the trusts and carry it on to the end. It is a cause worthy of every honest and sincere man; and if they will enlist, the war against the trusts will soon be over, the monopolies of the land destroyed, and the country saved.

Mr. Speaker, I notice my time is nearly exhausted. Let me say to the members of this House that this bill is the worst trust bill which has ever come to my notice since I have been a servant of

the people. I hope every Democrat will vote against it. It is the greatest trust franchise Congress has ever been asked to give away. If it were enacted into law it would soon become the most tremendous instrument of oppression ever invented by the cruel ingenuity of man to rob and oppress and enslave his fellow-man. Its overwhelming defeat to-day will mark a red-letter day in our legislative history. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

3616



[Extract from Congressional Record, February 7, 1899.]

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

ON "THE DAY WE CELEBRATE,"

BEFORE THE

JACKSON CLUB, OF OMAHA, NEBR.,

Saturday Evening, January 7, 1899.

[Reprinted from the Omaha World-Herald, January 8, 1899.]

WASHINGTON.
1899.

“The Day We Celebrate.”

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

[From the *Omaha World-Herald*, January 8, 1893.]

Congressman WILLIAM SULZER spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is a matter of much personal gratification to me to be with you to-night and participate in your joyous and magnificent celebration of Jackson's day.

I would be false to myself and to every sentiment of gratitude I possess and hold dear if I did not at the very beginning of my remarks express to you how deeply and sincerely I appreciate the honor and the distinguished compliment of your invitation. I accepted it, of course. I could not do otherwise. Coming from whence it did, and how it did, I could not refuse. I am very glad, indeed, to be with you, and as long as I live I shall never forget your courtesy, your reception, your consideration, and your hearty and genuine hospitality.

I like the Democrats of the great West, and I hope they will like me.

I stand squarely on the Chicago platform, and as a Democrat, tried and true to every tenet of our party and to its fundamental principles, I come to you from the toiling, throbbing, earnest Democrats of the East, and bring you their fraternal greeting, and their message of hope for union and harmony in our ranks, and for the triumphant victory of our grand old party for years to come.

In my judgment, we are destined to triumph if we religiously adhere to our principles, fearlessly and vigorously promulgate them, and honestly and tenaciously strive to enforce them. We must be true to ourselves and to the teachings of the fathers of Democracy, and if we are and continue to have faith in the justice of our cause, we must and will succeed, and signal victory must and will crown our efforts.

We celebrate to-day one of the most important epochs in the annals of our history.

This is Andrew Jackson's day, sacred to the memory of the hero of New Orleans, sacred to the memory of the grand old man, the old hickory of the Democratic party, sacred to the memory of one of the most unique, one of the most stalwart, and one of the most magnificent figures and characters in all American history.

Andrew Jackson was a hero from his cradle to his grave. Irresistible events and circumstances beyond his control made him so.

The fascinating story of his life reads like a romance and demonstrates that truth is stranger than fiction. That story is a part of the most stirring and eventful period in our history, an incentive to every hopeful schoolboy, a beacon to every sincere patriot, a star of hope to every struggling toiler, and a conclusive proof of the stability and the opportunity of democratic institutions.

Andrew Jackson from his birth to his bier was a remarkable personage. He was a man of iron will and of indomitable spirit. His veins were filled with good red blood, but his nerves were of steel. He never knew fear. He never turned his back on friend or foe. He knew the right and never hesitated to do it. He hated cant, despised hypocrisy, and cared naught for consequences.

He was a plain man. He loved the plain people; they understood him and they loved him.

He was a forceful man, a direct man, a positive man, an honest man, and a truthful man. He hated a liar, and he spurned with contempt a coward.

His life began with the struggles of a brave people to cast off the tyrannous yoke of oppression, and when it went out his last look witnessed the greatest and the grandest Republic the world has ever seen.

His life was a part of the Republic, and demonstrated its opportunities and its possibilities.

Andrew Jackson was not born to the purple; he was no child of pampered fortune; he knew woe and want, poverty and misery, trial and trouble:

He was schooled in the school of adversity, but learned to surmount all difficulties.

He was a soldier in three wars and a hero in each.

His parents came from the north of Ireland. He was of Scotch-Irish origin, and had that blood in his veins with all that it means and all that it implies.

He first saw the light of day in Carolina in March, 1767. It was a new and sparsely settled country. Shortly after his birth his father died, leaving a widow and three orphan children. Andrew Jackson was the youngest.

His early days were days of hardship and privation, but they were trial days to school him and to fit him for the part he was to play in life.

At that time the Revolution smoldered, and when it finally blazed forth in all its fury, the greatest and the grandest Revolution that ever shook the earth, all the Jacksons were in it and a part of it.

Andrew Jackson, then a mere lad, was a soldier and a hero in those dark and stormy days. He was a warrior for the right, a soldier for freedom. He was captured, made a prisoner of war, and while such, because he refused to blacken the boots of an English officer, was struck a cruel blow on the head with a sword. He carried the terrible scar to his grave, but he avenged the insult at New Orleans.

The Revolution passed and the Republic dawned. During the heroic struggle Jackson's mother and his brothers died, all martyrs to the sacred cause. The close of the contest to vindicate the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed found Andrew Jackson homeless, penniless, and friendless, with neither kith nor kin, but nothing daunted. The ordeal of the Revolution made him a man, a patriot, and a Democrat.

Andrew Jackson loved his mother with a passion almost divine. His devotion to her memory is the noblest trait in his heroic character, and his undying fame her greatest monument.

Napoleon asked, "What is wanting to save the youth of France?" Madame Champan answered, "Mothers." No man was ever truly great whose mother was not really great.

Andrew Jackson's mother intended him for the ministry, but fate willed otherwise. He studied law, practiced it successfully, was a judge and a good jurist, a member of both branches of Congress, molded the Constitution of Tennessee, was the greatest and most successful Indian fighter who ever lived, crushed at New Orleans the greatest invading forces which ever desecrated our sacred soil, humbled in the dust the flower of the English army, and destroyed for all time the power and the prestige of Great Britain on the Western Hemisphere.

Andrew Jackson was the hero of the war of 1812 and won its most decisive victory. We celebrate that triumph to-night. He was a great citizen-soldier, but a greater civilian. He was a volunteer and believed in and stood for the volunteer forces of the Republic. He was opposed to a great standing army and had no sympathy with imperialism.

He was a Democrat, reared in the Democratic school of Thomas Jefferson. He stood for the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, for civil and religious liberty, for the Constitution, for all that Jefferson stood for. He believed in our cardinal-principle of special privileges to none, equal opportunities for all.

He stood for advancement, for progress, for personal liberty, for the school-house and the home. There was nothing illiberal, nothing narrow-minded, about Andrew Jackson. He was broad-gauged and broad-minded. He believed in the ability of the plain people to govern themselves. He stood for their rights, their hopes, their aspirations, and he vindicated them while he lived.

He brought about the annexation of the Floridas and was their first American governor. He accomplished what he purposed; he did things.

He was twice President of the United States, stamped his personality indelibly on her history, and when he died he was the popular idol of the American people. He will always be one of the most interesting figures in our history.

He vindicated American institutions, crushed treason, pilloried nullification, and dethroned the United States Bank, the greatest trust and monopoly of his day.

He stood for the home and the hearthside, the sanctity of the family, and for the blessings of Christian civilization.

He stood for internal improvements, for commerce, the American merchant marine, and he loved his country with an intensity that was patriotism personified.

No one ever questioned the purity of his patriotism, or challenges the integrity of his motives, and yet no public man in all our history was ever more bitterly assailed by his enemies or more justly loved by his friends and adherents.

Andrew Jackson had his faults and his foibles. He was not a demigod—he was only human. He hated and he loved in human ways like other human beings. He triumphed and he suffered. He was a man of force and of passion, the man for every crisis, and yet no man could be calmer under more trying circumstances—no man suffered more and complained less. His whole life was an heroic struggle mentally and physically. But amid all the storms of his tempest-tossed career his heart beat true, and was ever warm; his hand was always steady, his head was ever cool, and within his stern exterior there dwelt a Christian spirit and a noble nature as gentle as a woman's. He was a great Democratic leader, and no man ever had more loyal followers.

He stood for the true democracy, the rule of the plain people, the democracy which unfetters trade, fosters commerce, establishes industry, aids enterprise, maintains equal opportunity, unshackles the mind and the conscience, and defends liberty.

He was a great man, the representative of two centuries. He was the embodiment of true American manhood, the personification of the genius of our free institutions, and the incarnation of Jeffersonian Democracy. He always subordinated personal interest to his sense of public duty.

We are Americans, we are Democrats; and as Americans and Democrats we love and revere the memory of Andrew Jackson, the illustrious patriot of the Hermitage, the hero of New Orleans, and the sage of Tennessee.

It is not my purpose to eulogize the hero of New Orleans. Nothing I can

say will add to his greatness or his glory. History has done Andrew Jackson ample justice. His monument, more enduring than marble or brass, is in the grateful and patriotic hearts of his loyal countrymen.

It is fitting and proper, however, that this day should be celebrated by the Democrats of our country and by the plain people, whose friend Andrew Jackson ever was.

To-day we want and the Republic needs men with the indomitable spirit, the magnificent courage, and the patriotic zeal of Andrew Jackson. The preservation of our free institutions and the perpetuity of the Republic would be absolutely safe if we had an Andrew Jackson in every hamlet, every county, and every State of the Union.

To-night, as Democrats, we invoke the name and fame of the hero of New Orleans, in our fight to reestablish the American merchant marine. Under his Administration our shipping and our commerce flourished as it never did before. During the Democratic days of Jackson nine-tenths of American commerce was carried in American ships, flying the American flag. To-day more than nine-tenths of American commerce is carried in foreign ships flying foreign flags. Republican legislation has driven our flag from the seas, and destroyed our foreign carrying trade. We pay over \$300,000,000 every year to foreign shipowners. Why? Because we have legislated in their interest, and against the true interest of our own people: Because the Republican party has legislated our flag off the seas.

It is the duty of the Democratic party to restore our merchant marine. We must combat the disastrous policy of the Republican party against our merchant marine and repeal its vicious legislation. We must revive our great shipping industries, and thus give employment to thousands of idle men, re-create the American sailor, and ere long again witness the glad some sight of the American flag flying on every sea and kissing the sky in every foreign port. The Democratic party, the party of Andrew Jackson, must and will restore and reestablish the American merchant marine.

To-night as Democrats we invoke the spirit of Andrew Jackson in favor of the volunteer forces of the Republic and against a large standing army in time of peace composed of men who are not taxpayers, but are tax-eaters. Andrew Jackson was a citizen-soldier, and he believed in the citizen-soldiery of the land. As Democrats we should do all in our power to defeat the now avowed project and policy of the Republican party to increase the Regular Army of our country to 100,000 soldiers. We do not need this vast army in time of peace any more than we need a king. We should favor a great navy to protect our coast and our commerce, but we should, if we are true to the people and our principles, vigorously oppose this enormous increase of the Regular Army. A large standing army in a republic is always a menace to civil liberty and free institutions.

To demonstrate this we have only to look to-day to the pitiful condition of France. We have no need of an immense standing army in time of peace. The Regular Army is the most undemocratic institution we have. In time of trouble, in case of war, the Republic should rely on its citizen-soldiery and its volunteer forces. It is contrary to the true principles of the Democratic party to permit the military power to become supreme and paramount to the civil authority. A desperate effort will be made by the Republicans to pass the act to create a great standing army, and if it succeeds it will burden the taxpayers of the country for its maintenance \$150,000,000 a year. Every Democrat in the land should be alive to the dangers of this Republican movement, and do all in his power to frustrate it.

To-night, as Democrats, we invoke the memory of the hero of New Orleans against any alliance with Great Britain, especially when the agent of that Government is the Benedict Arnold of the home-rule cause. We need no al-

liance with Great Britain. All we need now, as in the past, is a firm reliance on our own greatness, our own ability, our own integrity, our own power to defend our rights, protect our citizens, and legislate for ourselves on every proposition regarding our own welfare, our own happiness, our own well-being, and our own prosperity.

If Andrew Jackson were alive to-day he would never sanction an alliance with Great Britain. The spirit of 1776 and 1812 still lives. The Republican party is in favor of this alliance; the Democratic party should be strenuously opposed to it. Its consummation means national disintegration.

To-night, as Democrats, we invoke the memory of President Andrew Jackson against the encroachments on the rights of the people of the national banks. They menace our Republic to-day. Jackson waged the most bitter and relentless war of his life against the United States Bank, and finally destroyed that gigantic monopoly. If he had not it would have destroyed the Republic. One of the greatest acts of his life was the veto of the bill extending the charter of that bank trust. In the light of what is going on to-day that veto message should be read by every citizen in our land. There is a bill now pending in Congress which gives to the national banks of the country far greater powers and privileges than were ever enjoyed by the United States Bank. It is a Republican bill, and the Republican party stands sponsor for it and is committed to its passage.

If it should become a law it would give the monopoly of issuing money to the national banks, and hence the right to expand or contract the currency of the people whenever it suited their convenience. No corporation should have this power to make or destroy. It would deprive the Government of one of its greatest attributes of sovereignty and give to the national banks the right to paralyze, at their own will, every industry in the country. It is the most daring attempt the banks have ever made by law to seize one of the greatest weapons for good or evil known to civilized man. For the Government to surrender this prerogative and delegate away this power would be a crime against every citizen in this land and work woe and misery to millions yet unborn.

As a Democrat, and a follower of Andrew Jackson, I am opposed to the Government delegating away its powers to the national banks. The Democratic party should vigorously oppose conferring any additional powers on or granting any greater privileges to the national banks. In my judgment they already possess entirely too much power. They are doing precisely to-day, only to a greater extent, what the United States Bank did in the days of Andrew Jackson. The right to coin and issue money is one of the greatest prerogatives of the Republic and one of the highest attributes of its sovereignty. It should not be delegated, transferred, assigned, or set over to any national bank, to any trust, or to any monopoly. As Democrats and believers in the meaning of this day, we should resist the encroachments of national banks on the liberties of the people with the same zeal and the same courage that Andrew Jackson resisted the audacious claims of the United States Bank in his day. And when the national banks impudently declare that the Government should go out of the banking business, we should answer that the banks should and must go out of the governing business. And we should make that answer good now and for all time to come.

In Jackson's day there was only one Nick Biddle. To-day there is a Nick Biddle in every national bank in the land.

Let me say here, it is a matter of gratification for me to tell you that the recent attempt of the Republicans to pass through Congress an international bank charter met with the signal and the overwhelming defeat that the scheme deserved. It was one of the most iniquitous bills ever presented to Congress. According to its terms there was no limit to its powers for self

and no end to its possibilities for evil. If it had been enacted into law it would have created the greatest trust the world has ever seen. By virtue of its provisions it would monopolize, own, and control almost everything under the sun. It was the most colossal scheme ever devised by the ingenuity of man to rob and swindle the people and to enslave for all time to come the industrial masses.

Under the provisions of that bill this gigantic financial trust, with unlimited capital, unrestricted powers, and unparalleled opportunities, would soon absorb, monopolize, own, and control the wealth, the treasure, and the commercial and industrial business enterprises of the land. The bill was so cleverly drawn that the men behind it could practically do anything from buying and holding land to loaning money on personal property, and they could do it all on their own terms and fix their own rates of interest. It would have been the trust of trusts. It was the greatest trust franchise Congress was ever asked to give away, and I am happy to state that by a very decisive vote Congress placed its seal of condemnation on the colossal scheme. But it will come up again. The forces of corruption are always active, never conquered. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

As Democrats to-night we should also invoke the patriotic spirit of the great destroyer of the United States Bank monopoly, Andrew Jackson, and, following in his footsteps, every Democrat in our land should enlist in the war of the people against the trusts. Andrew Jackson was the implacable foe of monopoly. Were he alive to-day he would be the implacable foe of the trusts.

To-day the great trusts of the country are practically supreme. Many of them are so entrenched in power that they are to all intents and purposes above the law and no longer amenable to legislative action. The crying evil of the times is the power and the sway of the trusts. They endanger not only our free institutions but our free-men. The battle cry of the Democratic party should be. "The trusts must go!"

To-day about 200 trusts control, wholly or in large part, every conceivable product and industry of the country.

These gigantic combinations constitute, in my judgment, the greatest menace at the present time to our democratic institutions. They control the supply, monopolize the product, and dictate the price of every necessary of life. They force out of legitimate employment thousands and thousands of honest toilers. They enhance prices, reduce wages, and write the terms of their own contracts. They destroy competition, paralyze opportunity, assassinate labor, and hold the consumers of our country in their monopolistic grasp. They levy tribute on every man, woman, and child in the Republic. They blight the poor man's home, darken the hearthside of his children, cloud the star of legitimate hope, and destroy equal opportunity. They control legislation, escape taxation, and evade the just burdens of government, while their agents construct and maintain tariffs to suit their selfish ends and greedy purposes. They imperil trade, stagnate industry, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, declare quarterly dividends on watered stocks, and make fortunes every year out of the people. Their tyrannical power, rapid growth, and centralization of wealth are the marvel of recent times and the saddest commentary on our legislative history. Prior to the civil war there was not a trust in the country except the United States Bank trust, which Jackson killed.

They practically own, run, and control the Government to-day, and defy successful prosecution for violation of law. If their power of centralization is not speedily checked, and they go on for another quarter of a century like they have in the past few years, I believe our free institutions will be destroyed, and instead of a Government of the people, by the people, and for

the people, we will have a Government of the trusts, by the trusts, and for the trusts.

How much longer will the people humbly consent to be robbed and submissively permit a continuation of this outrageous policy of favoritism by class legislation? All legislation bestowing special benefits on the few is unjust, and against the masses and for the classes. It has gone on until less than 8 per cent of the people own more than two thirds of all the wealth of our country. It has been truly said that monarchies are destroyed by poverty and republics by wealth. If the greatest republic the world has ever seen is destroyed, it will fall by this vicious system of robbing the many for the benefit of the few.

The total population of the United States is about 70,000,000. The total aggregate wealth of the United States, according to the best statistics that can be procured, is estimated at about \$62,000,000,000, and it appears, and no doubt much to the surprise of many, that out of a total population of 70,000,000 less than 40,000 persons in the United States own more than one-half of the entire aggregate wealth of the land. And this has all been brought about by legislation during the last twenty-five years.

The centralization of wealth in the hands of the few by the robbery of the many during the past quarter of a century has been simply enormous, and the facts and figures are appalling. Three-quarters of the entire wealth of our land appears to be concentrated in the hands of a very small minority of the people, and the number of persons constituting that minority grows smaller every year. The legislative schemes which have been most favored for checking this growing centralization of wealth are generally the most elusive and the most impotent.

Impartial students of these startling facts and statistics can hardly escape the irresistible conclusion that a conspiracy exists, and has existed for some time, to convert the Government of the United States into a powerful oligarchy of wealth. The millionaires, the plutocrats, the trusts, the monopolies, and the syndicates seem to be supreme and legislate for their own interests, benefit, and protection. If it continues, the yeomanry of our country will soon be reduced to a condition of industrial serfdom more pitiable than ever existed before in the history of the world.

The money power, the trusts, the syndicates, and the favored few of the land threaten the perpetuity of our free institutions by subsidizing the pulpit, buying the press, seating well-paid attorneys in legislative halls and courts of justice, stifling free speech and the right of lawful assembly and stretching out their tentacles to the colleges of the land to crush professors who have the courage of their convictions and dare to tell the truth regarding economic and social principles.

My friends, to crush the trusts, now and forever, is the highest duty, and the true mission to-day of the Democratic party. In this war of extermination against the octopus which is enslaving our industrial masses, and destroying our free institutions, we should invoke the aid and the support of every lover of liberty, and every disciple of Andrew Jackson, whose memory we revere and celebrate to-day. He said: "The Union must and shall be preserved." Let us to-night as firmly resolve and proclaim that the rights and the liberties of the people must and shall be preserved from the insidious encroachments of aggregated wealth.

THE FINANCIAL BILL.

“I am opposed to the Government delegating
away its powers to the national banks.”

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1899.



WASHINGTON.
1899.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) entitled "A bill to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, and for other purposes"—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Washington [Mr. CUSHMAN] who has just concluded his remarks made a clever Republican stump speech, not entirely applicable, however, to the question under discussion, but apropos of the story he told I think I can say in this regard that if he took his political bearings at the present time he would find that he was "700 miles" and more out of his latitude. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

In the first place, Mr. Chairman, in discussing this bill I desire to protest with all the emphasis in my power against its hasty and precipitate consideration. The bill is being rushed through as a strict Republican party measure. The rights of the Democratic minority have been infringed. The fact is, this bill—a most important and momentous one—has never been referred to a committee of this House. It was carefully prepared last summer by a few Republicans, assisted, no doubt, by able representatives of the money power and the national banks. No one on this side of the House had an opportunity to see the bill, to consider it, or to discuss it before it was introduced, the first day of this session, by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET]. The unparliamentary procedure pursued by the Republican party in the consideration of this important legislation is in violation of all legislative rules and every precedent of a deliberative assembly. Under the rule adopted this bill can not be amended or perfected. It must pass just as it is, and passed within a week. Why this unseemly haste?

The Republican party has made this bill a party question. You

made it a caucus measure, and under the spur of king caucus you hold your members in line to vote for it, and under the party lash you intend to pass it because you have the physical power to do so. For one, I am glad it is a Republican party bill, and that at last you have thrown off the mask of political hypocrisy on the financial question and stand before the people of this country in your true colors.

Many of the gentlemen on the other side, I am informed, never read this bill and never saw it until it was introduced, and I have no doubt that if you now expressed your honest opinions and your sincere convictions about it many of you would be against the bill, and instead of voting for it you would openly denounce the many vicious provisions it contains. Every one of you, however, must vote for it because it is a part of the programme and a part of the policy of the Republican party.

The leaders of your party demand its passage, and in order to prevent you from acting according to your convictions and for the best interests of your constituents they have made it a party measure and will pass it under the rule of the party caucus. For these reasons alone no Democrat should vote for it.

You are going to pass this bill, not because it is a good bill or a proper measure, but because the money power to-day behind the Republican party demands the enactment of this legislation. It is the final consummation of the contract made in the campaign of 1896 between Mark Hanna, representing the Republican party, and the national banks. It is the carrying into effect of the last and the most villainous act in the great political drama of the last national campaign. By this act the Republican party surrenders unconditionally to the sordid greed of the money power.

Mr. Chairman, I am absolutely opposed to the passage of this iniquitous bill and shall vote against it. It is one of the most vicious political measures ever attempted to be passed through Congress. The bill commits the Government unalterably by law to the single gold standard and makes all obligations, public and private, payable in gold. It strikes out the word "coin" in all Government bonds, which means gold or silver, inserts in its place the word "gold," and in addition thereto it authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds *ad infinitum* whenever he

pleases and makes the bonds payable in gold. The bill violates the obligations of the contract between the Government and the bondholder and provides that the finances of a mighty people shall be turned over to the national banks of the country and gives them the right at will to expand or contract the currency.

The bill does much more, but very briefly these are its most sweeping, vicious, and objectionable features. It is the most startling and the most daring departure from time-honored and well-fixed financial principles ever made in our history, and the result will be as disastrous as it is far-reaching. I say to you and to the Republican party that if this measure is enacted into law it reverses our financial system, repudiates the platforms of both parties, and revolutionizes the monetary methods of the whole country.

In order, sir, to show how the Republican party has changed its attitude on the financial question, let me quote the financial plank from the Republican national platform of 1888. It says:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

In the national Republican platform of 1892 you say:

The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallicism, and the Republican party demands the use of gold and silver as money.

What a difference between the Republican party now and then!

And, again, in the national Republican platform of 1896 you say substantially that you favor free coinage by international agreement, which you pledge yourselves to promote. Let me ask if you are doing that now?

What a change from those professions to this treacherous act of perfidy!

Let us see how William McKinley, the Republican President of the United States, has progressed on the money question.

In 1878, as a member of Congress, he voted for the Stanley Matthews resolution in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 and declaring in favor of the payment of all bonds, principle and interest, in gold or silver at the option of the Government.

On the 24th of June, 1890, in a speech in this House, before Wil-

liam McKinley saw the light of the money power and experienced a change of heart, he said:

I am for the largest use of silver in the currency of the country. I would not dishonor it; I would give it equal credit and honor with gold. I would make no discrimination. I would utilize both metals as money and discredit neither. I want the double standard.

Why is he opposed to it now? Let him answer! The record speaks for itself, and on that record we appeal to the people for judgment from President McKinley in the White House, the agent of the money trust, to William McKinley, a candidate for reelection in the great contest next year. The people understand this question; they know what is going on; they will answer next year.

William McKinley in the last election did not stand on a gold-standard platform, but on a bimetallic platform to be brought about by international agreement. You promised the people to get rid of the gold standard. You then pretended to favor international bimetallicism. In that campaign the gold-standard candidate for the Presidency only polled about 134,000 votes. But now you throw off the disguise and declare unequivocally against bimetallicism, independently or by international agreement, and for the single gold standard. Up to the present time the Republican party and its leading thinkers and speakers have always been in favor of bimetallicism and against monometallicism.

Against my friend from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] I appeal to the RECORD, and I quote James A. Garfield, who said, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1881:

By the experience of commercial nations in all ages it has been found that gold and silver afford the only safe foundation for a monetary system.

Against my friend from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET], who has charge of this bill, I quote that stalwart Republican, James G. Blaine, who said:

I believe gold and silver to be the money of the Constitution—indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution, which that great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare that either metal should not be money. Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold; no more power to demonetize either than to demonetize both.—*James G. Blaine in the Senate*, February 7, 1878; Congressional Record, volume 7, part 1, page 820.

Against my friend from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER], whose specious plea for the gold standard will deceive no impartial student of the

facts, I quote from the great expounder of the Constitution, Daniel Webster, who said in the Senate December 21, 1836:

I am certainly of opinion, then, that gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard, or to displace this.

Against my friend and colleague from New York [Mr. DRIGGS], whose speech I attentively listened to, I cite that sterling Democrat, Thomas A. Hendricks, who said:

That gold and silver are the real standard of value is a cherished Democratic sentiment, not now or hereafter to be abandoned.

And President Andrew Jackson, who said to the American people in his farewell address:

My humble efforts have not been spared during my administration of the Government to restore the constitutional currency of gold and silver; and something, I trust, has been done toward the accomplishment of this most desirable object.

And grand old Allen G. Thurman, who eloquently told the story in the Senate on the 6th day of February, 1878, when he said:

Has there ever been, so far as we know, a more prosperous country than were the United States from 1789 to 1861? Did any nation ever exceed the progress we made in population, wealth, education, refinement, and the general well-being of the people in those seventy-two years? And yet during all that period we had bimetallism, for we gave no preference to gold over silver or silver over gold.—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, Part I, page 787.

And to all my Republican friends who must vote for this bill, no matter what they honestly think of it, listen while I read to you again from a speech of James G. Blaine, delivered in the Senate February 7, 1878:

I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property.—*Congressional Record*, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, Part I, page 821.

Can anyone here get up and honestly deny that statement?

The position you gentlemen occupy on this question before the people of the country to-day is, indeed, an unenviable one. Why do you stultify yourselves? What has compelled you to go back on your record? What power, what influence, has compelled you

to change front on this great question, affecting as it does all the people of the land? I will tell you. It is the money power, the bondholders and their agents, the trusts, the syndicates, and the plutocrats. They favor the passage of this bill. They are in favor of changing the terms of the contract so that they shall hold the option instead of the Government. They would commit treason against the Government in order to gain a monetary advantage.

The Republican party to-day is the mere agent of the money trust and in every department of the Government carries out its wishes and registers and records its decrees.

Mr. Chairman, let me say again what I have always said and which I strenuously maintain, that I am now, always have been, and always will be a sound-money Democrat. I stand to-day on the financial question just where I have always stood and just where I always expect to stand—for hard money, for gold and silver as the ultimate money of redemption, freely and independently coined at a ratio to be fixed and determined by Congress. I believe now, as I always have done, in the sound money of the Constitution, and I take my stand on the side of all the leading Democrats of our party from Thomas Jefferson, its illustrious founder, to Andrew Jackson, from Wright and Marcy, from Seymour and Tilden down to the present time. We stand, sir, where they stood—on the safe and the sound side—for bimetallism.

When we became members of this House we took a solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution, and everyone here knows that the fundamental law of the land provides for gold and silver, the money of the fathers and of all our glorious past.

I am an old-fashioned Democrat. I believe in the fundamental principles of the Democratic party. I believe in sticking to your party. I am no bolter. I stand squarely on the Chicago platform, and I have no apologies to offer for my support of William J. Bryan, or for my loyalty to the principles enunciated in that magnificent document. In my judgment it is the best platform the Democratic party ever adopted, and notwithstanding all you have said against it, I believe the day is not far distant when every principle enunciated in it will be enacted into law. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, I know that some of my colleagues from the State of New York differ with me on the financial question. I have no controversy with them except that of honest opinion. They claim the right to their convictions on this question as much as I claim the right to mine. I concede to them what I claim for myself, the right to hold and express my honest and sincere opinion on the greatest question to-day in American politics. They think I am mistaken; I think they are. It is an honest difference—that is all. Time will tell who is right. Let me say to my friend from New York [Mr. LEVY] that I am a Jeffersonian Democrat and stand to-day on the financial question just where Thomas Jefferson stood when he agreed with Alexander Hamilton and said “that the unit of value must stand on both metals.” I know my friend favors the single gold standard, and he knows I favor the unit resting on the double standard of Jefferson and Hamilton. “There is no safety for the national finances,” said that grand old Democrat, Thomas H. Benton, “but in the constitutional medium of gold and silver.”

Sir, the history of all the past teaches in unmistakable terms that gold and silver at a fixed ratio was the basis for the currency of the world. I am neither a gold monometallist nor a silver monometallist. I am a bimetalist. I believe in both gold and silver, and I would not destroy or demonetize either. Both precious metals should be admitted to the mints of the country and freely coined, not for the Government, but for and on account of the depositor. Herein is the distinction and the substance of the whole matter. The act you do to-day will not destroy silver as a part of the money of the world, but will only be an additional incentive to every true friend of humanity to work harder and more earnestly for the free and unlimited coinage of both precious metals. There will be no sure, no lasting, and no permanent prosperity until it is done.

Make no mistake, gentlemen. The passage of this bill will not settle the controversy, but will only define more certainly the issue, make it more clear, and bring about more quickly its ultimate triumph. No great question is ever settled until it is settled right. Bimetalism, sir, is a living issue, and will be of paramount importance to mankind as long as civilization uses money for trade and

commerce. Gold never was the friend of liberty. It never fought a battle for humanity. No people in a great crisis ever found it a faithful ally. It has been the agent of every panic, the minister of despair, the advocate of calamity, and the high priest of cruelty, misery, and woe. I am against the gold standard. If it comes by means of this bill, it will only come as a curse to rob us, to plague us, and to enslave us. In time it will have to go. The passage of this bill simplifies the fight.

But, Mr. Chairman, this bill does much more than firmly commit the Government by law to the single gold-standard policy of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. All our Government obligations are now payable in "coin," and the word "coin" is written in every bond. When these bonds were sold it was understood and agreed by law that they should be redeemed, at the option of the Government, in either gold or silver. This bill strikes out the word "coin" in all our bonded indebtedness and writes in its place the magic word "gold." It is well known and can not be denied that this will greatly enhance the value of all outstanding bonds and put millions and millions of dollars of unjust profit in the pockets of the bondholders. It is an admitted fact that if "gold" had originally been put in the bonds they would have brought a much higher price.

You remember the special message President Cleveland sent to this House in which he asked us to do this very thing. You refused—every one of you. The amount of bonds issued at that time, I believe, was only \$62,400,000, and yet Mr. Cleveland said they would bring sixteen millions more if the word "gold" was substituted for "coin." You refused to do that at that time, but now you intend to write the word "gold" in all the bonds outstanding against the Government, and strike out the word "coin." You are going to change the terms of the contract in favor of the creditor and against the debtor; you make a new contract for the benefit of the bondholder.

You say you are in favor of honest money, but you know this is dishonest money. It is a fraudulent transaction in the interest of the bondholders against the people and an outrage on the taxpayers of the country. When you do this you make the debtor pay more than he agreed to pay when the debt was contracted.

By virtue of law you make a gift—a dishonest gift—of millions and millions of dollars to the bondholders, foreign and domestic, of the Republic. I protest against this injustice. I cry out with all the vehemence of my nature against this outrage on the people. I am opposed to any law that robs the many for the benefit of the few, and especially so when it is done under the subtle cloak of national honor and the euphonious phraseology of “honest money.” If you are in favor of “honest money,” why do you do this dishonest thing?

We denounce your action and warn you that the people will never submit to such a surrender of their rights. We will pay the bondholders the same money they paid the Government for the bonds. No denunciation of the money power will deter us from doing our duty. As John Sherman once said:

The bondholder can only demand the kind of money he paid, as stipulated in the bond, and he is a repudiator and extortioner to demand more valuable money than he gave.

We stand by the terms of the contract. That is all the Democratic party wants to do, and it will resist with all its power any effort on the part of the Republican party to do anything contrary. On this question the Democratic party stands on the side of the people and demands absolute fair play for the debtor as well as exact justice for the creditor. The Republican party has taken its stand on the side of the money lender and the bondholder.

If your political policies were as honest as your professions, you would oppose the passage of this bill and refuse to commit this unpardonable crime on the toilers of this country. I am in favor of living up to the letter of our national obligations and maintaining them inviolate according to their spirit. I believe in carrying out the contract as it was made, doing no injustice to the bondholder, no injury to the taxpayer, favoring neither the creditor nor the debtor. The law of the land now is the act of 1878, and reads as follows:

That all the bonds of the United States issued or authorized to be issued under the said acts of Congress hereinbefore recited are payable, principal and interest, at the option of the Government of the United States, in silver dollars of the coinage of the United States.

That is a Republican law, and William McKinley, then a member of Congress, voted for it.

Let me say to my colleagues from New York and to other members on this side of the House who believe in the single gold standard that in my judgment you violate no promise to your constituents expressed or implied if you vote against this iniquitous measure. The Republican party now tells us, and the President and the Secretary of the Treasury reiterate it, that the country is on the gold standard. If that is so, then why enact this bill? Is it because you fear defeat next year? Is it because you think William J. Bryan is going to be the next President of the United States and you want to tie his hands? Or is it because you want to surrender the Government now and for all future time to the money power?

If this bill did no more than simply enact the gold standard, I can understand how some of my colleagues who believe in that standard could support it, but it goes much further. It enacts legislation in many respects a thousand times worse, and that will, in my opinion, ultimately cause more woe, more poverty, more distress, and more misery than any other act in all our history. Every Democrat should be opposed to the sweeping banking privileges contained in this bill.

A Democratic Representative who favors the gold standard can honestly and I believe consistently vote against this bill without strain or a conviction or violating an obligation to his constituents. Every Democrat should also vote against the bill because it gives the Secretary of the Treasury the power to issue bonds without let or hindrance—a very dangerous power to delegate to one man. Congress should not abdicate its constitutional powers. We, the representatives of the people, should not lodge in the discretion of any man the right to mortgage future generations.

Remember, my gold-standard Democratic friends, the Republicans compel you to vote for this bill just as they have prepared it; gold standard, unlimited bonds, contracted currency, national-bank government, and all. If they were fair and honest about it, do you not think they would give you a chance to offer a substitute, or to at least amend it to meet your approval and to conform to the wishes of a great majority of your constituents? They do not need your votes. It is their bill—their party bill—and they will pass it no matter what you do. I believe the misguided

Democrat who listens to the siren song of the money changers and votes for this bill will live to regret it.

My friends, one of the worst features, to my mind, of this bill is that part of it which consummates the alleged bargain made by MARK HANNA with the national bankers of Wall street during the campaign of 1896. They aided the Republicans then, and now they receive their share of the spoils. For three years the Republicans have waited and hesitated to pass this abomination, fearing the wrath of an outraged and indignant people. But another national campaign is near at hand. You need their help again, and in order to get it you abjectly and unconditionally surrender to the money power and turn the finances of a great Government over to the national banks. This bill delivers the goods bargained for. It is awful to contemplate, and the result can not be overestimated.

The powers this bill gives the national banks are far-reaching and most dangerous. It turns over to them the finances of the people—the lifeblood of trade and commerce—and gives them the right to contract or expand the currency at will. This right should never be surrendered by the Government. I say to you, and time will demonstrate it, that if you give the control of the money supply to the national banks they will soon absorb the wealth of the people and own the Government.

It is an enormous power; a power that can cause panic or prosperity, happiness or misery, to thousands and millions of people. I say it is too great a power to be given to any corporation, and if once given and set in motion for selfish ends and for sordid motives will be a fruitful source of woe and bankruptcy to hundreds and to thousands of our fellow-citizens. The audacity of this feature of the bill shows to what length the Republican party is now willing to go. Ten years ago this measure in my opinion would not receive 10 votes in this House.

Sir, you talk against trusts. This bill creates the greatest trust the world has ever seen—a national-bank trust, controlling the finances of a mighty people. Pass this measure, and the banks will be supreme. They will act in accord for a common purpose and be one great gigantic trust, octopus like, with tentacles reaching all over and to every part of the land, holding, squeezing, and controlling every other trust, every other industry, and all the

people. This bill marks a long stride in the gradual progress of the money power to enslave the industrial masses of the country.

If you enact this legislation, the banks will ere long own, control, and run the Government. It gives them the power to help or destroy, to make or to unmake. They can raise or lower the price of stocks and staple commodities whenever it is to their interest to do so. They can cause the stock market to go up or to go down and make for themselves or their beneficiaries fortunes out of helpless people and the unsuspecting public. They will have at their mercy the producers and the products of the land. They can boom stocks to the highest point, withdraw their support and send them tumbling down. They can mortgage every home, destroy competition, regulate prices, paralyze industry, stagnate commerce, and enslave toiling humanity.

In my opinion the secret motive for the passage of this bill is to confer these sweeping and unlimited powers on the national banks. It has been said that the national banking act is the greatest scheme ever invented by the ingenuity of man to rob his fellow-man. If that is not true now, this bill will make it so.

My friends on this side of the Chamber, I appeal to you in the name of justice, in the cause of humanity, and for the best interests of Democracy to vote against this iniquitous scheme of the Republican party. Every friend of the people, every sincere patriot should vote against this bill. Let us all stand together and present a united front to this assault of the money power to enslave the industrial masses.

To-day, in the face of what is going on, every earnest, every honest, and every loyal Democrat should stand firm against the encroachments, on the rights of the people, of the national banks. They menace our Republic to-day and jeopardize the perpetuity of our free institutions. They are against the people, and their powers should be curtailed instead of extended. Jackson waged the most bitter and relentless war of his life against the United States Bank and finally destroyed that gigantic monopoly. If he had not, it would have destroyed the Republic. One of the greatest acts of his life was the veto of the bill extending the charter of that bank trust. In the light of what is going on now that veto message should be read by every citizen in our land.

This is a Republican bill and the Republican party stands sponsor for it. If it should become a law, it would give the monopoly of issuing money to the national banks, and hence the right to expand or contract the currency of the people whenever it suited their convenience. No corporation should have this power to make or destroy. It would deprive the Government of one of its greatest attributes of sovereignty and give to the national banks the right to paralyze, at their own will, every industry in the country. It is the most daring attempt the banks have ever made by law to seize one of the greatest weapons for good or evil known to civilized man. For the Government to surrender this prerogative and delegate away this power would be a crime against every citizen in this land and work woe and misery to millions yet unborn.

I am opposed to the Government delegating away its powers to the national banks. The Democratic party should vigorously oppose conferring any additional powers on or granting any greater privileges to the national banks. In my judgment they already possess entirely too much power. They are doing precisely to-day, only to a greater extent, what the United States Bank did in the days of Andrew Jackson. The right to coin and issue money is one of the greatest prerogatives of the Republic and one of the highest attributes of its sovereignty. It should not be delegated, transferred, assigned, or set over to any national bank, to any trust, or to any monopoly. As Democrats we should resist the encroachments of national banks on the liberties of the people with the same zeal and the same courage that Andrew Jackson in his day resisted the audacious claims of the United States Bank. And when the national banks impudently declare that the Government should go out of the banking business, we should answer that the banks should and must go out of the governing business.

In Jackson's day there was only one Nick Biddle. To-day there is a Nick Biddle in every national bank in the land. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

NAVAL BILL—ARMY BILLS—GENERAL WHEELER—TRAINED
NURSES—REVOLUTIONARY HEROES—NICARAGUA
CANAL—PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION—
NELSON DINGLEY.

SPEECHES

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

THIRD SESSION, FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON.

1899.

SPEECHES
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Friday, February 17, 1899.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12122) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, and for other purposes—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Without regard especially to the point of order now under consideration, I rise for the purpose of saying to the members of this House and to the people of the country generally that I am in favor of this naval appropriation bill, shall vote for it, and so long as I am in Congress I will do everything in my power to maintain, improve, and increase the American Navy.

The American people take a just pride in their Navy. They have every reason to be proud of it, to be proud of its past, to be proud of it now, and to be proud of its future. The Navy is one of America's greatest institutions—a bulwark of defense, a mighty engine of offense—and should be liberally supported by the Congress of the United States for all its wants by generous appropriations.

Every dollar spent on the Navy is just so much money expended for insurance. A better investment could not be made. We must all stand by and for the Navy.

The most unthinking individual in the country realizes how important it is for the Government to have a strong, a great, and a mighty navy. We have a larger and more vulnerable seaboard than any other country in the world. We will soon, I believe, have a great merchant marine. We have great cities of immense wealth, of costly building, of commerce, and of property, the value of which is incalculable, all along our seacoasts. They must and should be all protected, and they can not be better protected, better safeguarded than by a modern, a commensurate, a powerful, and an efficient navy. In my judgment I believe that seven-tenths of the people of this country are more in favor of liberally appropriating money for the Navy than they are for the Army. I say this deliberately, and I am on the Military Affairs Committee. We do not want a large standing army in time of peace.

This naval appropriation bill is an honest and an economical one. It should pass the House unanimously. It only carries an appropriation of about \$45,000,000, while the Army appropriation bill carries appropriations aggregating nearly \$80,000,000, nearly double the amount of the naval bill. We want a mighty navy all the time. It is essential to our safety as a nation and to our supremacy on the high seas. A large standing army in time of peace is,

however, contrary to the spirit of democracy and a menace to free and popular institutions.

In a Republic like ours, based on the consent of the governed, where every man is a part of the Government, where every man stands for the Government, and where every man is, or ought to be, a patriot, we do not need a great standing army in time of peace. We should rely on the volunteers and keep alive the martial spirit of our people.

In time of war every able-bodied man in this country is or should be a soldier of the Republic and bear arms, if necessary, for its defense, for its flag, and for its vindication. We need, however, a great navy for the protection, for the safety, and for the integrity of our great seaboard and our seacoast towns on the Atlantic Ocean, on the Pacific Ocean, and on the Gulf of Mexico. We need a great navy to protect our commerce on the high seas and to vindicate American citizenship and all that it stands for in every port and in every land in the world. I believe in the Navy. I stand for the Navy, and while I am in Congress I will always do all that I can for the Navy—for the men on deck, for the men below, and for the men behind the guns. All honor and all glory to the American sailors, to the American Navy, and to their patriotic, their heroic, and their splendid achievements.

I think I but voice the sentiments of the great majority of the people of this country when I say to you with all candor that we should have a great navy, the equal, in fact, of any in the world. Nothing would be more conducive to lasting peace, permanent security, and continued prosperity.

The recent war between Spain and this country demonstrated the power, the glory, and the effectiveness of the American Navy. Where would we have been in that combat if it had not been for our Navy? It was the Navy that lowered and humbled in the dust the proud banner of Spain in the Orient by the matchless genius and the thundering guns of Dewey. It was the Navy that dethroned the haughty power of Spain on the Western Hemisphere under the great Commander Schley. It was the Navy—our Navy, the Navy of the Republic—that forced the proud and puffed-up Spaniards, who had derided and ridiculed us for years, to hastily sue for peace when Schley's unerring guns sunk the Spanish fleet.

It was the Navy that vindicated the greatness, the glory, and the power of the United States of America and placed us in the front rank of the great powers of the world. It was the Navy that settled the controversy and won the war. Without the Navy we would have been impotent and powerless.

I am glad of this opportunity to speak for the Navy and to speak for the men in the Navy, from the lowest in the ranks to the highest in command. They all did and they all do their duty. They are all heroes, each and every one.

Sir, I would vote for this bill if it appropriated more money than it does. There has been no fraud in the Navy, no stealing, no hypocrisy, no slander, no corruption. Its proud banner is spotless, and history will give it its full measure of praise and glory.

For all that our Navy has recently done and for all that it is to day we owe much—more than words can tell—to the distinguished chairman of the Naval Committee [Mr. BOUTELLE], to his patriotic colleagues on that committee, especially to my friend and colleague from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS], and to the recent Secretaries of the Navy, among whom should be particularly men-

tioned Secretary Chandler, Secretary Whitney, Secretary Tracy, Secretary Herbert, and the present efficient and distinguished Secretary, Mr. Long. The country owes them a debt of gratitude it can never pay. The great work they have done for the Navy and for the Republic can hardly be estimated, and I doubt not will never be really and truly appreciated. All honor to them, I say. Their best reward, however, is in the consciousness of duty well done for duty's sake. As the years come and go let us indulge the hope that their work will be more and better understood, and their patriotic efforts duly recognized and sincerely applauded.

We are a mighty people. We have a great and a superb country. We are the great, the peerless Republic. We have an immense seaboard. We must build up a great merchant marine; we must build and own the Nicaragua Canal, and we want a great navy to promote, to safeguard, and to protect it all now and for all time to come.

We are all proud of the heroism and the great deeds of valor and of gallantry of our immortal naval commanders. What true American is there from one end of the land to the other whose blood does not stir and tingle when he reads or thinks or hears of the heroic deeds of daring and of bravery of Paul Jones, of Wickes, of Hull, of Perry, of Lawrence, of McDonough, of Decatur, of Stewart, of Farragut, of Porter, of Foote, of Evans, of Phillips, of Clark, of Schley, and of our great admiral, the immortal Dewey?

Their gallant names, their heroic deeds, and their matchless valor brighten and illumine every page of American history. Their monuments, more enduring than marble or brass, are in the grateful hearts of their patriotic countrymen, and their illustrious fame will never die while American history lives, is read, and continues to be, as I pray it ever will, a beacon light to the oppressed of other lands and an inspiration to liberty, to freedom, and to equal rights and equal opportunities for all. No words can do them and their great deeds full justice.

But, sir, in this connection I desire to say a few words about another matter. If I had my way, I would make the Naval Academy at Annapolis and the Military Academy at West Point great national universities. I would make them great institutions of naval and military learning. I would open them freely to the youth of the land. I would make them as free to the poor man's son as they are to the rich man's son. In this regard, let me say, I agree with and concur in the policy of that great metropolitan newspaper, the New York Journal. I stand for that policy and will do all I can to carry it out. I would give all a chance, under proper rules and regulations to be prescribed by Congress. Instead of having one cadet at West Point and Annapolis from each Congressional district, I would have as many as could be accommodated by a proper enlargement of the two academies, so that anyone, no matter how poor or humble he might be, could enter and be educated, provided he could pass the necessary physical and mental examination.

I would pass a law providing that some of these students, when graduated, should spend a certain length of time in the service of the Government, and that others should go into the walks of private life, to be ready to serve the Government when called for in case of trouble or war. This is the true solution, in my judgment, of the making of a great navy and a great reserve army, and then men in almost every walk of life, educated at West Point and Annapolis, could command volunteers and ships in case of

war. I would like to see the way as open and clear for the youth of our country to go to West Point and Annapolis as it is now for them to go to Princeton, to Yale, or to Harvard.

The people are thinking about this matter, and the day, in my opinion, is not far distant when Congress will have to take some decisive action in regard to it. I know that nothing will be done now, that nothing can be done now, but there must be a beginning to everything. I begin this agitation. I know that many here think my proposition is impracticable, but let me say to you in all sincerity that what you think is now inconsistent and impracticable will be a realization and a blessing in a few years. Someone must make the start. Someone must inaugurate the discussion. Someone must make the first effort to bring about reform and a departure from old practices and obsolete theories. I have tried to do that to-day, and I doubt not that these few brief remarks, uttered without preparation or premeditation, will bear fruit and ultimately consummate this great reform at West Point and Annapolis so devoutly wished for by the young men of our land. [Loud applause.]

ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Friday, February 24, 1899.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12106) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This is the regular Army appropriation bill for the next fiscal year, and it appropriates four times as much money for the Army as was ever appropriated before in any one year in the history of the Government. It appropriates more than twice the sum asked for to maintain and increase the Navy.

This bill takes out of the Treasury—in other words, out of the pockets of the people—the sum, in round numbers, of eighty millions of dollars. The last regular Army appropriation bill carried only about twenty-three millions of dollars. What a difference! What a comparison! And yet, sir, it is said by those who speak with authority, who speak as experts, that this Army appropriation bill will cause a deficiency of forty-five millions of dollars. Alas, well may we exclaim, Whither are we going?

Let me repeat at this time what I have frequently said before on the floor of this House, that I am now, always have been, and always will be, opposed to a large standing army in time of peace.

In a Republic like ours a great standing army in time of peace is inimical to civil liberty, an unnecessary drain on the resources of the people, and a menace to free institutions. We do not need a large standing army of soldiers in a country like ours. They are consumers, not producers; they are tax eaters, not taxpayers.

In a Republic like ours we should rely on the volunteers in case of trouble or emergency. I believe in the citizen soldiery of our land. I speak for them now as I have in the past, and I stand for them. The history of the past demonstrates how useful, how efficient, how brave, how heroic, and how self-sacrificing they are. No words of mine can do justice to the brave volunteers of the Republic.

In praising the valor and the gallantry of our volunteers, however, I would not be just to myself or to them if I did not at the

same time give full and due credit to the regulars. We must have regulars, but in time of peace and tranquillity we do not want a single regular soldier more than is absolutely necessary.

As I have said before, I would keep the Regular Army in time of peace down to the minimum, and at the same time provide for a national reserve force of volunteers or militiamen, who should be drilled the same as the Regulars, organized the same, and equipped the same. This, in my judgment, is the true and the simple solution of our military system of army organization. If we would do this in case of war or trouble, we could in less than thirty days put a half million well-drilled, well-organized, and well-equipped soldiers in the field, the equal of any in Europe, regulars in every sense of the word.

If we would do this, the expense to the people would be very small and the results beyond calculation. Sooner or later, in my judgment, we must come to it. The recent war with Spain should be and is an object lesson to every citizen in the country.

And in this regard, without presuming, I would make another suggestion: The whole Army, line and staff, should be thoroughly reorganized, and patterned after the best military system in the world. If we would do this, there would never again be a repetition of the abuses, the negligence, the incompetency, and the criminality so flagrant and outrageous as those which occurred and disgraced the nation in the recent Spanish-American war.

In my judgment the conduct of the recent war should be thoroughly investigated. The American people will never be satisfied until it is done, and rigidly and vigorously done, by a Congressional investigating committee.

The commission appointed by the President was a whitewashing commission and only added insult to injury. That commission was unauthorized, without warrant of law, and had no legal authority to send for books, documents, papers, and persons. It could not administer oaths, its labors were abortive and impotent, and its report a roaring farce and a hollow mockery.

The people had no confidence in that commission, and treated it with the contempt it deserved. It did not elicit the truth. It did not try to. On the contrary, it seemed to studiously endeavor to avoid the truth, evade the damning facts, cover up the frightful fraud, hide the peculation, and smooth over the criminal corruption, incompetency, and negligence of those trusted with responsibility and high in authority.

Mr. Chairman, on the first day of this session—to be specific, on the fifth day of December, 1898—I introduced in this House the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be, and the same hereby is, authorized and directed to investigate the War Department and the conduct of the recent war between Spain and the United States, and report all of said proceedings, with their findings, conclusions, and recommendations, to the House of Representatives with all convenient speed.

Resolved, That said committee is hereby authorized and empowered to send for books, documents, papers, and persons, examine persons under oath, sit in any part of the United States, employ a stenographer, and that the Sergeant-at-Arms is hereby directed to attend said committee and carry out its directions.

Resolved, That the necessary expenses of the investigation be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

That resolution was in proper terms and would have accomplished the results desired. It should have been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, of which I am a member. If it had, I would have had it reported and passed. The Speaker, however,

with great discernment of mind, no doubt thought as much, and quietly referred it to his own committee, viz, the Committee on Rules, of which he is the chairman, and there it has slept ever since the sleep which knows no awakening. All my efforts to get a hearing on it, or a favorable report, have been in vain. When it went to the Committee on Rules it went to its grave. From that legislative mausoleum no resolution ever returns, unless perchance the Speaker favors it. What a commentary on free institutions!

This session is now at an end. The Fifty-fifth Congress—the most profligate, the most extravagant, and the most boss-ridden Congress in the history of the Republic—has done its work and takes its place in the annals of the past. The people will weigh it and judge it. The verdict must be, and will be, one of condemnation.

Let me say here and now, however, that if I live to take my seat in the Fifty-sixth Congress I shall reintroduce the above resolution to investigate the conduct of the war and the War Department, and I will do all in my power to pass it and thus bring about an honest and a searching inquiry that will lay bare the facts and the truth, and let no guilty man escape. So much for that.

Mr. Chairman, I was opposed to the Alger-Hull imperialistic army bill, and I voted against it when it passed this House. It is now in the Senate, and I doubt very much if it will ever pass that body and become a law. That bill violated every principle of Democracy and invaded every safeguard of our free institutions. From the best information I can get the bill is now as dead as a door nail. And yet, sir, it is now proposed by the committee to pass this bill carrying appropriations based on the estimates of that bill. In my opinion, we should not pass an appropriation bill for the Army until we know just what kind of an Army we are going to have.

This bill appropriates eighty millions of dollars. The chairman of the committee says that is enough. The Secretary of War says in his estimates it will require one hundred and sixty-six millions of dollars to carry out the provisions of the Alger-Hull bill for the next fiscal year. The best mathematicians in the Treasury Department say to carry out the provisions of the Alger-Hull imperialistic army bill for the next fiscal year will necessitate an appropriation of one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars. So whichever end of the dilemma you take, there is bound to be a terrible and a glaring deficiency. And the Treasury is nearly empty, war taxes continue without abatement, and the people are being robbed under the guise of law more now than ever before in all our history.

How much longer will the people submit? How much longer will they tolerate the wanton, the corrupt, the profligate, and the intolerant rule of the Republican party? Let them answer at the ballot box.

In the interest of economy, for the safety and the perpetuity of our free institutions, and on behalf of the tax-burdened people of our land, I enter my emphatic protest against a great standing Army in time of peace.

We witness to-day in France the results of a great standing army in time of peace, overawing the people, threatening revolution, stamping on civil liberty, burdening the taxpayer, subordinating freedom and justice to gold lace and shoulder straps,

denying a poor, innocent Hebrew a fair trial, laughing at law, and making free institutions a mockery and a sham. As France passes into the shadow of her former greatness—a victim to militarism—would it not be well, my countrymen, for us to take warning by the great lessons of history, and, ere it be too late, set our faces firmly against any innovation in our long and successfully established army custom? Let us make haste slowly in respect to a great standing army.

Mr. Chairman, during this debate a great deal has been said in regard to Cuba and the Philippines. The President, in his recent speech in Boston, said the whole Philippine question was referred to Congress; that Congress would grapple with the problem and determine what should be done with the Philippine archipelago. I hold in my hand an editorial from this morning's Washington Times in regard to a conference held yesterday at the White House. It seems to be authentic and shows how inconsistent the Republican party is; what a difference there is between the President's promise and the party's performance. I send this article to the desk, and ask the Clerk to read it for the information of the members and the edification of all assembled. It tells the story of perfidy and surrender.

The Clerk read as follows:

A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE.

This was the situation until yesterday morning when a conference was held at the White House, in which Senators Allison, Hawley, Hanna, Spooner, and Carter participated and at which the compromise with the Democrats was agreed upon. Senators Allison, Spooner, and Hanna have always favored any step which would render an extra session unnecessary. Senator Hawley, on the other hand, only two days ago proclaimed publicly in the Senate that he would accept nothing but "unconditional surrender" from the opponents of the bill, and Senator Carter insisted that the reorganization measure must be passed, pure and simple. These Senators were, however, willing to agree to a compromise yesterday. The reasons which operate against an extra session are mainly two, as follows:

"The discussion of the financial question, which would be precipitated, is avoided.

"By a recess of Congress the President is given nine months of unrestricted power to operate in the Philippines and solve the problems of expansion."

Mr. SULZER. That article, Mr. Chairman, tells the whole story, and gives the reasons why the Republican party has come off its high horse, and is now willing to accept a reasonable and a temporary army bill to tide over the present emergency. A few days ago the Democrats were told by the Republicans here and in the Senate that they must unconditionally surrender their opposition to the Alger-Hull bill. To-day—right about face, march—the Republicans have, forsooth, unconditionally surrendered to the Democrats. What a complete change of front! What a transformation!

The President wants Congress off his hands for nine months. He wants nine months more of unrestricted power to wrestle with Aguinaldo, nine months more of *unrestricted power* to subjugate the Filipinos. I have not time now to discuss this question as I should like to. I have decided opinions regarding the Philippine question—opinions I formed long ago—which I believe to be right, and which I will religiously adhere to until I am convinced that I am wrong. Some other day, ere this session ends, I trust I will get time to give my views on the Oriental situation. Let me now briefly, in the short time I have left, call your attention to the Cuban situation.

As a member of the Fifty-fourth Congress and of this Congress it is well known to all that I was an ardent, an earnest, and a

sincere friend and sympathizer of the Cuban patriots. I missed no opportunity, in Congress and out of Congress, to champion their rights and their cause. I aided them and I helped them in every way I could. The record speaks for itself, and I point to that record with pride and with some personal gratification and individual satisfaction.

Sir, I early saw that war with Spain over Cuba was inevitable, and when others faltered and held their peace I spoke out in no uncertain tones. I advocated war. I voted for war. I worked and voted to free Cuba. I voted for men, for munitions of war, and for every dollar that was needed to vigorously and successfully prosecute that war to a victorious determination in favor of the United States. I denounced the dastardly sinking of the *Maine*, and the villainous and cruel assassination of her heroic crew. War finally came. It had to come.

With all my countrymen I gloried in the signal and triumphant victories of Dewey at Manila, of Schley at Santiago, of Wheeler and Kent and Roosevelt at El Caney, at Siboney, at San Juan, and of Miles in Porto Rico. All our soldiers and sailors did their duty. They all shed luster and glory on American arms and added a bright chapter to our illustrious history. They were all heroes, each and every one. They have reared a monument to their fame that is imperishable. When the call to arms came there was no lack of men. Thousands and thousands who wanted to go to the front never got a chance to go. Thousands and thousands who finally were successful enough to get mustered in never got beyond the deathly and pestilential camps at home.

Mr. Chairman, my heart was in the cause of Cuba. I had talked for Cuba, and when the time came I wanted to fight for Cuba, like thousands and thousands of others all over this land. After the destruction of the *Maine*, and some time before the official declaration of war against Spain, I wrote the following letter to Frank S. Black, then governor of my State:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 9, 1898.*

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: In the event of war with Spain, which now seems inevitable, I desire, through you, to place my services at the disposal of the State to serve my country in any capacity I can in defense of the national honor, for the glory of the flag, and for Cuban independence.

You and I served together in Congress, and you know how intensely I feel regarding the Cuban question.

When hostilities begin, if you will give me authority, I can organize very quickly a good volunteer regiment in the city of New York, and I appeal to you for leave to go to the front.

Trusting you will give this communication your earnest attention and advise me at your earliest convenience, believe me, as ever,

Very sincerely, your friend,

WM. SULZER.

Hon. FRANK S. BLACK.

In answer to that communication to Governor Frank S. Black, of the State of New York, I received the following from his military secretary:

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Albany, April 11, 1898.

DEAR SIR: Governor Black is in receipt of your communication of April 9, in which you offer your services in the event of war.

In reply thereto permit me to say that the same has been referred to the adjutant-general, from whom you will doubtless hear should occasion arise for such services.

The Governor wishes me to thank you for your letter and to assure you of his appreciation of your patriotism.

Respectfully,

GEORGE CURTIS TREADWELL,
Military Secretary.

Hon. WM. SULZER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The next day I received the following from the adjutant-general of the State of New York:

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, STATE OF NEW YORK,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, *Albany, April 13, 1898.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 9th instant, addressed to the Governor and referred by him to this office, tendering your services in the event of a war with Spain, and in reply am directed by the adjutant-general to inform you that the same has been placed on file and will receive due consideration should a call for volunteers be made.

Respectfully,

FRED. PHISTERER.

Hon. WILLIAM SULZER, *M. C.,*
Washington, D. C.

Believing, then, that war with Spain was inevitable—that the conflict could not be postponed—I began in the city of New York, in conjunction with several well-known military gentlemen the formation and organization of a volunteer regiment. We enrolled over 2,000 men, and no better men ever stepped in the ranks. These men were all examined by two surgeons before they were mustered in. The regiment was thoroughly organized and drilled when war was declared. When the President's call for volunteers came, we offered the regiment immediately to the Government through the governor of the State. He refused it. Every effort was made to get Governor Black to accept the regiment, but it was useless. He refused to accept volunteer regiments. Nearly all the officers of this regiment were trained military men and most of them had seen active military service.

The lieutenant-colonel was Col. John W. Marshall, a most distinguished officer during the civil war. The first major was Maj. Peter F. Rafferty, a gallant soldier of the civil war. The second major was Gen. A. C. Fish, formerly of Ohio, and who commanded one of the crack regiments from the State of Ohio during the civil war. Another officer was Gen. Lopez de Queralto, who was a colonel on General McClellan's staff during the civil war, and subsequently served with General Gomez in the Cuban ten years' war. Another experienced officer of the regiment was Col. T. C. Campbell, a distinguished and a gallant soldier during the civil war. The officers were all duly elected by the men of the regiment, and nearly everyone was a trained soldier, who had seen active military service. After Governor Black refused to give us a chance, we did all we could to have the President accept the regiment.

On the 5th day of May, 1898, I received the following telegram from the regiment:

NEW YORK, *May 5, 1898.*

Hon. WM. SULZER,
Washington, D. C.:

We have 2,000 men enrolled and have elected you colonel. See the President. Will go to Cuba or Porto Rico. Governor Black will not give us a chance.

JOHN W. MARSHALL, *Colonel,* and
PETER F. RAFFERTY, *Adjutant.*

In answer to that telegram I requested the officers of the regiment to come to Washington to see and confer with the President and with General Miles. They came to Washington and we saw the President, who received us courteously and promised to accept the regiment if a joint resolution could be passed through Congress authorizing him to do so. The next day I introduced the following joint resolution:

Joint resolution authorizing the President to accept a regiment of riflemen from the State of New York.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be, and is hereby, author-

ized to accept for the service of the United States, in addition to the troops already authorized, a regiment of volunteer dismounted riflemen from the State of New York, the regiment to consist of 12 companies, each of the strength, on a war footing, authorized for the infantry arm of the Regular Army.

There was much opposition to this resolution and it could not pass.

General Miles was anxious to have the regiment mustered in. It was peculiarly fitted for active service in Cuba or Porto Rico by reason of the training and experience of its men and officers, and because about 300 of its members were Cuban-Americans who had seen service in Cuba.

The muster rolls and all papers and documents about, connected with, and concerning the regiment were filed, and are now on file, in the War Department. I doubt not many others in the country met with the same experience we did. No one, I think, who is familiar with the facts will deny the favoritism manifested in the States and at the War Department in regard to enlistments, regiments, and commissions. I cite these facts not to complain, but to demonstrate the martial spirit of our people—how anxious when danger threatens they are to volunteer and sacrifice their all on the altar of their devotion to country.

The whole history of the Spanish-American war is an eulogy and a pæan to the volunteers, and refutes every argument made by the advocates of a great permanent standing army.

I favor a great navy, and will do all in my power to accomplish that object and maintain it by liberal appropriations. But I am now and always will be opposed to quartering a large army of regular soldiers among our people in time of peace.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion the time is at hand when the President should order the discharge of every man who left his business, his home, and his family to enlist for the war against Spain. That war is over and those men should be released at once. It is a great injustice to compel them now to linger in the camps or do police duty in our island possessions. I trust that every volunteer will soon be discharged and sent home to his family and his business. This is as it should be.

Mr. Chairman, we only need a few men in Porto Rico. We will have no trouble there. In a short time, I hope, all difficulty and all trouble will be over in the Philippines. In regard to Cuba the faith of the nation is pledged to quickly restore law and order in that beautiful island and let the people there establish a republic of their own. We must keep our promise. The Cuban people must be permitted to govern themselves. We should withdraw all our troops from that island before the unhealthy season begins. The Cuban republic, by the grace of God and American arms, must and will take its place among the nations of the world. [Applause.]

Here the hammer fell.

ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

February 27, 1899.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment to come in immediately after the last paragraph on page 23, and I ask the Clerk to report the same.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The amendment was read, as follows:

Add after the last paragraph on page 23 the following:

"That the number of major-generals in the United States Army is hereby increased to four."

That the President is hereby authorized to fill the original vacancy created by this act in the grade of major-general by the appointment of a volunteer officer who held the rank of major-general of volunteers and participated in the action against the enemy at Santiago de Cuba, but who did not hold a commission in the Regular Army of the United States: *Provided*, That upon the death, resignation, or retirement of said major-general so appointed by the President under and by authority of this act the number of major-generals in the Army shall not exceed the number now or hereafter provided by law.

Mr. HAY rose.

Mr. HULL. I raise the point of order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SULZER. Before the point of order is raised, I desire to say a word. I shall be very brief, and I trust the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] will listen to what I say.

The CHAIRMAN. One moment. Complaint has been made to the Chair frequently this morning that there has been so much confusion that gentlemen interested in this bill can not proceed with it. The Chair trusts that all gentlemen desiring to engage in conversation will retire to the cloakroom.

Mr. SULZER. This amendment, Mr. Chairman, simply increases the number of major-generals by one, and the place so created is intended for that grand old soldier, Gen. JOSEPH WHEELER. It is only intended as a fitting recognition of his gallant services. When he dies the office will cease to exist. It will die with him.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Chairman, I made the point of order.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I have the floor. I hope the gentleman will not interrupt me. I hope he will not be so ungalant and so unpatriotic as to insist on the technical point of order.

Mr. HULL. But a point of order takes anybody off the floor.

Mr. SULZER. That depends on the Chairman.

Mr. HAY. Mr. Chairman, I desire to state that I rose for the purpose of reserving a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. HAY] that the gentleman in charge of the bill made the point of order. This is a question which the Chair does not care to hear debate upon.

Mr. SULZER. But, Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard for a few minutes. I hope the Chair will hear both sides before deciding the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not desire to hear any debate.

Mr. SULZER. Then, Mr. Chairman, I desire to debate the point of order. I have a right to do that. It is only fair that you permit me to do so. Perhaps the Chair might not decide against me after the Chair hears what I have to say.

I believe nine-tenths of the American people know that General WHEELER was the real hero at Santiago. I believe they wish to see his ambition gratified in being made a major-general in the Regular Army. General WHEELER would rather hold that office than his seat in Congress. Let us gratify his ardent wish.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair desires to say to the gentleman from New York that this amendment is clearly out of order, and the Chair has so ruled. The Clerk will read.

Mr. SULZER. Does the Chair deny me the right to be heard on the point of order?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does. [Laughter.]

Mr. SULZER. That is characteristic of the Chair. I simply desired to make a comparison between—

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is not in order.

Mr. SULZER. I will just so soon as I can get in order.

The Clerk read as follows:

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Ordnance service. For current expenses of the ordnance service required to defray the current expenses at the arsenals; of receiving stores and issuing arms and other ordnance supplies; of police and office duties; of rents, tolls, fuel, and lights; of stationery and office furniture; of tools and instruments for use; incidental expenses of the ordnance service and those attending practical trials and tests of ordnance, small arms, and other ordnance supplies, including payment for mechanical labor in the office of the Chief of Ordnance, \$235,000.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I offered that amendment—

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. SULZER. I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I offered that amendment in all sincerity and in all seriousness. It is similar to the one which was offered the other day to the naval appropriation bill by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MOODY] in regard to Admiral Dewey. I am glad that no Democrat then objected to making the gallant Dewey an admiral. I thought no Republican would object to making WHEELER a major-general.

Mr. HULL. I have given notice already that I would raise a point of order on all debate not affecting this bill. I know what my friend wants to say, and I am reluctant to interrupt him; but he must know that he is out of order.

Mr. SULZER. I have the floor, and I trust the gentleman will not abridge my right to say a few words for the hero of Santiago—Gen. JOSEPH WHEELER. He will get along a great deal faster with his bill if he gives me an opportunity to speak a moment. I am a member of the committee, and I know when I am out of order just as well as he does.

Mr. HULL. I must insist on my point of order against my friend, as I will against every other man who undertakes to indulge in debate which is not in order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York of course understands well—

Mr. SULZER. I think I am in order. I will try to confine myself to the provision of the bill under consideration. I think I have a right to say a few words in regard to my amendment. If you will leave me alone for a few moments, you will get along faster.

* * * * *

Mr. GAINES. What is the point of order?

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is that the gentleman was not confining himself to the amendment which he offered, which was to strike out the last word.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I was very glad, as I was saying a few moments ago, that no Democrat on our side of the House raised the point of order against the amendment making Admiral Dewey a full-fledged American admiral. He deserved it, and I think he ought to get it. So I think Gen. JOSEPH WHEELER should be made a major-general in the Regular Army. He deserves it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York—

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I desire now—

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York will please obey the rules of the committee.

Mr. SULZER. I am endeavoring to do that. I will get along all right if you will not interrupt me.

A MEMBER. You are pretty unsuccessful.

Mr. SULZER. But how can I obey the rules when the gentleman from Iowa gets up every moment and tries to take me off my feet and the Chair is doing all he possibly can to help the gentleman from Iowa? [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is out of order.

Mr. SULZER. I regret that anyone here should object to making General WHEELER a major-general. No soldier in the Spanish-American war did more or deserves more than he. My amendment should be adopted unanimously.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair desires to state to the gentleman—

Mr. SULZER. I am very glad, however, that the objection does not come from a Democrat, but from the gentleman from Iowa. We will have some more to say on this subject at some future time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair desires to state to the gentleman from New York that, having repeatedly called the gentleman's attention to the rules, the Chair must ask the aid of the Sergeant-at-Arms if the gentleman does not obey them.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I shall not transgress the rules any more than the gentleman in the chair. Now, in regard to this section I desire to say—

Mr. HENDERSON. Regular order.

Mr. SULZER. I am discussing this section. This is no time for the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] to put in his oar by calling "Regular order!" This section is subject to the same point of order as the chairman of the committee made against my amendment. I want to say that this bill from beginning to end is full of inconsistencies. I can point out in almost every section of the bill provisions that are subject to a point of order. The bill is full of new legislation. In fact, we are legislating in the air. What is the use of making appropriations for the Army before we know what kind of an army we are going to have?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will confine himself to the amendment that is under consideration.

Mr. SULZER. I am confining myself to it. I know you do not care to hear one talk like that, but I am telling the truth about it. I now make the point of order that the section under consideration contains new legislation, and, under Rule XXI, should be stricken out.

This bill from beginning to end is entirely contrary to the rules of this House; and no one knows it better than the chairman. He is getting it through; and we are not objecting. But when one of us endeavors to amend the bill by putting in a provision that will do justice to one of the greatest heroes of the Republic—Gen. JOSEPH WHEELER—the chairman of the committee, forsooth, objects. How petty it all seems. But let me say to the gentleman from Iowa the Senate will do justice to his bill and to General WHEELER, just as it is now doing heroic justice to the gentleman's Army bill. When it comes back, he will not know it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will confine himself to his point of order.

Mr. SULZER. Now, I object to this provision because it is new legislation, and I make that point of order.

Mr. HULL. Now let the Chair rule on the point of order raised by the gentleman from New York. I call for a ruling.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order raised by the gentleman from New York is overruled.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ordnance, ordnance stores, and supplies: For manufacture of metallic ammunition for small arms and ammunition for reloading cartridges, including the cost of targets and material for target practice, ammunition for burials at the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers and its several branches, including National Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C., and marksmen's medals and insignia for all arms of the service, including machinery, tools, and fixtures for their manufacture at the arsenals, \$500,000.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer the amendment I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Insert, after line 14, page 24, the words:

"Provided, That the Chief of Ordnance is authorized to issue such obsolete or condemned ordnance as may be needed for ornamental purposes for the Homes for Disabled Volunteers, the Homes to pay the expense of transportation and other expenses necessary."

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Chairman, reserving the point of order, I would like to ask if there is not already a provision of law which authorizes this to be done?

Mr. STEELE. There is a provision of law that has reference alone to the guns which have been condemned. But there are some old gun carriages that have been condemned and are obsolete that are being broken up and thrown into the scrap heap at the armories. It is claimed at the Ordnance Department that they may not issue the carriages under the law, but they may issue guns.

I ask a vote on the amendment.

The amendment was considered, and agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

For overhauling, cleaning, and preserving new ordnance on hand at the arsenals and depots, \$50,000.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word for the purpose of asking an explanation from the chairman of the committee with reference to this particular paragraph.

Mr. HULL. What is the point the gentleman makes?

Mr. SULZER. I would like to know as to the amount appropriated here. It seems to be extravagant. I make a point of order against it.

Mr. HULL. This simply provides a fund for the overhauling, cleaning, and the care of guns.

Mr. SULZER. How much was appropriated last year for this purpose?

Mr. HULL. Not so much as this. But the gentleman must remember that we have a great addition to our guns now.

Mr. SULZER. If my memory serves me right, it was not nearly so much last year. Can the gentleman state about what the appropriation was in the last appropriation bill?

Mr. HULL. I can not state exactly. My recollection is about \$10,000, though I would have to look into the matter.

Mr. SULZER. And this appropriates \$50,000? Quite a little difference, and a decided bit of new legislation.

Mr. HULL. Yes. If the gentleman thinks it is too much, of course he can offer an amendment to reduce it.

Mr. SULZER. I do think it is too much, and the gentleman seems to be wholly unable to justify it.

I move to strike out the words "fifty thousand," and insert "twenty-five thousand" instead. I think that is enough for this purpose at this time, especially when we do not seem to have money for other purposes a great deal more important and necessary.

Mr. HULL. I hope it will not be adopted. We need the full amount.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment proposed by the gentleman from New York.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out in line 25, on page 24, the word "fifty" and insert "twenty-five;" so that it will read "twenty-five thousand dollars."

Mr. HULL. I would only say, in answer to the remarks of the gentleman from New York, that the Department of Ordnance thinks it will be necessary to make this appropriation, and that the full amount is needed. That is the information we received in response to inquiries addressed to the Department.

Mr. SULZER. If the appropriations were left to the several Departments of the Government on their estimates, there would not be a dollar left in the Treasury. They would take every dollar they could get if we followed their estimates.

To-day they want \$50,000 to clean old guns with brass mountings. Last year they only asked for five or ten thousand dollars. Next year they will ask for \$300,000. In my judgment \$25,000 is ample. It is all that is needed this year, and I hope the amendment will prevail.

ARMY REORGANIZATION BILL.

March 1, 1899.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to my colleague on the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, we are confronted with this grave and serious situation: We must either pass this bill, in my judgment, just as it is, or there will be no Army legislation at this session of Congress. That is the alternative. If we do not pass this bill it will necessitate an extraordinary session of Congress.

I want to do all that I can to obviate an extraordinary session of Congress. Every Democrat here should do all he can to avoid an extraordinary session of Congress. Although this bill is not perfect and does not meet with all of the requirements I would desire as a member of the committee, still, as the best thing we can get—as a fair compromise—I am in favor of it, and shall do all I can to pass it.

Fifty-five members of the Senate voted for it and only thirteen voted against it. Any delay, any amendment now will kill the bill, and the President will be obliged to call an extra session. The so-called Hull bill was opposed by the Democrats, and the latter, under the leadership of Senator GORMAN, suggested this proposition, the Republicans of the Senate assented to it, and we will be derelict in our fidelity to the Democrats in the other branch of the Legislature if we now impede or defeat this bill.

I trust that every Democrat who sympathises with the men in arms at Manila, with our soldiers and sailors in the Philippines, will uphold at this critical moment the hands of the President and

give him the power vested in him by the terms of this bill. I am a partisan, but in times like these I always subordinate my partisanship to my patriotism. We should all be patriots to-day. We must not forget, we must not forsake our brave and heroic soldiers and sailors who are upholding and defending our flag in the Orient. We must all stand by them.

Mr. HENRY of Texas. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SULZER. The gentleman had more time than I have, in which he talked about the people in the Philippine Islands. I have only a few minutes. I trust I shall not be interrupted, although I would like to accommodate my friend.

Mr. STEELE. I will give you the time to answer a question.

Mr. HENRY of Texas. Will the gentleman yield now?

Mr. STEELE. I will give you a minute in which to answer it.

Mr. SULZER. I thank the gentleman from Indiana. Yes; I will now yield to my friend from Texas.

Mr. HENRY of Texas. I want to know, if the proviso commencing in line 4, on page 13, is repealed, if it would not leave a standing army of over a hundred thousand men?

Mr. SULZER. No, sir; it would not, and I will tell you why. That proviso can not be repealed. It would be just as hard to repeal that proviso as it would be to pass a bill for a standing army of 100,000 men. It will never be done—take my word for it.

Mr. HENRY of Texas. Will you please tell me why?

Mr. SULZER. In the first place, it is not repealed, and it will not be repealed. In the next place if it were repealed—

Mr. HENRY of Texas. That is not an answer to the question.

Mr. SULZER. Oh, well, the gentleman's question supposes something which does not exist. It is based on a supposition which will never arise. We are going to pass this bill. It will give the President all the power—all the men—he asks for now to suppress the insurrection. It will cease to be operative after July 1, 1901.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Will the gentleman from New York allow me?

Mr. SULZER. Yes. I am always glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. GROSVENOR. The enlistments under this bill would not be affected by the repeal of the proviso.

Mr. SULZER. That is quite true. In the first place, we are not going to repeal that proviso. In my opinion, no attempt will ever be made to do that. We should pass this bill, if we pass it at all, in its entirety. Any change in it now means its defeat and an extra session, when a permanent Regular Army bill will be passed. We can not evade the responsibility or avoid the positive alternative. By the passage of this bill now it seems to me we gain all we have contended for.

This bill is only a temporary measure. It will cease to be operative in 1901. The increase is only temporary. There is nothing permanent about it. It simply meets the present emergency.

Mr. HENRY of Texas. I do not think the gentleman caught the point of my question.

Mr. SULZER (continuing). Oh, yes; I think I have. And I hope the gentleman has grasped the importance of my reply. The responsibility for all that is now going on rests on the Administration. I do not think it is good policy to embarrass the Administration merely for political advantages. This bill can do no

harm. It becomes a nullity and repeals itself on the 1st day of July, 1901. Until then it gives the President all he has asked for.

I was opposed to and voted against the bill of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] because I am opposed to increasing the Regular Army to the extent he wanted to increase it. I thought the gentleman in the committee this morning favored this bill and would do so on the floor, but he has stood up here this afternoon and used every argument he can think of against the bill. I hope the members of the House will realize how important it is to pass this bill. Its failure now would be a calamity—an affront to every man in the Philippines.

The bill is not a perfect one. It is a compromise bill. It is only a temporary measure, and will cease to be a law on July 1, 1901. But, take it all in all, it does great credit to its author, and, in my opinion, I can not see how a Republican or a Democrat can consistently vote against it. It gives the President all the men he wants to meet the present emergency, and at the same time it does not increase the standing Army a single man. After July 1, 1901, by virtue of this bill, the Regular Army will be just the same as it was before war was declared against Spain. By that time, let us hope, the country will be at peace with all the world and the insurrection in the Philippines a thing of the past. This is no time to be captious. This is no time to split hairs or play small politics. We should do our duty. We should do what is right, and the people will judge us accordingly.

Mr. Speaker, just a few words more. My time is nearly exhausted. Some criticism has been made against the bill because it makes the chief of the record department a brigadier-general. The chief of that department is Col. F. C. Ainsworth, and a more efficient, a more competent, and a more industrious gentleman never lived. He is entitled to this promotion. He has made the record division of the War Department a model. His system has never been excelled, and the facility with which he can furnish the record of every soldier who was in any war in the United States is one of the marvels of the century. He has saved the Government thousands and thousands of dollars. When he took hold of that division it was in confusion—no one could find a record or tell anything about the history of the soldiers of the Union. Out of chaos he brought order, detail, and system, the best in the world.

The great work he has done is a monument to human effort, human endurance, and human ingenuity. Every member of this House is indebted to Colonel Ainsworth. No one who knows the facts and who has the slightest sense of gratitude will oppose his deserved advancement. He has earned, he merits, and a just recognition of his worth and services warrants this promotion. In my opinion it is one of the best provisions in the bill. I am always glad to speak a good word for an efficient, an honest, a competent, and a faithful public servant. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

TRAINED WOMEN NURSES IN THE ARMY.

February 6, 1899.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, in the brief time at my disposal it will be impossible for me to explain to the House or to attempt

to discuss the provisions of this bill. I concur, however, in all that has been so well said by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. GRIFFIN].

This bill came to the Committee on Military Affairs from the loyal, patriotic women of America. A committee of those women appeared before us and most eloquently urged its favorable report. I was impressed with all they said, and, on deliberation, convinced that this bill should speedily become a law.

The committee have unanimously reported the bill, and there should not be, and I trust there will not be, any objection to its passage to-day. It is one of the best, one of the most humane, and one of the most essential bills in connection with the Army that we have had before us in this Congress.

Every member of this House knows, if he knows anything, that at the beginning of the recent war with Spain the Surgeon-General of the Army was absolutely opposed to having trained women nurses in the field and in the camps, and he only finally reluctantly consented to it when public opinion forced him to do so. History has shown that the Surgeon-General's opposition was wrong then, and, in my judgment, events will demonstrate that the Surgeon-General's opposition to this bill is wrong now.

You all know what those brave and heroic volunteer women nurses did for our sick and wounded soldier boys in the camps and at the front. No one can speak too highly or too eloquently of their patience, their fortitude, their devotion, and their noble self-sacrifice in the performance of duty to the sick and dying soldiers of the Union. Every woman who went to the front to do duty as a nurse is entitled to the gratitude of the American people. Every woman who went to the camps and to Cuba to nurse the sick, the wounded, and the dying soldiers of her country is a patriot entitled to the thanks of Congress, and she should receive from the hands of the President a medal of honor to commemorate her patriotism.

* * * * *

I have introduced a bill to do that, and ere I leave Congress I hope to place it on the statute books of the Republic.

You all know how our soldiers sickened and died in the camps and at the front. In my judgment, it would have been much worse if it had not been for the trained women nurses. It is impossible to estimate the beneficent services they rendered. Many a poor soldier would not be alive to-day if it were not for them. Many a dying comrade had his last hours made comfortable by their tender care and angelic ministrations.

All honor and all glory, I say, to the brave women nurses who went to the front and in the fever-stricken and pestilential camps. They were all heroines—every one. Their reward is the consciousness of duty well done, and their monument is in the patriotic hearts of the soldiers of the Republic. We owe them a debt of gratitude we never can repay.

And in that spirit, sir, I contend that this bill should pass, and I hope it will pass unanimously. It will be a shame and a disgrace if any member interposes an objection. The bill is a good one in all respects. There can be no honest, no just criticism of it. The flimsy opposition sought to be raised here by a few gentlemen is a mere quibble and unworthy their gallantry or their patriotism.

We want trained women nurses in the Army. They are needed there just as much as trained nurses are needed in our hospitals. We want them in the Army in time of peace, and we want them

in time of war. We want them in time of peace to nurse the sick in the army hospitals. We want them in time of war to care for the ill in the camps and to minister to the wounded and the stricken carried from the field of battle. Their work is a work of their own—it can not be done by others.

* * * * *

My friends, a word more, and I am done. I notice my time is exhausted, and I will not detain the House.

To-day the patriotic women of America plead for this bill; to-day the brave soldiers of the Union ask for it and demand it; and in their name, in the name of justice to humanity and our own civilization, and, above all and beyond all, in the name of the loyal, the self-sacrificing, and the heroic women nurses who recently went to the front, I pray you, I appeal to you, to pass this bill ere this House adjourn to-day. [Loud applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

MONUMENT FOR THE FORT GREENE HEROES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR WHO DIED IN BRITISH PRISON SHIPS.

February 13, 1899.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words. I desire to offer an amendment to this bill at this time—I will prepare it in a moment—that \$50,000 be appropriated by the Government, provided a like amount is subscribed and paid by the citizens of Greater New York—

Mr. MOODY. I reserve the point of order.

Mr. SULZER (continuing). To build a suitable monument to the heroic and patriotic soldiers of the American Revolution who died in British prison ships in Wallabout Bay, New York Harbor, during the Revolution. I desire, Mr. Chairman, to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts in charge of the bill whether he will object to this amendment?

Mr. MOODY. I do not object to it now, but I reserve the point of order against it. It is a matter entirely outside of the function of this committee at this time.

Mr. SULZER. I trust the gentleman will not be so unpatriotic as to interpose an objection. I send the amendment to the Clerk's desk, however, and ask to have it reported to the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend by adding at the end of line 18, page 40, "that \$50,000 is hereby appropriated, provided a like amount is raised by the citizens of Greater New York, for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of the heroes and martyrs who died in British prison ships in Wallabout Bay, New York Harbor, during the Revolution."

Mr. MOODY. And against that I reserve the point of order.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, just a few simple words.

With all that has been so well, so truly, and so eloquently said by my distinguished colleagues from New York [Mr. DRIGGS and Mr. HOWE] I entirely concur. It is well known to every student of American history that about 20,000 American soldiers died, or were ruthlessly killed, in British prison ships during the Revolutionary war. That crime was the greatest tragedy of the Revolution.

I do not think there can be a man on the floor of this House to-day who is so unpatriotic as to object to this appropriation. The Republic must not forget these men who died in the cause of lib-

erty and for her independence. The spirit of 1776 should be kept alive that freedom may survive. All that we ask is that the Government appropriate \$50,000 provided the citizens of Greater New York subscribe a like amount to build a suitable monument to these heroes who sacrificed their lives that the Republic might be born, to erect to their memory a monument fitting and proper to commemorate their heroism, their tragical death, and the deep damnation of their taking off. No tongue can ever tell, no pen can ever picture their misery, their suffering, and their sad deaths.

Mr. Chairman, many, many years ago in the city of New York the Society of Tammany, or the Columbian Order, appropriated a large amount of money and appointed a committee of distinguished citizens for the purpose of gathering together the bones of these Revolutionary heroes, which were then whitening the beach along Wallabout Bay, and give them decent burial. After a great deal of trouble, expense, and time the bones of these Revolutionary soldiers were gathered together by the committee, and they were buried amid pomp and circumstance, and with military honors, in the beautiful mausoleum in old Trinity churchyard. That grateful and patriotic act is one of the grandest, one of the kindest, and one of the noblest acts in all the great achievements of the Tammany Society.

I am glad that this matter has been brought up in the House to-day. It is a matter of much personal gratification to me to tell of this incident in the history of Tammany—a society of which I am proud to be a member, and which has always been true to the Republic.

* * * * *

The Government of the United States should have erected a suitable monument to these heroes long ago.

To-day we are celebrating the martyrdom and the heroism of the sailors who went down in the *Maine*. It is eminently fitting and proper that we should do so. To-day the patriotic people of the Republic are contributing money to build a monument to those heroes.

Why not, sir, on this memorable occasion, inspired by the patriotism and the heroism of the soldiers and the sailors of the Republic, pass this little appropriation and build to the memory of the heroes who died in British prison ships during the war for independence a monument that will forever perpetuate their suffering, their heroism, their martyrdom, for the cause of freedom, and forever demonstrate that republics are not ungrateful. Gratitude is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the human heart. Let us be grateful. Let us remember the *Maine*. Let us remember the patriots who made the Union possible, who saved the Union, who vindicated the Union. Let us remember our soldiers and our sailors dead, and our soldiers and our sailors living. All honor to them. All glory to them.

Yes, I am glad of this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, to speak in favor of this amendment. Coming from the great metropolis of the Republic, I am glad to say that the grand old political organization of Tammany Hall, ever true to its tenets and its principles, years and years ago, out of its own exchequer, inspired by its own love for freedom, for the Republic, for the Revolutionary heroes, for the martyrs to liberty, gathered together these sacred and patriotic bones and buried them under the great mausoleum in Trinity churchyard, where they now rest.

I hope and trust that there is no member on the floor of this

House who will object to this amendment. If there is a spark of patriotic gratitude in the members of this House, it will pass unanimously. [Loud applause.]

Mr. MOODY. Mr. Chairman, I understand that there is a bill pending before the appropriate committee to authorize the construction of a monument to which the gentlemen have alluded in their speeches, and I have no doubt that the Committee on Appropriations will gladly make the appropriation for that purpose when it is authorized by law; but at the present time it is not authorized, and I am constrained to make the point of order.

Mr. SULZER. I want to say to the gentleman from Massachusetts that such a bill has been introduced in Congress every year for the last seventy-five years, and it seems to have about as much chance of passing this House as a camel has to get through the eye of a needle.

NICARAGUA CANAL.

February 15, 1899.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word. The action of a majority of this House in defeating the Nicaragua Canal is to be regretted. There are only seventeen days more remaining in the life of the Fifty-fifth Congress. We adjourn sine die at 12 o'clock on the 4th of next March. Judging by the action of the House this afternoon it seems almost certain that there will be no legislation in this Congress to begin the building of the Nicaragua Canal.

I am in favor of building the Nicaragua Canal and of the absolute control of it by the Government of the United States. I trust and hope this Congress will not adjourn until some affirmative legislation is placed on the statute books in favor of that proposition.

We have spent practically all day yesterday and all day to-day discussing a flimsy point of order—a mere quibble, so to speak—as to whether the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] to build the Nicaragua Canal was germane to the bill now under consideration, and known as the sundry civil bill, or whether it was not germane under the rules of the House. The rules of the House seem to be for the purpose of giving the majority here the right to do, or not to do, just what it wants. One day they are construed one way, and another day the opposite way—doubtless on the theory that it is a poor rule that will not work both ways—especially for a partisan advantage.

The Republican party is in a majority in this House, and is charged with the responsibility of legislation. You can not escape the imperative duty which confronts you, nor evade the burden of responsibility. We know, if we know anything, that the people of this country are in favor of the construction and the ownership of the Nicaragua Canal. It is imperative, in my opinion, that we do something in regard to this proposition to build the isthmian canal before this Congress adjourns. If we do not, the Republican members of the House must take the responsibility, and if I mistake not they will hear from the people in no uncertain tones ere the Fifty-sixth Congress begins. The people are in no mood to be deceived or trifled with. They want action, rules or no rules. They want this work commenced.

* * * * *

The building and the ownership of the Nicaragua Canal by the Government of the United States is essential, from a naval and a military standpoint, to the integrity of our Atlantic and Pacific seaboard. Everyone knows this who is familiar with recent history. Everyone knows also that nothing could help our commerce and our merchant marine so much as a canal across the Isthmus controlled by the Government of the United States. No one will or can deny the benefits and the advantages that will accrue to us by the construction and perfection of the canal. In time of war the canal will be an imperative instrumentality for our coast defense, and for our own safety and protection. In time of peace the canal will be one of the great factors in the trade and the commerce of the world. Its benefits to us will be simply incalculable. No one can overestimate the advantages to us of owning and controlling the canal across Nicaragua.

Let me say to the gentlemen on the other side of this House that there are many who are skeptical regarding their sincerity in this canal matter. Some of you, no doubt, favor its immediate construction, and some of you, I believe, desire to delay it as long as possible. The facts will all come out ere long. If you are throwing dust in the eyes of the people, it will soon be known.

We have witnessed a spectacle here to-day which should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every sincere patriot in the land. We have wasted two whole days splitting hairs over an alleged point of order raised by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations [Mr. CANNON]. How ludicrous it all seems to a man who wants to accomplish the thing.

You all know that if you had devoted that time to a fair and an honest discussion of the merits of the Nicaragua Canal bill, either the one framed by the gentleman from Iowa or Senator MORGAN'S canal bill, which has already passed the Senate, we would have been able in that time to have thoroughly discussed the measures, and in some shape one of them would have passed the House to-day by an overwhelming vote. Your willful delays and your studied procrastination lend irresistible belief to the statement which has been going around that you do not want to pass any Nicaragua Canal bill during this session of Congress. Why, I ask? Is it on account of the condition of your Treasury? Or is it, forsooth, on account of the railroads?

In my judgment a large majority of the members of this House have been in favor, and are in favor now, of passing some kind of a bill to begin immediate work on the construction of the canal, but on account of the rules of this House and their technical enforcement in this matter you can not get a hearing on the bills, and we can not get a day in the House for their consideration. For one I do not believe the rules are sacred. I know they are not infallible. I would not permit them to restrain me from doing right. Their primary object is to prevent the majority from riding roughshod over the rights of the minority. We are here, however, for a purpose, and the essential thing is to accomplish something, to do something. We should begin at once to build the canal.

There is no time like the present. Every postponement means additional complication. Every day's delay is fraught with positive danger. The canal should have been built by the United States long ago. No other people would have delayed and dallied as we have. Everybody knows this. Everything that happened during the Spanish-American war demonstrates it. The trip of

the *Oregon* around Cape Horn was an object lesson for every man, woman, and child in the country. It proved conclusively the imperative importance to us of a canal across Central America. The recent trip of the *Iowa* and her companion ships is another object lesson that has arrested the attention of the thoughtful people of our land, and makes the immediate building of this canal an absolute necessity.

The people expect this Congress to pass the Nicaragua Canal bill. They will be disappointed if it does not. They want this Government to construct the Nicaragua Canal, pay for it with its own money, and then to own and control the canal for all time to come. There must be no partnership with England or any other country in the matter.

I favor the bill of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN], and if I can not get that bill I will favor any other that will start work on the canal. I want to begin. I am opposed to any further delay. If there should be defects in the law, the defects can be remedied by subsequent legislation. Let us do something at once. The people expect and the country demands immediate action. Woe to the men who stand in the way of this great national enterprise!

* * * * *

My mind is so firmly determined in regard to the importance of this great canal project, that when the Chair this afternoon ruled the amendment of the gentleman from Iowa out of order, as we all expected him to do, I voted on the appeal from his decision to reverse the Chair. I am glad I did that. It is too bad that the Republicans of this House sustained the Chair in that ruling.

If we had succeeded in getting the Nicaragua Canal amendment on this appropriation bill, it would be sent to the Senate and finally to conference, and from the conference committee no doubt there would have been evolved some bill, some kind of legislation, to begin the immediate construction of the Nicaragua Canal by the Government of the United States. The thing to do is to start it; to inaugurate the great undertaking. Let us begin.

Many of you, no doubt, underestimate how intensely the people feel regarding this great question. We have dallied with it for years and years, and during that time we have appropriated millions and millions of dollars for worthless improvements on brooks and creeks and streams that many of us could jump across. What folly! How unwise and how shortsighted!

The gentlemen here know that, according to the best estimates that have been made by very competent engineers, the Nicaragua Canal can be constructed in less than ten years for less than \$100,000,000. To go on with the work at once would only necessitate an expenditure of from five to ten millions of dollars a year. Why, sir, a mere bagatelle to this great country, when we consider the importance of the project and the invaluable benefits to be derived therefrom. No doubt the canal would pay for itself and bring in a splendid revenue to the Government in less than twenty-five years.

The vote here to-day proves, if it proves anything, that the Republican leaders in this House are not in favor of building the Nicaragua Canal—at least not now. If they had been sincere and in earnest, rule or no rule, they would have attached to the sundry civil bill the Nicaragua Canal amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN]. The people of the country will understand and they will hold the Republican party responsible

for the defeat of the Nicaragua Canal. The Republican party must and will have to assume that tremendous responsibility in the next campaign. It will be a pretty heavy load to carry.

Now, sir, if we do not take action on this matter before this Congress adjourns nothing can be done until the Fifty-sixth Congress assembles next December, and it may be, and probably will be, too late then to do anything. I have no doubt, nevertheless, that many here desire that very thing. I say to the friends of the canal that we must take action now or we will lose the valuable rights which we have at the present time. We must take action now or we may jeopardize the possibility of the Government of the United States ever constructing or ever owning the Nicaragua Canal.

We must take action now, or some other country, wiser and more farseeing than we, realizing the immense possibilities and the innumerable benefits of a canal across the isthmus, may step in while we delay and build and own the canal, to our great detriment and disadvantage.

Let me, sir, say in conclusion, that every patriot in this House who believes in our Army and our Navy, who believes in our greatness and our destiny, who believes in promoting the safety of our seacoast towns and the integrity of our seaboard, who believes in our commercial supremacy, who believes in our maritime growth, and who believes in our future progress and advancement should stand firm for the building of the Nicaragua Canal, and bend every energy and every effort to secure its immediate accomplishment, even though it should necessitate an extra session of Congress.

We will be derelict in our duty if we adjourn before we take action on this vital question, and no apology will justify our inaction and our dereliction. Let us sink partisanship and stand together as patriots.

Now is the time to do something. Now is the time to act. Build the Nicaragua Canal, I say, and let us begin at once. Build it with the money of the Republic, build it with the brains and the brawn of the Republic, so that the Republic will not only own it and control it, but it will be our achievement and our monument.

I hope we will all be able to reach some conclusion regarding immediate legislation in favor of this great project for an isthmian canal before another week comes and goes. I favor now, as I always have favored, the Nicaragua Canal. If I can not have the bill I want, I will take any bill to start the work. I promise now I will do all in my power for the balance of the session to bring about its realization and its consummation, for the greatness, for the grandeur, for the glory, and for the integrity of the Republic. [Loud applause.]

PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION, 1901.

March 2, 1899.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, just a few words in favor of this bill. In my judgment it ought to pass without a dissenting vote. It is a good bill in every respect—in every sense of the word. There should be no opposition to it from any fair-minded man.

We have been talking and legislating for years and years about pan-American unity, fraternity, and closer commercial relations and intercourse. If this bill becomes a law and the Pan-American Exposition is held at Buffalo in 1901, it will do more, in my judgment, to bring those desirable objects about than everything else that has ever been done.

I am in sympathy with the objects of this exposition, and I believe it will do more for American trade, business, and commerce than we can possibly conceive of at the present time. It is sure to aid and help every portion of the Union. If this bill passes, it will be one of the best, one of the most unique, and one of the grandest expositions ever held on this continent. It is sure to be a great success in every way. It will be a grand object lesson to every citizen of the Republic and to the people of the South and Central American States. It will be a liberal education to many. It will bring us in closer contact with our neighbors in South and Central America.

It will give us a clearer and a better knowledge of the products of the field, the farm, the forests, the mines, and the seas from Baffin Bay to Cape Horn, and it will all be done by ocular demonstration. I am in favor of these expositions, and I believe the Government should lend its aid by being represented as an exhibitor. Money spent in this way is well spent.

All honor and all success, I say, to the farsighted and enterprising citizens of Buffalo who have undertaken this magnificent and commendable project. May prosperity attend their worthy efforts. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

EULOGY ON THE LATE NELSON DINGLEY.

Saturday, February 11, 1899.

The House having under consideration the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. NELSON DINGLEY, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Maine.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his eminent abilities as a distinguished public servant, the House, at the conclusion of these memorial proceedings, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"Resolved, That the Clerk be instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased"—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Representing in part the great metropolis of the nation, I would be false to my nobler impulses and to the people I have the honor to represent if I did not on this sad occasion place on record my poor tribute of esteem, of respect, of affection, and of admiration for the late NELSON DINGLEY. His death has left a void in the House of Representatives which can never be filled, and the announcement of his unexpected demise fell like a pall on the people of the Republic. His loss is a national calamity, and the country has lost a useful, an honest, a faithful, and a conscientious public servant. We miss him now, but we shall miss him more and more as the weeks and months come and go. No one can take his place.

There are many here who knew Mr. DINGLEY better and more intimately, but no one respected him more than I did. I became acquainted with him when I came to Congress four years ago.

In a very short time I was impressed with his sincerity, his honesty, his courtesy, and his industry. He was an indefatigable worker, and he accomplished great results. He was patient, tireless, and methodical. He seemed to be the happiest when he was the busiest. He died a martyr to his fidelity—to public duty. He never evaded an obligation and he never shirked a responsibility.

In many respects Mr. DINGLEY was a great man, a great parliamentarian, and a great legislator. His name is connected with some of the greatest laws on our statute books, and the great legislative work he performed will live and redound to his credit as long as the Republic endures.

To those who knew him well he was a kindly, genial man. He was loved and admired on both sides of this Chamber, and his name was a household word throughout the country. I do not think he had an enemy in all the land. He had a lovable character.

Mr. DINGLEY was especially kind, considerate, and courteous to the new and younger members of the House. He made their acquaintance, and was always willing and anxious to aid, counsel, and assist them. No matter how weary or how busy he was, he never refused to listen to the inquiries of the new and inexperienced member, and he always gave him good advice and the benefit of his great knowledge, sound judgment, and vast information. Many here will never forget how kindly disposed he was to them when they first became members of this House. I do not believe he ever turned a deaf ear to any member seeking information on any subject, and this generous characteristic has left a lasting impression on us all and gives us a true insight into his noble nature.

The career of NELSON DINGLEY is one we can all be proud of, and illustrates the advantages and the opportunities of American institutions. By hard work, by industry, by sobriety, and by perseverance he rose from a poor boy to one of the most important, honorable, influential, and commanding positions in the nation. The story of his life has been truthfully and eloquently told here to-day, and demonstrates anew the possibilities of human effort and human progress in this land of equal opportunities. Every hopeful and ambitious schoolboy should read the story of his life and endeavor to emulate his shining example. It must always be a fruitful source of encouragement to every ambitious youth and struggling patriot.

Mr. DINGLEY came of sturdy New England stock, the first American Dingley having come to Massachusetts in 1638. His ancestors were nearly all traders and farmers. He was born at Durham, Me., February 15, 1832. At 17 he was a teacher of a school near his home. A little later he entered Waterville College, and subsequently Dartmouth, where he graduated in 1855 with high rank as a scholar, debater, and writer. After graduation he studied law, was admitted to the bar, but left the profession in 1856 to become the editor and proprietor of the Lewiston Journal, and up to the time of his death he maintained that connection. He was a member of the Maine State house of representatives in 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1868, and 1873.

In 1863, when only 31 years old, he was the speaker of the Maine legislature. He was governor of Maine in 1874 and 1875, and a delegate to the national Republican convention in 1876. He was first elected to the Forty-seventh Congress in 1881 to fill the vacancy caused by the election of Hon. William P. Frye to the United States Senate, and he was a member of Congress ever since.

In 1894 he received the degree of LL. D. from Dartmouth College, and at the time of his death was a member of the Joint High Commission to adjust the differences between the United States and Canada. In the Fifty-fifth Congress he was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and the leader of his party on the floor of the House. His name is best known to the country at large on account of its association with the tariff act, which he prepared, reported, and passed at the beginning of this Congress.

This briefly sums up his career. His life was a busy one, and to the student and investigator will always be an instructive one. He was a simple Christian gentleman, and his public and his private life is without a stain. He loved books and art and science. He was a great legislator and a great statistician. He had finance and taxation at his finger ends. He was familiar with every detail of government, and his capacious mind was a storehouse of useful information. He was a deep and thorough student, and he exhausted every subject he touched. He had a wonderful knowledge of men, and his grasp of details was marvelous. To him figures and facts were as keen tools to the skilled artisan.

Mr. Speaker, many of us frequently differed with Mr. DINGLEY in regard to political and economical propositions, but we all admired his ability, his learning, his tenacity of purpose, his deep conviction, and we all respected his sincerity of purpose, the purity of his patriotism, and the inherent honesty of his motives. He was a direct man, a positive man, a truthful man, and above all and beyond all he was an honest man. In the years to come he will take high rank as an American statesman. The great work he accomplished as an orator, a writer, a lawyer, a thinker, a legislator, and a statesman will ever be a monument to human effort, human endurance, individual tenacity of purpose, and marvelous industry and perseverance.

He devoted the last years of his life to the service of the people and his country, and they owe him a debt of gratitude that never can be paid. He wrote his name high in the American temple of fame, and history will give him an immortal page. The good he did will live and will ever be a bright and beneficent heritage to all the people of all the land.

NELSON DINGLEY is no more. He fought the good fight; his race is run. He has gone to his long rest. A great nation mourns his loss, and a mighty people, shocked by his sudden death in the zenith of his fame and the ripeness of his powers, put on the garb of sorrow, grieve with those who grieve, and with bowed and reverential heads say, Well done, thou good and faithful servant—hail and farewell.

Mourn not the dead whose lives declare
That they have nobly borne their part,
For victory's golden crown they wear,
Reserved for every faithful heart;
They rest with glory wrapped around,
Immortals on the scroll of fame;
Their works their praises shall resound,
Their name—an everlasting name.

THE FINANCIAL BILL.

"I am opposed to the Government delegating
away its powers to the national banks."

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1899.

WASHINGTON.

1899.

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SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) entitled "A bill to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, and for other purposes"—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Washington [Mr. CUSHMAN] who has just concluded his remarks made a clever Republican stump speech, not entirely applicable, however, to the question under discussion, but apropos of the story he told I think I can say in this regard that if he took his political bearings at the present time he would find that he was "700 miles" and more out of his latitude. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

In the first place, Mr. Chairman, in discussing this bill I desire to protest with all the emphasis in my power against its hasty and precipitate consideration. The bill is being rushed through as a strict Republican party measure. The rights of the Democratic minority have been infringed. The fact is, this bill—a most important and momentous one—has never been referred to a committee of this House. It was carefully prepared last summer by a few Republicans, assisted, no doubt, by able representatives of the money power and the national banks. No one on this side of the House had an opportunity to see the bill, to consider it, or to discuss it before it was introduced, the first day of this session, by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET]. The unparliamentary procedure pursued by the Republican party in the consideration of this important legislation is in violation of all legislative rules and every precedent of a deliberative assembly. Under the rule adopted this bill can not be amended or perfected. It must pass just as it is, and passed within a week. Why this unseemly haste?

The Republican party has made this bill a party question. You

made it a caucus measure, and under the spur of king caucus you hold your members in line to vote for it, and under the party lash you intend to pass it because you have the physical power to do so. For one, I am glad it is a Republican party bill, and that at last you have thrown off the mask of political hypocrisy on the financial question and stand before the people of this country in your true colors.

Many of the gentlemen on the other side, I am informed, never read this bill and never saw it until it was introduced, and I have no doubt that if you now expressed your honest opinions and your sincere convictions about it many of you would be against the bill, and instead of voting for it you would openly denounce the many vicious provisions it contains. Every one of you, however, must vote for it because it is a part of the programme and a part of the policy of the Republican party.

The leaders of your party demand its passage, and in order to prevent you from acting according to your convictions and for the best interests of your constituents they have made it a party measure and will pass it under the rule of the party caucus. For these reasons alone no Democrat should vote for it.

You are going to pass this bill, not because it is a good bill or a proper measure, but because the money power to-day behind the Republican party demands the enactment of this legislation. It is the final consummation of the contract made in the campaign of 1896 between Mark Hanna, representing the Republican party, and the national banks. It is the carrying into effect of the last and the most villainous act in the great political drama of the last national campaign. By this act the Republican party surrenders unconditionally to the sordid greed of the money power.

Mr. Chairman, I am absolutely opposed to the passage of this iniquitous bill and shall vote against it. It is one of the most vicious political measures ever attempted to be passed through Congress. The bill commits the Government unalterably by law to the single gold standard and makes all obligations, public and private, payable in gold. It strikes out the word "coin" in all Government bonds, which means gold or silver, inserts in its place the word "gold," and in addition thereto it authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds *ad infinitum* whenever he

pleases and makes the bonds payable in gold. The bill violates the obligations of the contract between the Government and the bondholder and provides that the finances of a mighty people shall be turned over to the national banks of the country and gives them the right at will to expand or contract the currency.

The bill does much more, but very briefly these are its most sweeping, vicious, and objectionable features. It is the most startling and the most daring departure from time-honored and well-fixed financial principles ever made in our history, and the result will be as disastrous as it is far-reaching. I say to you and to the Republican party that if this measure is enacted into law it reverses our financial system, repudiates the platforms of both parties, and revolutionizes the monetary methods of the whole country.

In order, sir, to show how the Republican party has changed its attitude on the financial question, let me quote the financial plank from the Republican national platform of 1898. It says:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

In the national Republican platform of 1892 you say:

The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of gold and silver as money.

What a difference between the Republican party now and then!

And, again, in the national Republican platform of 1896 you say substantially that you favor free coinage by international agreement, which you pledge yourselves to promote. Let me ask if you are doing that now?

What a change from those professions to this treacherous act of perfidy!

Let us see how William McKinley, the Republican President of the United States, has progressed on the money question.

In 1878, as a member of Congress, he voted for the Stanley Matthews resolution in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 and declaring in favor of the payment of all bonds, principle and interest, in gold or silver at the option of the Government.

On the 24th of June, 1890, in a speech in this House, before Wil-

liam McKinley saw the light of the money power and experienced a change of heart, he said:

I am for the largest use of silver in the currency of the country. I would not dishonor it; I would give it equal credit and honor with gold. I would make no discrimination. I would utilize both metals as money and discredit neither. I want the double standard.

Why is he opposed to it now? Let him answer! The record speaks for itself, and on that record we appeal to the people for judgment from President McKinley in the White House, the agent of the money trust, to William McKinley, a candidate for reelection in the great contest next year. The people understand this question; they know what is going on; they will answer next year.

William McKinley in the last election did not stand on a gold-standard platform, but on a bimetallic platform to be brought about by international agreement. You promised the people to get rid of the gold standard. You then pretended to favor international bimetalism. In that campaign the gold-standard candidate for the Presidency only polled about 134,000 votes. But now you throw off the disguise and declare unequivocally against bimetalism, independently or by international agreement, and for the single gold standard. Up to the present time the Republican party and its leading thinkers and speakers have always been in favor of bimetalism and against monometallism.

Against my friend from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] I appeal to the RECORD, and I quote James A. Garfield, who said, in his inaugural address, March 4, 1881:

By the experience of commercial nations in all ages it has been found that gold and silver afford the only safe foundation for a monetary system.

Against my friend from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET], who has charge of this bill, I quote that stalwart Republican, James G. Blaine, who said:

I believe gold and silver to be the money of the Constitution—indeed, the money of the American people anterior to the Constitution, which that great organic law recognized as quite independent of its own existence. No power was conferred on Congress to declare that either metal should not be money. Congress has, therefore, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold; no more power to demonetize either than to demonetize both.—*James G. Blaine in the Senate*, February 7, 1878; Congressional Record, volume 7, part 1, page 820.

Against my friend from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER], whose specious plea for the gold standard will deceive no impartial student of the

facts, I quote from the great expounder of the Constitution, Daniel Webster, who said in the Senate December 21, 1836:

I am certainly of opinion, then, that gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard, or to displace this.

Against my friend and colleague from New York [Mr. DRIGGS], whose speech I attentively listened to, I cite that sterling Democrat, Thomas A. Hendricks, who said:

That gold and silver are the real standard of value is a cherished Democratic sentiment, not now or hereafter to be abandoned.

And President Andrew Jackson, who said to the American people in his farewell address:

My humble efforts have not been spared during my administration of the Government to restore the constitutional currency of gold and silver; and something, I trust, has been done toward the accomplishment of this most desirable object.

And grand old Allen G. Thurman, who eloquently told the story in the Senate on the 6th day of February, 1878, when he said:

Has there ever been, so far as we know, a more prosperous country than were the United States from 1789 to 1861? Did any nation ever exceed the progress we made in population, wealth, education, refinement, and the general well-being of the people in those seventy-two years? And yet during all that period we had bimetallicism, for we gave no preference to gold over silver or silver over gold.—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, Part I, page 787.

And to all my Republican friends who must vote for this bill, no matter what they honestly think of it, listen while I read to you again from a speech of James G. Blaine, delivered in the Senate February 7, 1878:

I believe the struggle now going on in this country and in other countries for a single gold standard would, if successful, produce widespread disaster in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property.—*Congressional Record*, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, volume 7, Part I, page 821.

Can anyone here get up and honestly deny that statement?

The position you gentlemen occupy on this question before the people of the country to-day is, indeed, an unenviable one. Why do you stultify yourselves? What has compelled you to go back on your record? What power, what influence, has compelled you

to change front on this great question, affecting as it does all the people of the land? I will tell you. It is the money power, the bondholders and their agents, the trusts, the syndicates, and the pintocrats. They favor the passage of this bill. They are in favor of changing the terms of the contract so that they shall hold the option instead of the Government. They would commit treason against the Government in order to gain a monetary advantage.

The Republican party to-day is the mere agent of the money trust and in every department of the Government carries out its wishes and registers and records its decrees.

Mr. Chairman, let me say again what I have always said and which I strenuously maintain, that I am now, always have been, and always will be a sound-money Democrat. I stand to-day on the financial question just where I have always stood and just where I always expect to stand—for hard money, for gold and silver as the ultimate money of redemption, freely and independently coined at a ratio to be fixed and determined by Congress. I believe now, as I always have done, in the sound money of the Constitution, and I take my stand on the side of all the leading Democrats of our party from Thomas Jefferson, its illustrious founder, to Andrew Jackson, from Wright and Marcy, from Seymour and Tilden down to the present time. We stand, sir, where they stood—on the safe and the sound side—for bimetallism.

When we became members of this House we took a solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution, and everyone here knows that the fundamental law of the land provides for gold and silver, the money of the fathers and of all our glorious past.

I am an old-fashioned Democrat. I believe in the fundamental principles of the Democratic party. I believe in sticking to your party. I am no bolter. I stand squarely on the Chicago platform, and I have no apologies to offer for my support of William J. Bryan, or for my loyalty to the principles enunciated in that magnificent document. In my judgment it is the best platform the Democratic party ever adopted, and notwithstanding all you have said against it, I believe the day is not far distant when every principle enunciated in it will be enacted into law. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, I know that some of my colleagues from the State of New York differ with me on the financial question. I have no controversy with them except that of honest opinion. They claim the right to their convictions on this question as much as I claim the right to mine. I concede to them what I claim for myself, the right to hold and express my honest and sincere opinion on the greatest question to-day in American politics. They think I am mistaken; I think they are. It is an honest difference—that is all. Time will tell who is right. Let me say to my friend from New York [Mr. LEVY] that I am a Jeffersonian Democrat and stand to-day on the financial question just where Thomas Jefferson stood when he agreed with Alexander Hamilton and said “that the unit of value must stand on both metals.” I know my friend favors the single gold standard, and he knows I favor the unit resting on the double standard of Jefferson and Hamilton. “There is no safety for the national finances,” said that grand old Democrat, Thomas H. Benton, “but in the constitutional medium of gold and silver.”

Sir, the history of all the past teaches in unmistakable terms that gold and silver at a fixed ratio was the basis for the currency of the world. I am neither a gold monometallist nor a silver monometallist. I am a bimetalist. I believe in both gold and silver, and I would not destroy or demonetize either. Both precious metals should be admitted to the mints of the country and freely coined, not for the Government, but for and on account of the depositor. Herein is the distinction and the substance of the whole matter. The act you do to-day will not destroy silver as a part of the money of the world, but will only be an additional incentive to every true friend of humanity to work harder and more earnestly for the free and unlimited coinage of both precious metals. There will be no sure, no lasting, and no permanent prosperity until it is done.

Make no mistake, gentlemen: The passage of this bill will not settle the controversy, but will only define more certainly the issue, make it more clear, and bring about more quickly its ultimate triumph. No great question is ever settled until it is settled right. Bimetallism, sir, is a living issue, and will be of paramount importance to mankind as long as civilization uses money for trade and

commerce. Gold never was the friend of liberty. It never fought a battle for humanity. No people in a great crisis ever found it a faithful ally. It has been the agent of every panic, the minister of despair, the advocate of calamity, and the high priest of cruelty, misery, and woe. I am against the gold standard. If it comes by means of this bill, it will only come as a curse to rob us, to plague us, and to enslave us. In time it will have to go. The passage of this bill simplifies the fight.

But, Mr. Chairman, this bill does much more than firmly commit the Government by law to the single gold-standard policy of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. All our Government obligations are now payable in "coin," and the word "coin" is written in every bond. When these bonds were sold it was understood and agreed by law that they should be redeemed, at the option of the Government, in either gold or silver. This bill strikes out the word "coin" in all our bonded indebtedness and writes in its place the magic word "gold." It is well known and can not be denied that this will greatly enhance the value of all outstanding bonds and put millions and millions of dollars of unjust profit in the pockets of the bondholders. It is an admitted fact that if "gold" had originally been put in the bonds they would have brought a much higher price.

You remember the special message President Cleveland sent to this House in which he asked us to do this very thing. You refused—every one of you. The amount of bonds issued at that time, I believe, was only \$62,400,000, and yet Mr. Cleveland said they would bring sixteen millions more if the word "gold" was substituted for "coin." You refused to do that at that time, but now you intend to write the word "gold" in all the bonds outstanding against the Government, and strike out the word "coin." You are going to change the terms of the contract in favor of the creditor and against the debtor; you make a new contract for the benefit of the bondholder.

You say you are in favor of honest money, but you know this is dishonest money. It is a fraudulent transaction in the interest of the bondholders against the people and an outrage on the taxpayers of the country. When you do this you make the debtor pay more than he agreed to pay when the debt was contracted.

By virtue of law you make a gift—a dishonest gift—of millions and millions of dollars to the bondholders, foreign and domestic, of the Republic. I protest against this injustice. I cry out with all the vehemence of my nature against this outrage on the people. I am opposed to any law that robs the many for the benefit of the few, and especially so when it is done under the subtle cloak of national honor and the euphonious phraseology of “honest money.” If you are in favor of “honest money,” why do you do this dishonest thing?

We denounce your action and warn you that the people will never submit to such a surrender of their rights. We will pay the bondholders the same money they paid the Government for the bonds. No denunciation of the money power will deter us from doing our duty. As John Sherman once said:

The bondholder can only demand the kind of money he paid, as stipulated in the bond, and he is a repudiator and extortioner to demand more valuable money than he gave.

We stand by the terms of the contract. That is all the Democratic party wants to do, and it will resist with all its power any effort on the part of the Republican party to do anything contrary. On this question the Democratic party stands on the side of the people and demands absolute fair play for the debtor as well as exact justice for the creditor. The Republican party has taken its stand on the side of the money lender and the bondholder.

If your political policies were as honest as your professions, you would oppose the passage of this bill and refuse to commit this unpardonable crime on the toilers of this country. I am in favor of living up to the letter of our national obligations and maintaining them inviolate according to their spirit. I believe in carrying out the contract as it was made, doing no injustice to the bondholder, no injury to the taxpayer, favoring neither the creditor nor the debtor. The law of the land now is the act of 1878, and reads as follows:

That all the bonds of the United States issued or authorized to be issued under the said acts of Congress hereinbefore recited are payable, principal and interest, at the option of the Government of the United States, in silver dollars of the coinage of the United States.

That is a Republican law, and William McKinley, then a member of Congress, voted for it.

Let me say to my colleagues from New York and to other members on this side of the House who believe in the single gold standard that in my judgment you violate no promise to your constituents expressed or implied if you vote against this iniquitous measure. The Republican party now tells us, and the President and the Secretary of the Treasury reiterate it, that the country is on the gold standard. If that is so, then why enact this bill? Is it because you fear defeat next year? Is it because you think William J. Bryan is going to be the next President of the United States and you want to tie his hands? Or is it because you want to surrender the Government now and for all future time to the money power?

If this bill did no more than simply enact the gold standard, I can understand how some of my colleagues who believe in that standard could support it, but it goes much further. It enacts legislation in many respects a thousand times worse, and that will, in my opinion, ultimately cause more woe, more poverty, more distress, and more misery than any other act in all our history. Every Democrat should be opposed to the sweeping banking privileges contained in this bill.

A Democratic Representative who favors the gold standard can honestly and I believe consistently vote against this bill without straining a conviction or violating an obligation to his constituents. Every Democrat should also vote against the bill because it gives the Secretary of the Treasury the power to issue bonds without let or hindrance—a very dangerous power to delegate to one man. Congress should not abdicate its constitutional powers. We, the representatives of the people, should not lodge in the discretion of any man the right to mortgage future generations.

Remember, my gold-standard Democratic friends, the Republicans compel you to vote for this bill just as they have prepared it; gold standard, unlimited bonds, contracted currency, national-bank government, and all. If they were fair and honest about it, do you not think they would give you a chance to offer a substitute, or to at least amend it to meet your approval and to conform to the wishes of a great majority of your constituents? They do not need your votes. It is their bill—their party bill—and they will pass it no matter what you do. I believe the misguided

Democrat who listens to the siren song of the money changers and votes for this bill will live to regret it.

My friends, one of the worst features, to my mind, of this bill is that part of it which consummates the alleged bargain made by MARK HANNA with the national bankers of Wall street during the campaign of 1896. They aided the Republicans then, and now they receive their share of the spoils. For three years the Republicans have waited and hesitated to pass this abomination, fearing the wrath of an outraged and indignant people. But another national campaign is near at hand. You need their help again, and in order to get it you abjectly and unconditionally surrender to the money power and turn the finances of a great Government over to the national banks. This bill delivers the goods bargained for. It is awful to contemplate, and the result can not be overestimated.

The powers this bill gives the national banks are far-reaching and most dangerous. It turns over to them the finances of the people—the lifeblood of trade and commerce—and gives them the right to contract or expand the currency at will. This right should never be surrendered by the Government. I say to you, and time will demonstrate it, that if you give the control of the money supply to the national banks they will soon absorb the wealth of the people and own the Government.

It is an enormous power; a power that can cause panic or prosperity, happiness or misery, to thousands and millions of people. I say it is too great a power to be given to any corporation, and if once given and set in motion for selfish ends and for sordid motives will be a fruitful source of woe and bankruptcy to hundreds and to thousands of our fellow-citizens. The audacity of this feature of the bill shows to what length the Republican party is now willing to go. Ten years ago this measure in my opinion would not receive 10 votes in this House.

Sir, you talk against trusts. This bill creates the greatest trust the world has ever seen—a national-bank trust, controlling the finances of a mighty people. Pass this measure, and the banks will be supreme. They will act in accord for a common purpose and be one great gigantic trust, octopus like, with tentacles reaching all over and to every part of the land, holding, squeezing, and controlling every other trust, every other industry, and all the

people. This bill marks a long stride in the gradual progress of the money power to enslave the industrial masses of the country.

If you enact this legislation, the banks will ere long own, control, and run the Government. It gives them the power to help or destroy, to make or to unmake. They can raise or lower the price of stocks and staple commodities whenever it is to their interest to do so. They can cause the stock market to go up or to go down and make for themselves or their beneficiaries fortunes out of helpless people and the unsuspecting public. They will have at their mercy the producers and the products of the land. They can boom stocks to the highest point, withdraw their support and send them tumbling down. They can mortgage every home, destroy competition, regulate prices, paralyze industry, stagnate commerce, and enslave toiling humanity.

In my opinion the secret motive for the passage of this bill is to confer these sweeping and unlimited powers on the national banks. It has been said that the national banking act is the greatest scheme ever invented by the ingenuity of man to rob his fellow-man. If that is not true now, this bill will make it so.

My friends on this side of the Chamber, I appeal to you in the name of justice, in the cause of humanity, and for the best interests of Democracy to vote against this iniquitous scheme of the Republican party. Every friend of the people, every sincere patriot should vote against this bill. Let us all stand together and present a united front to this assault of the money power to enslave the industrial masses.

To-day, in the face of what is going on, every earnest, every honest, and every loyal Democrat should stand firm against the encroachments, on the rights of the people, of the national banks. They menace our Republic to-day and jeopardize the perpetuity of our free institutions. They are against the people, and their powers should be curtailed instead of extended. Jackson waged the most bitter and relentless war of his life against the United States Bank and finally destroyed that gigantic monopoly. If he had not, it would have destroyed the Republic. One of the greatest acts of his life was the veto of the bill extending the charter of that bank trust. In the light of what is going on now that veto message should be read by every citizen in our land.

This is a Republican bill and the Republican party stands sponsor for it. If it should become a law, it would give the monopoly of issuing money to the national banks, and hence the right to expand or contract the currency of the people whenever it suited their convenience. No corporation should have this power to make or destroy. It would deprive the Government of one of its greatest attributes of sovereignty and give to the national banks the right to paralyze, at their own will, every industry in the country. It is the most daring attempt the banks have ever made by law to seize one of the greatest weapons for good or evil known to civilized man. For the Government to surrender this prerogative and delegate away this power would be a crime against every citizen in this land and work woe and misery to millions yet unborn.

I am opposed to the Government delegating away its powers to the national banks. The Democratic party should vigorously oppose conferring any additional powers on or granting any greater privileges to the national banks. In my judgment they already possess entirely too much power. They are doing precisely to-day, only to a greater extent, what the United States Bank did in the days of Andrew Jackson. The right to coin and issue money is one of the greatest prerogatives of the Republic and one of the highest attributes of its sovereignty. It should not be delegated, transferred, assigned, or set over to any national bank, to any trust, or to any monopoly. As Democrats we should resist the encroachments of national banks on the liberties of the people with the same zeal and the same courage that Andrew Jackson in his day resisted the audacious claims of the United States Bank. And when the national banks impudently declare that the Government should go out of the banking business, we should answer that the banks should and must go out of the governing business.

In Jackson's day there was only one Nick Biddle. To-day there is a Nick Biddle in every national bank in the land. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

THE WAR TAXES.

When the Republican party once gets a tax on a thing
it never takes it off.

SPEECH

OF

HON WM. SULZER,
OF NEW YORK.

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FEBRUARY 19, 1900.

WASHINGTON.
1900.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER], by direction of the Committee on Ways and Means, moves to suspend the rules and pass a bill which the Clerk will report.

The bill was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3339 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out of said section the following:

"In estimating and computing such tax, the fractional parts of a barrel shall be halves, thirds, quarters, sixths, and eighths; and any fractional part of a barrel containing less than one-eighth shall be accounted one-eighth; more than one-eighth, and not more than one-sixth, shall be accounted one-sixth; more than one-sixth, and not more than one-fourth, shall be accounted one-fourth; more than one-fourth, and not more than one-third, shall be accounted one-third; more than one-third, and not more than one-half, shall be accounted one-half; more than one-half, and not more than one barrel, shall be accounted one barrel; and more than one barrel, and not more than 63 gallons, shall be accounted two barrels, or a hogshead. The said tax shall be paid by the owner, agent, or superintendent of the brewery or premises in which such fermented liquors are made, and in the manner and at the time hereinafter specified."

And by inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"In estimating and computing the tax imposed by law the fractional part of a barrel shall be halves, thirds, and quarters, and any fractional part of a barrel containing less than one-fourth shall be accounted one-fourth; more than one-fourth and not more than one-third shall be accounted one-third; more than one-third and not more than one-half shall be accounted one-half; more than one-half and not more than one barrel shall be accounted one barrel; and more than one barrel and not more than 63 gallons shall be accounted two barrels, or a hogshead. The said tax shall be paid by the owner, agent, or superintendent of the brewery or premises in which such fermented liquors are made, and in the manner and at the time hereinafter specified."

SEC. 2. That section 9 of the act entitled "An act to provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States," approved July 24, 1897, be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 9. That section 3341 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and hereby is, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3341. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall cause to be prepared, for the payment of such tax, suitable stamps denoting the amount of tax required to be paid on the hogsheads, barrels, and halves, thirds, and quar-

ters of a barrel of such fermented liquors (and shall also cause to be prepared suitable permits for the purpose hereinafter mentioned), and shall furnish the same to the collectors of internal revenue, who shall each be required to keep on hand at all times a sufficient supply of permits and a supply of stamps equal in amount to two months' sales thereof, if there be any brewery or brewery warehouse in his district; and such stamps shall be sold and permits granted and delivered by such collectors only to the brewers of their districts, respectively. Such collectors shall keep an account of the number of permits delivered and of the number and value of the stamps sold by them to each brewer.'"

* * * * *

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] to yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. RICHARDSON. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, there is not, so far as I know, and there should not be, in my judgment, any objection to the passage of this bill. I am in favor of it and shall vote for it. It will be of some convenience, I am informed, to the brewers of the country, and I hope no one will raise a single objection to the bill passing by unanimous consent.

The point I desire to make, however, is that this bill is not what the brewers want, because it does not reduce, and, according to the statement of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, it will not reduce one cent the exorbitant tax now placed on beer. Beer is the poor man's drink, and it should not be taxed out of proportion to other commodities. The brewers of the country pay more taxes on what they manufacture than any other industry in the land. When the war-revenue bill passed this House the tax on beer was doubled. It was then increased from \$1 a barrel to \$2 a barrel, and under the war-revenue law the brewers of the country to-day are paying into the National Treasury over \$75,000,000 of taxes every year, and every penny of this, remember, comes out of the pockets of the consumers—out of the pockets of the people who drink beer. The brewers make the consumers pay the tax, and the burden falls mostly on the toilers.

The war with Spain is over and has been concluded for some time, yet the Republican party continues to levy on the people of this country the enormous, exorbitant, and outrageous war taxes. When the Republican party passed the war-revenue bill at the beginning of the Spanish-American war, and to carry on

that war, it promised, through its representatives on the floor of this House, that just so soon as the war was over the law increasing the taxes of the people would be immediately repealed. You have not repealed a single provision of the war-tax law, and, so far as I know and so far as the people of the country now know, you do not intend to repeal or to modify that enormous and unjust war-tax law in any particular. Tax the people into prosperity is one of the chief mottoes of the Republican party.

How long, I ask you now, in the name of all that is fair and just, do you intend to continue the burdens of this exorbitant, unnecessary, and outrageous war tax on the consumers, the taxpayers, and the people of the country? That is the question for you to answer, and that is the question the people intend to make you answer in the next campaign.

Do you intend to keep up the war taxes forever, piling up the people's money in the Treasury in order that your Standard Oil Secretary can loan the money out again to the Administration's pet national banks to charge the borrowers enormous rates of interest, and thus robbing the people coming and robbing them going? If that is the object, I would like to know it, and I think the people who are paying the taxes and bearing the frightful burdens of your imperialistic policy and expensive Government would like to have an answer to this very pertinent question. I pause for your reply. You can not answer, and I feel confident no Republican will have the courage to stand up here and give the desired information.

This bill is merely a little sop thrown to the brewers. You intend it to keep them in good humor. You have heard from them and you know they demand that the war taxes on beer be reduced to \$1 a barrel, as it was before the Spanish-American war began. The brewers have sent several representative delegations here asking for the repeal of the war tax, and they have filed hundreds and thousands of petitions in favor of it. But if I know your intentions, and if I am any judge of your policy, their mission has been a failure, their work in vain, and the petitions have been thrown in the wastebasket.

You do not intend to grant the brewers any relief and you do not intend to repeal or to modify the war-tax law in any particu-

lar. You are keeping it up, compelling the people to pay these enormous taxes in time of peace, in order to carry out your nefarious schemes in the islands of the seas, in order to convince the people that times are prosperous, in order to pile up in the Treasury a great surplus, in order to maintain a large standing army, and last but not least, in order to deceive the people and cover up the deficiencies caused by the Dingley tariff law.

If it had not been for the Spanish-American war and this war-tax law incident thereto there would be a deficit in the Treasury to-day, caused by the failure of the Dingley tariff law, of over a hundred and fifty millions of dollars. You know that. There is no doubt about it. For one, I stand here and tell you that the people of this country demand a reduction of the war taxes; they demand their immediate modification or their entire repeal. They will not get it, however, from the Republican party. The people of the country can rest assured of this. When the Republican party once gets a tax on a thing it never takes it off. If the people get any relief from the exorbitant war taxes they are now paying, it must come from and through the agency of the Democratic party. The Democratic party will make this question an issue in the coming campaign, and the people can determine the matter.

You will deceive no brewer in this country by the passage of this bill. The brewers of the country know how the Republican party has betrayed them. They have not forgotten your promises in 1896, and I believe you will not get as much help from them in the coming campaign as you did in the last. If the brewers respond again to your cries for campaign funds, they are more foolish than I imagine and deserve to be robbed.

The war taxes the people are now compelled to pay to bolster up the imperialistic schemes, the royal swagger, and the plutocratic policy of the Republicans outrage American rights. In my opinion the war taxes must be repealed, and the people who are struggling under the unjust and oppressive burdens of extravagant government, in the name of justice and common sense and economy, must insist on their repeal. The poor people of the country pay more than three-quarters of all the war taxes.

The rich people practically escape with the payment of a very small part of the taxes, and they refuse to contribute their just

share of the expense of Government by the payment of an income tax.

Mr. Speaker, if it were in order, I would offer an amendment to this bill to repeal all the war taxes; but as it is not in order under the rules you have adopted, I content myself with voting for this bill and at the same time entering against the exorbitant and outrageous war taxes the people are now paying my emphatic protest. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

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THE PUERTO RICO TARIFF.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, February 23, 1900.

WASHINGTON.
1900.

S P E E C H
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 8245) to regulate the trade of Puerto Rico, and for other purposes—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This bill is radically wrong in principle, against common sense on its face, clearly contrary to the dictates of humanity, and absolutely in violation of the letter and the spirit of the Federal Constitution. It seeks to extend to a limited degree the Dingley tariff law to the goods, wares, and merchandise of the people of the island of Puerto Rico, which island is now, and for some time past has been, a part of the territory of the United States.

It imposes a tariff tax on all merchandise coming into the United States from Puerto Rico, and going into that island from the United States, at a rate equal to 25 per cent of the duties collected on merchandise imported into the United States from foreign countries; and further provides that duties collected in United States ports upon manufactured goods from Puerto Rico shall be equal in rate and amount to the internal-revenue tax imposed by the United States upon the same articles manufactured in the United States, and in addition thereto 25 per cent of the duties now collected by law upon like articles of merchandise imported from foreign countries, and that duties collected in the island upon manufactured goods from the United States shall be equal to the internal-revenue tax imposed in Puerto Rico upon articles manufactured therein, and in addition thereto 25 per cent of the duties now collected by law upon like articles of merchandise imported from foreign countries.

In my opinion this bill violates the traditional policy of the Government, strikes a cruel blow against a portion of the people of our country, and makes a discrimination as unwise as it is inhuman

and unjust. It is one of the most iniquitous bills ever introduced in this House. I am unalterably opposed to this kind of legislation, and shall vote against this bill.

Mr. PAYNE. Does the gentleman except the money bill?

Mr. SULZER. I said it was "one" of the most iniquitous bills ever introduced, and I repeat it.

Mr. PAYNE. Oh, that is a stock phrase.

Mr. SULZER. That may be, but your legislation warrants it, and the word is none too strong and, to my mind, can not be too often used to fitly express your action here. You trample under foot the Constitution, and you ride roughshod over the rights of the people. The currency bill is an infamous financial job. This bill is an infamous tariff job, and they are both inherently iniquitous.

Now, Mr. Chairman, since the ratification of the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States the island of Puerto Rico has been and is now a part of the domain and territory of this country, and the Constitution applies to it, and should apply to it, just as much as it applies to the District of Columbia or the Territory of Arizona. To contend otherwise is as preposterous as it is untenable.

The people of Puerto Rico are citizens of the United States and entitled to the same privileges, the same rights, and the same immunities under the Constitution that the people of any other State or Territory are entitled to in the Federal Union. This bill compelling the citizens of Puerto Rico to pay a tariff tax on their goods, wares, and merchandise to and from this country is unwarranted, unjustifiable, unprecedented, un-American, and, in my judgment, unconstitutional. In all our past history no political party ever dared to attempt to pass a bill like this, a bill as inhuman as it is unfair, a bill that discriminates by special legislation against the people of one section of the country in regard to impost taxes.

The Constitution regarding this matter is clear and plain. Section 8 of Article I says in language that can not be misunderstood:

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; * * * but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

This provision of the Constitution has been passed upon and interpreted again and again by the United States Supreme Court, and from the days of John Marshall down to the present time the highest court in all our land has always held that the laying and collecting of impost duties must be uniform throughout the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I do not propose and I have not the time to review the authorities. I shall content myself by referring to a few of the more important of them. John Marshall, in delivering the opinion of the court in the case of *Loughborough vs. Blake* (5 Wheaton, page 319), said of the clause of the Constitution requiring uniformity of duties, excises, and imposts throughout the United States—the very clause involved in this bill:

The power to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises may be exercised and must be exercised throughout the United States. Does this term designate the whole or any part of the United States? Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to our great Republic, which is composed of States and Territories. The District of Columbia or the Territory west of Missouri is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania, and it is not less necessary, on the principles of our Constitution, that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties, and excises shall be observed in the one than the other.

In the case of *Cross vs. Harrison* (16 Howard, 198) the court clearly considered the territory embraced in California as a part of the United States within the meaning of this same clause of the Constitution.

I am unable to find any support in judicial decisions for the doctrine that the inhabitants of Territories have no constitutional rights, but exist only by the will of Congress. On the other hand, it has been repeatedly held by the Supreme Court that Congress is bound by the restrictions of the Constitution in dealing with Territories. The broadest construction I have been able to discover, given by any decision of the Supreme Court to the legislative power of Congress over Territories, is set forth in the *Canter* case, and holds in effect that Congress possesses the powers of the General Government and also the powers of a State legislature unrestrained by a State constitution. This interpretation would still leave Congress subject to those limitations which are imposed by the Constitution upon both the national and the State governments. Since the National Government is required to observe the rule of uniformity in levying duties, excises, and imposts, and

the States are substantially prohibited from levying such taxes, it follows that Congress has no power to tax thus unequally either in its capacity as a national or a State legislature.

Daniel Webster spoke directly upon the very proposition involved in this bill. On the 23d of March, 1848, he said in the United States Senate:

An arbitrary government may have territorial governments in distant possessions, because an arbitrary government may rule its distant territories by different laws and different systems. Russia may govern the Ukraine and the Caucasus and Kamchatka by different codes or ukases. We can do no such thing. They must be of us—part of us—or else estranged. I think I see, then, in progress what is to disfigure and deform the Constitution. * * * I think I see a course adopted that is likely to turn the Constitution under which we live into a deformed monster—into a curse rather than a blessing—into a great frame of unequal government, not founded on popular representation, but founded in the grossest inequalities; and I think if it go on, for there is a great danger that it will go on, that this Government will be broken up.

Numerous recent decisions recognize the doctrine that Territories are infant States. Among them are the following:

In *Weber against Harbor Commissioners* (18 Wallace, 65) Justice Field said:

Although the title to the soil under tide waters of the bay was acquired by the cession from Mexico equally with the title to the upland, they held it only in trust for the future States.

And in *Knight vs. United States Land Association* (142 United States, page 183) Justice Lamar said:

Upon the acquisition of the territory from Mexico the United States acquired the title to the tide lands equally with the title to the upland, but with respect to the former they held it only in trust for the future States that might be erected out of such territory.

In *Shively vs. Bowlby* (152 United States, 48) Justice Gray reiterated the doctrine of *Knight* against United States and *Weber* against Harbor Commissioners.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion the true theory is that the Constitution applies to the entire domain of the United States, and while the power of Congress over the Territories is plenary, this term is only used in connection with the Territorial and municipal government which must be conducted under the authority of Congress. Congress thus possesses a power over the Territories which it does not possess over the States; but so far as the Federal powers are concerned, they operate equally over the States

and Territories and are to be exercised with regard to the prohibitions and limitations of the Constitution.

This is stated in *National Bank vs. County of Yankton* (101 U. S.), in which Chief Justice Waite, after stating that Territories are but political subdivisions of the outlying domain of the United States, said, with reference to the organic law of a Territory:

It is obligatory on and binds the Territorial authorities, but Congress is supreme, and for the purposes of this department of its governmental authority has all the powers of the people of the United States, except such as have been expressly or by implication reserved in the prohibitions of the Constitution.

In *Reynolds vs. United States* (98 U. S., 163) the court says:

Congress can not pass a law for the government of the Territories which shall prohibit the free exercise of religion. The first amendment to the Constitution expressly forbids such legislation.

In *Springville vs. Thomas* (166 U. S., 707) the court says:

In our opinion the seventh amendment secured unanimity in finding a verdict as an essential feature of trial by jury in common-law cases. The act of Congress could not impart the power to change the constitutional rule and could not be treated as attempting to do so.

In *Thompson vs. Utah* (170 U. S., 346) Justice Harlan said:

That the provisions of the Constitution of the United States relating to the right of trial by jury in suits at common law apply to the Territories of the United States is no longer an open question.

In *Murphy vs. Ramsey* (114 U. S., 15) the court says:

The people of the United States, as sovereign owners of the national Territories, have supreme power over them and their inhabitants. In the exercise of this sovereign dominion they are represented by the Government of the United States, to whom all the powers of the Government over that subject have been delegated, subject only to such restrictions as are expressed in the Constitution or are necessarily implied in its terms.

Now, sir, it being conceded that Puerto Rico is a part of the domain of the United States, and the Constitution enjoining that all impost taxes shall be uniform throughout the United States, it appears to me that this bill levying impost taxes of 25 per cent of the Dingley tariff rates against the goods, wares, and merchandise of the citizens of Puerto Rico is, and in the name of common sense, justice, and humanity ought to be, unconstitutional, and if the bill ever passes I trust, I hope, and I believe the courts will declare it unconstitutional and absolutely null and void.

Mr. RAY of New York. Will the gentleman allow a question?

Mr. SULZER. Yes; if it is not too long.

Mr. RAY of New York. I hold in my hand a book which contains a decision of the Supreme Court which overrules John Marshall.

Mr. SULZER. Well, God forbid that you should ever overrule him. [Laughter.] John Marshall was one of the greatest jurists that ever sat on the bench of the United States Supreme Court, and in this matter, with all due respect to my colleague from New York and the book he holds in his hand, I prefer to follow the judgment of John Marshall.

Mr. RAY of New York. I am surprised at the ignorance of gentlemen on that side of the House, and some on this side, on this question.

Mr. SULZER. Well, then, I will say that no one is surprised at your knowledge of the law. [Laughter and applause.] And to satisfy you I will now admit that you know more law than the Supreme Court ever knew or ever will know.

Mr. NEVILLE. Will the gentleman yield to me a moment?

Mr. SULZER. Yes; certainly.

Mr. NEVILLE. If the Republican theory is correct, that the foreigners pay the tax, how can the Republicans claim to be good Samaritans and at the same time impose a tax on the Puerto Ricans?

Mr. SULZER. That is an ethical question, and I respectfully submit it to my good friend from New York [Mr. PAYNE]. But let me tell you now that no Republican will answer it. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, it is not often that I agree with the President. In a political way we differ materially in regard to legislation for the best interests of the people; but in regard to this legislation for Puerto Rico, if the President meant what he said in his annual message to Congress, I agree with him. Let me read what the President said to Congress regarding this matter at the beginning of this session of Congress:

It is our plain duty to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Puerto Rico and give her products free access to our markets.

This he said was necessary because the island—

had been denied the principal markets she had long enjoyed, and our tariffs have been continued against her products as when she was under Spanish

sovereignty; that the markets of Spain are closed to her products except upon terms to which the commerce of all nations is subjected. The island of Cuba, which used to buy her cattle and tobacco without customs duties, now imposes the same duties upon these products as from any other country entering her ports. She has therefore lost her free intercourse with Spain and Cuba without any compensating benefits in this market. The markets of the United States should be opened up to her products.

The Secretary of War in his annual report uses the following language:

The highest considerations of justice and good faith demand that we should not disappoint the confident expectation of sharing in our prosperity with which the people of Puerto Rico so gladly transferred their allegiance to the United States, and that we should treat the interest of this people as our own; and I wish most strongly to urge that the customs duties between Puerto Rico and the United States be removed.

And as late as the 19th of January, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. PAYNE, declared by the introduction of House bill 6883, for which the pending bill is offered as a substitute, against the policy of this bill and in favor of free trade between the United States and Puerto Rico.

Now, sir, I concur in the recommendations of the President and the Secretary of War, that it is our plain duty not to enact a tariff law against Puerto Rico, but give her products free access to our markets; and that the dictates of humanity and the highest considerations of justice and good faith demand that we should not disappoint the confident expectations of the poor people of that beautiful gem of the Antilles—Puerto Rico.

If this bill should pass, the President can not consistently sign it, if he were honest and sincere in what he said in his message to Congress.

The overwhelming sentiment of the American people is against the passage of this bill, and in the face of that sentiment and the President's recommendation to Congress I would like some Republican to explain to me and the country the reasons why the Republican majority in this House are resorting to every conceivable expedient to enact this outrageous and unjust measure into law? [Applause on the Democratic side.]

When this Puerto Rico tariff bill was introduced, it abolished all customs tariffs between that island and the United States; but when it was reported by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee it raised a customs barrier of 25 per cent against the

poor people of Puerto Rico. Why the change? Did the President ask it? Did the Secretary of War ask it? Did the people of Puerto Rico ask it? No; absolutely no! The people of the island of Puerto Rico strenuously object and urgently protest against the passage of this bill, and, so far as we are aware, the President has not changed his mind, although we know from experience that mind is like a weather vane, changing with every puff of political wind.

Why, then, was the change made? Well, it is said, and not denied, that the majority of the Ways and Means Committee made this change at the request of the sugar trust, the tobacco trust, and the whisky trust. I believe this to be the truth about the matter.

The agents of the trusts dictated this unjust discrimination against the citizens of Puerto Rico, and seem to have more power and more influence here than the American people. You dare not disobey the trusts. They own and control the Republican party. They are in the saddle and they are riding the Republican party to destruction. They make you sneer at the will of the people; they make you laugh at law and public opinion; they make you violate the imperative injunctions of the Constitution in order to obey their selfish dictates of sordid greed.

Now, sir, I would like to ask my friend from New York [Mr. PAYNE], the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, what he would do if the agents of the trusts should come here and demand a tariff of 25 per cent against the goods and merchandise of the people of New York, or the people of Illinois, or the people of Oklahoma? Would he dare pass a bill laying tribute on the products of the people of those States? I think not. Would such a bill be considered just or constitutional? I think not. And yet would not such a bill be just as reasonable, just as sensible, and just as constitutional as the bill now under consideration? I can see no material difference.

The case seems to be analogous. As the Supreme Court has said, all impost taxes must be uniform throughout the United States, and to-day Puerto Rico is just as much a part of the United States as Alaska or the District of Columbia. In my opinion this proposition is incontrovertible, and this inhuman discrim-

ination against the poor people of Puerto Rico is a Republican outrage, an act of unparalleled injustice, a shameful protective-tariff crime, and all done by the Republican party to please the sugar trust, to placate the tobacco trust, and to paralyze the struggling industries of Puerto Rico.

Pass this cruel, this heartless bill, and what will the 1,000,000 starving human beings in Puerto Rico think of us? Will they not wish they were back in Spain? Will it not be a just cause for continued complaint? And will they not cry out against the injustice and truthfully say, in the words of the patriot fathers, "No taxation without representation?" Spain would never treat one of her colonies as we now propose to treat the poor Puerto Ricans. What will the people down there think of our boasted civilization and of our superior free institutions? What an object lesson to the world this bill presents of Republican duplicity, Republican injustice, and Republican subserviency to the sordid greed of the monopolistic trusts.

The other day the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], the spokesman of the Administration, said regarding this bill and the islands which came to us by reason of the treaty of peace with Spain:

We have got them, and we are going to take care of them. We are going to make all the money out of the transaction we can.

That sums the whole question up in a single sentence. The Republican party is going to make all the money out of the transaction it can. It is going to exploit the islands ceded to us by Spain and make all the money out of them it can. This is not expansion; it is imperialistic piracy—the meanest and most inhuman kind of robbery, because it not alone beggars the present generation but entails woe and misery on millions yet unborn, and does it all under the flag of the Republic and in the name of freedom and justice, magnanimity and benevolent assimilation. What an inspiring spectacle of false pretense and hypocrisy the Republican party presents to-day in its unconstitutional march to empire!

The citizens of Puerto Rico are an intelligent, honest, peaceable, law-abiding people. Recently they were visited by a frightful hurricane which did great damage to the property of the island,

and they are now poor and sorely distressed. We should, if we are true to ourselves, give to them instead of taking from them. Governor-General Davis, in his last report to the War Department, said:

I regard free trade between Puerto Rico and the United States as a necessity.

Pass this bill to loot them, and in all the years to come what will they think of us? The Republican party has deprived them of self-government and given them a military government. They have no representation here. Under Spanish rule they were represented by twelve representatives and four senators in the Spanish Cortes. They had their own local legislature and absolute home rule. Why, under the circumstances, I ask, in the name of all that is fair and just and decent, should we now tax them and rob them of the little they have? Have we made their condition better or worse?

Have we liberated them from monarchical tyranny only to enslave them in industrial oppression? The poor people of Puerto Rico will speak, and the great heart of the Republic will answer and respond in the coming campaign. The American people will never repeat in the dying year of the nineteenth century the crimes and the blunders of George the Third in the closing years of the eighteenth century. We have not forgotten our past. The spirit of 1776 still lives, and the American people will ere long again vindicate the immortal principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. In the sisterhood of States there must be no stepdaughters. The flag we all love must not be used as a cloak to rob and oppress our fellow-citizens at the dictation of the trusts and to bolster up the falling Republican protective tariff fallacy.

Mr. Chairman, I speak earnestly on this subject. My sympathy is with the struggling citizens of Puerto Rico. I want to extend to them the right hand of fellowship, and under the folds of the American flag and by virtue of the law of the land welcome them into the Federal Union. I want to help them, and not injure them. I want to save them, and not destroy them. I want them to love the Union, not hate us and despise our institutions.

I want to keep faith with them and do unto them as we would

that others should do unto us. The act you do to-day is a criminal act of Republican spoliation, and the consequences will be more far-reaching and more destructive than you now imagine. It is another step in your mad march toward imperialism and the subversion of our free institutions. I protest against it with all the emphasis I can command, and I solemnly warn my countrymen that the day is not far distant when the Republic will be destroyed if the wrongs and the usurpations of the Republican party are allowed to go unheeded, unchecked, and unrebuked.

The manhood of this country must speak out, the great conscience of America must find voice, the citizenship of the Republic must assert itself, ere it be too late and ere all is lost. Let us be honest, let us be fair, let us be just, let us be true to our past, true to ourselves, and it will follow like the night the day we can not then be false to any citizen in all the broad domain of our great and glorious Republic.

In the contest which is now on between the Republic and the empire I take my stand with the people against empire and in favor of the perpetuity of the Republic. Ours is the great Republic, the beacon light of the world, the refuge of the oppressed of every clime, the home for the downtrodden of every land, and it is incumbent and a sacred and imperative duty on those who are here and enjoying the inestimable blessings of our free institutions to see to it that the Government of Jefferson, of Jackson, and of Lincoln does not perish from the earth. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

BRITISH FORTIFICATIONS ON PACIFIC COAST.

"England never was and never will be our friend."

SPEECH

OF

HON WM. SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MARCH 20, 1900.

WASHINGTON,
1900.

S P E E C H
OF
H O N . W I L L I A M S U L Z E R .

BRITISH FORTIFICATIONS ON PACIFIC COAST.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, I am instructed by the Committee on Military Affairs to report back a resolution with the recommendation that it lie upon the table.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, submits from that committee the following privileged report, which the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved. That the Secretary of War is hereby directed to inform the House of Representatives as early as possible what fortifications Great Britain is erecting, constructing, and completing along the northern frontier of the United States, especially at Puget Sound and other places on the Pacific Ocean contiguous to the State of Washington and the district of Alaska.

Mr. HULL. I ask the Clerk to read the report of the committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred House resolution 175, report the same back to the House, with the recommendation that the resolution be laid upon the table.

Indorsements 1 and 2 of the report of the War Department on this resolution are herewith submitted and made a part of this report.

Mr. HULL. I call for the reading of those two indorsements of the War Department, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

[First indorsement.]

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, *Washington, March 20, 1900.*

Respectfully returned to the Secretary of War.

The information the Department possesses in this and like cases has always been held to be confidential, and for good and sufficient reasons has not been made public. It is remarked, however, that Great Britain, so far as the Department is informed, is in no instance erecting fortifications trespassing upon our rights.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

[Second indorsement.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, *March 20, 1900.*

Respectfully returned to Hon. J. A. T. HULL, chairman Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, inviting attention to the foregoing report of the Adjutant-General of the Army.

G. D. MEIKLEJOHN, *Acting Secretary of War.*

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, the question is on adopting the report of the committee, that the resolution be laid upon the table.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the report.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Are we to have no debate, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. SULZER. I should like to have twenty minutes on a side.

The SPEAKER. The motion to lay upon the table is not debatable.

Mr. SULZER. Then, Mr. Speaker; I ask unanimous consent for twenty minutes on a side. This is an important matter.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker; I object.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Then, on the motion to lay on the table, we demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. SULZER. Will the gentleman object to giving me five minutes? I want to explain this resolution to the House.

Mr. HULL. No; I will not object to your having five minutes, if the House wants to hear you.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] asks unanimous consent to be heard for five minutes upon the report. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, this resolution was introduced by me in good faith and at the suggestion of patriotic people who have more concern about American rights than they have about British interests. There is a popular demand for the information called for in this resolution and the War Department should furnish it to this House, in order that we may be thoroughly informed of the extent of Great Britain's operations on our northern frontier.

There is nothing in the resolution which calls for secret information, and the answer of the Adjutant-General and the Acting Secretary of War in that regard is absolutely untenable. All this

resolution does is to ask for such information, not incompatible with the public interest, as the War Department possesses regarding the erection, construction, and completion of British fortifications on Puget Sound and places contiguous to the State of Washington and the district of Alaska. There is no reason why we should not have this information from the War Department, and no one on the Republican side of the House has been able to give any good reason for this adverse report.

It is very strange to me that the Republicans, and especially those on the Committee on Military Affairs, are so sensitive in regard to this resolution, particularly that part of it which refers to Great Britain.

That part of the report of the Adjutant-General to the effect that Great Britain is not infringing on our rights is ridiculous in view of all that is transpiring to-day and which is pretty generally known by the people of this country.

We contend, sir, and the facts justify it, that while Great Britain is pretending to be our friend and is lulling to sleep the Administration, she is secretly and stealthily erecting great fortifications all along our northern frontier that can only mean one thing.

These great fortifications are not being erected because of England's love for America. They are being erected in order to take advantage of us when we least expect it. That is the truth about it.

Great Britain's fortifications at Puget Sound and along our northern frontier menace our Republic, and on the shortest possible notice she will be in a position to destroy the property of our people and lay waste our towns and cities.

It seems to me that the Republican Administration is being humbugged by the ministry of Great Britain. To-day it appears that Congress can not do anything, and does not do anything, without the consent and the approval of Great Britain. Everything the Administration does is apparently dictated from Downing street. England never was and never will be our friend. As Jefferson said, she will never be our friend until we are her master.

This resolution was adversely reported from the Committee on

Military Affairs by a strict party vote. Every Democrat voted in favor of the resolution and every Republican voted against it. It is now before this House, and we intend to get the sense of the House by a roll call to ascertain who are the friends of America and who are the friends of Great Britain. The roll call will be a straw showing which way the political wind is blowing.

This resolution should have been reported favorably, and it should be passed by this House. It is important that every member have the information called for in order to intelligently vote on the military-fortifications bill which was reported a few days ago by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON].

I trust the members of this House will rise above party spirit and vote in favor of American rights against British interests.

The fact that this resolution has been reported adversely, if now sustained, will be evidence to the country that Great Britain has more influence here than the American people. There is a feeling abroad in this land, I regret to say, that the Administration has absolutely, abjectly, and ignominiously surrendered to Great Britain, and that British interests are now paramount to American rights.

The Administration has sacrificed American rights to British interests in Alaska. It has sacrificed American rights to Great Britain in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty regarding the Nicaragua Canal. Great Britain, it seems, dominates the policy of this weak, wobbling, un-American Administration, not only here but elsewhere, and is now seeking to entangle us with her European, African, and Asiatic troubles.

The Administration has aided and helped Great Britain in every way in its power to crush and destroy our two brave little sister Republics in South Africa. [Applause on the Democratic side.] In fact sir, if it had not been for the undue, collusive, and unfortunate haste of Secretary Hay, after consultation, no doubt, with Lord Pauncefote, and after being told what to do by Downing street, regarding mediation in the South African war, there would have been a concert of European powers offering mediation, demanding a cessation of war, and insisting on peace with the independence of the two Republics in South Africa.

It is high time, in my judgment, for some one who believes in

American rights, who believes in American principles, and who believes in and glories in our history of the past to stand up here and tell the truth regarding the humiliating surrender of American rights to British interests by this pro-English Administration.

We will get a vote on this resolution and we will see, and the people of this country will see, who are in favor of America and who are in favor of Great Britain, who are in favor of the Republic and who are in favor of the Empire. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired. The question is on agreeing to the report.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. SULZER. Division.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 94, noes 83.

Mr. SULZER and Mr. RICHARDSON. The yeas and nays, Mr. Speaker.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 110, nays 96, answered “present” 23, not voting 116.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 27, 1900.

WASHINGTON.

1900.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union on the bill making appropriations for the Army—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Since the commencement of this session of Congress several resolutions expressing sympathy with the South African patriots have been introduced in this House by myself and other members. The Speaker has referred these resolutions to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and, although ample time has elapsed, that committee has taken, so far as we know, no action, and apparently does not intend to take any action in regard to the same.

For that reason, and lest a more favorable opportunity shall not be available, I desire at this time to express and to place on record my condemnation of the unjust, the inhuman, the predatory, the cruel, and the barbarous war the Empire of Great Britain is ruthlessly and relentlessly conducting in South Africa to destroy and exterminate two brave little republics, sisters of our own, and as free and as independent as this Republic.

Mr. Chairman, the patriotic people of this country take a deep and an abiding interest in the life and death struggle between republic and empire now going on in South Africa. As an American citizen and a Representative in this Congress, I am not ashamed to have it known that my sympathy is now, always has been, and always will be with the heroic Boers in their magnificent struggle to maintain their freedom and their independence against the piracy of the corrupt oligarchy now controlling the policy of the British Empire.

I am with the Boers and I want to see them maintain their independence because they are right and because they are free and deserve to be free. In a contest between liberty and monarchy I want to see liberty win.

The cause of the patriots of South Africa is a just cause. No one who impartially reads history can honestly dispute it. They are defending their homes and repelling a tyrannical and a remorseless invader. England's attempt to steal their country is the outrage of the century, the culminating atrocity of criminal British aggression, and should be condemned by this Republic and by the Christian powers of the world.

In my judgment, if I mistake not public opinion, nine-tenths of the American people are against England in this bloody war of conquest for sordid gain and in sympathy with the Boers. The best thought of England condemns the conflict, and the awakened conscience of the British Empire demands peace with honor in the name of humanity, Christianity, and civilization.

In 1776 the patriot fathers of this Republic fought England to gain our independence. The South African patriots to-day are fighting the same country to maintain their independence. That is the only difference.

The courage of the Boers in the face of tremendous odds has challenged the admiration of mankind, and their heroism against almost insurmountable obstacles has won the respect of the civilized world. They are entitled to our sympathy, and we would be false to ourselves and to all our history if we did not give it to them. The sacrifices they have thus far made and the gallantry, heroism, and bravery they have exhibited are unequalled and unparalleled in the history of the world.

The story of the struggles, the hardships, the trials, and the triumphs of these brave people in South Africa is one of the saddest and one of the greatest pages in all history—an imperishable heritage to every lover of liberty, and to their hardy and valorous descendants an incentive to maintain their freedom, that can never be crushed. No true American can impartially read the history of the Boers without feeling a deep sympathy for them in their present struggle to uphold and defend their independence against English greed for gold, English tyranny, and criminal British aggression for land.

In regard to all the facts of the case there may be some honest difference of opinion; but if there is, it is based, I believe, to a large extent on misinformation or a lack of knowledge of all the circumstances. English agencies have been sedulously at work for some time unceasingly disseminating misinformation in regard to the Boers and the true situation in South Africa. Let me ask you all to search out the truth ere you pass judgment on the brave republicans of South Africa.

Let us briefly review the situation. We must not rely too much on the colored, the doctored, and the censored British reports from English sources in Cape Colony. England is now and always has been unscrupulous. In a war like this—a war against humanity—she has little regard for truth.

In South Africa there are two free and independent countries—one called the "South African Republic," the other called the "Orange Free State." They are duly organized Governments, republican in form, patterned to a great extent after our own, and recognized as free and independent throughout the world. As a matter of law and as a matter of fact, England has no more right to meddle with them or to interfere in their internal affairs than she has to meddle with Mexico or interfere in the internal affairs of the United States. These States are now and have been ever since the convention of 1884 free and independent States. There can be no controversy about this.

These brave South African patriots are a good deal like the patriots of our own Revolution. They love their homes, their freedom, and their liberty. They come from good old Saxon ancestors from the north of Europe. They love free institutions, the same as we do, for the sake of personal liberty. It comes to them naturally and by inheritance. Their love of liberty is not of a day or of a year, but of centuries.

They are a brave, a fearless, a patriotic, a liberty-loving, and a God-fearing people. Many years ago their ancestors emigrated from Holland, from France, and from other places in the north of Europe to Cape Colony in order to live under free institutions,

enjoy the blessings of liberty, and worship their Maker according to the dictates of their own conscience.

The Puritan, the Hollander, the Irishman, the German, and the Cavalier came to this country for the same reason and for the same purpose.

These sturdy immigrants and their heroic descendants carved out unaided and alone their own destiny in the wilds of the Dark Continent amid unspeakable hardships and privations and gave to the world a civilization as good as our own. For a century and more, in sunshine and in storm, these brave people toiled and plodded on, and they builded, like the fathers of this Republic, better than they knew. Surrounded by savages, harassed by wild beasts, visited by famine and scourged by disease, in all the long weary and dreary years they never lost hope; they prayed to God and never despaired.

They are a simple Christian people, as honest as they are brave. They redeemed the wilderness, turned the desert wastes into sweeping fields of grain, made the jungle blossom and bloom like a rose, and dotted the hills with villages and towns. Notwithstanding all they had to contend with, they grew, they prospered, and they were happy until perfidious Albion came. From that day to this England has made cruel war on the Boers. She has repeatedly robbed them of their lives, their property, and their lands.

But the spirit of their love of liberty has never been broken. You can not conquer a brave people inspired by the love of freedom and battling on their own soil for their homes and their liberties. They will never surrender their principles. They will resist oppression and tyranny until they are exterminated by overwhelming and superior force. They know, like Patrick Henry, that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. Their love of liberty is stronger and more tenacious than their love of life. Their history is an epic poem of one long heroic struggle against English greed, English tyranny, and English oppression.

These brave Boers are now fighting, perhaps for the last time, for republicanism against monarchy; for democracy against plutocracy; for home rule against the bayonet; for the ballot against the throne; for the love of home against the love of gold; for Saxon freedom against British tyranny; for the integrity of their country against a ruthless invader; for the schoolhouse against the army barracks; for religious freedom against foreign domination; for the fireside of civilization against the blazing torch of devastation; for free institutions against imperialism; and, above all and beyond all, they are fighting a battle for the rights of man. God grant that their liberties and their independence shall not be destroyed.

When we consider it all, how true seem the words of Lowell:

Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne;
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch upon His own.

To-day in South Africa Truth is on the scaffold and in England Wrong is on the throne.

The absolute independence of the South African Republic was finally recognized by Great Britain in 1884, and ever since then it has been as free and as independent as our own great Republic.

Prior to the year 1884 these brave and fearless men and their ancestors had struggled and struggled for a century and more to establish what they now possess and what they are at present so

gallantly fighting to maintain—a free and independent government of their own. Once, twice, three times has England violated her solemn pledge to them and trespassed on their sacred rights. She saw what they had wrought, and her greedy sons coveted it. The Boers were compelled by English greed and tyranny and power to move farther and farther inland. Whenever they thought they were secure and had the right to enjoy the blessings of liberty and self-government, England encroached on their domain, waged pitiless and savage war against them, and drove them farther and farther from the sea.

To their credit and their glory, however, be it said that every encroachment on their land, their rights, and their liberties has been manfully and stubbornly resisted. They were forced to move on, but they never gave up their freedom; they never surrendered their independence.

Prior to the present conflict Majuba Hill marks the place of the last contest with Great Britain of these valorous people for their homes and their firesides. Majuba Hill! Forever glorious in the annals of the South African Republic's struggle to maintain its independence. Majuba Hill to them is the same as Bunker Hill to us, and both will live in history to the end of time as an inspiration to man.

After this disastrous blow to British arms the convention of 1884 was entered into, and all other and prior treaties were annulled. By this treaty the South African Republic became free and independent and took its place among the nations of the world. And Lord Derby, then secretary of state for the colonies and a very different man from Joseph Chamberlain, distinctly stated in Parliament that the South African Republic was independent and free to govern itself. The question of England's paramountcy in South Africa was not mentioned, and never a word was said about British "suzerainty."

That great English statesman, friend of the Boers, friend of liberty and of Irish home rule, William E. Gladstone, said the word "suzerainty" was dropped on purpose.

Even as late as May, 1896, after the Jameson raid, Mr. Chamberlain said in the House of Commons:

A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could possibly be waged. It would be a long war, a bitter war, and a costly war. It would leave behind it the embers of a strife which I believe generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish. To go to war with President Kruger in order to enforce upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, in which secretaries of state, standing in this place, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise.

Now, sir, I say, from the record, that it must be clear and plain to everyone who has reviewed the question from an English as well as a Boer standpoint that the South African Republic is and was since 1884 a sovereign and independent State. In proof of this I cite the additional fact that it was admitted to the International Postal Union, that it was a member of the Convention of Geneva, and that our own Government and all the other powers recognized it and appointed to it consuls. The United States consul at Pretoria to-day is acting in that capacity, not only for us but for Great Britain as well.

Under all the circumstances, it seems to me England is now precluded from raising the question of the independence of the South African Republic. For England to raise this contention at this

late day is a mere flimsy pretext, an afterthought of Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, and constitutes a blunder worse than a crime.

The question of suzerainty was not raised at first in the differences with the South African Republic. There never would have been trouble if gold had not been discovered in the land. The rich find of gold there is at the bottom of it all. Love of gold is the cause of this cruel Anglo-African war.

Cecil Rhodes, the most daring and colossal grabber and manipulator of the century, coveted the Boers' golden land. He wanted it for his English chartered syndicate. He and Chamberlain instigated the Jameson raid, and Chamberlain repudiated it when the Boers made it a miserable failure. Cecil Rhodes plotted and planned against the Boers. He stirred up dissension among the people at Pretoria; he conspired in South Africa and in Europe to overthrow the Republics. He is the power behind the British ministry in this war, and Chamberlain is now, and always has been, his willing tool.

This conflict should be called Cecil Rhodes's war for gold and conquest in South Africa. He is responsible for all the woe, all the sorrow, all the despair, and all the misery this war has caused. He is the Pizarro of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Rhodes began the present trouble by taking up the alleged grievances of the English aliens or uitlanders in South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain practically demanded they be enfranchised without abjuring or renouncing their allegiance to the British Crown. This proposition is, and was, preposterous. No government on earth would submit to it.

If the English aliens in the Transvaal wanted to become citizens of the Boer Republic, they had to comply with the law, just the same as English aliens in this country, in order to become citizens of the United States, must comply with our law and renounce forever their allegiance to the British Crown. The law there regarding naturalization is just about the same as the law here. If anything, it is more liberal.

But be these grievances of the foreigners in the South African Republic regarding franchise, taxation, and representation just or unjust, reasonable or unreasonable, it was no cause for this sanguinary war. As a matter of fact, however, the South African Republic was willing to comply with every request of the English Government regarding the franchise and all other alleged grievances of the uitlanders.

I think it can be safely stated that the Boers were willing to arbitrate all questions of difference between the two Governments; but England declined and began a systematic concentration of English troops on their frontier, which in itself constituted a practical declaration of war against them.

And, sir, let me say right here that if the friends and sympathizers of England urge as a reason for British interference and as a justification of this war the alleged grievances of the uitlanders in regard to the franchise, taxation, and representation in the Transvaal, the friends and sympathizers of the Boers answer that England's rules, laws, and regulations regarding American aliens in the British Klondike are more severe, more grievous, and more burdensome. And yet does anyone here urge a war with England on account of the grievances of American miners in the British Klondike?

From all the facts and circumstances in the case, I am convinced and clearly of the opinion that England has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Boers. Her pretexts for doing so are untenable, and her entire course in the matter has been selfish, cruel, unjustifiable, and dishonorable.

The war she is waging against them to-day is the most criminal, the most defenseless, and the most predatory war in all history. The Boers at all times were willing to concede every fair and just demand England made. Nothing would satisfy Rhodes and Chamberlain. They wanted the land of the Boers because it contained gold, and all the other incidental demands were merely pretexts. As soon as one was conceded, another and a harder one was made.

The truth is, and history will so record it, that England wanted the control of this country because it is the richest in gold in the world. England always puts in a claim where gold is found.

England is now, and always has been, the aggressor against the Boers. The concentration of British troops on the frontier of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic was a virtual declaration of war. England forced the war. England began it. The Boers yielded everything but independence to satisfy England. If the Boers had not struck for their rights, their firesides, and their independence when they did and as they did, they would have been overwhelmed by superior British forces before they could have struck a blow and resistance would have been useless. They were right in striking when they did.

I glory in the spunk of grand old Paul Kruger. He is one of the world's great heroes. He knew only too well how dangerous was delay, and everything that has occurred since he issued his defiant ultimatum to the British Crown has demonstrated his wisdom and his foresight. He is a grand old man, one of the world's immortals, and will always stand out on the pages of history as a friend of man, a lover of liberty, and a champion of freedom.

The ultimatum he issued to England rang round the globe, and will live in the world's history.

The Boers will never surrender their love of liberty. They can only be conquered by being exterminated, and England must not be permitted to exterminate them and steal their homes. Her criminal march of devastation must and will be checked.

America should do its duty. The great Republic, the beacon light of the world, in the name of liberty, humanity, and justice, must demand peace and make that demand good. We have the right to insist on peace with honor. We have the right to express our sympathy. We have the right to aid the Red Cross Society. International law gives us these rights, and we should exercise them. Why are we silent?

We sympathized with Poland, with Hungary, with Greece, with all the South American Republics, with Armenia, and with Cuba in their struggles for freedom. Many we helped. Why, I ask, in the name of all that is just and honorable, in the name of our glorious past, should we now refuse to lend our moral support, our sympathy, and our aid to the patriots of South Africa? Is the great light of the Republic going out? Is American sentiment dead?

A republic that has sunk so low that it glories in the downfall of a sister republic is in danger of destruction itself. A republic

that refuses sympathy to a sister republic struggling to maintain its independence against monarchical aggression is unworthy the name and in danger of monarchy itself. A republic that will secretly aid a monarchy to destroy a republic and blot out its free institutions is a republic rotten to the core, and will soon fall like a decayed tree on the banks of a turbulent stream to be swept away forever.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion the defeat of the Boers will be the severest blow to republican institutions that has been struck in more than a century, and every friend of liberty the world over should fervently pray that Oom Paul may be successful. How patriotic citizens of this country can sympathize with Great Britain in this cruel, unjust, and unholy war against our two sister Republics is beyond my comprehension. Their defeat will be a terrible blow to free institutions on this hemisphere, and give thrones and empires a renewed lease of life at the very dawn of the twentieth century.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, this Republican Congress, and this pro-English Administration of William McKinley will do nothing for liberty, nothing for the Boers, and secretly sympathize with Great Britain. Every liberty-loving citizen of the Republic should denounce and condemn these pro-English and imperialistic tendencies. This Republic should stand by republics—not against them. I want to see the right triumph, and if it does the Boers will maintain the independence of their country.

God bless the embattled farmers of South Africa is my fervent prayer, and from the ashes of the conflict may there arise a greater and a grander republic—the glorions United States of South Africa. [Prolonged applause on the Democratic side.]

GOVERNMENT FOR THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.
THE LATE RICHARD PARKS BLAND.
ELECTION OF SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE.
SYMPATHY FOR THE BOERS.

SPEECHES

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

April 4, 7, 12, and May 7, 1900.

WASHINGTON.
1900.

SPEECHES
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

GOVERNMENT FOR THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

Wednesday, April 4, 1900.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (S. 222) to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This bill is intended to give a stable civil government to the Hawaiian Islands, and is entitled "An act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii." Owing to the fact that nearly all my time for the past few weeks has been taken up by the investigation of the Idaho mining troubles now pending before the Military Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, I frankly confess that I have not had an opportunity to give this bill the study and the attention the importance of the subject under consideration deserves. From a superficial reading of the report submitted by the committee, and from a hasty analysis of the provisions of the bill, I believe, however, I can safely say that the bill now before the House is far from perfect and can be, and ought to be, materially improved by amendment.

I am informed that a number of amendments will be offered, and I indulge the hope that before the bill becomes a law the objectionable features it now contains will be eliminated and that the bill will be as nearly perfect as we can make it at the present time. These amendments should be adopted; and if they are, I trust this bill will pass.

Ever since the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States I have favored granting to our fellow-citizens there the very best form of Territorial government it is possible for Congress to devise. They deserve it; they are entitled to it; and Congress should have vouchsafed them this important right long ere this. I favored and voted for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, and I gave my reasons for doing so at that time. I am now, and always have been, anxious to give the people there the best and the most liberal kind of Territorial government.

There is imperative need of early enactment of an organic act for the government of the Territory of Hawaii.

The joint resolution of July 7, 1898, providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, declares that the Hawaiian municipal laws not contrary to the United States Constitution or inconsistent with the terms of that resolution remain in force until Congress enact laws. It was undoubtedly expected then that a Territorial act would soon be passed, and a bill was introduced in each House of the Fifty-fifth Congress. But other matters of great national importance so occupied the time and attention of Congress that the bill was not passed.

Meanwhile it has become apparent that there is much doubt of the extent of the power granted to the local government of Hawaii by the provisions of the joint resolution, and in many important respects it has created something like an interregnum.

Many doubtful questions of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction have arisen, as well as of criminal procedure, rendering it uncertain whether there is now any tribunal for the decision of important questions affecting property and any existing method by which criminals may be indicted or legal juries impaneled for their trial.

In anticipation of Congressional action, the election to fill vacancies in the Hawaiian senate was not held last year, and there is, therefore, no legislative power for appropriating money for public purposes.

There is also grave doubt concerning the power of the Hawaiian government to grant franchises for industrial and commercial enterprises, or for railways which have been projected, and the Attorney-General of the United States has decided that the Hawaiian government has no power to grant or lease any of the public lands for homesteads or for any purpose, notwithstanding the fact that the treaty of annexation declared that the proceeds and revenues of such lands should be devoted to the benefit of the inhabitants of Hawaii.

In many respects the business affairs of the Territory are brought to a standstill. Many Americans have bought government land since annexation, on which they have built residences and planted crops, but their land titles are now in dispute and can not be settled until the passage of this bill.

Meanwhile Americans can not settle in Hawaii on homesteads or land bought from the government, and a very desirable class of citizens is thereby shut out of this new Territory. The local government is unable even to make public roads over any part of the public domain of Hawaii, or carry out plans based on legislation prior to annexation for widening and straightening the streets of Honolulu.

The presence in that city of the bubonic plague is calling for drastic measures by the Hawaiian authorities, involving the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars. In order to provide for these expenditures, and to compensate the owners of buildings which have been burned in the effort to suppress the pestilence, it is proper and just that a Territorial legislature be provided by Congress with no unnecessary delay.

Since the adoption of the resolution of annexation large numbers of Japanese contract laborers have been brought into the islands, and delay in extending the laws of the United States to them will be taken advantage of to increase the number.

This bill proposes a Territorial government for the Hawaiian Islands similar to that of the later Territories of the United States—a governor, a secretary, both appointed by the President; a treasurer, attorney-general, commissioner of public lands, commissioner of agriculture and forestry, superintendent of public works, superintendent of public instruction, auditor and deputy auditor, surveyor, and high sheriff, appointed by the governor.

A legislature is provided, consisting of a senate and house of representatives, elected by the people. The Territory is to be represented by a Delegate in Congress. The Territory is made a judicial district of the United States, with a district court having,

in addition, the jurisdiction of circuit courts, with a district judge, district attorney, and a marshal of the United States, appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate of the United States.

The judicial power of the Territory is vested in a supreme court and in inferior courts to be established by the legislature. The laws of the United States locally applicable are extended over the new Territory, and the laws of Hawaii not inconsistent with the Constitution or laws of the United States are continued in force. The Territory is made a customs and revenue district and becomes subject to the tariff laws of the United States.

It needs no argument, it seems to me, to convince that if it be possible to give to the Hawaiian Islands a government like that of the United States Territories—a government which has met the approval of Congress and the American people since the Constitution was adopted and has proved itself adapted to the needs of a free and progressive people—it is desirable to do so.

Mr. Chairman, I am aware that there are many difficult problems to be solved regarding this legislation and that it will necessarily contain many errors and omissions; but, sir, I feel confident the citizens of the Hawaiian Islands will be able ultimately to solve the problems, and whatever defects this bill contains will soon be discovered when the law goes into operation, and time and experience and subsequent legislation will correct and remedy them. The all-important thing for us to do now, and do promptly, is to give the people of the Hawaiian Islands Territorial government, and the best, the freest, and the most liberal Territorial government the combined wisdom and judgment of Congress can devise. I am in favor of home rule and absolute local self-government for our Territories.

And, sir, I desire to say in this connection that what we do for the people of the Territory of Hawaii we should also do for the people of the Territory of Puerto Rico. There should be no selfish distinction—no sordid discrimination. A citizen of Hawaii is a citizen of the United States and a citizen of Puerto Rico is a citizen of the United States just as much as a citizen of the District of Columbia or a citizen of the State of New York; they are all citizens of the great Republic, free and independent, and under the dome of the Union sky, protected by the flag of our country, they are entitled to all the rights, to all the benefits, to all the privileges, and to all the immunities of the Federal Constitution. This is our plain duty, the imperative mandate of the hour, and for anyone or any party to seriously contend to the contrary is preposterous and in the end will be as unwise as it is unjust, as inhuman as it is indefensible, and as un-American as it is unconstitutional.

Any departure, in my judgment, by Congress from the well-settled, the successful, the time-honored, and the constitutional policy of the Republic regarding the government of our territorial possessions will be fraught with much danger to our free institutions and will be a step forward in the contemplated programme of imperialism. I am opposed to any plan or any policy repugnant to or in any way antagonistic to the fundamental principles of our national existence. The Constitution is my guide, and the Declaration of Independence the lamp that illumines my path. I am opposed to injustice, to militarism, to imperialism, and to industrial slavery here or anywhere else, at home or in our islands of

the sea; and wherever our flag floats, in the Pacific or in the Atlantic, in the States or in the Territories, I want the Constitution to be there, guaranteeing to every human being liberty, equality, justice, and every right of an American citizen. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, this is all I desire to say at this time regarding the provisions of this bill. I shall vote for the amendments, and if they be adopted, I shall vote for this bill. But in connection with my remarks on this matter and some remarks I made a short time ago I wish to print in the RECORD some data in relation thereto that may be of interest to some of the thinking people of this country.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] asks unanimous consent to print in the RECORD some data in connection with his remarks. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

HON. W. J. BRYAN ON IMPERIALISM—JEFFERSON VS. IMPERIALISM.

The advocates of imperialism have sought to support their position by appealing to the authority of Jefferson. Of all the statesmen who have ever lived Jefferson was the one most hostile to the doctrines embodied in the demand for a European colonial policy.

Imperialism as it now presents itself embraces four distinct propositions:

1. That the acquisition of territory by conquest is right.
2. That the acquisition of remote territory is desirable.
3. That the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is unsound.
4. That people can be wisely governed by aliens.

To all these propositions Jefferson was emphatically opposed. In a letter to William Short, written in 1791, he said:

"If there be one principle more deeply written than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest."

Could he be more explicit? Here we have a clear and strong denunciation of the doctrine that territory should be acquired by force. If it is said that we have outgrown the ideas of the fathers, it may be observed that the doctrine laid down by Jefferson was reiterated only a few years ago by no less a Republican than James G. Blaine. All remember the enthusiasm with which he entered into the work of bringing the republics of North and South America into close and cordial relations. Some, however, may have forgotten the resolutions introduced by him at the conference held in 1890, and approved by the commissioners present. They are as follows:

"First. That the principle of conquest shall not during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration be recognized as admissible under American public law.

"Second. That all cessions of territory made during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration shall be void if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force.

"Third. Any nation from which such cessions shall be exacted may demand that the validity of the cessions so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

"Fourth. Any renunciation of the right to arbitration made under the conditions named in the second section shall be null and void."

If the principle of conquest is right, why should it be denied a place in American public law? So objectionable is the theory of acquisition of territory by conquest that the nation which suffers such injustice can, according to the resolutions, recover by arbitration the land ceded in the presence of an armed force. So abhorrent is it that a waiver of arbitration made under such circumstances is null and void. While the resolutions were only for the consideration of the American republics, the principle therein stated can not be limited by latitude or longitude.

But this is a time of great and rapid changes, and some may even look upon Blaine's official acts as ancient history.

If so, let it be remembered that President McKinley only a year ago (December 6, 1897), in a message to Congress discussing the Cuban situation, said:

"I speak not of forcible annexation, for that is not to be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression."

And yet some are now thinking of that which was then "not to be thought of." Policy may change, but does a "code of morality" change? In his recent speech at Savannah Secretary Gage, in defending the new policy of the Administration, suggested that "philanthropy and 5 per cent" may go hand

in hand. Surely we know not what a day may bring forth, if in so short a time "criminal aggression" can be transformed into "philanthropy and 5 per cent." What beauty, what riches, the isles of the Pacific must possess if they can tempt our people to abandon not only the traditions of a century, but our standard of national morality! What visions of national greatness the Philippines must arouse if the very sight of them can lead our country to vie with the monarchies of the Old World in the extension of sovereignty by force.

Jefferson has been called an expansionist, but our opponents will search in vain for a single instance where he advocated the acquisition of remote territory. On the contrary, he expressly disclaimed any desire for land outside of the North American continent. That he looked forward to the annexation of Cuba is well known, but in a letter to President Monroe, dated June 23, 1823, he suggested that we should be in readiness to receive Cuba "when solicited by herself." To him Cuba was desirable only because of the island's close proximity to the United States. Thinking that some one might use the annexation of Cuba as a precedent for indefinite expansion, he said, in a letter to President Madison, dated April 27, 1809:

"It will be objected to our receiving Cuba that no limit can then be drawn to our future acquisitions," but, he added, "Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and this develops the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it."

In the same letter, speaking of the possible acquisition of that island, he said:

"I would immediately erect a column on the southernmost limit of Cuba and inscribe on it a ne plus ultra as to us in that direction."

It may be argued that Jefferson was wrong in asserting that we should confine our possessions to the North American continent, but certainly no one can truthfully quote him as an authority for excursions into the Eastern Hemisphere. If he was unwilling to go farther south than Cuba, even in the Western Hemisphere, would he be likely to look with favor upon colonies in the Orient?

If the authority of Jefferson can not be invoked to support the acquisition of remote territory, much less can his great name be used to excuse a colonial policy which denies to the people the right to govern themselves. When he suggested an inscription for his monument, he did not enumerate the honors which he had received, though no American had been more highly honored; he only asked to be remembered for what he had done, and he named the writing of the Declaration of Independence as the greatest of his deeds. In that memorable document he declared it a self-evident truth that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The defense and development of that doctrine was his special care. His writings abound with expressions showing his devotion to that doctrine and his solicitude for it.

He preached it in the enthusiasm of his youth; he reiterated it when he reached the age of maturity; he crowned it with benedictions in his old age. Who will say that, if living, he would jeopardize it to-day by ingrafting upon it the doctrine of government by external force?

Upon the fourth proposition Jefferson is no less explicit. Now, when some are suggesting the wisdom of a military government for the Philippines, or a colonial system such as England administers in India, it will not be out of place to refer to the manner in which Jefferson viewed the inability of aliens to prescribe laws and administer government. In 1817 a French society was formed for the purpose of settling upon a tract of land near the Tombigbee River. Jefferson was invited to formulate laws and regulations for the society. On the 16th of January of that year he wrote from Monticello expressing his high appreciation of the confidence expressed in him, but declining to undertake the task. The reasons he gave are well worth considering at this time. After wishing them great happiness in their undertaking, he said:

"The laws, however, which must effect this must flow from their own habits, their own feelings, and the resources of their own minds. No stranger to these could possibly propose regulations adapted to them. Every people have their own particular habits, ways of thinking, manners, etc., which have grown up with them from their infancy, are become a part of their nature, and to which the regulations which are to make them happy must be accommodated. No member of a foreign country can have a sufficient sympathy with these. The institutions of Lyeurgus, for example, would not have suited Athens, nor those of Solon, Lacedæmon. The organizations of Locke were impracticable for Carolina, and those of Rousseau for Poland. Turning inwardly on myself from these eminent illustrations of the truth of my observations, I feel all the presumption it would manifest should I undertake to do what this respectable society is alone qualified to do suitably for itself."

The alien may possess greater intelligence and greater strength, but he

lacks the sympathy for, and the identification with, the people. We have only to recall the grievances enumerated in the Declaration of Independence to learn how an ocean may dilute justice and how the cry of the oppressed can be silenced by distance. And yet the inhabitants of the colonies were the descendants of Englishmen—blood of their blood and bone of their bone. Shall we be more considerate of subjects farther away from us, and differing from us in color, race, and tongue, than the English were of their own offspring?

Modest Jefferson! He had been governor, ambassador to France, Vice-President, and President; he was ripe in experience and crowned with honors; but this modern lawgiver, this immortal genius, hesitated to suggest laws for a people with whose habits, customs, and methods of thought he was unfamiliar. And yet the imperialists of to-day, intoxicated by a taste of blood, are rash enough to enter upon the government of the Filipinos, confident of the nation's ability to compel obedience, even if it can not earn gratitude or win affection. Plutarch said that men entertained three sentiments concerning the ancient gods: They feared them for their strength, admired them for their wisdom, and loved them for their justice. Jefferson taught the doctrine that governments should win the love of men. What shall be the ambition of our nation; to be loved because it is just or to be feared because it is strong?

THE LATE RICHARD PARKS BLAND.

Saturday, April 7, 1900.

The House having under consideration the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended in order that suitable tribute may be paid to the high character and eminent public services of the Hon. RICHARD PARKS BLAND, late a most distinguished member of the House of Representatives of the United States from the State of Missouri.

"Resolved, That as a mark of respect for the memory of the deceased the House, at the conclusion of these memorial exercises, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk of the House transmit a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased statesman and inform the Senate of the action of this body"—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: With all that has been so eloquently and so affectionately said here to-day regarding the life and character of the late RICHARD P. BLAND I concur, and I would not be true to myself and to my friendship and admiration for him if I did not on this sad occasion place on record my humble tribute to his memory.

For years Mr. BLAND has been a prominent national figure and his name a household word. He had friends and followers and admirers in every hamlet and every State in the Union. His untimely death was a sad and terrible shock to us all, and to his country an irretrievable loss. When he died, the whole nation mourned and sympathized with his bereaved family, and the Republic lost as true and sincere a patriot as ever lived. He was a true man, a friend of the plain people, generous and forgiving, sincere and patriotic, honest and truthful, zealous and indefatigable in the cause of right and justice. For a quarter of a century he was a towering pillar of the Republic. The work he did is a part of the history of our country, and it is fitting and proper that his colleagues in this House should set aside a day to justly commemorate his name and fame. As the years come and go he will be better understood and more appreciated. Posterity will give him a higher place in the Temple of Fame, and future generations will pay his memory greater homage.

RICHARD PARKS BLAND was born near Hartford, Ky., on the 19th day of August, 1835, and died at his home in Lebanon, Mo., on the 15th day of June, 1899. He received an academic education. He was an unwearied student and an apt scholar. In 1855

he removed to Missouri and shortly thereafter to California, thence to that portion of Utah now Nevada, locating in Virginia City, where he practiced law for a time. He was interested in mining operations in California and Nevada; was county treasurer of Carson County, Utah Territory, from 1860 until the organization of the State government of Nevada; returned to Missouri in 1865; located at Rolla, Mo., and practiced law with his brother, C. C. Bland, until he removed to Lebanon, in August, 1869, and continued his practice there; was elected to the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fifth, and Fifty-sixth Congresses.

The work he did for the toilers of the land and the beneficent results he accomplished for struggling humanity during his long career as a member of this House must ever be a part of the imperishable history of the country, and the future historian impartially writing the legislative story of the last twenty-five years of the American Congress will place him in the front rank of constructive statesmen. That record is the heritage he left his countrymen and will be for all time to come the monument of his undying fame. It stands for absolute truth, exact justice, eternal principles, equality before the law, and equal rights for all.

He was no respecter of persons, no hero worshiper. He believed in humanity and trusted the people. He had faith in the greatness and the endurance of the Republic, and battled all his life to perpetuate our free institutions and hand them down unimpaired to future generations. He was a plain, simple man who loved his fellow-man. He was a believer in the fundamental principles that constitute our national existence and he trod the path of the patriot fathers. He was a disciple of Thomas Jefferson and struggled to keep the Government pure and in the control of the people. He turned his back on caste, combated privilege, and was the relentless foe of monopoly. He was a unique man in many ways. His nature was without guile; he hated cant, spurned pretense, and despised hypocrisy. He was the friend of the Constitution, and no argument, no sophistry, could persuade him from the path of duty. He did his works bravely and fearlessly in the face of obstacles that would appall a weaker and a more timid man.

In the great battle for the people's rights he never wearied, and the marshaled hosts of error never conquered him. Year in and year out he fought the good fight; he kept the faith. He lived truly, he thought truly, and he spoke truly. His life was as placid as a summer stream, and made him loved by all who knew him. His words uttered here for the defenseless were always respectfully listened to by admiring friends and doubting opponents, and were read and reread by innumerable millions. He spoke the truth for the countless who were robbed and oppressed for the enrichment and the benefit of the few, and he knew the truth would ultimately triumph and that his efforts for the rights of the people would sooner or later be crowned with success.

Think truly, and thy thought
 Shall the world's great famine feed;
 Speak truly, and each word of thine
 Shall be a fruitful seed;
 Live truly, and thy life shall be
 A grand and noble creed.

Such a man was RICHARD PARKS BLAND—a truly great, a truly good, a truly honest man in all things.

The great and immortal truths he uttered were not uttered in vain. They have borne and will continue to bear abundant fruit. His cause will live, and, in my opinion, the day is not far distant when the principles he contended for will be written on the statute books of America, an everlasting monument to his wisdom, his foresight, and his unerring judgment. The martyr dies; the cause survives. Man goeth to his long home, but his works live after him.

Mr. BLAND was a faithful public servant. He never betrayed a friend, a trust, or a principle. He always fought fair and open and aboveboard. He never resorted to trickery, to device, or to chicanery. He had no tricks of speech. He was a plain, blunt man, who never used words to conceal thoughts. He told the truth and told it in the simplest and most direct way. He went to the root of the subject. His heart was in all he did, in all he said, and he was great and eloquent and impressive because he was simple, honest, and sincere, and every word he uttered had the genuine ring of truth. He never despaired. He had the rectitude and patience of the rocks, the hope of the stream rushing to meet the ocean, the fidelity of the sun.

He believed in equal opportunity, encouraged worth, applauded manly effort, and wanted man to be free and stand erect. He was a great commoner; he sympathized with those who toil and struggle; he believed in the love of home, the sanctity of the hearthside, and his great responsive heart went out to comfort the sad, the sorrowing, and the disconsolate. He was the foe of tyranny, the enemy of bigotry, the eternal adversary of oppression. He was the champion of the masses, the friend of the downtrodden, the pioneer and the leader of the reform forces of the Republic against the serried ranks of the predatory classes.

Humanity was his constituency, to do good his political creed. He stood for the weak against the strong, for the lowly against the powerful, for the oppressed against the oppressor, for the right against the wrong, for truth against error, for every cause that lacked assistance, and, above all and beyond all, he stood, in all places and at all times, for the rights of man. When he died a great tree in the forests of the people fell and a great light in the Republic went out. We who follow after him, imbued with his noble example and inspired by his civic virtues, will heroically take up his burden, push forward his cause, and continue his fight until the battle is won and the mighty principles he contended for are forever triumphant. I believe if he were here to-day this would be his message, his wish to us, and that he would say to all as the poetess of America has so truly said to the world:

Let those who have failed take courage,
 Though the enemy seemed to have won,
 Though his ranks are strong, if he be in the wrong,
 The battle is not yet done.
 For sure as the morning follows
 The darkest hour of the night,
 No question is ever settled
 Until it is settled right.

O man bowed down with labor,
 O woman young, yet old,
 O heart oppressed in the toiler's breast
 And crushed by the power of gold,
 Keep on with your weary battle
 Against triumphant might,
 No question is ever settled
 Until it is settled right.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE,

Thursday, April 12, 1900.

The House having under consideration House joint resolution No. 28, proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Senators of the United States—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The joint resolution now before the House and under discussion proposes to amend the Constitution so that Senators in Congress shall be elected directly by the people. I am in favor of the people electing United States Senators. Ever since I have been a member of this House I have worked faithfully to bring about this desirable reform. I introduced this joint resolution in the Fifty-fourth Congress, I introduced it in the Fifty-fifth Congress, and I reintroduced it the first day of this Congress. It passed this House by an almost unanimous vote in the last Congress, but failed to pass the Senate. For years, in Congress and out of Congress, in season and out of season, I have favored, discussed, and agitated this proposition. I believe it is right, I know the people favor it, and I hope every member of this House will now vote for it. The people all over this country demand this change in the Constitution and appeal to us to pass this resolution to give them this right.

This appeal is not sectional, nor is it partisan. It reaches us from all sections and from the different political parties with a degree of unanimity quite surprising and unaccountable, if not guided and impelled by a sense of righteous indignation, aroused by reports and accusations of alleged methods sometimes employed by gentlemen whose ambitions lead them to seek a seat in the Senate of the United States. We can well afford, indeed, as their representatives it is our bounden duty, to respect the wishes and do the will of the people and give them a uniform law allowing them by direct vote to elect their Senators.

It has been said that our action in passing this resolution will be useless and a waste of time, for the reason that the Senators will never consent to a change in the mode of their selection. That may be true in regard to some of the Senators, but I know it is not true in regard to all of them. Many of them favor this change and will advocate it. I know also that this resolution may fail this time, as it has failed to pass the Senate before, but those who believe in this change will not give up the struggle to bring it about, and sooner or later it will be adopted.

If a majority of Senators oppose the adoption of this resolution in this Congress and, from personal motives, mistaken ideas, or narrow-minded views, vote it down, the agitation of the people for this change will not cease, but will become more pronounced and more determined until there is a Senate that will respond to their wishes and enact legislation that will give the people the right to elect their United States Senators as well as their Representatives in Congress. Do not be deceived; make no mistake. This reform is growing more popular every year and is destined to come in the near future. I trust it will come this year and that the Senate will concur in the judgment of this House before this Congress adjourns.

In recent years there has been much scandal in several States regarding the election of United States Senators by the State legislatures. These scandalous elections are becoming more flagrant

and more frequent. The adoption of this amendment will prevent corruption, stop scandals, and to a great extent eliminate the temptation to gerrymander for partisan purposes.

Let me say to this House that this legislative gerrymandering has been carried further by the Republican party in my own State of New York than perhaps any other State in the Union. In the State of New York, under the present outrageous Republican apportionment, the people can not secure a Democratic legislature unless the Democratic party carries the State by at least a plurality of 100,000 votes.

The Republicans in their partisanship went so far that they wrote in our State constitution a provision that no matter what the population of Greater New York should be, no matter if it were twice as large as the population in the rest of the State, the city of Greater New York should never have more than one-half the members in the upper branch of our State legislature.

I believe the change in our Federal Constitution sought to be made by this resolution will almost entirely prevent these unfair and outrageous apportionments and at the same time give the poor man the same opportunity under the law as the wealthy one to submit his cause and his candidacy to the arbitration of the people for the high and honorable office of a Senator in Congress.

I favor this change in the Constitution, as I shall every other that will restore the Government to the control of the people. I want the people, in fact as well as in theory, to rule this great Republic and the Government to be directly responsible and immediately responsive to their will. I believe in the people, and I trust the people. In my judgment, the people can and ought to be trusted.

If the people can not be trusted, if they can be corrupted, coerced, influenced, or intimidated, then representative government is a failure and the free institutions of the Republic are doomed. We must rely on the people, and we should legislate at all times in their interest.

With the adoption of this amendment to the Constitution it will be impossible to defeat the will of the people, and the vacancies that are now too frequent in the Senate and occupy the time and attention of that body would never occur.

Mr. Speaker, there is a rapidly growing sentiment all over the country in favor of this change in the mode of electing Senators in Congress. It is a most important question to the people, and the Senate will make a sad mistake if it attempts to ignore it.

The legislatures of thirty-four States have formally indorsed this proposed amendment to the Constitution, and I firmly believe, if the Senate will now pass it, that every State in the Union will speedily ratify it, and it will become a part of the supreme law of the land. The people are in earnest in this matter, and any attempt to thwart their will in securing this reform will only hasten its consummation.

I am opposed to delegating away the rights of the people, and where they have been delegated I would restore them to the people. For one hundred years and more the distrust of the people by some of the founders of the Republic, as embodied in our Federal Constitution, has stood as fixed and immutable as the laws of the Medes and the Persians.

I am a friend of the Constitution and share in the patriotic sentiment which is prompt to challenge almost every proposition to

amend it. But, sir, I sincerely believe the man who would boldly point out the defects in our great Magna Charta and honestly seek to remedy them is a better friend of the Constitution than he who will not see its faults, or, seeing them, endeavors to justify them from motives of mistaken zeal.

The right to elect United States Senators by the people is a step in advance and in the right direction. I hope it will speedily be brought about. It is the right kind of reform, in the interest of the many and for the benefit of all the people, and its accomplishment will keep the Government nearer the masses and herald a better and a brighter day in the onward march of the Republic. [Applause.]

SYMPATHY FOR THE BOERS.

May 7, 1900.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules for the purpose of passing the following resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is out of order. The Journal has not been approved. Without objection, the Journal will be considered as approved. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

THE TWELFTH CENSUS.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the bill H. R. 10696, an act relating to the Twelfth and subsequent censuses, and giving the Director thereof additional power to print in certain cases, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments.

The Senate amendments were read.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House concur in the Senate amendments.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BINGHAM was recognized.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I thought I had the floor.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York was not recognized.

Mr. SULZER. I understood that I had the floor and would be recognized as soon as the Journal was approved.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York was not recognized, and the Chair may as well state that the Chair will recognize no gentleman unless he has some knowledge of what is going to be called up.

Mr. SULZER. I would like to have the resolution read.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has not been recognized.

Mr. BINGHAM. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 3537) to grant authority to change the name of the steamship *Paris*.

The Clerk read the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. SULZER. I object.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made by the gentleman from New York.

* * * * *

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. SULZER. I rise for the purpose of moving a suspension of

the rules, this being suspension day, for the purpose of passing a resolution sympathizing with the patriotic Boers in their struggle to maintain their freedom and independence.

The SPEAKER. The Chair declines to recognize the gentleman from New York at this time.

Mr. SULZER. Does the Chair refuse to recognize me because—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is out of order.

Mr. SULZER (continuing). The Speaker is opposed to the resolution?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will take his seat; the gentleman is out of order.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SULZER. My parliamentary inquiry is, Have I no rights on the floor of this House, as a member, to move a suspension of the rules on suspension day?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman is not making a parliamentary inquiry. The Chair must exercise his duty to this House and recognize members upon matters which the Chair thinks should be considered.

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Mr. MIERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I now yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, the measure now before the House is in the interest of the soldiers of the Union, and I am in favor of it and shall vote for the bill. I am now, always have been, and always will be a friend of the men who saved the Union, and I shall always favor the most liberal pension legislation in the interest of our heroic soldiers, their widows, and their orphans. I would make the pension roll a roll of honor to the friends of liberty and the brave defenders of our national existence. All glory, I say, to the brave men who fought for freedom in the dark hours from 1861 to 1865.

And, sir, in this connection I want to say all honor and all glory to the brave men who are now fighting for freedom and republican institutions on the veldts of South Africa. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I want to say a few words in favor of the Boers. I want the liberty-loving people of this country to know why official America refuses to sympathize with them in their struggle to maintain their independence. You Republicans stand up here and talk of freedom, of liberty, and about patriotism, but you dare not pass a resolution through this House extending sympathy to the liberty-loving and patriotic Boers of South Africa. Official America sneezes when Downing street takes snuff. Republicans, I dare you to permit this resolution in favor of the Boers to come to a vote.

Mr. WHEELER of Kentucky. Will the gentleman allow me a question?

Mr. SULZER. I have only five minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CAPRON). The gentleman from New York declines to yield.

Mr. SULZER. This morning—this being suspension day and the motion being in order—in accordance with the rules, in accordance with my rights as a member of this House, I moved to suspend the rules and pass the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we watch with deep and abiding interest the war between Great Britain and the South African Republics, and, with full determina-

tion to maintain a proper neutrality between the contending forces, we can not withhold our sympathy from the struggling people of the Republics, and it is our earnest desire that the Government of the United States, by its friendly offices offered to both powers, may assist in bringing the war to a speedy conclusion in a manner honorable to both Great Britain and the African Republics.

Now, sir, the Speaker, in violation of the Rules of this House and contrary to all parliamentary precedents, arbitrarily ruled my motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution as out of order, and ordered me to take my seat. His action, as witnessed here this morning, clearly demonstrates that the Republican party is opposed to the Boers in their struggle to maintain their freedom and independence and is in secret sympathy with the Empire of Great Britain in its cruel, predatory, and rapacious war to devastate and exterminate the two little Republics of South Africa. The Speaker says he will not recognize a member of this House unless he knows in advance the purpose for which the member rises. If his position is right, then he is the House, and representative government is a farce. I protest against it.

Sir, actions speak louder than words; and the action of the Republican party in the White House, in the Senate, and in this House of Representatives proves, if it proves anything, that the President and the Republican party are opposed to the Boers and in favor of Great Britain. I read in a New York newspaper the remarks of Mr. Webster Davis, made to a New York audience last night, in which he said that President McKinley is a patriot and a grand American and was opposed to the robbery and the murder Great Britain was carrying on in South Africa, and that the President would do his duty.

I challenge that statement. It is not in accordance with the facts and the record. In my judgment, it is absolutely inconsistent with the truth. The Administration is not patriotic; it is not American. On the contrary, it is doing all that it can to suppress the honest expression of opinion in this representative body regarding the war in South Africa. Nine-tenths of the American people are in sympathy with the Boers, and they want Congress to pass a resolution sympathizing with them in their heroic struggle, but the Administration refuses to permit Congress to express its opinion.

The Administration is doing all it can against the South African Republics. It is doing all it can in favor of Great Britain. If it were a patriotic Administration, if it were truly representative of American sentiment, it would have followed the precedents of a century and extended its sympathy long ago to the Boers. We sympathized with Poland, with Hungary, with Greece, with Armenia, with all the South American Republics, with Cuba. Many we helped. Why, I ask in the name of all these precedents, in the name of all our glorious past, do we refuse to sympathize with the Boers?

Is it because England dominates the McKinley Administration? Is it because the Republican party has surrendered American rights to British interests? Is it because, officially, American sentiment is dead? This morning when the Speaker told me that he would not recognize me, that he would not permit the consideration of the resolution I offered, what a spectacle he presented! I felt sorry for him. No doubt he was simply obeying his orders from the White House or from MARK HANNA; but it is a spectacle that should make every friend of representative government blush with shame.

Just a word more. In my judgment Congress should act. Now is the time to do something. America should do its duty and do it at once. We must not wait. We should respond to the overwhelming sentiment of the country and pass a resolution extending our sympathy to our two brave little sister Republics of South Africa. The Boer peace commissioners are on the way here, and if we did this now we would not only be doing our duty, but what a grand welcome the news would be to them, and how it would enthuse and encourage their struggling compatriots in South Africa. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

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TRUSTS MUST GO!

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 5, 1900.

WASHINGTON.

1900.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11538) making appropriations for the Military Academy—

Mr. SULZER said:

THE OLD FIGHT OVER AGAIN.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The great campaign of 1900—a campaign that will determine the future of the Republic—has practically begun and is now on. We know who the standard bearers of both parties will be. We know Mr. McKinley will be renominated by the Republicans, and we know about what the Republican platform will be. We know William J. Bryan will be renominated by the Democrats just as sure as the sun will rise to-morrow morning, and we know what his platform is. It will be the old fight over again, with none of the issues of 1896 eliminated, but some new ones added. I want to speak briefly about some of the imperative issues in the coming campaign—a campaign as momentous as any ever held in this country and which will determine whether the people shall rule, the Republic live, and our free institutions survive. These issues are now made, inexorable events and the people have made them. They can not be ignored and they must be discussed and settled by the people in the coming campaign.

STANDS SQUARELY ON THE CHICAGO PLATFORM.

The creed of the Democratic party to-day is the Chicago platform. The Democracy will take no step backward in regard to its principles. We have tested them in the loyalty of American manhood, and vindicated them in the crucial fire of 6,500,000 of honest, incorruptible, and intelligent voters, and in our next national convention we will not apologize for our righteous convictions or surrender our fundamental principles. The people know we are right, and they will sustain us if we are true to ourselves and go forward without faltering. We have struggled too long to give up now. On the morning of victory we will not haul down our flag.

I believe in the fundamental principles of the Democratic party. I believe in sticking to our party. I am not a bolter. I stand

squarely on the Chicago platform, and I have no apologies to offer for my support of William J. Bryan or for my loyalty to the principles enunciated in that magnificent document. In my judgment, it is the best platform the Democratic party ever adopted, and notwithstanding all that has been said against it, I believe the day is not far distant when every principle enunciated in it will be enacted into law. In the next national Democratic convention the question will be not what shall we take from it, but what shall we add to it.

FOR THE MONEY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Mr. Chairman, the money question is still an issue and will be an issue until the money of the Constitution is restored and the rapacious and sordid greed of the national banks is checked and curtailed by law. By the signature of the President the iniquitous Republican gold standard bank currency and bond bill is now a law, and the people will ere long have an opportunity of feeling and observing its disastrous and oppressive operation. The Republican party has made this law a party question, and it can not be eliminated from discussion as a leading issue in the coming campaign.

A VICIOUS POLITICAL MEASURE.

It is one of the most vicious political measures ever passed through Congress. It commits the Government unalterably by law to the single gold standard and makes all obligations, public and private, payable in gold. It strikes out the word "coin," which means gold or silver, in all Government bonds, inserts in its place the word "gold," and in addition thereto it authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds without limit whenever he pleases, and makes the bonds payable in gold. It refunds the national debt and turns the finances of a mighty people over to the money lenders. It violates the obligations of the contract between the Government and the bondholder, in the interest of the bondholder, and provides that the currency of the people shall be issued by the national banks, and gives them the right at will to expand or contract the currency. It is the most startling and the most daring departure from time-honored and well-fixed financial principles ever made in our history, and the result will be as disastrous as it is far-reaching. It reverses our financial system, repudiates the platforms of both parties, and revolutionizes the monetary methods of a century.

The money power, the bondholders, the trusts, the syndicates, and the plutocrats secured the passage of this law, and the Republican party to-day is their lackey, and in every department of the Government carries out their wishes and registers and records their decrees.

BIMETALLISM A LIVINO ISSUE.

Make no mistake. The enactment of this law will not settle the controversy. No great question is ever settled until it is settled right. Bimetallism is a living issue, and will be of paramount importance to mankind as long as civilization uses money for trade and commerce. Gold never was the friend of liberty. It never fought a battle for humanity. No people in a great crisis ever found it a faithful ally. It has been the agent of panic, the minister of despair, the advocate of calamity, and the high priest of cruelty. I am against the gold standard. In time it will have to go.

THE BONDHOLDERS' PROFIT.

Already we witness the first evils of this culminating atrocity of class legislation. United States bonds are advancing in price as a matter of course. When the refunding begins under the Republican financial scheme the premium paid by the Government for the old bonds will amount to so enormous a sum that, added to the extension of time, the national debt will be increased by several hundred millions, all of which goes into the pockets of the bankers and money lenders and comes out of the pockets of the people. This mortgage on posterity is easily figured. The interest-bearing debt amounts to \$850,000,000, and has nine years to run at 4 per cent; increased to thirty years, to run at 2 per cent, with premium on old bonds now quoted at 134 and advancing. Let any elementary arithmetician make the calculation. Who gets this profit, and who pays it? The bondholders, foreign and domestic, get the profit, and the producers of our country pay it.

HANNA'S BARGAIN WITH WALL STREET.

In my opinion, one of the worst features of this act is the part which consummates the bargain made by MARK HANNA with the national bankers of Wall street during the campaign of 1896. They aided the Republicans then, and now they receive their share of the spoils. For three years the Republicans have waited and hesitated to pass this abomination, fearing the wrath of an outraged and indignant people. But another national campaign is near at hand. They need help again, and in order to get it have unconditionally turned the finances of a great Government over to the national banks.

The powers this act gives the national banks are far-reaching and most dangerous. It turns over to them the finances of the people—the lifeblood of trade and commerce—and gives them the right to contract or expand the currency at will. This right should never be surrendered by the Government. I say, and time will demonstrate it, that if you give the control of the money supply to the national banks, they will soon absorb the wealth of

the people and own the Government. It is an enormous power; a power that can create panic or prosperity, happiness or misery, to thousands and millions of people. I say it is too great a power to be given to any corporation, and if once given and set in motion for selfish ends and for sordid purposes, will be a fruitful source of woe and misery to hundreds and to thousands of our fellow-citizens.

NATIONAL BANK MONOPOLY.

It gives the monopoly of issuing money to the national banks, and hence the right to expand or contract the currency of the people whenever it suits their convenience. No corporation should have this power to make or destroy. It deprives the Government of one of its greatest attributes of sovereignty and gives to the national banks the right to paralyze at their will every industry in the country. It is the most daring attempt the banks have ever made by law to seize one of the greatest weapons for good or evil known to civilized man. For the Government to surrender this prerogative and delegate away this power is a crime against every citizen in this land and will work woe and misery to millions yet unborn. I am opposed to the Government delegating away its powers to the national banks. The Democratic party should vigorously oppose conferring any additional powers on or granting any greater privileges to the national banks. In my judgment they already possess entirely too much power. They are doing to-day, only to a greater extent, what the United States Bank did in the days of Andrew Jackson. The right to coin and issue money is one of the greatest prerogatives of the Republic and one of the highest attributes of its sovereignty. It should not be delegated, transferred, assigned, or set over to any national bank, to any trust, or to any monopoly.

THE TRUSTS MUST GO.

The Democratic party is unalterably opposed to trusts. This is a paramount issue, and we must keep it to the front in the coming campaign. I want to see the Democratic party take an advanced position against the evils of the trusts and the sordid greed of monopolies.

To-day the great trusts of the country are practically supreme. Many of them are so entrenched in power that they are to all intents and purposes above the law and no longer amenable to legislative action. The crying evil of the times is the power and the sway of the trusts. They endanger not only our free institutions, but our free men. The battle cry of the Democratic party should be, "The trusts must go!"

THE EVIL OF THE TRUSTS.

These gigantic combinations constitute, in my judgment, the greatest menace at the present time to our democratic institu-

tions. They control the supply, monopolize the product, and dictate the price of every necessary of life. They force out of legitimate employment thousands and thousands of honest toilers. They enhance prices, reduce wages, and write the terms of their own contracts. They destroy competition, paralyze opportunity, assassinate labor, and hold the consumers of our country in their monopolistic grasp. They levy tribute on every man, woman, and child in the Republic. They blight the poor man's home, darken the hearthside of his children, and cloud the star of legitimate hope. They control legislation, escape taxation, and evade the just burdens of government, while their agents construct and maintain tariffs to suit their selfish ends and greedy purposes. They imperil trade, stagnate industry, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, declare quarterly dividends on watered stocks, and make fortunes every year out of the people. Their tyrannical power, rapid growth, and centralization of wealth is the marvel of recent times and the saddest commentary on our legislative history.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STANDS FOR THE TRUSTS.

The people who oppose and condemn trusts will receive no encouragement from this trust-ridden and trust-owned Administration. The Republican Attorney-General is the mere creature of the trusts and will take no action against them.

The Republican party in all its power stands fearlessly for trusts and is openly and boldly supported by trusts. Every trust in the country was for William McKinley for President in 1896, and every trust will zealously and loyally aid him in 1900. If you ask what for, I answer for value received, for the blessing of a pliable Secretary of the Treasury and a derelict Attorney-General, for a lively sense of favors yet to come, and above all and beyond all for MARK HANNA, who runs the Republican machine for the benefit of the trusts and who turned down in Ohio an honest and fearless attorney-general who was brave enough to do his duty and courageous enough to make an attempt to enforce the law against the Standard Oil trust, the greatest, the most relentless, and the most cold-blooded monopoly of them all.

The Republican party is the party of plutocracy. It stands to-day for economic errors that rob the many for the benefit of the few, for financial heresies that centralize wealth and paralyze industrial freedom, for political policies that enslave the masses.

To sum it all up, the Republican party stands for HANNA and the Republican party is HANNA. What a difference between the party of Lincoln and the party of HANNA.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OPPOSED TO TRUSTS.

The Democratic party is the party of the plain people. It is opposed to trusts and monopolies, to special privileges. It stands

for the supremacy of the law. It believes in freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of action, freedom of trade, and free institutions. It believes in the Constitution, in fostering commerce, unfettering trade, establishing industry, aiding enterprise, maintaining equal opportunity, defending liberty, unshackling the mind and the conscience, and handing down unimpaired to future generations the blessings of our free institutions.

While the Republican party is in power the trusts will flourish like a green bay tree.

When the Democratic party comes into power a Democratic President will appoint a Democratic Attorney-General who will enforce the law against the trusts, and they will dissolve and disappear like mist before the rising morning sun and be gone forever.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FAVORS AN INCOME TAX.

The Democracy will strenuously struggle for the adoption by law of a graduated income tax. This is the fairest, the most just, and the most equitable tax, and makes the accumulated wealth of the land bear its just share of the burdens of Government. This is an imperative issue and we must relax no effort to bring about its final consummation. The unjust, the vexatious, and the burdensome war tax must go and the income tax must take its place. We must not lose sight of this.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

The Democracy favors the building and the owning of the Nicaragua Canal by the Government of the United States, in our own way, and with our own money without the aid or consent of Great Britain.

ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE.

Mr. Chairman, I favor electing Senators in Congress by a direct vote of the people.

The right to elect United States Senators by a direct vote of the people is a step in advance, and progress in the right direction.

In my judgment the people can and ought to be trusted. If the people can not be trusted, then free government is a failure and our institutions are doomed.

United States Senators should be elected directly by the people. The Senate is rapidly becoming a plutocratic club for multimillionaires, and the people demand a change in their mode of selection.

There can be no doubt that the sentiment in favor of this change is increasing every year, that a great majority of the people now demand the right to vote directly for United States Senators, and this sentiment will continue to increase and the just demand of the people will continue to grow until the will of the people is complied with.

I am an old-fashioned Democrat. I belong to the Jefferson school. I trust the people, and I believe in the people. I believe with him that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. I want to restore to the people the right now delegated to the legislatures, so that the Senate as well as the House of Representatives will be directly responsible to the people, and the Government become more and more a pure democracy, where brains, fitness, honesty, ability, experience, and capacity, and not wealth alone, shall be the qualifications for the upper branch of the Federal Legislature. Let us demand this reform in our next national platform and make it an issue in the coming campaign.

THE DEMOCRACY IS FOR THE TOILER.

The Democracy is now and always has been the party of the plain people, and is and always will be the friend of the toiler. Only through its agency can the masses hope for relief. The Republican party has never been the friend of the toilers and the wage-earners. Nearly every law now on the statute books in the interest of honest workmen was put there by Democratic votes, and in the future, as in the past, the masses of the people must look to the Democratic party for help.

FAVORS AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

In the name of Democracy I make an earnest plea for an eight-hour law in the nation and in every State. The laborer demands this law, and the Democratic party is irrevocably committed to its passage.

In my judgment, no man ought to be compelled to work more than eight hours a day. That is long enough. Labor organizations all over the country are asking for the enactment of an eight-hour law. It is fair and it is just to the employer and to the employed.

I want to say that I am, and always have been, a friend of the wage-earners. I want to see, and I hope the day is not far distant when we shall see, the eight-hour law the law all over the land, and rigidly enforced in every State, every city, every town, and every village in the country. I believe it will be beneficial to the laborer, advantageous to the community in which he lives, and for the best interests of the Government. Too long hours make the wage-earner a poor workman. Shorter hours, in my opinion, will produce better results all around and for all interests concerned. Every writer on political economy confirms this conclusion, and as great an authority as John Stuart Mill lays it down as a fundamental principle that any scheme for the amelioration of the social condition of the wage-earner which does not proceed on this proposition as its foundation is for all permanent purposes a delusion and a snare.

I am and always have been an advocate of shorter hours for a legal working day. The history of the past teaches us that every reduction in the hours constituting a day's work has resulted beneficially. These reductions in the hours of labor have decreased intemperance, increased knowledge, made better homes, happier and better-clothed wives and children, brighter and more prosperous firesides, and in every way benefited the social relations, promoted the moral, economical, and financial condition of the producing masses of our land.

The record will show that the Republicans in the United States Senate defeated the eight-hour bill, and every workman in the country should vote against the party responsible for this outrage.

IS THERE A SECRET ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE?

Another issue that is destined, in my judgment, to play a leading part in the coming campaign, is our true relations with the British Empire. Have we a secret understanding with the British Lion, or does official America simply sneeze when Downing street takes snuff? Is there a tacit agreement, or is it simply an abject and humiliating surrender of American rights to British interests? This will be talked about. It can not be kept out of the campaign.

THE DEMOCRACY IS AGAINST AN ALLIANCE.

I think it can be safely asserted that the party we belong to is against an alliance, expressed or implied, with Great Britain, especially when the representative of the British Government is Joseph Chamberlain, the Benedict Arnold of the cause of Irish home rule, and the instigator of the war against the struggling patriots in South Africa.

We need no alliance with Great Britain. All we need now, as in the past, is a firm reliance on our own greatness, our own ability, our own integrity, our own power to defend our rights, protect our citizens, and legislate for ourselves on every proposition regarding our own welfare, our own happiness, and our own well being. The spirit of 1776 and 1812 still lives. The Republican party is in favor of this alliance; the Democratic party should be strenuously opposed to it. Its consummation means national disintegration.

I am opposed to an Anglo-American alliance, expressed or implied, especially when its object is the advancement of imperialism, the march of armies, the downfall of republics, the destruction of free institutions, the enslavement of man, and the perpetuity of the power of kings.

The American people should cry out against this sacrifice of principle, this surrender of rights, before it is too late. England

never was and never will be our true and lasting friend. You can not make monarchy harmonize with democracy. Their principles are antagonistic and their associations incompatible.

"England will never be our friend," said Jefferson, "until we are her master."

APING ENGLAND.

Sometimes when a representative of the people goes to one of the Departments in Washington he feels that he is trespassing on John Bull's territory. In our own capital city this aping of England is going from bad to worse. I often wonder what the spirits of the patriot fathers think about it.

The White House seems to be enveloped in an English fog, the Administration seems to be more English than American, the Constitution is kicked from pillar to post, the Emancipation Proclamation trampled under foot, the Declaration of Independence sneeringly referred to as a glittering generality—not up to the times of force and grab—and the Cabinet officers industriously turn up the bottom of their trousers when it rains in London. What a spectacle we witness at the capital of the nation!

My friends, it is too bad the Declaration of Independence is not as popular at home as it used to be. I know it is no more popular now with kings and queens than when it was written, but I am American enough to believe that it is just as true to-day as it was in 1776, when it sounded the deathknell of the divine right of kings and proclaimed to all the world a government based on the consent of the governed. But it seems to be in such disfavor in Washington at the present time that the pro-English Secretary of State has locked it up in a safe, and the Anglo-American ambassador to the gilded court of St. James takes delight in making after-dinner speeches to tipsy lords and dukes about the beauties of imperialism and the ironclad friendship of England and America.

"Beware of perfidious England," said Napoleon. And I say she never had a friend she did not deceive, and she never had an ally she did not betray.

THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Why, things have gone so far in this regard that a Republican Congress refused to pass a resolution of sympathy for the heroic Boers, and the Administration seems to be secretly conspiring with Great Britain for the destruction of our two sister Republics in South Africa. Can we forget our glorious past? Shall we forget our own struggles and our own prayers for help in the trying days when we were fighting England for our liberty and our freedom? Where is the spirit of liberty that animated the patriotic fathers at Lexington and Bunker Hill, at Saratoga and Valley Forge, at Monmouth and Yorktown? Do the eloquent words

of Patrick Henry and James Otis, of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, of Benjamin Franklin and Gouverneur Morris no longer inspire resistance to tyranny and hatred of oppression?

Is American patriotism dead? Has the spirit that animated the people in 1776 and 1812 been forgotten? Is the Declaration of Independence no longer potent for the upbuilding of republics and the perpetuity of free institutions? Is our form of government a farce?

Shall we tear down our monuments, trample in the dust the Constitution, send back to France the statue of Liberty, and turn to the wall the picture of the Great Emancipator?

If democracy and free institutions find no answer here, then indeed is government of the people and by the people and for the people doomed—republics a thing of the past—and the message of the future an imperialistic cry of destruction, of oppression, and of tyranny.

THIS IS THE GREAT REPUBLIC.

This is the great Republic—for a century it has been the beacon light of the world. Shall the light now go out? Why should we secretly aid Great Britain? Should we not rather be true to our traditions and openly sympathize with the Boers? Look about you, my friends, and answer. It seems the very altars of our liberty are being betrayed by men in high places who are sworn to guard them.

England must not be permitted to crush the Boers and steal their homes. Her criminal march of devastation must be checked. God bless the embattled farmers of South Africa! is my fervent prayer, and from the ashes of the conflict may there arise a greater and a grander republic—the glorious United States of South Africa.

If I mistake not the signs of the times, the friends of liberty in this country will make this an issue in the coming campaign.

NO MILITARISM—NO IMPERIALISM.

The Democratic party is opposed to militarism and to imperialism. They go hand in hand, and one can not stand without the other. They are twin brothers—relics of brute force and mediæval barbarism. They have no place in a republic. We realize what they mean when we witness the horrors and the tyranny of the "bull pen" of Idaho, and the cruel injustice to and criminal aggression against our fellow-citizens in Porto Rico. United States soldiers in Idaho acting as policemen for the trusts and treating honest and innocent citizens worse than Siberian convicts, and United States soldiers in Porto Rico acting as a guard for the Ohio syndicate while it plunders the hurricane-stricken inhabitants of the little the Spaniards left them. It is enough to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every honest and patriotic citizen in the Republic. These issues are imperative. They

will not down. They will be discussed on every occasion in the coming campaign.

NO NEED OF A VAST REGULAR ARMY.

As Democrats we should do all in our power to defeat the now avowed policy of the Republican party to increase the Regular Army of our country to 100,000 soldiers. We do not need this vast army in time of peace. We should favor a great navy to protect our coast and our commerce, but we should, if we are true to the people and to our principles, vigorously oppose this enormous increase in the Regular Army. A large standing army in a republic is a menace to civil liberty.

We have no need of an immense standing army in time of peace. The Regular Army is the most undemocratic institution we have. In time of trouble, in case of war, the Republic should rely on its citizen-soldiery and its volunteer forces. It is contrary to the true principles of the Democratic party to permit the military power to become supreme and paramount to the civil authority. A desperate effort will be made by the Republicans to pass the act to create a great standing army, and if it succeeds it will burden the taxpayers of the country for its maintenance \$150,000,000 a year. Every Democrat and every wage-earner in the land should be alive to the dangers of this Republican movement and do all in his power to frustrate it.

THE TREND OF IMPERIALISM.

Since the ratification of the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States the island of Porto Rico has been and is now a part of the territory of this country, and the Constitution applies to it, and should apply to it, just as much as it applies to the District of Columbia or the Territory of Arizona. To contend otherwise is preposterous.

The people of Porto Rico are citizens of the United States and entitled to the same privileges, the same rights, and the same immunities under the Constitution that the people of any other Territory are entitled to in the Federal Union. The law compelling the citizens of Porto Rico to pay a tariff tax on their goods, wares, and merchandise to and from this country is unwarranted, unjustifiable, unprecedented, un-American, and, in my judgment, unconstitutional. In all our past history no political party ever dared to attempt to pass such a law—a law as inhuman as it is unfair.

The Constitution regarding this matter is clear and plain. Section 8 of Article I says in language that can not be misunderstood:

Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; * * * but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

PORTO RICANS DEPRIVED OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Republican party has deprived the Porto Ricans of self-government and given them a military government. They have no representation in Congress. Under Spanish rule they were represented by twelve representatives and four senators in the Spanish Cortes. They had their own local legislature and absolute home rule. Why, under the circumstances, I ask, in the name of all that is fair and just and decent, should we now tax them and rob them?

Have we liberated them from monarchical tyranny only to enslave them in industrial oppression? The poor people of Porto Rico will speak, and the great heart of the Republic will answer and respond in the coming campaign. The American people will never repeat in the dying year of the nineteenth century the crimes and the blunders of George III in the closing years of the eighteenth century. In the sisterhood of States there must be no stepdaughters. The flag we all love must not be used as a cloak to rob and oppress our fellow-citizens at the dictation of the trusts and to bolster up the falling Republican protective-tariff fallacy.

My sympathy is with the struggling citizens of Porto Rico. I want to extend to them the right hand of fellowship, and under the folds of the American flag and by virtue of the law of the land welcome them into the Federal Union. I want to help them, and not injure them. I want to save them, and not destroy them. I want them to love the Union, not hate us and despise our institutions.

I want to keep faith with them, and do unto them as we would that others should do unto us. I protest against this mad march toward imperialism with all the emphasis I can command, and I solemnly warn my countrymen that the day is not far distant when the Republic will be destroyed if the wrongs and the usurpations of the Republican party are allowed to go unheeded, unchecked, and unrebuked.

The manhood of this country must speak out, the great conscience of America must find voice, the citizenship of the Republic must assert itself ere it be too late and all is lost!

REPUBLIC OR EMPIRE.

Now, my friends, a few words in conclusion. We are entering a most momentous political campaign to determine the question whether the trusts or the Government shall survive; whether the Republic shall live or the empire shall come and the man on horseback govern; whether the people or the plutocrats shall rule—whether this land shall continue to be a government of the many for the many or an oligarchy of the privileged and for the favored few. You ask me what will the outcome be. I can not tell; but

I believe history repeats itself; that God in His infinite wisdom raises up a man from the plain people for every crisis, and in the pending crisis we have such a man, a born leader of men, whom we can all trust and whom we can all follow, and who will lead us to victory and rescue the people from the money lenders and the money changers.

A hundred years ago the Democratic party—the party of the plain people—after a most momentous campaign, came into power under the matchless leadership of its famous founder, Thomas Jefferson, and the impetus his Administration gave to popular government carried forward free institutions unimpaired for a century.

We are beginning another momentous campaign under the leadership of a second Thomas Jefferson—the stalwart, the fearless, the gallant, and the intrepid young leader, of Nebraska, William J. Bryan—to test the perpetuity of popular government and of our free institutions, and by the grace of God and the power of the freemen of America he will win, and the impetus his administration will give the Government of Jefferson, of Jackson, and of Lincoln will carry it forward unimpaired for another century, and generations yet unborn will sing the gladsome song that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

EULOGY
OF
HON. WM. SULZER, OF NEW YORK,
ON THE
LIFE, CHARACTER, AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF THE LATE
HON. WM. D. DALY, OF NEW JERSEY,
IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
FEBRUARY 9, 1901.

The House having adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. WILLIAM D. DALY, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of New Jersey.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for fitting tribute to his memory.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate, and transmit a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as an additional mark of respect the House, at the conclusion of these memorial proceedings, do adjourn—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: On this sad occasion I desire to place on record my sincere and humble tribute to the memory of my friend and colleague, the late WILLIAM D. DALY, and in this connection to say a few simple, honest words regarding his life, his character, and his public services.

It was my good fortune to know Judge DALY well and intimately for years. We were great personal friends, and I admired and respected him as a man and a friend. His sudden, tragic, and unexpected death on the 31st day of last July was a grievous blow to us all and a terrible shock to his family, his relatives, his friends, and to the country generally. It was entirely unlooked for and came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. It darkened a happy home, prostrated a loving family, distressed innumerable friends, and cast a pall of sadness over his native State which has not yet been dissipated. He died in the prime of life, at the summit of his remarkable career, in the zenith of his well-earned fame, loved and mourned by all who knew him and appreciated his worth.

Life is but a day, at most,
Sprung from night, in darkness lost.

WILLIAM D. DALY was born in Jersey City, N. J., on the 4th day of June, 1851, and had he lived until his next natal day

would have been just 50 years of age. During all his life he ever remained a resident of his native State, and when he died he was one of her most popular and distinguished citizens and had the honor to represent the city of his birth in the people's branch of the American Congress.

Mr. DALY began life as a poor boy, and was the architect of his own career. He began with many disadvantages, but surmounted them all. He had vim, grit, hope, and perseverance. He plodded on and progressed by his own indomitable will and force of character. He never faltered, and won where others lost. He did not know the meaning of defeat. In the bright lexicon of his life there was no such word as fail. His whole life was a brilliant series of successes.

He was eminently a self-made man. He was a child of the Republic. He was a product of the public schools, but at a very early age he left school and began life's tempestuous battle as an apprentice in an iron foundry. Here, in his early boyhood days, he made many friends, who ever after were his trusted and loyal supporters. His work, however, in the iron foundry was uncongenial. His active mind and restless ambition soared higher. He wanted to be somebody. He sighed for a broader field of activity. He believed in himself, in his own ability, in his future, in his star of hope. He longed to be a lawyer, and believed the legal profession offered an attractive avenue for his hopes, his usefulness, and his best endeavors. He left the iron foundry, entered a law office, and threw his very life and soul into the study of Blackstone and Chitty, Kent and Story, Parsons and Washburn, and the other legal text-books. He was an indefatigable worker, a tireless student. He burned the midnight oil.

He mastered the intricacies of the law, and on reaching his majority was admitted to the bar and quickly made a splendid reputation as one of the most learned and best equipped lawyers in his State. He had eloquence and tact, patience and confidence, energy and industry. He studied his cases carefully and knew all the law and all the facts of every case intrusted to his care. He made his client's cause his own, and never went into court unprepared. He did not rely on luck or trust to chance. He knew a case well prepared is a case half won. He never took advantage of a client, never deceived the court, and had a magnificent reputation in his profession for fairness, probity, and honor. He was identified with some of the great trials in New Jersey, practiced in all the courts, was one of the great leaders of the bar, had represented, it is said, the defense in more capital cases than any other lawyer of his time, and ere his death he stood in the front rank of his chosen profession—a brilliant advocate and a safe counselor, learned in the law.

In recognition of his position at the bar, and in appreciation of his unquestioned legal ability, President Cleveland, during his first term, appointed Mr. DALY assistant United States district attorney, the arduous duties of which office he faithfully discharged, with much credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the Government and the people.

But, sir, it was not in the law alone where Mr. DALY excelled. He had always been a close student of public affairs, and had ever taken an active part in all political discussions. He was an ardent Democrat of the Jefferson and Jackson school, and thoroughly

familiar with the political history of our country. During the last two decades of his life he had been a delegate to nearly all the local, State, and national conventions, and on account of his sagacity and political acumen his advice was always sought and his judgment generally followed by his political associates.

He was a magnetic campaign speaker, had a charming personality, and an earnest, sincere, honest way of presenting his facts that arrested attention and carried conviction. In every State and national campaign his services were always in demand and the work he performed duly appreciated by the managers and candidates of his party. Hence it is not a matter of wonder that his fellow-citizens elected him over and over again to the legislature of his State and took a just pride in his political preferment.

He was first elected to the assembly of his State in 1889 to represent the Eighth district of Hudson County, and although a new member, his party colleagues elected him unanimously as their leader on the floor. Events amply justified their confidence and their judgment. He made such a brilliant record that at the close of his term Governor Leon Abbett nominated him for judge of the district court of Hoboken, and the senate unanimously confirmed him. As judge he gave further evidence of his knowledge of the law. He was always impartial, courteous, patient, and humane, and became the idol of the bar and the ideal judge to the people.

In the year 1892 the people nominated him for State senator, and Judge DALY reluctantly resigned the judgeship to accept. He was triumphantly elected, and reelected in 1895. He made a splendid record in the legislature for industry, ability, and integrity, and during the last five years of his senatorial career was the leader of his party in the senate by the unanimous choice of his party colleagues.

He came very near being nominated for governor of New Jersey in 1898, and if he had been nominated it is believed by those who claim to know that he would have been elected beyond a doubt. Failing to receive the nomination for governor, the people insisted that he should represent them in Congress. He was unanimously nominated for Representative in Congress for the Seventh New Jersey district, the district in which he was born, and on election day was triumphantly elected by the largest majority ever given a candidate in that district.

As a member of Congress, Judge DALY took a prominent part in all the great debates, and by his industry and ability, together with his courteous manner and genial way, soon won the respect and admiration of all his colleagues. When he passed away, on the very threshold of his Congressional life, he was making an enviable record for usefulness here, not only for the benefit of his constituents, but for the good of the whole country. We have missed him much this session, and as the days come and go we who knew him well will miss him more and more. The work he did for the people will live in the history of his State and of his country. That great work will grow brighter and brighter as the years pass by until it becomes his lasting monument, more endurable than marble or brass, and sacred in the hearts of his grateful countrymen.

We mourn and sympathize with his beloved family, but can find no words of comfort, no consolation, save in his noble life, his generous character, his sympathetic nature, and the great

work he accomplished for humanity. His deeds of kindness, of charity, and of generosity will ever keep alive his memory and call to recollection his name a thousand times a day.

The memory of good deeds will ever stay
 A lamp to light us on the darkened way,
 A music to the ear on clamoring street,
 A cooling well amid the noonday heat,
 A scent of green boughs blown through narrow walls,
 A feel of rest when quiet evening falls.

Senator DALY was a true man, a lover of justice, a believer in the supremacy of law, a friend of every cause that lacked assistance. He stood for eternal principles of right, for fair play, and believed in the opportunity vouchsafed to everyone under the dome of the Union sky. He was an optimist and not a pessimist. He was no skeptic, no scoffer, no cynic. He was broad and liberal in his views, had charity for all, trusted the people, and never lost faith in humanity. He knew the world was growing better. He knew himself, believed in the destiny of the Republic, and made the corner stone of his political convictions that great cardinal principle—equal rights to all, special privileges to no one.

He hated cant, spurned pretense, and despised hypocrisy. He had no use for a trickster, a trammer, or a trader. He had a sunny, genial disposition, and a forgiving spirit that never harbored revenge. He was a plain, simple man who loved mankind. He was an indulgent father, a kind and loving husband, and a faithful friend. He will live in the hearts of those he left behind, and to do this is not to die. He was an indefatigable worker and succeeded in accomplishing what he undertook to do. He met Napoleon's test—he did things. He was a true Democrat, the implacable foe of private monopoly, of unjust taxation, of organized greed, of discriminating legislation that robs the many for the benefit of the few, of special privilege, and he made the Constitution our great magna charta—the north star of his political life. He was the true friend of the toiler, the fearless champion of the oppressed, and the eloquent advocate of the downtrodden. He tried to lift his fellow-man up to a higher plane and help him forward on the highway of progress and civilization. He was a fearless man, and ever dared to do what he thought was right regardless of consequences. He was a faithful public official, and died in the service of his country. His work here is done. His career on earth is finished. He has run his course; he has kept the faith: he has fought the good fight: he has reaped his everlasting reward in the great beyond, and we, his friends, can all say truthfully, well done thou good and faithful servant, a grateful people will ever keep thy memory green.

In halls of state he stood for many years
 Like fabled knight, his visage all aglow,
 Receiving, giving sternly, blow for blow,
 Champion of right! But from eternity's far shore
 Thy spirit will return to join the strife no more.
 Rest citizen, statesman, rest; thy troubled life is o'er.

JUSTICE FOR THE BOERS.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 11, 1901.

WASHINGTON.

1901.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13850) making appropriations for the diplomatic and consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902—

Mr. HITT. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I send to the Clerk's desk an editorial from to-day's New York Journal, which I ask the Clerk to read.

The Clerk read as follows:

England has spent \$500,000,000 on the Boer war and may have to spend as much more. If she had been asked to spend \$50,000,000 on technical schools she would probably have replied that she could not afford such extravagance. Yet those schools would have helped to save her from the commercial defeat that now seems surely coming. What has the war done for her?

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, in my judgment the greatest crime of the nineteenth century was the ruthless war England began against the two little republics of South Africa. That conflict is the most outrageous, the most unjustifiable, the most unconscionable, and the most predatory war that has ever been waged in the history of the world. On several occasions in the past on this floor I have spoken in favor of the liberty and the independence of the South African patriots. I took my stand long ago in favor of the Boers. I have not changed. I said in some of those speeches that England, with all her power, with all her wealth, with her great army, with her great navy, would never be able to conquer the Boers. I believed that then, I believe it now. It will come true. I still maintain that position. I said God was for the brave Boers. I reiterate on the floor of this House to-day that same sentiment. I predict now that England will never be able to conquer the Boers unless England exterminates every one of them.

The question before the world to-day, sir, is whether civilization is going to permit greedy and bloody England to exterminate these brave, these heroic, these honest, these fearless people, simply because they love liberty, because they love independence, because they love their homes, and because they are fighting for the same rights and the same principles that the fathers of this Republic fought for in the dark days of 1776. This war has cost England over \$500,000,000. It has cost England the flower and the youth of her country; and yet to-day England does not hold in the South African Republic or the Orange Free State any more territory than her troops occupy.

The principal point that I want to make now, while this diplomatic appropriation bill is under discussion, is the action that our Government is taking regarding that war. This Government is

violating to-day the neutrality law of nations. This Government to-day is helping England and doing all it can against the brave people of South Africa. Every day the newspapers of our country report to us that we are sending arms, munitions of war, horses, and mules to help England crush the Boers.

Let me ask any fair-minded man on this floor, or any fair-minded men in this country, whether that is honest and whether it is right? I do not believe that we should help England in her cruel and wanton war of extermination against the Boers. I believe it is the duty of the President, of this Congress, to prevent the violation of the neutrality laws of this country. If it were any other power but these two helpless little republics, I predict it would be a cause for a declaration of war.

Mr. GAINES. Will the gentleman permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. SULZER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GAINES. We arrested and caused to be imprisoned and have the infamous stripes put on a man who undertook to help Cuba and do as we are doing with England, for taking supplies to Cuba; and now we are permitting English agents to come over here and buy munitions of war, stock, horses, and mules to be used against the Boers, are we not?

Mr. SULZER. We are; and that is what I am protesting against; and so long as I have my voice, so long as I believe in liberty, in freedom, and in independence, I intend to protest against what this Government is doing in that war. That war is a foul blot on the escutcheon of England, and what the Administration is doing is a blot on the history of this Republic. It is the duty, as Daniel Webster said, of republics to stand by republics. But his day is gone; the patriotism of the fathers is no more. We live in a new era—an unholy time of greed and conquest. It seems to be the object of this Republic now to help empires, to help kings, and to sympathize with them in their cruelty and barbarism against freedom, independence, and liberty. That is what I protest against.

It is a stigma on this Administration; on the fair name of this Republic. I say it is an outrage on this House of Representatives, when many members, myself among the rest, introduced resolution after resolution asking for sympathy for the Boers and protesting against a violation of international law and neutrality obligations, that the Committee on Foreign Affairs in this House will not report one of those resolutions.

I know, and we all know, and I predict that if one of these resolutions were reported to this House it would pass practically unanimously. Why are these resolutions pigeonholed? Let the Administration answer.

Let me say that the great heart of the true manhood of England and the conscience of her people are against this barbarous war in South Africa. They want it stopped; they want the Boers to be free. Let me say, too, that the great honest newspapers of England are crying out against the sacrifice and the barbarity which Kitchener is perpetrating down there. It is a crying shame, a crime against humanity. I say, and I know, that what Kitchener is doing in South Africa is one hundred times worse than Weyler did in Cuba. He has turned that fair and happy land into a human shambles.

We went to war to free the Cubans from Weylerism, and we

are now in partnership, for all ostensible purposes, with England to help her and Kitchener do things down there which are worse than Weyler ever did. What a picture we present!

We do not know what is going on in South Africa. I declare Kitchener is violating the rules of war. England has control of the telegraph and the cable. She has imposed the most rigid censorship of the press and the news, and she will not let the truth be known. If it were known, it would shock the world. The orders to Kitchener are to burn the houses, kill the men, destroy the cattle, and drive the women and the little children out on the veldts to die; rob the Boers of life and of everything they have, kill and steal, and in that way let them understand the power of the British monarchy. Kitchener is repeating what he did in the Sudan.

I say that the Queen, when she was dying, according to the reports we have, uttered as her last words this sentiment: "I hope and I pray for peace." That is a legacy to her son, the present King of England. Let me say to him, speaking for nine-tenths of the American people, speaking in the sacred name of liberty, speaking for freedom, speaking for the salvation of these two little republics, in the cause of justice and humanity, make peace. King Edward, make peace, and you will go down in history as one of the greatest monarchs that ever reigned; but continue this barbarous war, King Edward VII, and you will go into history a more infamous man than George III. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

And, sir, mark what I say, the result will be that the South African Republics will ultimately be free. This is the great Republic—for a century it has been the beacon light of the world. Shall the light now go out? In the present conflict in South Africa, why should it secretly aid Great Britain? Should it not rather be true to its traditions and openly sympathize with the Boers? Look about you, my friends, and answer; which is it doing? It seems the very altars of our liberty are being betrayed by men in high places who are sworn to guard them.

England must not be permitted to crush the Boers and steal their homes. Her criminal march of devastation must be checked. God bless the embattled farmers of South Africa is my fervent prayer, and from the ashes of the conflict may there arise a greater and a grander republic—the glorious United States of South Africa. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

SPEECHES

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF

NEW YORK,

ON

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

2d SESSION, 56th CONGRESS,
DECEMBER 15, 1900, AND FEBRUARY 28, MARCH 1, 2, AND 3, 1901.

WASHINGTON.
1901.

The Philippines and Cuba—Let Us Be Honest.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, March 1, 1901,

On the following resolution:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 14017) making appropriations for the Army and without intervening motion to move to concur in the Senate amendments thereto in gross; after two hours' debate (one hour on each side) the previous question shall be considered as ordered on said motion, and a vote then be had thereon without delay or intervening motion."

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The adoption of the rule just offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] by the vote of the Republicans in this House is, in my judgment, the greatest outrage on the rights of the Democratic minority ever perpetrated in the history of this legislative body. It seems the minority have no rights here that the ruthless Republican majority are bound to respect. The Democrats are to be gagged, legitimate debate shut off, our protests frustrated, our appeals for justice denied, the rights of humanity trampled on; while the Republicans, intoxicated with power, ride roughshod over our rules, the Constitution, and the sacred guaranties of the Republic. The House of Representatives has ceased to be a deliberative body. It is the mere creature of one man. Let me read the rule prepared and just adopted by the Republicans to force through this House the pernicious and iniquitous legislation against Cuba and the Philippines:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 14017) making appropriations for the Army and without intervening motion to move to concur in the Senate amendments thereto in gross; after two hours' debate (one hour on each side) the previous question shall be considered as ordered on said motion, and a vote then be had thereon without delay or intervening motion.

The adoption of that unjust rule is in violation of the letter and the spirit of the rules of this House. As a member of the minority of this House, I enter my most emphatic protest against it and the outrage its adoption will speedily consummate. We should have at least a week to debate this matter.

What is the purpose of this arbitrary action? What dark deed is to be enacted by virtue of its adoption? Several weeks ago this House passed the Army appropriation bill and sent it to the Senate. By some inscrutable legislative legerdemain the Republicans in the Senate placed on this Army appropriation bill two amendments or riders—one affecting Cuba and the other in regard

to the Philippines. Let us see what these two amendments are. Let us examine these two un-American and outrageous riders. The first amendment or rider relates to Cuba, and reads as follows, viz:

That in fulfillment of the declaration contained in the joint resolution approved April 20, 1898, entitled, "For the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect," the President is hereby authorized to "leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people" so soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution which, either as a part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, shall define the future relations of the United States with Cuba, substantially as follows:

I.

That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

II.

That said government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable sinking fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which, the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate.

III.

That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

IV.

That all acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

V.

That the government of Cuba will execute, and as far as necessary extend, the plans already devised, or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.

VI.

That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

VII.

That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

VIII.

That by way of further assurance the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.

The second amendment, or rider, relates to the Philippines and reads as follows, viz:

All military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands, acquired from Spain by the treaties concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898, and at Washington on the 7th day of November, 1900, shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for the establishment of civil government and for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion: *Provided*, That all franchises granted

under the authority hereof shall contain a reservation of the right to alter, amend, or repeal the same.

Until a permanent government shall have been established in said archipelago full reports shall be made to Congress on or before the first day of each regular session of all legislative acts and proceedings of the temporary government instituted under the provisions hereof; and full reports of the acts and doings of said government, and as to the condition of the archipelago and of its people, shall be made to the President, including all information which may be useful to the Congress in providing for a more permanent government: *Provided*, That no sale or lease or other disposition of the public lands or the timber thereon or the mining rights therein shall be made: *And provided further*, That no franchise shall be granted which is not approved by the President of the United States, and is not in his judgment clearly necessary for the immediate government of the islands and indispensable for the interest of the people thereof, and which can not, without great public mischief, be postponed until the establishment of permanent civil government; and all such franchises shall terminate one year after the establishment of such permanent civil government.

Mr. Speaker, the far-reaching importance of these two riders, hastily put on an appropriation bill in the Senate, in violation of all precedent, is beyond calculation. They go to the very foundation of our Government. They place in the hands of the President unlimited, despotic, and autocratic power. They define and fix an arbitrary procedure and policy that may, and, in my opinion, will, cause endless trouble, enormous expense, and innumerable lives. They hazard interminable war. They present the most important question for wise, just, and deliberate solution and determination that has confronted the American Congress since the civil strife, and we are compelled to vote on them by the adoption of a partisan rule for political purposes, after a meager debate of only two hours—one hour on each side.

If the matter under consideration were not so serious, affecting as it does the lives, the liberties, the property, and the happiness of millions and millions of people under tropic suns, in the Occident and in the Orient—the attitude, the programme, and the procedure of the Republicans would be as absurd as it is Quixotic. This is a most momentous question, and we should have time to deliberate and the right to propose amendments. Under the rule we have neither. The Democratic members are cut off from their rights. They have no choice; no opportunity to give expression to their views. Perhaps we should be thankful that we can yet vote, and let the people of the country know that the Democratic representatives in Congress are to a man opposed to this infamy.

These two vicious riders, that will destroy every vestige of freedom in Cuba and every hope of liberty in the Philippines, were put on the Army bill in the Senate. They were put on in violation of all parliamentary procedure. They could not have been adopted in the first instance in this House. It has been said they were put on in the Senate by some understanding, some trade, some unholy bargain, between the alleged friends of liberty and the imperialistic opponents of freedom, in order to pass other bills and avoid an extra session of Congress. Be this as it may, I know not, although appearances are sometimes quite convincing; but we all know these riders, to trample in the dust in Cuba and the Philippines justice, liberty, and humanity, would never be here if the Democratic Senators had wanted to defeat them. They never could have been adopted in the Senate without the acquiescence of the Democrats there. They are responsible for this situation.

These riders are most despotic, most iniquitous, most unjust, and most inhuman. They portray in burning letters the sordid, greedy, and corrupt spirit of commercialism, which destroys our

highest ideals, makes us ashamed of our past, and compels us to bow our heads in humiliation as we witness the present and contemplate the future of our country. They make our great Republic despicable and a byword of reproach. They reveal and unmask the cruel, sordid, treacherous policy of the Administration, and expose to full view the hypocrisy, the perfidy, and the infamy of the Republican party. I am opposed to these riders. They will never pass with my consent or my vote. If Congress enacts them into law, the President will be the most powerful, the most despotic, and the most autocratic potentate on earth. I am opposed to delegating the powers of Congress to the President. If these gradual surrenders of vested constitutional rights and transfers of legislative powers to the Executive continue, the day, in my judgment, is not far distant when we shall cease to be a representative government responsible to the people.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] has said that the provision regarding the Philippines is similar to the resolution enacted by Congress in regard to the temporary government of the Louisiana purchase. I beg to differ with the gentleman. He is sadly in error. To conclusively show the wide and startling difference let me read the act of 1803 regarding the temporary government of Jefferson's Louisiana purchase:

Until the expiration of the present session of Congress, or unless provision be sooner made for the temporary government of the said territories, all the military, civil, and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same shall be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the full enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

Compare the two. There is no analogy between them. A casual reading of the two acts is sufficient. One is "until the expiration of the present session of Congress." The other is indefinite, and for all desired and practical purposes surrenders absolute and complete power to the President. The Philippine provision in this bill and the act of 1803, relating to the temporary government of Louisiana, are as far apart as the poles. And I say now that if the Republicans are sincere in their present contention they will permit the Democrats to offer as an amendment for the provision under discussion affecting the Philippines a substitute similar to the enactment of 1803 relating to Louisiana. If the other side will permit us to do that, I know and I declare that every Democrat on this side of the House will cheerfully vote for it. I challenge the majority to allow us to do it. Your refusal is an evidence of the insincerity and hypocrisy of your pretensions, and another demonstration of the imperialistic policy of force of the Republican party.

Let me, sir, say again what I have frequently said before on the floor of this House, that I am now, always have been, and always will be, opposed to the cruel, the inhuman, the ruthless, the un-American, and the unchristian conduct of this Administration to the struggling Filipinos, whose only crime is the love of liberty, their hope for freedom, and their aspiration for independence. If we had been true to ourselves, and to the great ideals of American manhood, patriotism, and statesmanship, not a drop of American blood would have been shed in the Philippine Archipelago. Sordid greed has cost us hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars, and cruel lust for power thousands and thousands of precious lives. And the end is not yet.

How long will this costly war of extermination and subjugation last? Can anyone tell? Will it be the black page of Spain's history over again? I pray not. Sooner than see the Republic destroyed, and the Philippine Islands the tomb of the flower and the youth of America, I would do what I believe Abraham Lincoln would do if he were at the head of the Government to-day—help the Filipinos establish a stable government of their own, a republic fashioned after this Republic, and then say to all the world, "Hands off; any interference with the Filipino republic will be an act unfriendly to the United States."

So much, sir, in regard to the adoption of this partisan, unjust, and arbitrary rule in order to choke off debate, and to my position on the amendment surrendering all legislative power to the President, to perform whatever his autocratic will and despotic purpose may suggest regarding the Philippine Islands.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say something in regard to the other amendment, or rider—the one relating to Cuba. I have been a friend of the Cuban patriots for years. When I first came to Congress, six years ago, I championed their cause in Congress and out of Congress, in season and out of season. I did all I could to help them throw off the tyrannous yoke of cruel and oppressive Spain. They were then waging a just war to secure their freedom and their independence. My sympathy was all with the Cuban patriots. I knew their oppression; I was familiar with all their suffering, with their long and heroic struggle for liberty and the right to govern themselves.

I introduced in this House the first resolution of sympathy for them, indulging the hope that they would succeed because their cause was just. I introduced in this House the first resolution granting them belligerent rights; the first resolution recognizing their independence, and the first resolution declaring war against Spain. When war was finally declared, I organized in the city of New York a regiment of soldiers and begged the Republican governor of New York, and also the President, to accept it and muster it into the service. They refused—presumably for political reasons. I was willing and anxious to resign my seat in this House to go to the front with my regiment and fight for Cuban independence, but could not get a chance, ostensibly because I was a Democrat. A perusal of the proceedings of this House before, during, and after the Spanish-American war will leave no one in doubt regarding my position on the Cuban question. I wanted to see Cuba free. In the second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress I said:

My position is well known and unchangeable. Long, long ago I made up my mind. I have never deviated from the first stand I took. I want to see Cuba free. She must be free and independent. The Spaniard and his yellow flag—the emblem of atrocity—must go.

You know that in all the history of the world no people ever deserved the right of self-government more than the heroic, struggling Cuban patriots. For centuries they have been oppressed, robbed, starved, and murdered by a cruel foreign power. The tyranny of Spain, her refined butcheries, her fiendish brutalities, are the blackest pages in the annals of the world. * * *

What a sad story the history of poor Cuba tells! For more than three centuries Spain has ruled her with a blood-stained and an iron hand. It has been a thousand times worse than the rule of the Turk. It has been a thousand times worse than the rule of a barbaric military despotism over a conquered and subjected province.

The history of poor Cuba's trials, her woes, her troubles, and her tribulations never has been written and never will be written. Not half the truth will ever be known. And more the shame!

Spanish rule in Cuba has been one long, unending, hideous carnival of crime, of public plunder, of rapine, of official robbery, of murder, of starva-

tion, of destitution, of assassination, and of cruel, torturing death—a frightful, big black blot on the pages of civilization; a lasting, burning disgrace to all Christendom; an impudent, imperial challenge, backed by the bayonet, to the sober sense of humanity and the Christian civilization of the world.

And subsequently I said in the same Congress:

I stand now where I have always stood, where I will stand until the last—for the liberty-loving people of Cuba, who are making and have made as heroic and as gallant a battle for freedom and independence as any people ever made in the history of the world. I want to see them win, and I know they will win if this great Republic, which should stand as a shining light, as a beacon, and as an example for all the other republics of the world and for every people struggling for liberty and independence, will simply do its duty.

That, sir, in substance, was my position then in regard to Cuba. I was for Cuban independence then, and I am for Cuban independence now. I have not changed my views. Nothing has occurred since the signing of the treaty of peace in Paris to make me alter in any way my original opinions. On the contrary, much has happened to confirm and strengthen them. The record is made up. It speaks for itself. We should keep faith. We went to war with Spain to free Cuba, not to annex Cuba; not to free the Cubans from Spanish slavery in order to enforce American despotism. We declared our high moral purpose of intervention to be in the interest of civilization.

We patriotically proclaimed that the war was to be waged for liberty, for freedom, and for humanity, and called all the world to witness our noble intentions and our undying devotion to the fundamental tenets of the fathers as embodied in the immortal Declaration of Independence. As proof of this let me read and again put in the RECORD the resolution of Congress declaring war against Spain, approved by the President on the 20th day of April, 1898:

Joint resolution for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.

Whereas the abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battle ship with 266 of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbor of Habana, and can not longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited; Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, First. That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

THOMAS B. REED,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

GARRET A. HOBART,

Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved, April 20, 1898.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

There is nothing doubtful, nothing ambiguous, about that resolution. It pledged the sacred honor of the Government and the solemn word of our people to drive Spain from Cuba; declared that the Cubans are, and of right ought to be, free and independent; and disclaimed any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island. The question now is, it seems to me, Shall we keep our word or break it? Shall we live up to our sacred promise or abjectly stultify ourselves in order that personal pelf may follow political perfidy?

Let us be honest. We must not forget. We should keep our word. We should fulfill the letter and the spirit of the promise. We should do our duty and give the Cubans absolute freedom and independence. There should be no conditions. Any different policy now, any deviation from our promise of three years ago, will be national dishonor and a stultification that must bring to the cheek of every honest American the blush of shame. Shall the plighted faith of the nation be kept? Americans, read that sinister Republican rider regarding Cuba, attached to this appropriation bill by the servile servants of commercialism in the Senate, in the light of our patriotic declaration of war, and answer! Its adoption here to-day means national dishonor, national repudiation, national shame, and national perfidy.

The vote here to-day, sir, will show that the Republican party has chosen to stand for disgrace and dishonor—for pelf and power; that the representatives of the Democratic party stand for liberty, for loyalty to the principles of the fathers, for freedom, for the fulfillment of the national promise, for the sacred rights of man, for peace and prosperity, for the Constitution, and, above and beyond all, for the traditions and the true glory and destiny of the Republic.

For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong.
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibers feels the gush of joy or shame;
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Post-Office Appropriation Bill.

February 23, 1901.

Mr. LOUD. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I concur substantially in what the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] has so well said. In my judgment it would be for the best interests of the great majority of the people of the United States if they had control, in connection with the post-offices and as a part of the Postal Department, of the telegraph and the telephone. I believe it would be in the interest of and a great saving to the people. I believe it would put an end to two great selfish monopolies, and would give the people of this country cheaper telephone rates and lower telegraph rates. I am unalterably opposed to all private monopolies. But more about this when I can get more time. Now, sir, in the

few minutes allowed me by the gentleman from California I want to enter my most emphatic protest regarding the unjust discrimination contained in this bill against the great city of New York.

For several years the post-office authorities of the city of New York have used the pneumatic-tube service. That service has been a great success, has facilitated the carrying and the distribution of the mails, and has given great satisfaction to the people. It has been a great convenience to the merchants, and every association of business men, the boards of trade, the chamber of commerce, and in fact all the various chambers of industry, have petitioned Congress to continue the pneumatic-tube service. I have filed many of the petitions and resolutions. This bill has eliminated this desirable service, and the merchants and citizens of the city of New York are to be deprived of the service and compelled to waste and lose from five to twelve hours in every twenty-four in receiving and transmitting their mail. I protest against this outrage—this failure to live up to implied obligations.

The city of New York has the greatest post-office in this country—a post-office which pays, over and above expenses, a revenue to the Government every year of over \$5,000,000. We have asked, and asked in vain, for a new post-office building in that city. We should have it. But this Congress will do nothing for New York City. The present old post-office building there is a disgrace and a menace to the health and lives of the people employed in the building. We must have a new post-office. We will get one, I trust, in the next Congress. But this pneumatic-tube service should not be discontinued. It should be now continued by an appropriation in this bill. I regret exceedingly that the Post-Office Committees of the House and the Senate, after adopting this service, propose now at this late day to discontinue it. It is wrong and a very shortsighted economical policy.

Mr. BURKE of Texas. Does my friend know the cost to the Government for every mile of pneumatic-tube service laid down in New York City?

Mr. SULZER. Yes; I know. The figures are given in the report of the Post-Office Department; and with those figures before it, that Department recommended in the strongest terms the continuance of this service. In the hope of getting this relief I shall vote down this conference report.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Charleston, S. C., Exposition.

March 1, 1901.

Mr. ELLIOTT. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, there is an old and a wise saying that consistency is a jewel. The distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] has probably never heard that saying, if we are to judge by his actions, his votes, and his speeches. He has originated and passed some of the most lavish and extravagant appropriation bills.

He has advocated and voted for some of the most reckless and uncalled-for expenditures of the people's money. He has done as much as anyone on that side of the House to make this a billion

and a half dollar Congress, the most costly and expensive Congress in all the history of our country. When we compare his record with his professions, he is as disingenuous as he is inconsistent.

He is strenuously opposed now to this appropriation of \$250,000 for a Government exhibit and the necessary and incidental Government building at the Charleston Exposition. At the last moment—in the dying days of this Congress—he is awakened and rises up in patriotic indignation to sound the alarm, and in stentorian tones declare these appropriations must cease or the exchequer of the Government will be depleted. It seems to me the gentleman's good intentions are rather late, and should have been put in execution long ere this.

Sir, I am at least consistent. I am in favor of the exposition in Charleston, S. C., and I shall do all I can in my humble way to make it a success and an object lesson that will help the Southland and reflect credit on the whole country. I believe in these expositions of our progress, our industry, and our material resources.

I believe they do great good; that they are great object lessons to the people and great educators for the masses. The Government should participate in all of them and give what aid it can. The benefits to the people are inestimable and the small sum spent wise and prudent economy that will ultimately be returned an hundred fold.

Entertaining these views I shall cordially stand by my friend from South Carolina, and I trust his motion will prevail. I am on record in favor of expositions. I voted for the Omaha Exposition, for the Pan-American Exposition, for the St. Louis Exposition, and on the roll call I shall vote in favor of the Charleston Exposition. I like the people of the South; I believe in them, in their future, and I want to help them demonstrate to the world in an educational way their greatness, their grandeur, their commerce, their resources, their progress, and their material industries.

In my judgment, this exposition is most desirable and will do incalculable good. It will astonish many, and rivet the attention of America on the New South, with its innumerable opportunities, its untold wealth, and its myriad possibilities. Give the grand old South a chance, and the result will be as surprising as the vast amount of invaluable information disseminated will be beneficial.

This, sir, is not a local or a sectional matter. It will help and benefit our whole country. I dissent from the provincial and narrow view taken by some gentlemen on this question. The Columbian Exposition at Chicago did more for this country in different ways than the most eloquent tongue can ever portray.

Every exposition ever held in this country has been a great national blessing that has made for peace, for progress, and for civilization. We spend yearly millions and millions of dollars for useless objects and worthless matters, but when a few thousands of dollars are asked for educational purposes, for the benefit of humanity, for the diffusion of information, some all-wise and far-seeing chess-playing statesman gravely arises and in sepulchral tones objects.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

New York Post-Office.

March 2, 1901.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, this bill, carrying enormous appropriations, is another demonstration of the cohesive power of public plunder. I doubt not it will pass without a division. I am somewhat surprised, to say the least, at the present attitude of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], and I fail to hear his eloquent and emphatic protest against this bill, which will take hundreds and hundreds and thousands of dollars out of the public Treasury. Yesterday, the day before, and for several days last past, we have heard the gentleman from Illinois protesting against these kind of reckless and extravagant appropriations. But when this omnibus building bill comes up, appropriating this vast amount of money, we do not hear a word from the gentleman from Illinois. He is as dumb as an oyster. It is the old, old story. It only goes to show, however, how strong and powerful local patronage is to secure legislation.

The principal point I now desire to make is that the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds has refused to give New York City a new post-office. A bill for that purpose has been in the committee for six years. New York City is unjustly discriminated against. The post-office in New York City is old and dilapidated. It is no longer adapted to the postal affairs of the metropolis. It is a menace to the health and to the lives and limbs of every man employed in it. Thousands of men employed in the New York City post-office are compelled to work underground, standing part of the time during each twenty-four hours in water and in dampness. Every merchant, the chamber of commerce, the press, the people, every board of industry and board of trade in New York have petitioned Congress for the last three years to appropriate enough money to build a new and decent post-office in the city of New York.

I myself, sir, have filed with the Clerk of this House hundreds and hundreds of petitions and resolutions in favor of a new post-office in New York City. They have been referred to the committee and that has been the end of the matter. I want to enter my most emphatic protest against the outrageous way New York City is treated by Congress.

The post-office in New York City supplies more revenue to the Government than any other ten post-offices in the United States. The revenue from that post office, over and above its expenses, amounts every year to between five and six millions of dollars. It is the greatest post-office for the distribution and the transmission of mail in this country; and I say in all sincerity that the great metropolis of the country should have a post-office that will be not alone a credit to the nation, but will preserve the lives and not menace the health of the people who are compelled to work in it.

The chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and the committee appropriate money for every little crossroad post-office in the country. There is no trouble to get an appropriation of \$150,000 for some little country post-office that is an expense to the Government, but when it comes to the post-office of the city of New York the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds is deaf to all supplications and to all the entreaties of the people of that great city.

The entire postal business of the country is centered in New

York City, and that city should have a post-office of adequate accommodations to facilitate business. We only ask for decent treatment—for what is just and right. I hold in my hand an editorial from the New York Herald of March 1 instant—

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SULZER. Will the gentleman from Texas yield to me time enough to have this article read?

Mr. BAILEY of Texas. I have agreed to give out the time, and will have to take it from others.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print as a part of my remarks an editorial from the New York Herald of March 1, 1901, regarding the New York post-office.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent to print an editorial from the New York Herald in reference to the New York post-office.

Mr. MERCER. I object, Mr. Speaker, until I know what it is.

Mr. SULZER. It is a very short editorial from the New York Herald. It does not refer to the gentleman, but only to this post-office.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made.

Deer in Alaska.

March 2, 1901.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment. The Clerk read as follows:

Add at the end of the bill that "hereafter no hides of deer shall be exported from Alaska under a penalty of \$100 for each hide."

Mr. WARREN. I raise the point of order on the amendment; it is not germane, and is new legislation.

Mr. SULZER. Upon that I desire to be heard.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman on the point of order.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, when the Alaska code bill passed this House, by some inadvertence there was no provision put in that bill to protect the deer of Alaska. This was a mistake of grave importance. The deer of Alaska are being rapidly exterminated by the Indians, who hunt the deer simply for their hides. I am reliably informed—in fact, I know—that thousands and thousands of deer in Alaska are slaughtered every winter by the Indians. During the winter the deep snows compel the deer to come down from the mountains, and the natives ruthlessly slaughter them for their skins. Their skins are sold for from 50 cents to a dollar apiece. If this thing continues—

The SPEAKER. The Chair is prepared to rule on the question.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, just one moment more. If this thing continues, in a very short time the deer of Alaska will be exterminated, and the people who live there and who to a certain extent subsist on the meat of the deer will be unable to get fresh meat. The natives slaughter the defenseless deer, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred leave the carcass to rot.

This amendment is a matter of great importance to the people of Alaska and in the interest of the protection of the deer. It ought to be adopted. Every true sportsman should favor it. I trust the gentleman will withdraw his point of order against the amendment. If he does not—and the Chair sustains it—I shall at

once prepare and introduce a bill to accomplish the purpose desired.

The SPEAKER. The bill has entire relation to educational matters in Alaska and no relation whatever to deer, and therefore the amendment is clearly out of order.

Philippine Commission.

March 3, 1901.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, but here politics are cared for by three Democrats.

Mr. DALZELL. I yield one minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I am constrained to differ with my friend the gentleman from Tennessee. I believe this resolution should be defeated. It ought to be, in my opinion. For myself, I am opposed to Congressional junketing committees and Congressional junketing trips. If members of Congress want to visit Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippine Islands, let them go, and God speed them, but, sir, let them go at their own expense, and not at the expense of the taxpayers of the country. I sincerely believe the adoption of this resolution will be futile. It will establish a bad precedent, which ought not to be established. It will be a great expense, with no satisfactory results. It will give us no additional information. We have now all the information we want in regard to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands to do our duty to humanity and to ourselves according to the traditions of this Republic.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Charleston, S. C., Exposition.

March 3, 1901.

Mr. CANNON. I now yield to the gentleman from New York two minutes, and then I want to close the debate.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I can not concur in what the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] has said. I dissent from his conclusions. There is nothing narrow, illiberal, or sectional about me. [Laughter and applause.] If we appropriate money for the St. Louis Exposition and for the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition, we ought to be big enough and brave enough and broad enough to appropriate \$250,000 for the Charleston Exposition. I am in favor of the exposition at Buffalo, I am in favor of the exposition at St. Louis, and, sir, I am in favor of the exposition at Charleston. They are all in the interest of the people, and will help to educate us and disseminate useful and valuable information.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York, I doubt not, is in favor of the Buffalo Exposition; he wants public money for a city in his own State, and yet he is opposed to appropriating money just as necessary in the interest of education and the dissemination of information for the Charleston Exposition. He should be consistent. His position is untenable. I hope the House will vote for all of these expositions or defeat them all. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

War Taxes.

December 15, 1900.

Mr. PAYNE. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of this amendment to tax industrial combinations, and it seems to me it can not be successfully denied that there is much force and logic in all that the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] has said in its favor. I agree with him that if we must raise more revenue it should be collected from wealth and not from toil. It is a matter of regret to me, and I believe it will be to the people generally, that the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee did not frame a bill to repeal the Spanish-American war-revenue taxes.

The war act of 1898, which imposed that taxation, was an emergency measure. It was passed hurriedly and without much consideration to raise immediate money for the purpose of successfully prosecuting the Spanish-American war. It was a war measure, and it was so described at that time by the leaders of the Republican party in this House, who gave assurances to the country that just so soon as the war was over these war taxes would be repealed.

The war has been over for more than two years and the Republican party is just now partially reducing the war taxes. I am opposed to a continuance of these war taxes in time of peace. They are obnoxious and vexatious, and should be repealed. In my judgment they could be repealed without causing a deficit. But if gentlemen on the other side believe otherwise and claim more revenue is necessary, not for an economical administration of public affairs, but for the purpose of carrying out Republican political schemes—some of which you now have under advisement—then, I say, that instead of raising the revenue from the poor, from the producers and the consumers of the country, you should raise this additional revenue by a tax on the trusts and the accumulated and idle wealth of the land. That would be fairer, more equitable, and more consistent.

I am opposed to robbing the many for the benefit of the few. I am opposed to unjust and unnecessary taxation. The war tax law is the worst kind of special legislation, and the bill now under consideration is a species of this special legislation carried to its logical sequence. It can not be justified now; it could only be tolerated in time of war; and I am of the opinion that the people of the country will be sadly disappointed by the action of the Republicans. They expected you to keep your promise and repeal these burdensome taxes.

Mr. Chairman, all legislation bestowing special benefits on the few is unjust and against the masses and for the classes. It has gone on until less than 8 per cent of the people own more than two-thirds of all the wealth of our country. It has been truly said that monarchies are destroyed by poverty and republics by wealth. If the greatest Republic the world has ever seen is destroyed, it will fall by this vicious system of robbing the many for the benefit of the few.

The total population of the United States is about 75,000,000. The total aggregate wealth of the United States, according to the best statistics that can be procured, is estimated at about \$75,000,000,000; and it appears, and no doubt much to the surprise of

many, that out of a total population of 75,000,000 less than 25,000 persons in the United States own more than one-half of the entire aggregate wealth of the land. And this has all been brought about during the last twenty-five years by combinations and conspiracies called "trusts" fostered by special legislation and nurtured by political favoritism.

The centralization of wealth in the hands of the few by the robbery of the many during the past quarter of a century has been simply enormous, and the facts and figures are appalling. Three-quarters of the entire wealth of our land appears to be concentrated in the hands of a very small minority of the people, and the number of persons constituting that minority grows smaller and smaller every year. I am in favor of repealing the war taxes and making the accumulated wealth of the land pay its just share of the burdens of government. This can readily and easily be done by a graduated corporation tax that will reach the dividends and watered stocks of the great industrial combinations and monopolies and by a graduated inheritance tax that will reach the idle and accumulated wealth of the land.

I am in favor of making the idle wealth, the monopolies, and all these great trusts, giant corporations, and selfish syndicates do what the Republican party by law compels the toilers, the producers, and the consumers to do, and that is to pay the taxes—pay their just share of the expenses of the Government.

By a graduated corporation tax and a graduated inheritance tax we would lift the tax burdens from the farmers, the workingmen, and the consumers and place them where they justly belong, besides establishing publicity and to some extent preventing the watering of stocks and the centralization of wealth.

In my judgment this system of a graduated inheritance tax and graduated corporation tax is the fairest, the most honest, and the most equitable system of taxation that can be devised; and I believe if it were put into operation that it would pay more than one-half the annual expenses of the Government. Believing as I do, I am glad to support this amendment and I sincerely hope it will be adopted.

To-day more than three-quarters of the idle wealth of this country escapes taxation and practically bears no part of the burdens of government. This is not right. I am glad to say that I believe the amendment offered by the gentleman from Nevada will cure, to some extent at least, this inequality and injustice in our system of taxation. I trust that gentlemen on the other side of the House will vote in favor of the amendment. You can not say it is not fair and just.

If the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] answers that it will increase the revenue, then we reply that he and his associates on that side of the House can readily reduce the revenue by repealing some of the taxes on the necessaries of life, and we will help them to do it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

JUSTICE TO THE LETTER CARRIERS.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 19, 1902.

WASHINGTON.

1902.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11353) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes—

Mr. FITZGERALD of New York. I now yield ten minutes to my colleague from New York [Mr. SULZER].

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: For some time past there has been a great deal of talk by the Republicans in this House in favor of and in the defense of the trusts. To-day several Republicans have taken advantage of the pending measure before the House to make set speeches which seek to justify the position of the Republican party in favor of monopolies.

It is well known that every Democrat on this side of the House is opposed to trusts and monopolies, and if we Democrats had our way we would put all goods manufactured by a monopoly on the free list, especially where the reports and statistics and facts demonstrated that the monopoly was selling its manufactured goods cheaper in other countries than here. In such a case our people should not be taxed to support the monopoly. The protection of the protective tariff should be repealed. But we are in a hopeless minority. We can not initiate and pass bills to control trusts and to destroy monopolies. The people know the Republicans are responsible.

Mr. Chairman, I do not rise, however, for the purpose of discussing the trust question. I am now, always have been, and always will be opposed to monopolies, and to the criminal trusts. At this time I simply want to point out what is apparrent to all—that the Republicans are so busy in this Congress defending and justifying and helping the great trusts and monopolies of the country that they have not time to consider the crying wants of the people, the urgent demands of the rank and file, and the ne-

cessity of much important and meritorious legislation pending in the House and in its committees.

Now, sir; I want to state that in every Congress since I have been here a bill has been introduced in the interest of and for the benefit of the letter carriers. In three different Congresses—namely, the Fifty-fourth, the Fifty-fifth, and the Fifty-sixth—I had the honor of introducing such a bill myself, and I worked as hard as I could, before the committee, with members of the House—in season and out of season—continually to get a favorable report, but all in vain. I never could get the Republicans on the committee to report the bill and do justice to the deserving letter carriers of the country. Time and time again on the floor of this House have I and others pleaded for decent treatment and fair play for the letter carriers.

If there ever was a bill introduced in this House that ought to appeal to every member as a matter of right and justice, it is the letter carriers' bill. The bill was introduced in this Congress early in the session—to be accurate, on the 13th day of December, 1901—by the gentleman from Michigan. The Speaker referred it to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

It is there now. It is sleeping in that committee, and it will never wake up, never come out, if we do not demand and insist that the committee report it favorably. The bill is so short that I will ask the indulgence of the House while I read it. Besides, I want it to go in the RECORD as part of my remarks, so that all who are concerned in the matter can read it and judge of its merit. It is entitled "A bill to increase the pay of letter carriers," and reads as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That after June 30, 1902, the pay of letter carriers in cities of more than 75,000 population for the first year of service shall be \$600; for the second year of service shall be \$800; for the third year of service shall be \$1,000; for the fourth year of service and thereafter shall be \$1,200. And after June 30, 1902, the pay of letter carriers in cities of a population of under 75,000 for the first year of service shall be \$600; for the second year of service, \$800; for the third year of service and thereafter, \$1,000.

SEC. 2. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

That is all there is to it—a most commendable bill. Why should it not be reported? Why should it be smothered in the committee? Why should it not be presented to the House and the members given an opportunity to vote for it or against it? We want a record on this bill. We want to fix responsibility.

We want to find out who are the friends and who are the enemies of the letter carriers. I am a friend of the letter carriers. I am proud to say that. The Government in all its service has no more honest, no more tireless, no more faithful employees. Their claims are just and should be recognized.

These men are the most efficient, the hardest worked in all the country's service, and the poorest paid. The letter carriers of the land are compelled to toil day in and day out—in sunshine and in storm, in winter and in summer, in all kinds of weather—sometimes eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and taking all other employees in the various departments of the Federal Government as a basis for comparison, it can not be denied that the letter carriers render the most and the hardest work for the smallest remuneration. Let us be just to these honest, hard-working, faithful men.

Now, sir, why is it when every Democrat, I believe, on this side of the House is anxious for a favorable report of this bill, is anxious to have it passed, is anxious to vote for it to make it a law, why is it, I ask, that the Republicans in this House smother the bill every session in the committee? Why is the Republican party against the letter-carriers' bill? Is it because a few Republican leaders of this House are opposed to giving the letter carriers decent wages? Or is it because the Republicans are so busy legislating for monopoly that they have no time to legislate for man? Let the Republican party answer, and let man answer the Republican party.

There is a great blizzard, or has been a great blizzard, in New York City. The first city in the land is locked in the embrace of one of the worst storms for years. The streets are blocked with snow and ice. It is almost impossible for the ordinary pedestrian to get around, but the mail must be delivered, and the letter carriers are compelled to go through these streets—almost impassable—with pounds and pounds of mail matter on their backs. They have to go through streets now that horses can not get through, that vehicles can not go through, and are compelled to go through these streets four and five times a day and deliver the mail.

Rest for man, rest for beast, but no rest for the indefatigable letter carrier. He must go, he must do his work, deliver the mail

on his route, no matter what the weather, no matter what the consequences to his health or his life. And yet, take them all in all, they are courteous, long suffering, uncomplaining, honest, assiduous, and industrious. How few of our citizens ever think of their trials, their wants, their health, and their little ones at home. Again and again I have watched them and sympathized with them—with their hopes and their sorrows.

To-day my heart goes out to them. I can not refrain from making this appeal in their behalf for simple justice. How I wish it were in my power to aid them, to pass and enact into law this bill they all want, they all pray for; this bill that is so fair and so just, that appeals to every right-thinking citizen in all the land, and that challenges adverse criticism. How much time and money we waste here for useless and worthless things! It is terrible when one soberly considers it all—and then, again, so much for the few, so little for the many. How easy for the monopolies and the powerful to pass a bill—a bad bill—and how difficult for the poor and the weak, the many, to pass a bill—a good bill. It is a just commentary. It should make us pause at times and think.

How poorly, how miserably the letter carriers are paid! Under the present law they do not, and can not, earn enough, no matter how long they have been in the service of the Government or how many hours a day they labor, to keep body and soul together. And what do they get? A mere pittance a month that is not enough to economically support one man. It is a disgrace, a crying shame. Many of these letter carriers have wives and children—little homes—and these wives and children in many cases are to-day in want.

The head of the household does not get paid enough by the Government to live half way decently. But it is not the Government's fault, it is the fault of the Republican leaders here in Congress. I want to appeal to the Republicans of this House, in the name of justice and fair play, in the name of decency, that when they are doing so much for organized capital, so much for criminal syndicates, so much for monopolies, for God's sake to do something for the poor letter carriers. [Applause.]

Let us be honest. Let us be just. Let us be true to the dic-

tates of our nobler impulses, and if we are this bill—so honest and so just and so earnestly desired—will soon be reported, speedily passed, and a law on our statute books. Is there a man here opposed to it? If so, let him come out in the open and have the courage to get up and say so. I pause for an answer. No one opposed to it, and yet the bill lies in the committee, and it seems almost impossible to ever get it out. But something is going to happen. It will come out. It will be reported, never fear.

Sir, I speak plain. The case demands plain speaking. I serve notice now on the Republican leaders of this House that I shall make it my business to go deeper in this subject—to find out why this meritorious measure is delayed and the ends of justice to the letter carriers defeated. If no one else will do so, I will ascertain and lodge the responsibility where it belongs. Everyone here knows, if he knows anything, that this is a just and worthy bill and if it came before this House for a vote it would pass by an overwhelming majority.

Why should a few men on the Republican side have it in their power to deprive us all of an opportunity to vote for the bill? It is an outrage, but it is true, and knowing the facts as I do, I would despair of ever passing this bill, of ever getting it reported, if it were not for the fact that recently the New York Journal, that fearless foe of injustice and monopoly, that champion of the right and the plain people, that great American newspaper, has taken up the cause of the letter carriers and intends to see to it that they get fair play and equitable treatment.

The Journal is a mighty power for good. I believe the letter carriers will now win, because the Journal has never lost a battle when enlisted in a just cause, and the letter-carrier's cause is just. Then success to the New York Journal and speedy success to the letter-carrier's bill, and if its friends in this House will all stand together I feel confident, and I predict victory will ere long crown our efforts and the bill will soon become a law. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

I am glad the bright day is not far distant when the Cuban Republic will take her place among the nations of the earth. May success, happiness, prosperity, and domestic tranquillity abide with her hereafter forever, is my fervent prayer.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MARCH 27, 1902.



WASHINGTON.

1902.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WM. SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12804) making appropriation for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Yesterday afternoon I sent to the Clerk's desk an article from the Philadelphia North American dated March 14, 1903, which I desired to have read. At that time it was objected to by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HULL] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DICK]. I now send to the Clerk the same paper to have the article read in my time.

The Clerk read as follows:

[From Philadelphia North American, March 14, 1902.]

REPRESENTATIVE SULZER INTRODUCES A BILL INTENDED TO REFORM PRES-
ENT TARIFF LAW—AIMS BLOW AT SUGAR TRUST—WOULD REMOVE COLOR
RESTRICTION AND OPEN MARKET TO CUBAN PRODUCERS.

[By Angus McSween.]

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1902.

The North American's exposure of sugar-trust methods is having its effect.

Representative SULZER, of New York, to-day introduced in the House a bill to amend the present tariff law by striking from the sugar schedule the provision that all sugars above No. 16, Dutch standard in color, shall pay a duty of 1.25 cents a pound.

This action was based directly upon the statements in the North American of Tuesday showing the enormous protection given the sugar trust by the color restriction in the tariff law and the palpable deception practiced by Congress, both by its insertion in the law and by its retention there.

As its author is a member of the Democratic minority, Mr. SULZER's bill will be scoffed at by the members of the Ways and Means Committee, but it will serve as a beginning of the investigation which should be demanded by the country, and which should lead to favorable action upon the bill as soon as the purposes aimed at are generally understood.

REFERRED TO COMMITTEE.

The bill was referred to the Ways and Means Committee, and it is before that committee now. Mr. SULZER expects to obtain his first hearing and a hearing also for the witnesses he will produce to testify in behalf of his proposition.

Except by reports of the trust interests, it is not easy to see how objections to the bill can be successfully argued. It proposes no reduction in the rates of duty established by existing law upon sugar according to its grade of purity, and leaves the duty of 1.25 cents a pound upon refined sugar, but eliminates the color restriction and opens the way to the sugar producers of Cuba to send their highest grades of sugar to the United States for sale in the markets in competition with sugar-trust products.

Of course, the measure will be opposed by the trust and by all trust advocates in Congress, but there is no sentiment outside the two legislative Chambers in favor of trust privileges, and sooner or later SULZER's proposition will be accepted. The North American has aroused the spirit of inquiry, and nothing more is needed to expose the trick by which the trust has secured absolute control of the sugar market. Mr. SULZER said to-day respecting his measure:

"Everyone must admit that the whole usefulness of the Dutch standard lies in the fact that, first, it forces the planters to sell exclusively to the trust, and, second, of course, it forces the people to buy exclusively of the trust. It is merely a means of assuring to the trust an absolute monopoly in the sugar business. The Cubans, who would be glad to market their sugars direct and pay the higher duties, which will be required according to a really scientific test, are unable to do so, and the people of the United States, who would be glad to buy their sugar direct from the producers, are unable to do so.

"Ingenuity of man could not have devised a more perfect and admirable method of securing for a limited number of capitalists an absolute monopoly of an important article of food than this one which lies hidden in that apparently innocent color restriction. It helps nobody but the trust, it keeps the planters poor, and it robs the people. All this can be easily proved, and that is what I purpose to do. It was because I was certain of it that I introduced the bill."

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, the article just read is from one of the most fearless, one of the most honest, and one of the greatest Republican newspapers in this country, the Philadelphia North American. The article speaks for itself. I have had it read from the Clerk's desk so that it will be inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I hope that every member of this House will take the trouble to read it.

The article clearly, fully, and intelligently tells the purpose of the bill I introduced in this House on the 13th day of this month. The bill was referred to the Ways and Means Committee by the Speaker, and I request, and indulge the hope, that it will ere long be favorably reported.

Let me reiterate what I have frequently said before on this floor, that I am now, always have been, and always will be a friend of Cuba and of the Cubans. The record will show that ever since I have been a member of this House I have done all in my power for the Cuban people. I am glad the bright day is not far distant when the Cuban Republic will take her place among the nations of the earth. May success, happiness, prosperity, and domestic tranquillity abide with her hereafter forever, is my fervent prayer. [Applause.]

The time is at hand, nevertheless, when we must live up to our sacred obligations to Cuba. We must grant her the freedom and the independence promised. We must launch this young Republic of Cuba on the ocean of nations and say to all the world, Cuba is free and independent. We must say to every nation, She is our creation—a daughter of the great Republic—and any interference with her will be an act unfriendly to the Government of the United States.

But that is not all, Mr. Chairman. We must now grant her immediate trade relief. In a commercial way she is at our mercy. That is not her fault—it is our fault. Congress has made it practically impossible for Cuba to market her products in other countries; they must be sold here, and they can not be sold in this country at present except at a ruinous loss, unless our tariff law is repealed or modified. This must be done at once—it should have been done months ago. If it is not speedily done I predict that conditions in Cuba will soon be worse than they ever were before. The situation is serious and admits of no further delay. The people want Congress to act.

The Republican party is responsible for the deplorable commercial condition now existing in Cuba. The Republican party, wedded to its high protective-tariff policy, would apparently rather witness the starvation of the Cubans than consent to reduce to a slight degree for Cuba its present system of outrageous

tariff taxes. What a spectacle of commercial selfishness, monopolistic greed, and political shortsightedness the Republican party presents to day! We have been in session here since the first Monday of last December, and nothing has been done to afford relief to the Cubans.

The President, the Secretary of War, General Wood, President-elect Palma, and every person familiar with the present situation in Cuba have urged Congress to reduce the existing tariff taxes on Cuban exports to this country at least 50 per cent. But nothing has been done. The Republican leaders can not agree, the Ways and Means Committee will not act, and the industrial arm of Cuba is becoming paralyzed. I predict that if this selfish policy is continued much longer the doctrine of Republican protection will soon be destroyed by its foolish worshipers.

Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of doing something now to avert calamity in Cuba. I want to see Cuba free and happy and prosperous. I will vote for any measure to reduce the present tariff duties between this country and Cuba. In my judgment we should have free trade with Cuba. It would be beneficial to us and advantageous to the Cubans. It would help the people of both countries.

But I say now, and it must be apparent to anyone who gives the subject consideration, that if relief comes by tariff reduction the present duties must be reduced at least one-half. Anything less in this line will be useless and futile, and Cuba will go back to a condition of commercial stagnation that will cost us dearly in the end, and the fault will be all our own.

In the last three years the balance of trade has been over \$30,000,000 against the island. Her people have exhausted their resources in a heroic struggle to build up their industries, but they can not go on spending more than they receive any longer, and this year's sugar crop, which will be over 800,000 tons, represents their supreme effort, and unless relief comes—and comes quickly—we must expect a crisis which will render Cuba's position most deplorable and ours most embarrassing.

A mere handful of protected beet growers and cane growers, who care nothing for Cuba, nothing for the millions of American sugar consumers, are the only obstructors of this nation's good will to the people of Cuba. The American people expect Congress to grant relief, and to grant it quickly.

When the Congress adopted the so-called Platt amendment, which I voted against, and which in my judgment never should have been adopted, it took an unfair advantage of Cuba; but when that amendment finally became a law; the Cuban people accepted it in good faith, and, at our request, wrote it into their constitution. By virtue of that amendment Cuba is commercially helpless to-day, and unable to make treaties of a commercial character to market her products. Under the circumstances, it seems to me that it is now incumbent on this Government to grant some trade relief to Cuba by which her products can be admitted into this country and sold without a loss. At present this can not be done.

The cost of raising sugar in Cuba is 2.6 cents per pound. The selling price of sugar, duty paid, in New York is now 3.75 cents. The Dingley duty is 1.68½ cents per pound, or nearly 100 per cent of its value on the plantation in Cuba. It plainly appears, therefore, that Cuba can only sell her staple crop in New York at a loss, and

can not sell it anywhere else. There is now about \$20,000,000 worth of sugar cane standing in Cuba, and if the Dingley blockade against it is not raised it might as well be left to rot on the ground.

Governor-General Leonard Wood, pleading for a speedy reciprocal arrangement, insists that this country has nothing to lose and much to gain thereby. Our domestic production of sugar is about 450,000 tons; in the annexed and protected islands, Cuba included, about 1,000,000 tons more are grown, and from Europe we buy about 800,000 tons besides. One-fifth of all the sugar the American people use must come from outside. Cuba's total product, even if it were greatly increased, could not possibly make us independent of Europe.

Now, sir, if I could have my way regarding the matter I would strike down every tariff barrier between the Republic of Cuba and the United States. If something is not quickly done by Congress that will be the solution. The leaders of the Republican party have been quarreling day in and day out regarding this question. I am now informed and believe they have reached an agreement by which they are willing to reduce the existing tariff duties 20 per cent on sugar and tobacco. That according to the President, the Secretary of War, General Wood, President Palma, of the Cuban Republic, and others competent to testify, will do absolutely no good. If there is going to be any reduction of the tariff law, the reduction must be 50 per cent or more in order to help the Cubans.

Now, Mr. Chairman, a few words regarding my bill to remove the color restriction on unrefined sugar coming from Cuba. I introduced the bill in good faith, and I intend to do all in my power to pass it. It is a good bill, and should become a law. There should be no opposition to it, and to some extent it will solve the present difficulty by permitting the Cuban planters to market their unrefined sugar product immediately in this country. That will afford some relief at once.

If the color restriction on Cuban unrefined sugar should be removed, it would not materially injure the beet-sugar growers nor the cane-sugar growers of this country, but it would benefit immediately the Cuban planters and furnish to the people of this country cheaper and better sugar.

At present, on account of this color restriction, put in the law by the sugar trust, every pound of unrefined sugar that comes from Cuba to this country must be sold to the sugar trust, and it must be sold to the trust at the trust's own price. If this bill to remove that restriction should become a law, the Cuban sugar planters, if they were unable to sell to the sugar trust, could market their product and sell it to grocers and consumers in competition with the sugar trust.

The only legitimate opposition to this bill must therefore come from the sugar trust, in order to control the product, dictate the price, and stifle competition. When this question is understood, I am satisfied every friend of the people, every foe of monopoly, and every believer in commercial justice will favor the bill.

Now, sir, I do not say this bill is all that is necessary at the present time, but I do say, and I challenge successful contradiction, that it is a step in the right direction, and will afford immediate relief not only to the tariff-taxed Cuban producer, but also to the trust-taxed American consumer.

The color restriction on sugar is a device of the sugar trust and was put in the Dingley high protective tariff law at the instigation of the sugar trust, to give it a monopoly in this country on refined sugars. Remove the color restriction and the higher grade Cuban sugars can be put on the American market at once and sold in competition with the refined sugars of the trust.

At present the color restriction on sugar in the law forces the producers of Cuban sugar to sell to the trust at the price fixed by the trust, and compels the consumers in America to buy from the trust at the price dictated by the trust. The trust controls the product and fixes the price to suit itself.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I wanted to get this matter before the House. I have done so briefly. At some future time I shall discuss this question more fully and at greater length. This color restriction for monopoly will have to go. The Republican party must repeal it or admit it stands for monopoly. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD.

I am a friend of liberty here and elsewhere.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

April 1, 1902.

WASHINGTON.

1902.

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SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13123) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I offer the amendment which I send to the desk. The Clerk read as follows:

On page 11, after line 19, add:

“For the proper care and suitable lighting of the Liberty Light, in New York Harbor, \$50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.”

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, on the 1st day of March this year, by order of the Light-House Board, Liberty light, on Bedloe's Island, in the Harbor of New York, was extinguished. Just why the Light-House Board issued that order I know not, and no one whom I have talked to about it has been able to give to me a satisfactory explanation. In my opinion there is no good reason for that order. The light from Liberty's torch should not be put out. It is essential to commerce, but more than that, it represents a patriotic sentiment that should never be extinguished.

The great statue of Liberty Enlightening the World was unveiled on the 28th day of October, 1886. It was a splendid gift from the Republic of France to the Republic of the United States. It was intended to be a bond of sympathy, of fraternal feeling, of undying memories, of lasting friendship, of eternal good will between the two great Republics. It meant sympathy for republics and republican institutions all over the world. It glorified liberty, fortified freedom, and emphasized the rights of man. It was to be and it ever should be a great beacon light of democracy, dispelling the darkness of tyranny and welcoming to our hospitable shores the oppressed of every land. It was Bartholdi's apotheosis of liberty; a gift from the greatest Republic in Europe to the greatest Republic in all the world.

Its light should shine for all the ages. It should never go out while liberty lives in the breast of man. It links the past with the present, and should be prophetic of the future.

At the unveiling of that magnificent monument to liberty, the President of the United States, the Cabinet officers, distinguished members of Congress, members of the legislatures of States, mayors of cities, judges, governors, and leading citizens from all parts of the country were present. It was a “red-letter day” in the history of this Republic. There was music, and eloquence, and ceremony. It commemorated one of the great civic events in our annals. It was an imposing celebration, and the hand on the dial plate of time marked the hour of liberty and the freedom of man.

As such a beacon it has stood by day and shone by night.

It has meant much to us in many ways. It has stood for all the ideals of the Republic, and a bright harbinger to the weary immigrant after a tedious voyage. It has shone resplendent from the day it was unveiled until the 1st of last March, and then for some hidden reason this Administration, or the Light-House Board acting under this Administration, put out the light. What a commentary! In the face of what is now going on here, in the Orient, and elsewhere, how the eloquent words of the orators on that occasion mock us. What a difference between then and now! Things have changed.

Mr. Chairman, the amendment I offered should be adopted by the House. It should be incorporated into this bill without a dissenting vote. Patriotism prompts it, and we should see to it that the light of Liberty should burn as brightly as ever. I do not know how much money is necessary to clean the statue, fittingly care for it, and properly light it, but my amendment appropriates \$50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, gives the proper authorities discretion, and they will spend no more than is absolutely required. However, if the amount is objectionable, I will make it less. All I ask is to keep the light burning. That request should meet with no opposition from liberty-loving members of Congress.

It is a sad commentary, sir, on the Republic of to-day, a sad reflection on our professions and our glorious past, that the great light of Liberty has been put out. What does it mean? Will some one rise up and tell me? In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read at this time as a part of my remarks a poem regarding this matter, written by one of our popular poets and a well-known citizen of Washington, D. C.

Mr. MONDELL. This is not an original poem; the gentleman from New York did not write it himself?

Mr. SULZER. It is an original poem. I did not write it, and what is more, I know the gentleman from Wyoming could not write it. [Laughter.]

The Clerk read as follows:

LIBERTY'S TORCH—OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

LIGHT-HOUSE BOARD, TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., February 12, 1902.

Liberty Enlightening the World light station. Notice is hereby given that on or about March 1, 1902, the fixed white electric light shown from the torch of the bronze statue on Bedloes Island, New York Bay, will be discontinued.

By order of the Light-House Board.

N. H. FARQUHAR,
Rear-Admiral, United States Navy

Put out the torch whose lustrous beams
Were lit at Freedom's council fires;
For in its flame no longer gleams
The lofty purpose of our sires.
When mouthing hypocrites efface
The noble charter of our rights
And set brute forces in its place,
Put out the signal lights!

Till our great armies cease to slay
And call the roll of Tagal dead,
Oh, let us shrink from light of day
And torch of night, and hang our head
Put out the lamp, lest it illumine
The path of our perfidious fame.
Put out the lamp, for in the gloom
We hide our scarlet shame!

Ah, when our tyrants quench in night
 The freedom of the Orient sea,
 Why should our goddess keep alight
 The beacon flame of Liberty?
 Silence the eagle on his crag!
 Hush holy Freedom's vaunting hymn!
 Drop down the mast the starry flag,
 And douse the harbor glim!

When patriots welter in their gore
 And perish where our squadrons press,
 Why set this flambeau on the shore
 To shine upon our wickedness?
 Ah, goddess! lift no trembling hand
 To light the bloody path of hate,
 But let grim darkness scowling stand
 And beckon at the gate!

W. A. CROFFUT

[Loud applause.]

Mr. SULZER. Now, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FITZGERALD. I ask unanimous consent that my colleague's time be extended for five minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SULZER. Now, Mr. Chairman, as I said, from the day this magnificent statue to liberty was unveiled down to March 1, this year, no Congress has failed to pass an appropriation for this light and to properly care for it.

Since 1886 it has been a light-house essential to commerce and safe navigation in the harbor of New York. It is on all the charts. It aids to mark the channel, and every mariner, every seafaring man, has looked for it and recognized it, going in or coming out of the magnificent harbor of New York. Why is it that after all this time this light must now go out? Is liberty dead? I hope not. I am a friend of liberty here and elsewhere. As a citizen of this Republic, I take a just pride in the grandeur of Liberty Enlightening the World and for all it typifies here and symbolizes to people in other lands. I would not darken its effulgent light, but I would make it burn brighter and brighter as the years come and go. It stands at the gates of America, a magnificent altar of man's faith in liberty, whose light should penetrate the darkness of tyranny throughout the world and guide men from oppression to the hospitable shores of freedom. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I feel deeply on this subject. The responsibility of putting out Liberty's torch must rest on the Republican party. This Administration, it seems to me, will be derelict to duty, false to all the Republic stands for, and recreant to the memories of a century and the sacred friendship of France, which has existed since our Revolutionary struggle, if we now permit that great statue of Liberty to stand in the darkness. What a flood of sentiment appeals to us in this matter. Can we so soon forget the past?

Is recollection dead and gratitude a dream? Are the words of the fathers a hollow mockery? Is our past a lie, or shall liberty truly enlighten the world? Let the gentleman from Illinois and the members of this House answer. I trust the response will be for liberty and in favor of continuing the light on Bedloes Island, in favor of keeping that great statue of Liberty Enlightening the World illumined from sundown to sunrise, so that it will be not only a guide to mariners, but a great beacon of this Republic, and in truth for all liberty enlightening the world, beckoning

to our shores the downtrodden from every land and every clime.
[Applause.]

Yes, my friends, this bill should carry an appropriation to keep that torch of liberty burning. The people—the liberty-loving people—expect it. We must be true to ourselves—we must not disappoint them. The light must not go out. If it goes out now, it may go out forever.

But once put out thy light,
I know not where is that Promethean heat
That can thy light relume.

Now, sir, just a word more. I have offered this amendment in good faith, and in the name of liberty, in the name of this great Republic and all it stands for, by the memories of all the past, I trust, I hope, I pray, that it will be adopted, and that Liberty Enlightening the World will continue to shine for all mankind and be a beacon for freedom so long as this Republic shall endure.
[Loud applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Does the gentleman withdraw his amendment? [Laughter.]

Mr. SULZER. The gentleman is trying to be facetious, but I sincerely trust he will not raise a point of order. If he stands for liberty, if he believes in republican institutions, if he glories in the greatness and the honor of this Republic, he surely will not object to the amendment. Of course I will not withdraw it.

Mr. CANNON. Well, I have enjoyed the gentleman's speech very greatly. I am quite sure the Committee of the Whole House has, and having had the opportunity to make a speech and having made it so well, it was in the greatest good faith that I asked him if he withdrew his amendment, but he says not. It seems to me that having made the speech he ought to withdraw it. If he will not, however, I want to again express my admiration of his speech, including the peroration.

Mr. MANN. And the poetry.

Mr. CANNON. And the poetry, too; but if we must get down to cold facts about it, I must state there are \$1,900,000 in the bill in connection with the Light-House Service for lights, and the Light-House Board has complete discretion in maintaining the service to light this particular light, as well as all others, and we made some inquiry about it. Somebody suggested, Why do not you keep that light burning in that great work that was given to us? Well, the reply come in that commerce does not need it; commerce is not benefited by it.

Mr. SULZER. And the Republican party does not need it.

Mr. CANNON. You know, we spend some money; we believe, of course, at times in the old flag and in an appropriation. We are spending some money at New York Harbor. We are making another channel there—40 or 45 feet, which is it to be, when complete?

* * * * *

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, just a few words in reply to the gentleman from Illinois. He says that there is in this bill a large appropriation for light-houses. It is true the bill carries a general appropriation for light-houses. And, sir, I am willing to take the gentleman at his word. I trust he is sincere and is not begging the question. I am willing now to withdraw this amendment if the gentleman will agree to insert in this bill what I be-

Heve has always been in it before—that is, since 1886—a provision that the Light-House Board, or the War Department, whichever has authority in the matter, shall see to it that this statue of Liberty Enlightening the World is properly cared for and lighted, as has been done heretofore. That is all I want. That is all the people, who take a pride in this matter, desire. Will the gentleman consent to it?

Mr. CANNON. Now, let me say to my friend right there, there never has been a specific appropriation to keep this light burning in this statue.

Mr. SULZER. Well, then, that is all the more reason why it should be in now. Why should an irresponsible board have the right to say arbitrarily the torch of Liberty must be put out?

Mr. CANNON. Let me complete my statement. If it is necessary or proper for commerce, then there are nearly \$2,000,000 available for that and other purposes. I do not want to assent to a legislative direction to keep that light burning. On the contrary, if the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary of War exercised a discretion to spend \$50,000 for keeping this light burning when it did not aid commerce one iota, I should be in favor of passing a resolution of censure upon such Secretary, because it would be an unwarranted waste of public money.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, just a moment. The gentleman says this amendment carries \$50,000. It is true the amendment says \$50,000, but the gentleman fails to state what the amendment also says—“\$50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary”—and I am willing to reduce it to meet the views of the gentleman.

Mr. CANNON. Well, that is so in all matters of appropriation.

Mr. SULZER. If \$50,000 is too much, the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Treasury can see to it that only enough is expended to light the statue properly, or I will make it five thousand or ten thousand dollars now. The gentleman from Illinois says commerce does not need this light. I differ from him. For the last fifteen years it has been a beacon and an aid to commerce. It is marked on every chart of New York Harbor. It is for commerce a light-house. It is looked for by every ship coming in or going out of the harbor, and it is just as essential to commerce as any other light-house in New York Bay. No shipping concern, no commercial body has asked to have the light extinguished. On the contrary, commerce demands that this light shall continue to shine.

Mr. LESSLER. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. SULZER. Certainly.

Mr. LESSLER. I should like to know where you get your information about that.

Mr. SULZER. I get my information from the same source that you can if you look for it—the newspapers.

Mr. LESSLER. Well, I have looked it up—

Mr. SULZER. I get it from the daily newspapers of New York City. I get it from mariners who reside in New York. I get it from commercial bodies—

Mr. LESSLER. In your district?

Mr. SULZER. I get it from the pilot associations in New York City; consult these sources of information. This light, aside from any patriotic sentiment, is just as necessary as a light-house

as any other light-house. There are half a dozen light-houses in New York Bay, and this is one of them, and it is just as important as the others. This appropriation, consequently, should be made, or there should be some provision in the bill directing the proper authority, whether it is the Light-House Board or the Secretary of War, to see to it that Liberty Enlightening the World is properly illuminated. That is all I wish to say in reply to the gentleman from Illinois, and I trust the amendment will be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SULZER) there were—ayes 43, noes 33.

Mr. CANNON. I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered; and the Chairman appointed Mr. CANNON and Mr. SULZER.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 61, noes 67.

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

April 2, 1902.

WASHINGTON.

1902.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House having under consideration the following provision in the sundry civil bill:

"Improvement of the Yellowstone National Park: For the improvement of the Yellowstone National Park, in accordance with the approved project, including the maintenance of existing improvements, to be expended by and under the direction of the Secretary of War, \$250,000, to be immediately available: *Provided*, That the Secretary of War may enter into a contract or contracts for such labor and materials as may be necessary for the completion of the project, including annual maintenance and repairs, or the work may be done and the materials purchased otherwise than by contract, to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, not to exceed in any one year \$250,000, and not to exceed in the aggregate \$500,000, exclusive of the amounts herein and heretofore appropriated: *And provided further*, That of the amounts so appropriated not to exceed \$50,000 may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, be expended in the Yellowstone Forest Reserve east of the park, and not to exceed \$25,000 may be expended in the Yellowstone and Teton Forest Reserves south of the park"—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is a matter of much personal gratification to me to find in this sundry civil bill a liberal appropriation for the proper care and the immediate and continued improvement of our great national park. The people familiar with this subject will approve this provision now, and posterity, which will realize more fully its benefits, will commend us for our foresight and judgment in a spirit of eternal gratitude. This money will be well and wisely spent, and its expenditure will create lasting results that will please, instruct, and benefit humanity for ages yet to come.

Mr. Chairman, Yellowstone Park is the world's wonderland. It beggars description. The most eloquent tongue fails to describe its surpassing wonders, and the gifted pen of the most imaginative poet can not adequately picture the infinite variety of its sublime realities. After you have read and heard all that mortal man can say, you must see it yourself to fully appreciate all its glories and startling revelations. It never palls; the eye never tires. From the time you leave Livingston until you return, the scenery is an inspiration and simply indescribable. It is one grand

panorama of loveliness beyond comparison, a symphony of colors; a combination of architectural miracles.

Take it all in all, Yellowstone Park is the greatest, the grandest, the most picturesque, and the most marvelous picture in nature's art gallery—painted in all the radiant colors of the rainbow by the unerring, heroic hand of the Infinite—sculptured by the Supreme Creator of the universe—a testifying demonstration that the Great Jehovah liveth.

The establishment of this magnificent park, to be forever safe from the destroying vandal, and sacred for all time from the devastating hand of greedy commercialism, does great credit to the farseeing statesmanship of the men who conceived it, and to those who are now faithfully executing a great trust for the benefit of millions yet unborn.

This national park was dedicated to humanity. It belongs to the people. It is sacred to nature. No vandal must ever be permitted to desecrate it. Every citizen of the Republic should behold its glories and witness the beauties of nature's most perfect picture. I hope more people every year will visit this inspiring park, and I know they will go away benefited in mind and body. As the years come and go it will become more and more a sanitarium for the afflicted, an art gallery for the lovers of the beautiful, a Bohemia for the lotus-eating dreamers of the Better Day, and a great national playground, the recreation place of millions of the citizens of the Republic, where the rich and the poor, the great and the small shall have an equal right to enjoy and commune with nature in her primeval wonders and in all her pristine glories.

The provisions in this bill for Yellowstone Park are made, I am informed, in accordance with the recommendations of Capt. Hiram N. Chittenden, a distinguished officer in the Engineer Corps of the Army, now detailed to the park and in charge of the improvements. He is beyond all question the right man in the right place. He has done and is doing a great work, not sufficiently appreciated, perhaps, by the unthinking and the casual observer, but the work itself will be his lasting monument, and the consciousness of duty well done for duty's sake will be his greatest reward.

I visited the park last summer, saw for myself, and speak from

personal knowledge. Every member of Congress should uphold the hands of Captain Chittenden, and all his commendable efforts should be encouragingly sustained by the Government. I am and ever will be a friendly advocate of Yellowstone Park, and in or out of Congress I will always do all in my power for its best interests; and I am glad in this connection to pay a just and merited tribute to the genius of gallant Captain Chittenden.

Now, Mr. Chairman, just a few words more. In my opinion the western boundary of the park should be extended to include Jackson Lake, the Teton Mountains, and the domain sometimes called the Hole in the Wall. Every disinterested person with whom I have talked concerning this matter has concurred in this conclusion. Aside from the beauties of the natural scenery of this adjoining land to the park, it is of great importance that it should be incorporated into the park for the reason that the wild animals, especially the deer, the elk, and the buffalo, roam there from the park during certain seasons of the year, and hunters lying in wait slaughter them remorselessly.

This is a shame and should be stopped, and the best way to do it is by an extension of the park's boundary. It will cost little to do this now, and in my judgment Yellowstone Park will ere long become the last place in this country where the wild game—the big game—can live out their natural lives unmolested by the barbarian pot-hunter and the semicivilized sportsman. Every loyal friend of the national park and every true friend of our wild animals should favor this extension of the boundary of Yellowstone Park. It should be acted on now. No time should be lost.

This additional territory can be obtained to-day by the United States Government very cheaply, and it ought to be taken in before its value increases.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I trust the provision in this bill for Yellowstone Park will be passed without modification. It is truly in the interest of the people, and the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, in my judgment, is entitled to much commendation and the thanks of the American people for his broadminded statesmanship in the matter. [Applause.]

THE POSTAL EMPLOYEES.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 24, 1902.

WASHINGTON.

1902.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (S. 2295) temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: A few days ago I was astonished by the attack made upon the postal employees, and particularly on the letter carriers of the country, by the chairman of the Post-Office and Post-Roads Committee [Mr. LOUD]. The thought came to me at that time that if an opportunity presented itself something should be said in refutation of those statements. The time has come, in my opinion, when some one should tell the truth in respect to one who has been a consistent opponent of every effort to increase the wages of the postal employees, but who has just as persistently labored in behalf of the great railroad corporations who have been the beneficiaries of his acts.

I ask, Mr. Chairman, whether the letter carriers are being used as a shield behind which we find hidden the railroads of the country which are getting the lion's share of the appropriations annually made to carry on the work of the Post-Office Department? I ask why it is that this House continually accepts the report of the Committee on Post-Offices, made by its chairman, by which we are paying the railroads fully as much and more in rentals per year than it costs to build the cars which we are renting? May I further ask, if in order to keep this from the members of the House, and in order to throw sand in our eyes, the statement is being made that we must keep down expenses by restricting or resisting these assaults on the Treasury that are being made by the employees of the postal service, especially the letter carriers? May I ask whether this is a subterfuge merely, in order to keep from us the real issue, which is the payment of ten times as much

for handling or carrying the mails as is paid for carrying express matter in the same cars, behind the same engines, on the same train, and over the same roadbed?

When the chairman of the Post-Office Committee took occasion to belittle the efforts of the letter carriers he only followed out his former tactics. Not only that, his remarks were in line with his attempts to reduce the price of labor, to lower the standards of wages, and to add to the profits of contractors, as we well remember was his aim when he desired to place the rural free-delivery service on a contract basis. Oh, this contract system must certainly be a grand one! It reminds me of the padrones, who hire boys and peddle them out and utilize their services for a mere pittance while they themselves grow rich. Has it come to a point where this country must require men to take civil-service examinations, to furnish bonds, and to do labor in order to be farmed out to contractors?

I believe that were a bill introduced in this House asking that the letter carriers be placed on the contract basis such bill would speedily be reported to the House and passed. But a just measure, the purpose of which is to give relief to a deserving body of men, is pigeon-holed simply because, under the rules, the chairman can take such action. Well and eloquently did the president of the carriers' organization plead with the committee to bring the bill into the House, or at least to make a report at this session, favorably or otherwise, for I know, as every member knows, that once brought into the House justice will be done and the bill passed.

But, no; it is the will of the chairman that such should not be done. It is not my purpose now to speak at length, or to touch largely upon the letter carriers' salary bill. I have done that heretofore, but I simply desire at this time to point out why it is, to my mind, that the efforts of the railway mail clerks, the post-office clerks, and the letter carriers are always being made the chief issue in this House by those who have charge of the work of the Post-Office Committee. In studying the situation, in looking over this matter, in weighing the question, I can arrive at no other conclusion than that it is intended as a sort of a yell of "stop thief," and thus keep the members of this House agitated on this

question, while the chairman quietly sits back and fixes up the bills by which the railroads get enormous amounts of money from the public Treasury.

I want to say right here, Mr. Chairman, that were the Government to pay the railroads what is a fair price for handling mail in transit instead of the present exorbitant rates, which are fixed by action of this committee, under the advisement of its chairman—that were this done we could extend the postal service beyond anything that was ever dreamed of in this country. We could then pay the employees decent wages. We would then not be treated to the spectacle of having to compare their salaries with those of the poverty-ridden workers of the State of Pennsylvania, which is controlled from top to bottom by these very railroads who are getting these vast amounts of money on their mail contracts.

I say to you, Mr. Chairman, that were these rates that are being paid the railroads for carrying the mails fixed at a reasonable figure we could extend the free-delivery service to every hamlet, to every farmhouse, to every nook and corner of this country. Not only that, but 1-cent postage would then be reached. But no; for fear that we may examine into this matter and that we may accidentally discover what is the real drain on our Treasury, who is the real dog whose tail should be cut off behind the ears—yes, lest we might discover this, we are continually told to watch the postal clerks, to watch the railway-mail clerks, and to watch the letter carriers, for fear that they might impoverish us should we give them sufficient to allow them to live.

The thought struck me, in listening to the argument of my colleague from California [Mr. LOUD], that if substitutes earn \$380 per year, where does this money come from? I believe—in fact, I know—that the money that substitutes earn is deducted from the salary of the regular carriers. If substitutes earn \$380 per year, then the regular carriers must certainly be \$380 per year short, except, perhaps, the small pittance which is allowed the substitutes by appropriation for serving the routes of regular carriers during the vacation period. I ask again, Why is it the gentleman from California, in comparing the salaries of carriers with those of other employees, takes on the one hand, every per

son who could be designated as an employee in a certain given industry—whether he happens to be a skilled mechanic or only a common laborer—and by adding them all together averages up their pay to bring it down to as low a figure as possible; while, on the other hand, in the carrier service he takes 20 of the largest cities and tries to show that the amount received by regulars or substitutes in these 20 large cities holds good from Maine to California?

Mr. Chairman, there are over 900 cities in the United States, and there are but 53 or 55 cities in which carriers receive nominally \$1,000 per year, and in all the other 850 or more cities the maximum salary which any letter carrier can receive is \$850. We have hundreds of post-offices which employ only 3 or 4 carriers each. If the substitute earns \$380 in any of these offices, \$380 must necessarily come from the 4 carriers in the office having that number, and \$100 will be the amount that this substitute receives for serving routes during vacation. This would leave the salary or the income of the carriers in such an office about \$775 or \$780 per year.

From this they also buy their uniforms, which further reduces the net dollars and cents to which my worthy colleague from California is so prone to call attention. Every statement that he makes could be refuted, but I do not wish to take up the time of this body further than to show that it is not the letter carriers that we must fear—that it is not the salary that they receive or ask for that will bankrupt this country—but that it is the amount that is fixed annually by appropriations contained in the Post-Office bill to subsidize the railroads that is the real drain. Just as my colleague says, I ask you to study this question, to judge it calmly and dispassionately, and I believe that you will find that instead of attacking the letter carriers more good would come to this country and more money would be saved the Treasury if you would examine a little more closely into the methods that are pursued, not by the letter carriers, but by the railroads, who seem to get everything they want from the Post-Office Committee.

We do not hear of bills for railway mail contracts slumbering in the pigeon-holes of the committee. We do not hear any reference made to the amounts that are handed out annually

on a platter in the form of subsidies. We hear little or no reference to such things. And why, Mr. Chairman, are these matters pushed through so quietly? Is it fear that should they be discussed that this House might examine a little more closely into this question and find that they are paying for something they do not get? Let me say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that in the future I shall watch these matters more closely, and that when attacks are made on the workers in the ranks I will endeavor to ascertain who is the gentleman in the woodpile that you are protecting by throwing stones at some one on the outside. I serve notice here and now, Mr. Chairman, that the grasp which these corporations have on the country and on its resources will ere long be broken.

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O

EULOGY
ON THE LATE
AMOS J. CUMMINGS.

ADDRESS

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, June 29, 1902.

WASHINGTON.

1902.

ADDRESS
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended in order that an opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. AMOS J. CUMMINGS, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of New York.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his eminent abilities as a distinguished public servant, the House, at the conclusion of the memorial proceedings of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk be, and he is hereby, instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The recent sad and untimely death, in the city of Baltimore, of our lamented colleague, AMOS J. CUMMINGS, was a grievous blow to his sorrowing and bereaved family, a terrible affliction to his innumerable friends in every walk of life throughout the entire land, and an irreparable loss to the country which he loved so well and for so many years served so faithfully.

For a long time, sir, I knew Mr. CUMMINGS intimately and personally, and I loved him with an affectionate regard like unto that of a brother. We had for years been warm friends socially and politically, and his unfortunate death affected me with an inexpressible and poignant grief. Sometimes I can hardly realize that dear old AMOS, as we loved to call him, is with us no more; that he is gone—forever. But the sadness of his taking off teaches us that life, after all, is fleeting and transitory, and that one by one we pass away and beyond—over to the great majority—to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns. Life here at most is but a day—from dawn to darkness. Let us, then, on this solemn occasion resolve so to live that when the inevitable summons shall come we will be prepared and answer, "Ready."

So live that when thy summons comes to join
 The innumerable caravan which moves
 To that mysterious realm where each shall take
 His chamber in the silent halls of death
 Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night,
 Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed
 By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave
 Like one that wraps the drapery of his couch
 About him and lies down to pleasant dreams.

Mr. Speaker, AMOS J. CUMMINGS was a man of brain and brawn—a true type of ideal American manhood. He was no ordinary man, he had no counterpart, he was *sui generis*. He had a genial nature, a companionable disposition, a sunshiny manner, a happy faculty of making others happy, and withal a lovable character. He was a child of our free institutions, eminently a self-made man, and the true architect of his own career. He was the friend of the rank and file, a sincere believer in the principles of Thomas Jefferson, and a Democrat in its broadest and most liberal sense. He loved the Union, gloried in the greatness of the flag, and was the eloquent friend of the soldier. He was a typesetter, a writer of ability, a man of parts, a true poet, and a lover of nature. He was a soldier, a pioneer, and a statesman, generous to a fault—a kindly, loyal, noble-hearted man upon whose like we shall not look again. His name was a household word in our land and, beyond doubt, he was one of the best-known men in our country.

He knew men and he was familiar with books. He was an industrious student, an untiring worker. He had, in the highest sense, journalistic talent, a quick sense of humor, a searching insight into truth, and a zest for news. He had a graphic style, an imaginative mind, and indefatigable energy. He saw things in their true light and his comprehensive mind grasped them and pictured them in a way that was as felicitous as it was original. In his death the press of the country lost a shining light and literature an ornament. If he had remained exclusively in the newspaper field, he would have stood at the head of the profession and long ago have been the editor of a great metropolitan daily, with all its honors and emoluments. But he liked public life and wanted to help his fellow-man. His record in Congress is familiar to us all, and it is an honest, noble, patriotic record that all his friends can now and ever hereafter point to with pride. It will

be his most lasting monument, more enduring than marble or brass. But he will live, too, in the memory of his friends, of those who really knew him, of those who loved him, of the thousands whom he helped and benefited while living, of those he cared for, of the people whose servant he was, of humanity which he loved and for which he struggled all his life to raise to a higher plane and push forward a step in the onward march of civilization. These will not forget him; they will keep his memory green in thankful hearts and fond recollections forever and a day.

When gratitude o'erflows the swelling heart
 And breathes in free and uncorrupted praise
 For benefits received, propitious heaven
 Takes such acknowledgment as fragrant incense
 And doubles all its blessings.

Mr. CUMMINGS was one of the most delightful companions I ever knew, a raconteur, a genial friend, and an accomplished conversationalist. He was a man of infinite jest, and his spontaneous wit bubbled over. He could talk as entertainingly as he could write interestingly; but his heart was always with the poor and afflicted. He never failed to aid them and to comfort them. He knew the good old rule that one can only be happy by making others happy. He followed this rule. He believed in it. He did good for the sake of doing good. He helped thousands, sympathized with the oppressed, urged the toiler onward, stood for the higher civilization, and worked incessantly to make the world better and greater and grander. Col. John A. Joyce, of this city, wrote these beautiful and poetical lines about Mr. CUMMINGS when he died:

Happy, cheerful, loyal man,
 Built upon the God-like plan;
 Always doing something good
 For his human brotherhood.
 Memory, with her magic spell,
 O'er the years shall fondly tell
 How his glorious, active mind
 Loved and wrought for all mankind.

It is indeed a beautiful stanza, a genuine tribute, sums up the life and work of Mr. CUMMINGS, and the words—grand words—should be inscribed on his tombstone and committed to memory by every friend he had. They are true of AMOS. He liked Colonel Joyce and Colonel Joyce liked him. They were boon com-

panions for many years. They frequently met here in Washington, talked over the poets, and sang the old songs that will never die. No one in this city will miss him more than dear old Colonel Joyce, unless it be William R. Smith, of the Botanical Gardens, who would say of AMOS what Bobby Burns said of Highland Mary:

But oh! fell death's untimely frost,
That nipt my flower sae early.

Mr. Speaker, AMOS J. CUMMINGS was born May 15, 1841, in Conkling, N. Y. Both his father and his grandfather were clergymen. His father was editor of the *Christian Palladium* and the *Christian Messenger*, and at 12 AMOS became an apprentice in the composing room. After gaining some experience, he left home and earned his own living as a compositor in Western and Southern cities. He often said he had set type in every State in the Union, and he never surrendered his membership ticket in Typographical Union No. 6. He remained a member of that famous type-setting union until his death.

While in Mobile in 1857 he joined the Walker expedition to take Nicaragua, which wound up in capture by the United States sloop of war *St. Mary*, now the school-ship of that name.

Upon his release he came to New York and entered the composing room of the *Tribune*. At the beginning of the war he enlisted in the Twenty-sixth New Jersey Volunteer Regiment. He became its sergeant-major, and for gallantry at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville he received a medal of honor and the thanks of Congress. He returned from the war in time to help defend the *Tribune* office when it was mobbed during the draft riots in 1863.

Horace Greeley's attention was attracted to him by his returning to the composing room early one morning and putting in type a story of a fire without a line of "copy." Mr. Greeley placed him in charge of the *Weekly Tribune* in 1864, and subsequently he held nearly every editorial position on the daily edition. In 1869 he became managing editor of the *Sun*.

His health failing in 1872, he left New York to travel, and his correspondence over the signature of "Ziska," attracted worldwide attention. In 1876 he took charge of the *New York Even-*

ing Express. He was twice president of the New York Press Club. He was elected to Congress by the Democrats in 1886. The following year he helped start the Evening Sun and became its editor. He declined a renomination to Congress in 1888, but in 1889 he was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of "Sunset" Cox, and, with a brief intermission following his defeat by Col. Richard G. Shannon, in 1894, he served continuously in Congress since 1889, representing New York districts. He was a delegate to the Democratic national conventions in 1892 and 1896.

Perhaps the most romantic period of the life of Mr. CUMMINGS relates to the time when he joined Walker in the last invasion of Nicaragua. It has not been settled in the minds of historians whether Walker was a freebooter or a patriot, but he lived a wild life, and it ended in a swift death. He had a motley, nondescript army, made up of adventurers from many countries and of all ages. CUMMINGS was then 17 years old, but had stood up against printers' cases for half a dozen years, and seen life in all parts of the United States. He often said he went with Walker because he imagined Walker was a new Napoleon, and that he (CUMMINGS) might rise to be one of his marshals. CUMMINGS, however, used to laughingly say that he never rose higher than the rank of high private.

Gen. William Walker is almost forgotten by the people of this generation, but forty-five years ago he was a conspicuous figure in the affairs of Central America and a live factor in the politics of the United States. As a filibuster Walker occupies a place in history as distinctly as any of the famous buccaneers of the last century. Walker was a young man, only 29, when he formed his scheme of conquest, and only 36 when he last saw the sun gleam along the gun barrels of his executioners.

In 1853, with a handful of men, he took possession of lower California, but was dislodged. He landed in Nicaragua with 56 men, half of whom were shot in the first battle for conquest. But he joined forces with a victorious native general, and was made commander in chief of the Nicaraguan army. Walker shot right and left, and proclaimed himself president of Nicaragua.

Several times he was captured, but always released. At last—September 12, 1860—he was tried by court-martial and shot.

Mr. CUMMINGS had for comrades on the Walker expedition Englishmen fresh from Sebastopol, Hungarians who had bled under Kossuth, red-shirted Italians who had ridden behind Garibaldi, and Indians who were descended from Toltecs and Aztecs. Mr. CUMMINGS frequently chanted, to the delight of his friends, the song of the filibusters, as follows:

How would you like a soldier's life
 On the plains of Nicara-goo?
 Marching away and fighting all day,
 Nothing to eat and as much to pay;
 We do it all for glory, they say,
 On the plains of Nicara-goo.
 Not a bit of breakfast did I see,
 And a dinner was all the same to me;
 Two fried oats and three fried rats
 Was a supper at Nicara-goo.
 Marching away and fighting all day,
 Nothing to eat and as much to pay;
 We do it all for glory, they say,
 On the plains of Nicara-goo.

To tell the story of Mr. CUMMINGS's life, so romantic and exciting in his youth, so full of interest during all his years, so active at all times, so crowded with telling work, stirring events, and crowned with so many successes and so many enduring achievements—to tell this story, I say, would fill a large book and then be incomplete.

Some day his biography will be written—written by a clever pen and with a loving heart. He was always aggressive and progressive, untiring, and enterprising. He met Napoleon's test—he did things. He had convictions and he adhered to them tenaciously. He had a mind of his own—no one owned him. He was as loyal to his principles as he was steadfast in his friendships. He had moral courage—he knew the right and he dared to do it. He never faltered in a just fight. He had the rectitude of the rocks, the consistency of the tide. His gallant nature and chivalric spirit was enlisted at all times—

For the cause that lacks assistance,
 For the wrongs that need resistance,
 For the future in the distance,
 And the good that we can do."

Mr. Speaker, AMOS J. CUMMINGS died at the zenith of his greatness, in the sere and yellow leaf, in the floodtide of his fame, in the late autumn of his active and exciting life, crowned by the glory of his many accomplishments, loved by all who knew him and by thousands and thousands who only knew of him. He had fought the good fight, he had kept the faith, he had run his course, he has gone to his eternal home and will be with us here again no more; but his memory lives and will ever abide with us and live so long as gratitude is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the human heart.

On Fame's eternal camping-ground
 His silent tent is spread,
 And Glory guards with solemn round
 The grandeur of its dead.

Tenderly and lovingly we carried him to his final resting place amid the green, the beautiful, and everlasting hills of New Jersey. There he sleeps under a magnificent mausoleum in the dreamy garden of the dead, perfumed with roses red and white, fragrant with wild flowers, and odoriferous with the breath of apple blossoms, this true American, this friend of mankind, this man who carved his own way in life from 12 to 61—this history maker and historian, this writer, orator, soldier, and statesman—he sleeps, and all his friends here and everywhere with one acclaim proclaim—AMOS, hail and farewell!

THE MILITIA BILL, AND OTHER MATTERS.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, June 30, 1902.

WASHINGTON.
1902.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11654) to promote the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This is a bill to promote the efficiency of our militia, and I am in favor of it. I have always been the friend of the volunteers; I believe in them, and I believe in the effectiveness of our citizen soldiery. This bill may not be perfect. Very little legislation is perfect; but if there are any material defects in the bill, they will soon be discovered and can be corrected hereafter. This bill has been most carefully considered, approved by the adjutant-generals of all the States, and comes to us with a unanimous report from the committee. I shall vote for it, and I do not believe the fears of some of the gentlemen who have spoken against the bill are well founded. I have given considerable study to this matter and have always been in favor of that good old Democratic doctrine enunciated by Thomas Jefferson in favor of a well-disciplined militia.

It is the best security of a free people. I am now and always have been opposed to a large regular army in time of peace in a Republic like ours. It is true, as has been said, that we have on our statute books a lot of old, antiquated, and obsolete militia laws, some of them enacted in 1792. Most of these laws are useless today, and inoperative. This bill eliminates the obsolete laws, codifies the useful laws, and brings them up to the present time, perfects them, and makes it possible for the States in this country to get Government aid and have a great body of well drilled, disciplined, and modernly equipped citizen soldiery.

If this bill becomes a law, and I hope so, it will give to the several States a national guard—a military organization armed and equipped the same as the Regular Army. The Spanish-

American war demonstrated the importance of having this done, and we should not neglect it. In this country every able-bodied citizen in time of war—when our homes are threatened by an invasion from a foreign foe—is a soldier and a good fighter. I believe in the bravery and the patriotism of the American citizen, and so long as our martial spirit lasts, and we glory in our free institutions, the Republic will be safe and endure. I hope the bill will pass.

A BILLION DOLLAR SESSION OF CONGRESS.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I shall take advantage of the time at my disposal to submit to the House a few remarks on some matters that I believe to be pertinent and of some moment to our fellow-citizens. We have been in session since the first Monday of last December. It has been indeed a long session, and it has been the most expensive session of Congress ever held in all our history. We have spent a great deal of the people's money—nearly a billion dollars. And what for? Let us see. I hold in my hand a statement of the appropriations made this session, and I ask the Clerk to read it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Appropriations of the Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.

[Omitting hundreds.]

Urgent deficiency	\$20,884,000
Pension	139,842,000
Consular and diplomatic	1,958,000
Second urgent deficiency	193,000
Post-Office	138,472,000
Third urgent deficiency	75,000
Legislative, executive, and judicial	25,398,000
Ordnance and fortifications	7,299,000
Fourth urgent deficiency	178,000
Omnibus claims bill	1,640,000
Agricultural	5,210,000
Rivers and harbors	65,108,000
Omnibus public buildings bill	19,425,000
Indian	9,080,000
Sundry civil	60,125,000
District of Columbia	8,548,000
Military Academy	2,627,000
Panama canal (one year)	189,130,000
Army	91,530,000
Navy	78,681,000
General deficiency	8,250,000
Miscellaneous	2,250,000
Permanent appropriations	123,000,000

Total

5447

998,403,000

Mr. SULZER. Now, gentlemen, that statement speaks for itself. It can not be successfully controverted. This is a Republican Congress—overwhelmingly Republican in both branches—and the Republican party must assume the responsibility for all its acts of commission and omission. The Republican party is responsible for all that has been done and all that has been left undone—for all the flagrant extravagance and abuse of power—during the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress. A billion-dollar session of Congress is an anomaly in our legislative history. I ask the taxpayers to ponder on these facts. I ask the people how long they are willing to submit to it, and all for a little cheap glory of conquest; all for a little glitter and pomp and circumstance; all for a little tinsel and tassel and gold lace? How long do you want it to last? You can answer in the coming elections. Ask yourself what has this Congress done for you—what has it done for the rank and file?

IS THE RIGHT OF PETITION FUTILE?

What has this Congress done for labor? Where are the bills which were petitioned for by millions of workingmen? Congress has been deluged with petitions more numerous than “the leaves in Valambrosa,” and all to no purpose. The Republican party has turned a deaf ear to these petitions. It has legislated either adversely on them or ignored them altogether.

No man will again be deceived by the Republicans passing a measure in the House and holding it up in the Senate, as was done with the antitrust bill in the last Congress. But this plan worked so well then that it has been tried again with the same idea of deceiving the workingmen of the country who have signed these petitions of which I speak. The eight-hour bill is a shining example, as well as the immigration bill, the letter carriers' bill, the overtime pay or excess of eight hours on Government work bill, the building of war ships in Government yards bill, and the Chinese-exclusion bill. All denied except one, the Chinese-exclusion bill, and the legislation on that subject was adverse to the true interests of American labor.

THE CHINESE BUNCO LAW.

As a matter of fact, the so-called Chinese-exclusion act is as defective, deceptive, and inefficient to accomplish the desired pur-

pose as such a piece of patchwork can be. Realizing that the exclusion law of the past ten years, just terminated, and which is now superseded by the law just enacted, was spread over a series of acts, treaty stipulations, court decisions, and Treasury regulations which required vast research in order to ascertain the exact status of any tangible feature, the American Federation of Labor representatives, together with the representatives of the California Chinese exclusion convention, drafted a bill which was a codification of all these various laws, treaties, decisions, and Treasury regulations into a comprehensive measure, so that if it had been enacted it would have presented to the Government officials as well as any student or ordinary citizen of this or any other country a comprehensive law that anyone could understand. But the wise solons of the Republican party decreed otherwise, and, whether out of antagonism or ignorance, they imposed on the country a law which, unless remedied soon by further legislation, rectifying the wrong and the shortcomings, or by the voluntary acquiescence of China, will open the mainland of the United States to the dangers of an overwhelming horde of Chinese laborers.

Under the old law, Chinese, or persons of Chinese descent, were excluded from the United States, no matter from whence they came. Under the law just passed they can be excluded only when such exclusion shall be "consistent with treaty obligations." In no way does the law designate that the exclusion shall be consistent with treaty obligations with China, and hence, while the provision is made that they shall be excluded if they come from China to the United States, or from China to the Philippine Islands, there is no provision of law against Chinese going to Hong-kong, which is under the British Government, or from China to Mexico, and coming from either of these places into the United States.

Now, sir, in view of the treaties between the United States and the Governments of Great Britain and Mexico, providing for free and unlimited coming and going of their citizens and subjects to and from the United States, and with the well-known desire on the part of Chinese laborers to come to our country and compete with American workmen, and this desire fostered and encour-

aged by the shipping and transportation companies, as well as the purpose of the Chinese Six Companies and a large number of American employers who constantly harp upon the idea of introducing into the United States a horde of cheap laborers, it is not difficult to understand the danger which threatens and confronts the workers of our country.

THE EIGHT-HOUR AND IMMIGRATION BILLS.

Mr. Speaker, so much for Republican pretensions regarding Chinese cheap labor. Now let us see what else was done for the toilers. The eight-hour and immigration bills were passed in the House for buncombe only—just like last session's antitrust bill—with no idea of allowing them, or either of them, to be enacted into statute law. All labor bills are opposed by the great trusts, which have more weight in the scale of the Republican party than the millions of signatures to petitions in favor of these bills. When the ship-subsidy bill was up, the whole argument for the millions of dollars which were asked for in that bill was based on the phrase "that they needed the money" in order to pay higher wages for American seamen.

Yet, in the worthless substitute for the Chinese-exclusion bill, which was finally passed, it has been so arranged that Chinamen can be employed on all our ships, even as sailors. The clause forbidding employment of Chinese seamen on American vessels was struck out in the Senate by a vote of 47 to 29, the petitions to the contrary notwithstanding. Millions for subsidies, millions for the trust, but not even consideration for honest labor bills and only contempt for petitions asking the poor privilege of justice for the toilers.

And as for having war ships built in Government navy-yards, the naval appropriation bill may possibly drop a crumb to the petitioners in the shape of one ship to be built in a Government yard, while in one of the trusts' yards there are now four war ships on the stocks. These petitioners I say can not be hoodwinked again by promises to enact their bills into law after the election. If there is any intention to pass them, why not pass them now? Nearly every man, woman, and child in the country knows what the eight-hour question is. It has been before Con-

gress for years, ever since 1868. Why delay action on this measure?

Is the Republican party so completely in the grasp of the trusts that these unlawful combinations can hold up all the labor bills? I assert here and now that not one of these bills will be passed by this Congress. This is a serious matter and I challenge the Republican majority to allow one of these bills to be voted on before they close the session. We Democrats will vote against any resolution to adjourn unless you pass some of these bills.

This so-called shipping trust is holding up Congress this very moment and demands the expenditure of \$40,000,000 for Government work in their yards, and necessarily at their prices, when the Government has yards of its own and can build its own ships and employ American workmen on their construction and can man them with American seamen when they are built. But, as I have said before, it is my belief that no action will be taken at this time; no matter how numerous the workingmen's petitions pour into Congress they will be either ignored or legislated on adversely, as was the case with the Chinese-exclusion bill. Workingmen, you have asked for bread and the Republican party has given you a stone. But the remedy is in your own hands. What is it? The ballot. If you want your rights, vote against the party of trickery and chicanery, the party that has deceived you over and over again.

THE BILL TO ESTABLISH A DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Mr. Speaker, a few words now in regard to another matter I deem of some moment. It relates to the bill I introduced to establish a department of labor, with a Cabinet officer to be known as the secretary of labor, and is intended to meet an urgent need of the times in our industrial and governmental affairs.

In times past the governments of the world were largely occupied with war and diplomacy, hence a war department, a navy department, and a state department were essential features of every government.

We are now in the beginning of a new era in the world's history, when industry and commerce, instead of war and diplomacy, are to be the chief subjects occupying the attention of governments. For this reason and in order that the Government of the

United States may be prepared to deal properly with these new and changed conditions, I have introduced two bills, one to provide for a department of labor and another providing for a department of commerce.

The need for a department of labor on the lines provided in my bill is clear to every citizen who reads and looks with any degree of clearness on the industrial phenomena around us to-day in the United States.

After the preservation of order and the administration of justice, by far the most important duty of government to-day is to see to it that all its citizens are employed or have the opportunity to be employed at productive labor.

When any considerable number of the citizens of the country are shut out of the opportunity to labor the loss in wealth to the country is almost incalculable, and is equaled only in magnitude by the gigantic losses from great wars:

For example, the census of 1890 shows that during that year there were 1,139,000 people in enforced idleness. The census also shows that the average wealth produced per head by these workers was about \$2,000 per year. Thus the United States suffered a loss of over two and a quarter billions of dollars in a single year from the failure to secure employment of this large number of its workers. This loss shows most impressively and conclusively the urgent need of such legislation as that embodied in my Department of Labor bill.

The great labor organizations of the country appreciate more than any other class of intelligent citizens the need of such legislation, and year after year have demanded it of Congress, but without result.

The failure of all other methods of settling the great coal strike shows most emphatically the need of the arbitration and conciliation provision in section 20 of my bill. The time has come when further delay on the part of Congress to act on this legislation is inexcusable.

I have devoted much time and care in the preparation of this bill, and it should be studied by the writers on the press and every thinker in the country. It will help in a large measure, in my judgment, to solve existing and future social, economic, and

industrial problems. It will be a step in advance and in the right direction. It will protect and add dignity to labor, which creates all wealth, and do much to preserve the wealth created and conserve peace and order.

I shall keep on fighting for it, and sooner or later it will become a law, but during this session of Congress I could not get the Republicans to report it. If it had been reported it would have passed. The men who create all the wealth of this country demand the enactment into law of this bill.

The Washington Times, owned and edited by Frank A. Munsey, in a recent leading editorial commenting on this bill to establish a department of labor, said:

WORTHY OF CONSIDERATION.

The proposition of Representative SULZER for a department of labor will at least bear careful consideration. There is every reason to believe that the greatest problems of the near future will be industrial and commercial. The questions involved are intricate and most important. The material welfare of the nation depends upon the reasonable solution of the questions involved and the neglect of these questions is, as Mr. SULZER has pointed out, certain to lead to almost incalculable losses.

A popular government has the right to act in matters that concern the welfare of the nation. Some old-fashioned ideas may have to be slightly modified to meet conditions that are practically new and unprecedented. The greatest good to the greatest number is the best form of equity, and those who have watched the growth of industrial conflict can not but realize that something must be done sooner or later to prevent the growth of disorders which threaten to become chronic.

A department of labor naturally seems like a strange innovation, but it is not an illogical step in the development of a governmental system capable of coping with conditions that are the outgrowth of a complex civilization and need a corrective.

THE LETTER CARRIERS' BILL.

Now, sir, I want to state that in every Congress since I have been here a bill has been introduced for the benefit of the letter carriers. In three different Congresses—namely, the Fifty-fourth, the Fifty-fifth, and the Fifty-sixth—I had the honor of introducing such a bill myself, and I worked as hard as I could—before the committee, with members of the House, in season and out of season—continually to get a favorable report, but all in vain. I never could get the Republicans on the committee to report the bill and do justice to the deserving letter carriers of the country. Time and time again on the floor of this House have I pleaded for decent treatment for the letter carriers.

If there ever was a bill introduced in this House that ought to appeal to every member as a matter of right and justice, it is the letter carriers' bill. The bill was introduced in this Congress early in the session—to be accurate, on the 13th day of December, 1901. The Speaker referred it to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads. It is there now. It is sleeping in that committee, and it will never wake up, never come out. That is all there is to it—a most commendable bill. Why should it not be reported? Why should it be smothered in the committee? Why should it not be presented to the House and the members given an opportunity to vote for it or against it? We want a record on this bill. We want to fix responsibility, and the Republicans in this House are responsible and can not evade that responsibility.

The letter carriers' bill, now peacefully and silently slumbering in committee, has the support of over 1,450 petitions, covering nearly 2,000,000 names. One petition from New York City has on it 327,000 names. Resolutions from over 2,100 organizations, representing labor unions, boards of trade, business men's leagues, independent organizations, and fraternal associations, indorsed it. These came from all parts of the country. State legislatures, city councils, and in fact every organization of any kind, political, religious, and economic, have asked that this bill be passed, but still it sleeps. Not only that, but over 400 newspapers, daily and weekly, have supported the bill editorially. The demand that Congress take action on this bill has become general, but nothing is done. Why not? Ask the Republican members of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. Speaker, I am a friend of the letter carriers. The Government in all its service has no more honest, no more tireless, no more faithful employees. These men are the most efficient, the hardest worked in all the country's service, and the poorest paid. The letter carriers of the land are compelled to toil day in and day out, in sunshine and in storm, in winter and in summer, in all kinds of weather, sometimes eighteen hours out of the twenty-four; and taking all other employees in the various departments of the Federal Government as a basis for comparison, it can not be denied that the letter carriers render the most and the hardest work for the smallest remuneration.

Now, sir, why is it when every Democrat, I believe, on this side of the House is anxious for a favorable report of this bill, is anxious to have it passed, is anxious to vote for it to make it a law, why is it, I ask, that the Republicans in this House smother the bill every session in the committee? Why is the Republican party against the letter carriers' bill? Is it because a few Republican leaders of this House are opposed to giving the letter carriers decent wages? Or is it because the Republicans are so busy legislating for monopoly that they have no time to legislate for man? And to think of it! The chairman of the committee, the gentleman from California [Mr. LOUD], has the brazen audacity to rise in his place in this House and to impudently assert that this great Government can not afford to pay the letter carriers and postal employees decent wages! And in the face of the fact that we have in the Treasury a surplus of over \$208,000,000, the largest surplus in all our history, and every dollar taken from the pockets of the taxpayers.

CUBAN RECIPROCITY.

And so, Mr. Speaker, it is the same old story all along the line—cant and hypocrisy and false pretense. Verily, verily, I say unto you, their synonym is modern Republicanism run mad. The Republicans pretended to be the friends of the Cubans, and promised them a large measure of reciprocity; but a few Republican beet-sugar Senators thwarted the will of the people and killed Cuban reciprocity in the alleged house of its supposed friends. And Cuba, our ward, can suffer, and must get along the best she can.

A FEW OTHER MATTERS.

Now, gentlemen on the Republican side of this Chamber, just a few words more and I shall conclude. Let me ask you, What has become of all your fine promises. Why have you not to some slight degree reduced the tariff tax, which robs the many for the benefit of the few? Why do you refuse to reduce exorbitant tariff taxation on trust-made goods, which are sold cheaper in Europe than in this country? Be candid, my Republican friends. Democrats have introduced bills to do this.

Why have you killed these good bills in the committee? Will not some Republican answer? I pause for the reply. No answer.

Well; I will tell you. It is because your party—the Republican party—the grand old humbug party—is owned and controlled by the trusts of the country, and I say here and now, without fear of successful contradiction, that so long as the Republicans are in power the trusts will be secure and will flourish like a green bay tree.

What has become of the resolution to amend the Constitution to elect Senators in Congress by a direct vote of the people? It passed this House early in the session—the vote was nearly unanimous. What has become of it, gentlemen? I will tell you. Killed as usual by a few Republican trust Senators sent to the other branch of Congress to look after special interests—killed by them notwithstanding the millions of petitions for it and the popular demand that it be enacted into law.

I despair that this much-needed reform will ever pass the Senate, especially as that body is now constituted. What has become of the bill to abolish government by injunction? Ask of the winds, and they will whisper back, “Killed by the Republicans.” I ask the plain people of our land, How long, how long, will you submit to a betrayal of your rights by the Republicans?

THE PACIFIC TRANSPORT SERVICE.

Some time ago, sir, I introduced the following concurrent resolution:

Whereas the allegations of inadequate and scandalous conduct of the affairs of the United States transport service between San Francisco and the Philippine Islands, made by the Examiner and other leading newspapers, have been sustained by the official reports to the War Department by special War Department inspectors Col. John L. Chamberlain and Col. Marion P. Maus; and

Whereas no action commensurate with the gravity of the conditions shown to have existed has been taken by the Secretary of War: Therefore,

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the working of the transport system be investigated by a Congressional commission to consist of three members of the House and three of the Senate, which shall have power to send for persons and papers, and to make report at the next session of Congress.

What has become of this resolution? Killed in the committee by the Republicans. Why did I introduce it? Write to the Secretary of War and respectfully request him to send you a copy of the official reports of Col. John L. Chamberlain and Col. Marion P. Maus. Those reports will tell the story. I have not the time now to go into details. Suffice it for me to say, however, in the

few minutes I have left, that these reports show most conclusively that hundreds of thousands of dollars of the people's money have been wasted or stolen, or both.

No proper vouchers for Government money expended. Extravagant sums paid for repairs of the transports and to San Francisco merchants for supplies. Coal stolen and false statements made as to the amount on hand. The taxpayers' money wasted like water because the men charged with the responsibility buy the supplies in open market instead of buying by competition from the lowest responsible bidder, in accordance with custom and law.

Just let me call your attention to one item. Colonel Chamberlain says in his report that the transport *Meade* was recently purchased for \$400,000, and that since she was purchased by the Government the War Department has spent on her the sum of \$580,000 for repairs—\$180,000 more than she cost. What do you think of that? It is only a sample, however, of what is going on, and has been going on for a long time, in the Army transport service on the Pacific between San Francisco and the Philippines. And so the Republicans in Congress smothered that resolution. They did not want an investigation. Taxpayers, citizens, Americans, you know the reason why!

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

STATUES TO GENERALS PULASKI AND STEUBEN.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, July 1, 1902.

WASHINGTON.

1902.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

A bill to provide for the erection of a bronze equestrian statue to the memory of the late Brig. Gen. Count Casimir Pulaski at Washington, D. C.

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of \$50,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the purpose indicated, be, and is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended for the erection of a suitable bronze equestrian statue of the late Brig. Gen. Count Casimir Pulaski, of Poland, who came to America and, after declaring his intention to become a citizen of the Republic, offered his sword to Washington, under whose leadership in the great struggle for American independence he lost his life at the siege of Savannah, Ga., October 11, 1779.

SEC. 2. That a site for said statue shall be selected by a committee consisting of the Secretary of War, the chairmen of the Committees on the Library of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the representatives of the Polish-American organizations in the Pulaski monument movement at Washington, D. C., and that no part of the sum hereby appropriated shall be expended until a suitable site at Washington, D. C., for the erection of said equestrian statue shall have been selected.

SEC. 3. That the above-designated committee shall select and approve the model and plans for said statue and have general supervision of the erection thereof: *Provided*, That the money hereby appropriated shall be drawn upon the requisition of the Secretary of War.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to be heard on this matter. I desire to say that I am very much in favor of the passage of this bill to erect in the city of Washington an equestrian statue to the memory of Casimir Pulaski, but I understood that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BARTHOLDT] intended to offer another bill as an amendment to this bill to build a similar statue to the memory of Baron Steuben. Both of these bills have been unanimously reported by the Committee on the Library. I think they ought to go together.

It will be fitting and proper. Steuben and Pulaski were great heroes and rendered invaluable service to the American cause during the Revolutionary war. If the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BARTHOLDT] does not offer the amendment I shall, and I hope the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRICK] will accept it. If he does, I believe they will pass together unanimously. I am as much in favor of one as I am of the other. The merits of each are about the same. They fought for the same cause, under similar circumstances, and their monuments should go up together at the same time.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say a few words, and pay my humble tribute to the memory of both of these distinguished heroes of our Revolutionary struggle. It is fitting that this should be done. They both deserve to have statues in this city.

GEN. CASIMIR PULASKI.

Monuments, sir, have been erected by vote of Congress in the city of Washington to many of the great Revolutionary heroes of this country. And among those that served America in the darkest days of the Revolution Casimir Pulaski figures as one of

the most distinguished officers and martyrs. But no statue to the memory of Pulaski, his noble deeds and high-minded patriotism, appears here, although it should have been one of the first statues erected in Washington. It is a legacy bequeathed to us by the Continental Congress.

Away back in November, 1779, the Continental Congress, upon receiving notification of the death of General Pulaski through Major-General Lincoln, passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That a monument be erected to the memory of Brigadier-General Count Pulaski, and that a committee of three be appointed to bring in a resolution for that purpose.

This resolution was never acted on, and it has come to the Congress of the United States as a sacred obligation from the Continental Congress. We should act on it without further delay.

We have erected in Jackson Park, fronting the White House, a statue to General Lafayette. That statue occupies a prominent corner. On the other corner we have just unveiled a magnificent statue to General Rochambeau, and the two remaining corners of that park should be graced with the statues of General Pulaski and General Steuben. I hope this course will be followed. It would be, it seems to me, entirely proper and exceedingly consistent.

General Pulaski was born in Poland in 1747. As a mere lad he fought in his native country until its downfall, and then came to America to take up again the battle for liberty, until he fell at the siege of Savannah, on October 9, 1779. Many of his countrymen by birth have, like Pulaski, immigrated to America to make this their home, and their numbers now are in the millions. They have been asking for the erection of this statue to their countryman, and many petitions have been received by Congress, urging that some action be taken on this bill to erect to his memory a suitable statue.

He deserves it. He was a lover of mankind, a friend of human freedom, and a believer in the rights of man. He was a brave soldier, a gallant officer, and he fought at home and here for liberty. He was one of the heroes of the revolution, and he died for American independence. What he did for liberty will live forever.

He deserves this statue to perpetuate his memory among the people he helped to make free and for whom he sacrificed his life on the battlefield. It can be said of him and of his tragic death what a great poet has said of the sad death of his illustrious countryman—to paraphrase the couplet—

Hope for a season bade the patriots farewell,
And Freedom shriek'd when Pulaski fell.

GEN. FREDERICK STEUBEN.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say a few words regarding General Steuben and the bill to erect a statue to his memory. A century and a quarter have passed since Baron Steuben, as he is more frequently called, came to America and offered his services to the struggling colonists.

He was duly commissioned a general in the Revolutionary Army and rendered incalculable service during that protracted and sanguinary struggle. American history does not give him the place he is entitled to and should occupy. Our Government has done practically nothing to testify its appreciation of the great work he performed in the days that tried men's souls.

Perhaps this is because he did not assume the commanding position of other more dashing Revolutionary generals. Steuben was a soldier. He drilled and disciplined the ragged Army of the colonists. He worked behind the scenes, but the work he did was of the utmost importance, and made it possible for the Continental Army to cope with the disciplined and experienced soldiers of England and win American independence.

The career of General Steuben is a most interesting and absorbing history of an exciting life. He was born November 15, 1730, at Magdeburg, a large Prussian fortress on the Elbe. At that time his father was captain in the Prussian engineers, and when he was called to service in the Crimea the son accompanied him. In 1740 he returned with his father to Prussia. In 1744, when scarcely 14 years of age, during the war of the Austrian Succession, he was present at the siege of Prague. Thus from his earliest years Steuben was familiar with soldiers and things pertaining to war.

In the Seven Years' War so greatly did he distinguish himself that he attracted the attention of Frederick the Great, who appointed Steuben aid-de-camp on his personal staff. He was one of six talented young officers whom the King personally instructed and initiated into the most abstruse branches of military art. The distinction of being thus chosen is convincing proof of Steuben's merit and promise. With Frederick the Great neither high birth nor family influence had any weight in the selection of his military favorites; talent and fitness were the only recommendation to favor.

In 1764, having resigned from the service of Prussia, Steuben accepted the office of grand marshal of the court of the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, the honorable and responsible duties of which he discharged with great credit for some ten years. For some years the dignified tranquillity of court life furnished agreeable repose for him, tired as he was of the bivouac and the camp. But it could not satisfy his ardent and impetuous temperament or induce him to renounce the active duties from which for a season he had withdrawn. So he began to look around for a fitting opportunity to reenter active military service.

He left Europe, where he had won hard-earned distinction and fame—where if he was not opulent he had at least a sufficient competence—to serve a country engaged in an obstinate, exhausting, and hitherto unsuccessful war, where his prospects of professional advancement were by no means assured, and which offered no inducements of a pecuniary or material nature. Confident in himself, urged by high and generous motives, he determined to offer his sword to a people struggling for their rights and liberties. He made no conditions. He bargained for no reward.

Arriving at Portsmouth, N. H., on the first day of December, 1777, Steuben, on December 6, wrote to the Continental Congress a letter which is worthy of being quoted here in its entirety, as illustrating the spirit of the man. It was as follows:

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN: The honor of serving a nation engaged in defending its rights and liberties was the motive that brought me to this continent. I ask neither riches nor titles. I am come here from the remotest end of Germany, at my own expense, and have given up honorable and lucrative rank. I have made no condition with your deputies in France, nor shall I make any with you. My only ambition is to serve you as a volunteer, to deserve the confidence of your General-in-Chief, and to follow him in all his operations as I have done during seven campaigns with the King of Prussia.

Two and twenty years spent in such a school seems to give me a right of thinking myself among the number of experienced officers, and if I am possessed of the acquirements in the art of war they will be much more prized by me if I can employ them in the service of a republic such as I hope soon to see America. I should willingly purchase at the expense of my blood the honor of having my name enrolled among those of the defenders of your liberty. Your gracious acceptance will be sufficient for me, and I ask no other favor than to be received among your officers. I venture to hope that you will grant this my request, and that you will be so good as to send me your orders to Boston, where I shall await them and take suitable measures in accordance.

In a letter to Washington, of the same date, he said:

SIR: The inclosed copy of a letter, the original of which I shall have the honor to present to Your Excellency, will inform you of the motives that brought me over to this land. I shall only add to it that the object of my greatest ambition is to render the country all the service in my power, and to deserve the title of a citizen of America by fighting for the cause of your liberty. If the distinguished ranks in which I have service in Europe should be an obstacle, I had rather serve under Your Excellency as a volunteer than to be an object of discontent to such deserving officers as have already distinguished themselves among you.

Such being the sentiments I have always professed, I dare hope that the respectable Congress of the United States of America will accept my services. I could say, moreover, were it not for the fear of offending your modesty, that Your Excellency is the only person under whom, after having served the King of Prussia, I could wish to follow a profession to the study of which I have wholly devoted myself. I intend to go to Boston in a few days, where I shall present my letters to Mr. Hancock, member of Congress, and there I shall await Your Excellency's orders.

At Boston Steuben was entertained by John Hancock, who had just retired from the presidency of the Continental Congress, and here, after waiting five weeks, he received Washington's answer to his letter. It advised him to report at once to Congress, then sitting at York, Pa., since it belonged exclusively to that body to enter into negotiations with him.

The fame of Steuben had preceded him to York and he was cordially received by Congress. A committee of three members was appointed to confer with him and ascertain the conditions on which he was willing to serve the United States, and whether he had made any arrangements with the American deputies in France.

He said that he had made no agreement with them, nor was it his intention to accept any rank or pay; that he wished to join the Army as a volunteer, and to render such services as the Commander in Chief should think him capable of. The Continental Congress, through its president, Mr. Laurens, accepted his generous proposition and directed him to report to General Washington at Valley Forge. Here Steuben began a work the value of which can scarcely be overestimated.

He made the patriotic army a disciplined and effective force—the drilled corps that ultimately won the war for freedom. He worked incessantly to do this under the greatest difficulties and most adverse circumstances, but he succeeded, and the credit for it is all his own. American history some day will do him full justice and give him a high place in our temple of fame.

On the 30th of April, 1778, about six weeks after Steuben had commenced his active duties, Washington made the following report to Congress:

The extensive ill consequences arising from a want of uniformity in discipline and maneuvers throughout the Army have long occasioned me to wish for the establishment of a well-organized inspectorship, and the concurrence of Congress in the same views has induced me to set on foot a temporary institution, which, from the success which has hitherto attended it, gives me the most flattering expectations.

Baron Steuben's length of service in the first military school of Europe

The people demand publicity regarding the Trusts. The Republicans talk in favor of publicity but vote against it. The Democrats vote as they talk. The record speaks for itself.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK.
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
January 17, 1903.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I now offer the amendment which I ask the Clerk to read. I propose that it come in as section 6.

Mr. CORLISS. I make the point that the sixth section has not yet been read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that section 6 has not yet been read.

Mr. SULZER. This is designed to follow section 5.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the gentleman offers it as a new section.

Mr. SULZER. Yes, sir.

The Clerk proceeded to read the following amendment proposed by Mr. SULZER:

SEC. 6. That there shall be established in the department of commerce and labor a bureau called the bureau of corporations, and a chief of said bureau, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive a salary of \$4,000 per annum. There shall also be in said bureau one chief clerk and one auditor and such number of examiners as shall be needed to carry out the purposes of this act. Said auditor and examiners shall be expert accountants, and shall be paid salary and necessary expenses. There shall also be such other clerical assistants as may from time to time be authorized by Congress. It shall be the province and duty of said bureau of corporations, under the direction of the secretary of commerce and labor, to inspect and examine all corporations engaged in interstate or foreign commerce by gathering, compiling, publishing, and supplying all available and useful information concerning such corporations, including the manner in which their business is conducted, and by such other methods and means as may be prescribed by the said secretary.

Every corporation governed by this act shall make annual reports in writing to the said auditor of said bureau, and such report shall in all cases include:

(a) Capital authorized and issued; the amount paid up in cash or otherwise, with a statement of the method of paying where it is not in cash.

(b) Debts, including details as to the amount thereof and security given therefor, if any.

(c) Obligations due from officers, which shall be separately stated.

(d) A statement of assets and the method of valuing the same, whether at cost price, by appraisal, or otherwise, and of the allowance made for depreciation. Small items of personal property included in a plant may be described by the term "sundries" or like general term.

(e) Gross earnings for the period covered by the report, all deductions necessary for interest, taxes, and expense of all sorts, the surplus available for dividends, and dividends actually declared.

(f) Increase of assets since the last statement, with a showing in what way such increase has been secured.

(g) The names and addresses of stockholders, with the number of shares held by each at the date of the report.

(h) The amount of stock disposed of and the amount of property taken for stock sold since the last report, with all facts necessary to show the results of the transaction.

(i) A statement showing that the corporation in question has not, during the period covered by the said report, received any rebates, drawbacks, special rates or discriminations, advantages or preferences, by money pay-

ments or otherwise, from any railroad, pipe line, water carrier, or other transportation company, or if any such have been received or given, stating when, from whom, on what account, and in what manner they were so received, with all other details necessary to a full understanding of the transaction or transactions.

(j) The names and addresses of all officers; location of transfer or registry offices, wherever located.

(k) A statement that the corporation has not fixed prices, or done any other act with a view to restricting trade or driving any competitor out of business.

(l) A statement that the corporation is or is not a party to any contract, combination, or conspiracy in the form of trust or otherwise in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or Territories or with foreign nations.

(m) A statement of the proportion of goods going into interstate commerce.

That it shall be the duty of the auditor to prescribe the form of the reports before mentioned. He may in his discretion require additional reports at any time when he may see fit, upon reasonable notice; but his determination shall be prima facie proof that the notice is reasonable. He may also require supplemental reports whenever, in his judgment, the report rendered is in any particular or particulars insufficient, evasive, or ambiguous. He may prescribe rules so as to avoid undue detail in making reports, but no detail of the business of the corporation shall be considered private so as to be exempt from the examination of the auditor whenever he may demand report thereon. He shall make public in his reports, which shall be issued annually, all the information contained in the reports so made to him. When a report has been made by a corporation, and, with all supplemental and additional reports required by the auditor, shall have been approved by him, the corporation making such report or reports shall publish the same in a daily newspaper, after the usual custom in such cases, with the auditor's minutes of approval, and shall file with the auditor proof of such publication by the publisher's certificate.

That if any corporation shall fail to make a report when required, either by the terms of this act or when required by the auditor, as herein provided, said corporation shall be fined not less than 1 per cent or not more than 10 per cent of its last annual gross earnings for each offense. Every day of failure after a written demand has been made by the auditor shall constitute a separate and distinct offense. In case of failure, also, each of the directors of the said corporation shall be ineligible, for the year succeeding the next annual meeting, to hold either directorship or any other office in the said corporation. If such report is false in any material respect, the corporation shall be fined not less than 2 per cent and not more than 20 per cent of its last annual gross earnings, and each false statement in any material matter shall constitute a separate offense. All fines and penalties imposed by this act shall be recovered or enforced in any court of competent jurisdiction.

That it shall be the duty of examiners, under the direction of the auditor, to make examinations of any corporation governed by this act. Any of said examiners presenting his official credentials shall be furnished by the officers of the corporation every facility for complete and full examination, not only of the books, but of all property, records, or papers of the corporation which may be necessary, in the judgment of the examiner, for a complete knowledge of the affairs of the concern. Such examinations shall not be at fixed periods, but shall be at such times as the auditor shall fix and without notice. Examiners shall have the power to examine under oath all officers or employees of a corporation, or any other persons having any knowledge of its affairs, and to send for, demand, and inspect books, papers, and any other matter of evidence whatever which is in the possession or control of the said corporation. For the purpose of this act examiners shall have power to require, by subpoena, the attendance and testimony of witnesses under oath and the production of all books, papers, contracts, agreements, and documents relating to any matter under investigation. Such attendance of witnesses and the production of such documentary evidence may be required from any place in the United States at any designated place of hearing. And in case of disobedience to a subpoena the examiner may invoke the aid of any court of the United States in requiring such attendance.

And any of the circuit courts of the United States within the jurisdiction of which such inquiry is carried on may, in case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena issued to any corporation subject to the provisions of this act, or other person, issue an order requiring such corporation or other person to appear before said examiner and produce books and papers, if so ordered, and give evidence touching the matter in question; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof. The claim that any such testimony or evidence may tend to criminate the person giving such evidence or testimony shall not be used against such person on the trial of any criminal proceeding. The auditor shall like-

wise have all the authority of an examiner in any case wherein he chooses himself to act. No examiner shall be assigned to examine any corporation who is himself interested in the business thereof, or any competing concern, or who has relatives who are so interested.

That it shall be unlawful for an examiner to divulge private business, except by his report to the auditor. But such report, or the substance thereof, shall be opened for public inspection. Each examiner shall follow the rules, regulations, and directions which the auditor may from time to time lay down or communicate to him as to the method of examination, the form of report, the matters to be covered by the said examination, and all matters pertaining to his duties. Said examinations and reports shall always cover, among others, the following questions:

(a) Has the said corporation, during the period covered by the examination and report, received any rebates, drawbacks, special rates, or other discriminations, advantages, or preferences, by money payments or otherwise, from any railroad, pipe line, water carrier, or other transportation company?

(b) If there have been such preferences, when were they received, from whom, on what account, and in what manner, giving all details necessary to a full understanding of the transaction?

(c) Is the said corporation a member of any combination having or intending to secure a monopoly of any commodity other than such monopolies as are legally granted by patent or otherwise?

(d) Has the said corporation any such monopoly, or does it use methods tending to secure such monopoly?

(e) Has it made any contracts or agreements tending to secure any such monopoly to itself or any other concern, whether owned by an individual or individuals, a corporation, or some combination of individuals and corporations?

(f) Is such corporation a party to any contract, agreement, or combination, in the form of a trust or otherwise, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations?

(g) Has the corporation purchased or does it hold the stock of any corporation for the purpose of controlling its management?

Said reports of examiners shall be prima facie true and may be introduced in evidence in all courts to prove the facts therein set forth. Copies certified by the auditor shall be admissible with like effect and under the same circumstances as the original. The word "corporation" wherever used in this act shall be deemed to include associations existing or authorized either by the law of the United States, the laws of any State, or the laws of any foreign country.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, regarding this amendment I want to say that on the 2d day of May, 1902, I introduced in this House a bill to establish a department of commerce, and the amendment just read is section 5 of that bill. The bill was referred to and considered by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I appeared before that committee in favor of my bill to establish a department of commerce, and so did a number of distinguished gentlemen representing commercial bodies, labor organizations, the American Anti-Trust League, and other associations which are in favor of publicity in regard to the great trusts of our land.

All of these gentlemen advocated my bill or the incorporation in the department of commerce bill of a provision similar to the amendment just offered by me. The committee did not see fit to do that. They left it out of the bill they reported and now before the House. I simply ask at this time to have that amendment read, so that every member and the country may understand it. I ask now unanimous consent to have it considered as pending, so that the members of the House may have an opportunity to read it in the RECORD to-morrow.

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Chairman, that goes into the RECORD.

Mr. SULZER. I know it does, but I want it pending for a time to give members a chance to read and study it.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman asked to have it be considered as pending.

Mr. SULZER. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as pending, so that members can read it in the RECORD and vote on it intelligently.

The CHAIRMAN. To be voted upon after the reading of the bill is concluded?

Mr. SULZER. Yes; that is my request.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Chair state the request. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that the amendment which he has offered may be considered as pending, to be voted upon when the reading of the bill is concluded. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, to what portion of the bill is the amendment offered?

The CHAIRMAN. It is offered as a separate section.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman can offer his amendment at the proper place at any time, if he is in his seat, I object to the request.

Mr. SULZER. I only ask it in order to give every member an opportunity to familiarize himself with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Objection is made. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, one moment; has my time expired?

The CHAIRMAN. It has not.

Mr. SULZER. Then, Mr. Chairman, I desire to state briefly that this amendment brings before the House, as clearly and as positively as any proposition can, the question of whether the members of this House are in favor of publicity regarding the trusts or not. If we are sincerely in favor of publicity regarding the trusts we can not, it seems to me, object to this amendment. If we want publicity we can not object to the establishment of this bureau of corporations in the department of commerce and labor, for it is something which will create publicity and secure the information the Attorney-General says he wants in order to enforce the antitrust laws.

In my opinion it is the best plan for publicity yet devised, and will secure the information that every citizen wants regarding the conduct and the management of the great trusts of our country, and go far, in my judgment, to prevent the trusts from violating or evading the law now on the statute books against trusts and monopolies. It has been stated by those more competent to judge perhaps than myself that if this amendment were a law no trust in this country, no corporation, no monopoly, would or could violate the law.

Besides, it would secure all the information desired, and if the laws were violated the Attorney-General would have officially the facts to proceed forthwith and punish such violations. It would prevent the excuse now offered by the Department of Justice.

I think this amendment ought to be adopted. It will be if those who oppose trusts and monopolies and want publicity regarding them, so that the truth shall be known, vote for it. So I offered this amendment to find out and have the country know the names of the members who are sincerely in favor of publicity and who are not. Let the record tell. Now is the time to stand by your professions and live up to your promises. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, the report of the bill from the committee provides for a bureau of corporations for the very purpose of providing an executive agency on publicity. Probably this side of the House would not always feel disposed to accept

the language arranged by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] in reference to the method of obtaining publicity.

Very likely the other side of the House will accept the leadership of the gentleman from New York on this question. If so, we shall be content, but the committee which reported the bill has been rather inclined to await the report of the gentlemen from the Judiciary Committee, from both sides of the House, who are engaged in endeavoring to find a proper solution of the method of publicity. There is no disposition on the part of the committee which reported the bill, no disposition on the part of this House, to refuse proper legislation to effect publicity, but, with all due respect to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER], I trust that we may be forgiven if we do not always adopt his views upon this subject.

Mr. HENRY C. SMITH. The section to which the gentleman refers as creating this bureau of corporations, I take it, is section 7?

Mr. MANN. Section 7.

Mr. HENRY C. SMITH. I would ask the gentleman's construction as to what powers such a bureau would have. I have read the section hastily and it seemed to me that it did not give the bureau very much, if any, power to get the information.

Mr. SULZER. That is quite true.

Mr. MANN. There is no doubt whatever, Mr. Chairman, that section 7, as it reads in the bill, will not confer upon the bureau of corporations the power to compel the giving of information, and in that respect it might be said to be defective and clearly would be defective if it were not the purpose to follow it up with additional legislation; but we all know that the members of this House and the members of this Congress are proposing to have additional legislation, and if this bill becomes a law and this bureau of corporations is created, undoubtedly there will be conferred either upon the bureau itself or upon the department the necessary powers to carry out the idea for which the bureau is created.

If it is the preference of the House to take the suggestions—admirable in their nature, but more or less crude in the drawing of the language—of the gentleman from New York, very good; but I should prefer that the House should have the information which comes from the distinguished Judiciary Committee of this House, which intends, as I understand, to report some kind of a bill to the House covering ground like this.

Mr. SULZER. Oh, yes; they will doubtless report a bill some time, some how, some way, and too late in the closing days of this session of Congress ever to pass before we adjourn. You may pass some kind of a bill through the House only to die in the Senate. It is the old, old story.

Mr. THAYER. Mr. Chairman, I have been waiting in this House for three years to see what action would be taken that would amount to anything to clip the wings of the trusts, and it is immaterial to me whom I am following if the road is clear, whether it be the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] or the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN]. I am here to help do something to curtail the increasing power of the trusts, and it is immaterial to me who leads in this, to my mind, good work.

Here is an amendment which proposes some practical legislation to make public the acts and doings of the great trusts and combines of this country, and the gentleman from Chicago [Mr. MANN] fails entirely to point out in this amendment anything

which he thinks even is obnoxious, or is not in accordance with his views. He simply wishes to put off the matter to a more convenient time. It is the same old plea. We have been told, from the President of the United States down, that something should be done to make public the conduct of the trusts. Publicity is the great question which the public is demanding to-day of these corporations. Now, if the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] can not find any fault with this amendment, if he is simply waiting for something better, why not point out what is wrong in this bill, which is specific, directing, and comprehensive? We are confronted with the proposition now whether we shall do something or continue to do nothing, as we have for the last three years. Let us not dodge or evade our responsibility. The country is looking and waiting to see if we will keep our promises and do something to give publicity to the working of the trusts.

Mr. MANN. The gentleman will pardon me for saying that while it possibly is negligence on my part, I never have read the proposition of the gentleman from New York. It may be heavenly for aught I know. It may be perfect; but I should prefer to have it presented to the House in such a way that it can be properly considered by the committee.

Mr. THAYER. Unless the gentleman from Illinois is deaf, he must have heard the reading of it, line by line and word by word, with the last ten minutes.

Mr. MANN. Well, I am not as smart as the gentleman from Massachusetts, if he can understand it from hearing it read.

Mr. THAYER. I hope the opportunity will be granted for gentlemen of this House to discuss and analyze this amendment. I think it comes nearer to the bull's-eye than anything that has been presented. I had occasion to vote with the majority of this House for a constitutional amendment in the last Congress which it was never intended should be passed by the coordinate branch at the other end of this building and which I had very grave doubts about our right to pass; but I want to do something while I am a member of this House or help others in doing something that will make public the acts of the trusts, a proposition which all parties agree is needed, and something that will in some measure satisfy the public. This amendment provides for the very thing we have been discussing here for the last four years. The opportunity is now here. Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation for those who do not believe in permitting these trusts to go on in the way they have been going.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to say just a few words more. In discussing this amendment after it was offered the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN] said it was crude. That is the word I believe he used. Subsequently, in answer to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. THAYER], the gentleman from Illinois said he never read the amendment, that he had not heard it read, that he knew nothing whatever about it. It seems to me, sir, it comes, with very bad grace for the gentleman from Illinois to characterize an amendment as crude that he has never read and never heard read. But it is characteristic of the gentleman, and shows how much reliance should be given his speech.

And yet, Mr. Chairman, this amendment has been pending before his committee ever since the 2d day of last May. And further, sir, he was present in the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce when a delegation of the distinguished and representative gentlemen with myself went before his committee

and urged a favorable report on my bill, or at least the incorporation of this amendment, being section 5 in my bill, in a bill creating a department of commerce. He heard every word of that discussion. He asked questions of the gentlemen on that occasion. That discussion is printed. Any member can get a copy of it. It is a part of the records of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on this bill.

It is too late for him now to say that he never read, or heard read, the amendment. In my opinion, he knows all about it, or he would not now oppose it so tenaciously. But if he says it is crude, let me say to him that it has been submitted to some of the greatest lawyers in all this land—lawyers not employed by the trusts—and to men who have studied this trust question, not in the interest of the trusts, but in the interests of all the people, and they have all approved it. They say it will absolutely establish publicity, and do it in the only logical and legal way.

Again, sir, this amendment has been favorably passed on by the labor organizations, by the American Anti-Trust League, by leading thinkers and political economists, and by the honest folk of the land who are earnestly and honestly and fearlessly opposed to trusts and monopolies. The independent press of the country ask for publicity. In editorial after editorial they favor this amendment. The President asks for publicity. The Democrats ask for publicity and will vote to a man for this amendment. The people of the land, from one end of it to the other, demand publicity. The Republicans—that is, a few Republicans—say they want publicity; they say it, but they are afraid to vote for publicity. [Applause.]

The Republicans say they are going to give the people publicity as to the trusts some time, some way, somehow; but the days are going on. This Congress will adjourn on the 4th of next March. The time, gentlemen, is short, and I undertake to say that if this amendment is not adopted now, if it is not put in this bill and kept there, that there will be no antitrust legislation, no law for publicity passed during this session of Congress. The President, the Attorney-General, and all of the distinguished Republicans, including my friend from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD], will keep on talking against the trusts, but they will do nothing against them.

The people will not and can not be deceived much longer in this matter. The record here to-day on this amendment will tell the tale. It will show whether the Republicans or the Democrats are sincere. It will tell the world who is for and who is against publicity—who are the friends of the trusts and who are the enemies of monopoly. An ounce of performance is worth a ton of promise. If gentlemen on the other side are sincerely in favor of what the people want, if they favor publicity, you will give the people this ounce of performance to-day, and in my judgment it will truly establish publicity and go far to do away with trust evils.

With publicity—like a searchlight, exposing to public view every violation of law—the trusts and monopolies would hesitate a long time ere they violated the law; and if the Attorney-General promptly enforced the law against them, violations of law would soon cease entirely. But the Attorney-General says substantially in his Pittsburg speech that he can not enforce the law against the trusts because he can not get the evidence of violations of law. Make this amendment a law as a part of this bill and the

Attorney-General will have no difficulty in getting the facts—the evidence—to successfully prosecute every trust that is violating the law.

The law now on the statute books against trusts is clear and plain, and the highest court in the land has passed on its validity and sustained the constitutionality of its provisions. The anti-trust act of 1890 declares that every contract or combination in the nature of a trust in restraint of trade and commerce among the several States and Territories or with foreign nations is a conspiracy, illegal and void, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Under this antitrust act it seems to me every trust in the United States can be prosecuted for violation of law, the charter annulled, and the men behind it punished for conspiracy. Every trust by its very nature is in restraint of trade and commerce and in violation of this law.

If you will read the antitrust act of 1890 and the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the trans-Missouri freight case and the Addyston Pipe Line case, the conclusion will be irresistible to the logical mind that the fault is not so much with the law as it is with the men who are sworn to enforce the law.

In my opinion—and I say so advisedly—the Department of Justice under the present law can institute and successfully maintain actions against every trust doing business in the United States. The law is clear and plain, and the facts are within the knowledge of all.

Now, adopt this amendment offered by me for publicity regarding the trusts and monopolies, make it a part of this bill, so that it will soon be a law, and the Attorney-General will get all the facts he wants, and official facts that will be evidence sufficient to prosecute and sufficient to win every case against every trust violating the law. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the yeas seemed to have it.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

The committee divided; and there were—ayes 63, yeas 88.

Mr. SULZER. I ask for tellers, Mr. Chairman.

Tellers were ordered.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will appoint as tellers the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN].

The committee again divided, and the tellers reported—ayes 75, yeas 90.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I desire now to say one thing. All the Republicans voted against this amendment for publicity and all the Democrats voted for it. That tells the story and the whole story. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY QUESTION.

WE MUST NOT SURRENDER AN INCH OF OUR TERRITORY.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 20, 1903.



WASHINGTON.

1903.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 16842) making appropriations for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I move to strike out the last word. I want the floor for a few moments. I was very much interested, Mr. Chairman, in listening to the remarks of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. COCHRAN] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] a little while ago regarding the Alaskan boundary. The gentleman from Missouri substantially charged that the Administration was surrendering, or intended to surrender, American territory in Alaska to the Canadian government. He submitted facts to prove this that seem to me to be conclusive; but it needed no proof from him and no eloquent words to demonstrate that to me.

I have been to Alaska several times. I have been over this boundary line. I have talked to people there who know, and I say without fear of successful contradiction that since gold was discovered in the Klondyke the Northwest Mounted Police, acting, we must assume, for the Canadian government, have moved the boundary monuments that the Russians set up years ago, marking the boundary line of the territory that Russia ceded to the United States under the treaty, miles and miles nearer the Pacific Ocean and more and more on American territory. If anyone here doubts it, let me say that there are several people in Washington at this time from Alaska who can give unimpeachable testimony to the fact.

There is no doubt the original boundary line between Canada and southeastern Alaska has been changed by the Canadians during the past few years. What does the gentleman from Iowa say in regard to the allegations made by the gentleman from Missouri? He says, as I understand it, that some time ago, some way, somehow, away back in 1844, an Administration gave up 54° 40'. That was wrong; but two wrongs do not make a right. That surrender is no reason why we should surrender now. No man in this country has ever deprecated the surrender of "fifty-four forty or fight" more than myself. We should have stood by the verdict of the people then. I have traveled some in the great Northwest. I know to some degree what we lost there.

It is one of the grandest countries in all the world—rich beyond the dreams of avarice—a country that can support a population of 50,000,000 people; a country rich in agricultural resources, rich in timber and rich in untold mineral wealth. I am sorry shortsighted statesmanship lost it to us years ago. It was a crime against us and against generations yet unborn. But those in authority did

not know then what we know now. One of the greatest Secretaries of State we ever had—a myriad-minded man, a patriot—Daniel Webster, made the surrender of all the territory from the forty-ninth parallel to the fifty-fourth parallel of latitude westward from the Lake of the Woods because he did not know. He knew all about Massachusetts, but very little about the great Northwest, and when I say that I mean the great Northwest of Canada; but because he then surrendered this territory to Great Britain, because he thought it more or less valueless, that is no reason why the present Secretary of State should surrender an inch of Alaskan territory to Great Britain now. We must maintain our rights in Alaska. We must not give up or let go a rod of American soil there.

Let me say that one of the schemes involved in this alleged boundary dispute is simply this: The Canadian government—and by that I mean, of course, Great Britain—has no port of entry on the Pacific Ocean to the Klondike and to the great Yukon territory. The Canadians want a port of entry on the Lynn Canal, near Skagway or near Dyea, so they can take their goods, wares, and merchandise through without duty. That is what they want. And to accomplish it they have moved the boundary line at Telegraph Creek on the Stikine River several miles westward on American territory, and they have moved the boundary line at Skagway and at Dyea several miles westward on American territory. There is no doubt about this. Witnesses living can testify to it. The Canadian maps will show it. Everybody in Alaska knows it. The boundary line must be put back where it belongs.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that my time be extended. I desire to make this matter plain to the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that his time be extended. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SULZER. I thank the House. Now, sir, if it had not been for patriotic American citizens at Skagway a few years ago the Northwest Mounted Police, acting under instructions, no doubt, from the Canadian government, would have taken Skagway and raised the British flag over our custom-house there. They moved their line within a few miles of Skagway, destroyed the Russian monuments, and raised the British flag. Then it was that our loyal American citizens in Skagway, at Dyea, and in Sitka began to arm, and notified the Northwest Mounted Police that if they moved one foot farther on American soil there would be war in the great Northwest, and such a war as brave American citizens would fight who know their rights and dare maintain them.

The Northwest Mounted Police stopped, and fortunately for them they did, and the customs flag of the Canadian government has remained there, but it must go back to the original line. The feeling at that time in Alaska was so intense regarding this matter that the Secretary of State and the ambassador of the United States to Great Britain entered into an agreement with the British foreign office, or, more particularly speaking, into what is known as the "modus vivendi." The Secretary of State agreed to that, and from that day to this, under the modus vivendi, every-

thing is supposed to be in statu quo—supposed to be suspended—suspended like Mahomet's coffin, somewhere between heaven and earth. Where it is and what it is nobody who is somebody seems to know, but it appears to be enough to put us all to sleep. We must not sleep, however. If the Americans are not alert, if they are not vigilant, if we do not maintain our rights, I say it is only a question of time when the Canadian government will creep on a little more and more until it will get a port of entry on the Lynn Canal.

The Canadian government is willing, and nobody knows it better than the gentlemen on the Joint High Commission between the United States and Canada, to concede to the United States practically everything in dispute regarding our fisheries, commercial matters, and all other things in dispute, provided the Government of the United States will give the Canadian government a port of entry in Alaska. They are willing to take Dyea, an abandoned town on the Lynn Canal, where all the houses stand empty to-day, mute witnesses of its desertion, as a port of entry—anything in fact so long as they can get a port on the Pacific in Alaska. When the Yukon and White Pass Railroad was built, Skagway became the western terminal and the port of entry to the Yukon, and Dyea, just across the canal, was abandoned and deserted.

The Canadian scheme of pushing through United States territory to an outlet on the Pacific Ocean may lead some day to serious results. "Fifty-four forty or fight" is not yet dead. It may be the shibboleth of another great political campaign, and no back down.

The Alaskan boundary question is brought up again and again by reports that Canadian officers have removed established monuments. There should be no Alaskan boundary question at all. The boundary line was settled absolutely in the treaties between Great Britain and Russia, and Russia and the United States; and it was not disputed for nearly seventy-five years. We bought certain territory which it was conceded that Russia owned and we paid for it; and no United States official should ever have dared to treat the matter as open to doubt or discussion.

The claim set up by Canada, through Great Britain, is a barefaced fraud; the controversy on the matter was a piece of unspeakable folly on our part; and the adoption of the *modus vivendi* was the first step in some mysterious scheme which may mean the loss of a strip of our Pacific coast line. Great Britain never had any title to the Pacific coast, but she succeeded in bullying us out of that part of it known as British Columbia. I say again we should have stood by the declaration, "Fifty-four forty or fight;" but we lacked the foresight. Seward did something, all that was possible, to retrieve that weakness when he bought the whole Pacific coast northward, and day by day our diplomatists have been preparing the way for another surrender of our plain rights. President Roosevelt, we are told, means to look into this matter himself and act.

Let us hope so. Unless all estimates of his character are astray his course will be to say politely that there is no Alaska boundary question; that it was settled by treaties long ago; and that there is nothing to do but lay down the line described in the treaties.

Thomas W. Balch, in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute for March*, has made an exhaustive historical study of the Alaskan boundary, and has shown that the recent Canadian claim is en-

tirely manufactured and without the support of any treaty or any map, except those made recently in Canada as a basis for a claim to an outlet to the sea through United States territory, and for a demand for arbitration. On this demand Mr. Balch says:

“There is no more reason for the United States to allow its right to the possession of this unbroken Alaskan territory to be referred to the decision of foreign judges than would be the case if the British Empire advanced a claim to sovereignty over the coast of Georgia, or the port of Baltimore, and proposed that this demand should be referred to the judgment of subjects of third powers.

“Whether the Alaskan frontier should pass over a certain mountain top or through a given gorge is a proper subject for settlement by a mutual survey. But by no possibility has Canada any right to territory touching tide water above 54 degrees and 40 minutes. The United States should never consent to refer such a proposition to arbitration.”

And I say we never shall while we have an American in the White House.

Now, Mr. Chairman, those familiar with this subject are aware that the Canadians are willing to take Dyea as a port of entry on the Alaskan Pacific and, in substance, give us everything in dispute between the two countries. But the American people will never consent to it. The sooner Canada understands this the better. The only question in dispute to-day, I believe, that the Canadian Commissioners and the United States Commissioners can not agree on is this Alaskan boundary question. And on that we stand on our rights. We will not arbitrate, and will never back down.

The Lynn Canal is a great body of water—a magnificent arm of the Pacific Ocean—almost as large, and for strategical and commercial purposes, as important as Long Island Sound. If the Canadians could once get a port of entry there, they could take in all their goods and merchandise into the vast Yukon territory without let or hindrance. They could fortify it and bid us defiance at some critical time when we least expected it. They would then have a port on the Pacific Ocean in the great Northwest, a port that would bring them hundreds and hundreds of miles nearer the Orient than they are to-day. That is what they want, that is what they are after, and that is about the whole question involved in this boundary dispute.

Mr. HEPBURN. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. SULZER. Certainly. I always yield to my distinguished friend.

Mr. HEPBURN. Is it not entirely practicable now for a Canadian importer to take his merchandise through any port of the United States, in bond, to any port in Canada?

Mr. SULZER. Yes; to a certain extent.

Mr. HEPBURN. Then they can avoid paying duty now.

Mr. SULZER. They can and they do, and that is another thing that ought not to be permitted in Alaska. That is another thing that the Alaskans are kicking about, and if you will talk to some of the Alaskans who are here in Washington—

Mr. HEPBURN. Do they not do it in Portland, do they not do it in New York, your own city, and are the New Yorkers kicking as you say the Alaskans are?

Mr. SULZER. Let me tell you that every American citizen in

the Klondike who comes out with gold dust he has worked hard to get must pay to the Canadians a duty on it and he has got to pay a tax besides. If you went up there you would soon find out these things. The Alaskans believe in fair play. They believe that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. They believe that if the Canadians get all these rights from the United States, the citizens of the United States in the Yukon territory ought to get some rights from the Canadians. I have looked into this matter carefully and knowing the facts as I do, I say here and now that I am opposed to a surrender of 1 inch of American territory in Alaska. I want to see the Secretary of State dissolve the *modus vivendi* and the Administration speedily compel Great Britain to recognize the title and the boundary in Alaska as it came to us from Russia. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

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Mr. HEPBURN. I move to strike out the last word. Mr. Chairman, I am very glad to hear the concluding statement of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SULZER]. I am glad to find that there is at least one Democrat, a very eminent Democrat, one who speaks, I think, by authority, who certainly ought to be permitted to speak by authority, saying that he is opposed to pulling down the American flag from an inch of our territory. I am glad to know that the Democratic party is changing its attitude with regard to the Philippine Islands. I am glad to know that he approves of the course of the Administration. I am glad that he gives his adhesion, late as it is, to the policy of holding on, of civilizing, of doing something for those people in the great uplift of mankind. I am glad he is on that tenable ground. But I was sorry to hear the disparaging remarks that he made about Daniel Webster.

I knew that he would not make similar disparaging remarks about Henry Clay, because everybody recognizes the great resemblance between the gentleman from New York and the distinguished savant from Kentucky. [Laughter and applause.] But I confess I do not know exactly what he means when he speaks of Daniel Webster in the belittling way that he does, when he says that Daniel Webster did not know much out of the State of Massachusetts. I do not know whether he meant to say that Daniel Webster knew nothing or but little except those things that were intimately connected with Massachusetts, or whether he meant to say that when Daniel Webster passed the boundary line of Massachusetts his great intellect at once shrank, and that vast reservoir of information that he had been filling for so many years became of inconsiderable value.

I wish the gentleman would be a little more explicit when he has five minutes in his own time to discuss this—to discuss this subject, and tell us just how he does regard Daniel Webster, and just how his opinion as to Daniel Webster is to be affected; whether it is territorially or personally; whether it inheres in Daniel himself or in Daniel's travels. The American people would be glad to hear the gentleman re-form this opinion that he has expressed, so that they would know exactly what he did mean. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. SULZER. I move to strike out the last two words.

* * * * *

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I desire, briefly, to reply to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN]. In the first place, I want

to say that I made no reflection on the great ability and intellectuality of Daniel Webster. No man in this country respects his great name more than I do. But what I did say, and what I meant to say, and what I want everybody to distinctly understand I did say, was this: That Daniel Webster knew nothing about the vast domain in the great Northwest. Neither did others of his day, and even later—much later. Read Benjamin F. Butler's speech against the purchase of Alaska when the bill was passing this House for its purchase for \$7,200,000. Benjamin F. Butler voted against the bill, denounced it, and said, "We were buying an iceberg," whereas the climate of southeastern Alaska is milder and more genial than the climate of Washington.

At Sitka, supposed by some to be a frozen iceberg, the records kept by the Russians and Americans down to the present day show that the thermometer never reaches zero; and farther south in the great archipelago the climate in winter is much warmer, and delightfully cool and invigorating in summer. Alaska is a great land, a vast empire, and no one can tell to-day how rich it is in mineral, timber, and agricultural wealth. We are only on the threshold of knowledge concerning it, and I reiterate that we ought to be very careful about surrendering any part of it. Now is the time to be careful. It is better to be sure than be sorry. The experience of the past should be the light to guide us now and in the future. I want to see the American people hold fast to every inch of Alaskan domain, just as it came to us from Russia.

Now, one other thing, Mr. Chairman. The gentleman from Iowa has said that he is glad to know I am opposed to pulling down the flag. It is kind of him to say that. I am opposed to hauling down the flag when the flag is right. I have never advocated hauling down the flag on American territory, and I never will. [Applause.] I favored taking down the flag in Cuba, because we were pledged to do it, because we said to all the world that just so soon as we established peace and a stable government in Cuba we would get out and leave Cuba to the Cubans. I was in favor of keeping our word. I was in favor of taking down the flag in the Philippines and bringing it home with honor, because I sincerely and patriotically believed to keep it there with shot and shell and force would dishonor it and all that it stands for.

I was in favor then, and am now, of treating the Filipinos just the same as we treated the Cubans, and some day history will say I was right. I still believe in the principles of the Declaration of Independence. I still love the memories of our better days, and I believe the Filipinos are just as capable of self-government as the Cubans. Be that, however, as it may, I will not discuss it further now. I have not the time. I am talking about Alaska, and I will not be diverted by the gentleman from Iowa.

There is no question, I maintain, about our title to Alaska or about the loyalty and the patriotism of the Americans there. There is no question either, in my judgment, about the boundary, the original boundary which was agreed to by England and Russia almost a century ago, and which never was disputed in any way by anybody or any country until gold was discovered in the Klondyke.

I tell you, and you know it, and the history of the world proves it, that wherever gold is found England is always on hand trying to secure all or some of the territory. In Alaska the land in dispute in the boundary question is rich in gold and other precious

metals, and England is trying to get all of it she can. If we are foolish enough to let her do it, we should not unjustly blame England; we should blame ourselves. I want to call a halt now and insist once and for all on our rights in Alaska. Is that too much? Should I be blamed for that? Let my friend answer. While we supinely sleep under the narcotic influence of Mr. Choate's *modus vivendi*, Canada is awake and creeps on apace, and in time it will be too late. This is a live, a momentous question, and we should be up and doing, not wait, not delay.

The Secretary of State must stand by our rights in Alaska. The *modus vivendi* must end, and the land we got from Russia, and the boundary marks she put there must forever be our land, and the Russian monuments on the mountain ranges 10 marine leagues from the mainland must be as it used to be—the true boundary line. Alaska belongs to us; we bought it; our people are there; they want to stay there; our flag is there; it must stay there, and we must stand by the patriots, those noble, brave, and gallant men who went there from our States. That is what we should do; that is the way I feel on this subject.

If we do not do it—if we sacrifice an inch of our domain in Alaska, the Alaskans will denounce us now, and future generations will execrate our memory as we to-day criticise, to use no stronger term, the men who surrendered the great Northwest after the people had determined by an election that it must be ours, that it must be 54° 40' or fight. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

ALASKA.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, January 22, 1903.

WASHINGTON.
1903.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9865) providing for the election of a Delegate from the Territory of Alaska to the House of Representatives of the United States, defining citizenship, and the qualifications of electors in said Territory—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I substantially concur with all that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. CUSHMAN] has so well, and so ably, and so eloquently said regarding Alaska, and the needs of that vast domain for immediate legislation, looking toward home rule and self-government.

The bill now under consideration for a Delegate, however, in my opinion, does not go far enough. It will not meet the just demands of the people of Alaska, and I fear very much that it will not give satisfaction to, or meet the expectations of, the inhabitants of that vast territory. At the same time I do not fail to realize that this bill is a step in the right direction, that it will accomplish something, and I shall vote for it for that reason, indulging the hope that the time is not far distant when the Congress must give Alaska what Alaska wants—Territorial government. That is, sir, what the people up there want, and that is what they ought to have. It is right, and it is American. Alaska is just as much entitled to Territorial government to-day as Arizona or New Mexico. If we follow the precedents of the past we can not withhold this boon from the people of Alaska. They are fairly entitled to it.

In the light of all precedents and the experience of the past their population warrants it. For the benefit of those who know not, I insert a table which shows the population of 12 different States and Territories about the time they were given representation. Many of them had a representative for some time before the enumeration had been made which brought forth these figures. Probably at the time of their receiving Delegate privileges this population did not average 3,000 whites in each Territory, and they had very little but agricultural matters to look after, with no comparison in commercial affairs to Alaska to-day.

	Date of organization.	Population by census nearest date of organization.		
		Census.	White.	Total.
Arizona	Feb. 24, 1863	1870	9,581	9,658
Dakota—North and South	Mar. 2, 1861	1860	2,576	4,837
Idaho	Mar. 3, 1863	1870	10,618	14,999
Illinois	Feb. 3, 1860	1810	11,501	12,282
Indiana	May 7, 1860	1800	2,402	2,517
Michigan	Jan. 11, 1865	1810	4,618	4,762
Minnesota	Mar. 2, 1849	1850	6,938	6,977

	Date of organization.	Population by census nearest date of organization.		
		Census.	White.	Total.
Mississippi	Apr. 7, 1798	1800	4, 446	7, 600
Montana	May 26, 1864	1870	18, 306	20, 595
Nevada	Mar. 2, 1863	1860	6, 812	6, 857
Utah	Sept. 9, 1850	1850	11, 390	11, 390
Washington	Mar. 2, 1853	1860	11, 138	11, 594
Wyoming	July 28, 1868	1870	8, 726	9, 118
Alaska	}	1890	4, 298	32, 052
		1896	10, 000	37, 000

In 1890 the census of Alaska showed a population of 32,052. The census report for 1900 gives the population of Alaska as 63,592. When we consider the vast difficulty attendant upon the full and correct enumeration of population in thickly settled and more accessible districts, and how frequently the statement is made even in large cities that the census enumerators failed to properly enumerate and return a considerable per cent of the population, then how much more likely is it that in a district like Alaska, a vast expanse of territory with widely scattered towns, settlements, and mining camps, isolated and separated, without railroad and telegraphic communications—how much more likely is it, I say, that where conditions like these exist that the census enumeration has not been full and complete.

I submit, in view of the foregoing, that it is not an extravagant estimate to place the present population of the Territory of Alaska at 100,000 people, and this population will undoubtedly increase in a greater ratio during the next few years than it has in the past.

The number of white people were less than 5,000 in 1890, with a very large portion of the remainder Indians and mixed. This great increase during the last ten years has not been caused by the births of natives. The Indian is rapidly passing away, so that the majority of the present population of 63,592 are beyond question whites who have emigrated from the States. These persons dominate the Territory, and in a short time, through the evolution of nature, the native Indian will have become a tradition.

Now, Mr. Chairman, by way of comparison, let me cite you a few cases. In the record of Territorial organizations we find that Nebraska, embracing all the district of country lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains and extending from the 40th degree of latitude to the boundary line between the United States and Canada, was made a Territory in 1854, with a population too insignificant to be mentioned in the report of the preceding census, if, indeed, it were ascertainable. Yet we find that six years later it had attained a population of only 28,841—less than half that of Alaska in 1900. The Territory of Dakota, embracing what are now the States of North and South Dakota, was organized in 1861, having for two years previous maintained a provisional government of her own, although she was credited by the census of 1860 with a population of only 4,837, which, owing to the unsettled state of the country induced by the great civil war during that decade, increased to the extent of only 9,544 in the next succeeding ten years.

The capital was established at Yankton, in the extreme south-eastern end of what is now the State of South Dakota, distant from the most remote settlements little, if any, less than 700 miles. There were no railroads or wagon roads, and the means of communication, except between Missouri River points, were not only more primitive than is now the case in Alaska, but at the same time far more expensive and dangerous. The country was a vast wilderness of treeless prairie, arid plains, and "bad lands," which, but for the building of subsidized railroads in advance of settlement, would never have become the home of any considerable number of white men. It was not then known to possess any of the great natural resources of which Alaska can now truthfully boast, and had the little handful of hardy pioneers who set up a government of their own in advance of Territorial organization been subjected to the operation of a policy similar to that which long ago obtained in the government of Alaska, and is still in vogue, it is not improbable that what are now two great and prosperous States of the Union would have remained to this day, figuratively speaking, a wilderness.

And so, sir, with many, if not all, of the Territories when they were first organized. The facts and the figures conclusively prove that Alaska is more entitled now to Territorial government than any of the Territories organized in the years gone by west of the Mississippi River. Why should we deprive the citizens of Alaska of Territorial government? Is there a man here that can give any answer, except the logical answer that Alaska should become a Territory with all the rights of a Territory?

Mr. Chairman, the district of Alaska is a vast domain lying in the extreme northwestern corner of the North American continent, on Bering Sea and the North Pacific. It comprises an area of about 577,390 statute square miles, with a seacoast of 26,000 miles, or nearly two and one-half times the seacoast of the balance of the United States. The district was acquired by purchase by the United States from Russia for \$7,200,000, and the boundaries as laid down in the treaty of cession of March 30, 1867, are: "Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called 'Prince of Wales Island,' which point lies in the parallel of 54° 40' north latitude, and between the one hundred and thirty-first and one hundred and thirty-third degrees of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Canal as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude (of the same meridian), and finally from the said point of intersection the said meridian line of the one hundred and forty-first degree in its prolongation as far as the frozen ocean. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article it is understood, first, that the island called 'Prince of Wales Island' shall belong wholly to Russia (now, by cession, to the United States); second, that whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast from the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude shall prove to be at the distance of more than 10 marine leagues from

the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia as above mentioned (that is to say, the limit of the possessions ceded by this convention) shall be formed by a line parallel to the winding of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of 10 marine leagues therefrom. The western limits, within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained, passes through a point in Bering Straits on the parallel of 65 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and its intersection by the meridian which passes midway between the island of Krusenstern, or Ignalook, and the island of Ratmanoff, or Noonarbook, and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the same frozen ocean. The same western limitation, beginning at the same initial point, proceeds thence in a course nearly southwest through Bering Straits and Bering Sea, so as to pass midway between the northwest point of the island of St. Lawrence and the southeast point of Cape Choukotski, to the meridian of 172 west longitude; thence from the intersection of that meridian, in a southwesterly direction, so as to pass midway between the island of Attou and the Copper Island of the Kormandorski couplet or group in the North Pacific Ocean, to the meridian of 193 degrees west longitude, so as to include in the territory conveyed the whole of the Aleutian Islands east of the meridian."

This is the vast domain of land ceded to the United States from Russia by the treaty in 1867, and the American people will never consent to give up an inch of it to Canada or any other country. It is ours and it must always be ours. We can not arbitrate our sovereignty, and we will never surrender our jurisdiction.

When this country in 1867 paid Russia \$7,200,000 in gold coin for the Territory of Alaska, a great outcry arose over the shameful extravagance of the Government. We had purchased, it was alleged by these fault-finders, a barren waste of snow and ice, an arctic region incapable of cultivation, whose only treasure was the seals that might be killed along its coast. The Administration had squandered the money of the people, and shrewd Russia was laughing in her sleeve over our simplicity!

It is possible that Russia did laugh in her sleeve over the simplicity that she imagined she had discovered, but it is certain that by this time she has changed her laugh to a sigh over the results of her own shortsightedness, for Alaska is recognized today as one of the most important gold-producing lands in the world. Her mines are the mecca of armies of prospectors, who go there to search for the precious ore that is the foundation of the money systems of the commercial world. She has returned to us in gold ore alone more than we paid Russia for her possession, and the sources of her golden treasure have as yet scarcely been scratched.

But it is not only in mineral wealth that Alaska promises to be a valuable territory. That claim alone would be ample justification for the purchase of the arctic land, but she has other claims to add to this. Had anybody predicted, when the negotiation for her sale was conducted, that she could ever assume to be an agricultural country, he would have been regarded as a fit subject for treatment in a lunatic asylum. But we are progressing in knowledge. The Agricultural Department has been investigating, and it now announces that certain crops can be raised in Alaska at a good profit, and that great herds of cattle will thrive in her friendly climate.

Thus the purchase of Alaska promises to be one of the wisest things ever accomplished by our Government.

The great speech of Charles Sumner, delivered in the United States Senate in favor of the purchase of Alaska, in the light of to-day reads like a marvelous prophecy. Alaska ceased years ago to be called "Seward's folly." No amount of money could buy it from us to-day, and ultimately it will make three great States of the Union—and no doubt they will be called "Alaska," "Seward," and "Sumner." What a monument Alaska is to-day to the wisdom and far-sighted statesmanship of Charles Sumner and William H. Seward!

Mr. Chairman, another reason for a Delegate, which must impress itself with great force upon every member, is the fact that most of the relations with the Territory are direct with the General Government.

The Committee on the Territories, to whom was referred this bill providing for the election of a Delegate from the district of Alaska to the House of Representatives of the United States, defining citizenship and the qualifications of electors in said district, have had the same under consideration, and, without a dissenting voice, report unanimously that it do pass.

A bill of similar purpose was reported from the Committee on the Territories of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-third Congress near its close, too late for action, and another in the Fifty-fourth Congress, which for some reason failed to become a law. A third time, in the second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress, a similar bill was introduced and unanimously reported by the Committee on the Territories to the House, but the bill, on account of the press of business during the close of that session, failed of consideration in the House.

In my opinion, fortified by the judgment of the great majority of the population of the Territory of Alaska, whose best men have not only recommended it, but have urged it as an absolute necessity at this time, I submit that the Congress should no longer delay the right of these people to Delegate representation.

It is a tenet of our American creed that proper elective representation is the heritage of our citizenship. Whatever may have been the needs and the requirements of the limitations of Alaska in the past, I think the time has now arrived when it is not only feasible for its inhabitants to elect and have Delegate representation in the House of Representatives, but that its absolute necessity makes it a matter of right which we should heed by speedy action.

Alaska is a Territory whose prospects, resources, and commercial and political importance have heretofore been almost wholly unappreciated by most people. Even now, in the period of Alaska's marvelous development, the first thought of many persons is that a Delegate would be a doubtful experiment and an unnecessary expense, when, in fact, of all our outlying Territories, Alaska is the one whose needs in this respect are paramount. Its isolation, distance, and peculiar surroundings as to climate, soil, resources, business and trade conditions, as well as population, render it impossible for Congress to fully recognize its wants and exigencies.

Alaska has an area of over 577,000 square miles. It would cover one-sixth of the territory of the United States proper. Its resources are simply wonderful; with its mines of gold, silver,

copper, and coal, its mighty forests of merchantable timber, its rich wealth of fur-bearing animals, its enormous fisheries of seal, whale, salmon, cod, and halibut, and its already great and commanding commercial and political importance. And then, in connection with all this, comes the voice of a resistless and increasing flow of the most manly, virile, and hardy people in the world, who say, "Give us the protection of an interested and sympathetic Government and we will not only support ourselves, but we will return direct into the United States Treasury revenues many times multiplying the amount of her investment by purchase."

At this point the expense of an election and the salary of a Delegate might well be considered. This country is a large territory of the primeval ruggedness of nature, unmitigated in part with long stretches of snow and ice and a scattered population. There may be inconveniences in an election on the frontier to which we are not accustomed, but that is the daily incident of their lives. Tenacity of purpose and power of endurance are the two essential qualities that took them there. They have great interests to be looked after, and they say, "We want a man at Washington who knows us, our country, and our business to represent us and our interests."

It will be of some inconvenience and expense, but they are asking the privilege to incur whatever inconvenience it may be to hold an election. After that the only question for us to consider is: Is it reasonable and practicable? Those who seem to be most competent to judge say it is. As to the expense, they pay it. That is all there is to that. While discussing this phase of the subject I desire to insert a statement from the Treasury Department showing the revenues and expenditures of the government of Alaska for the fiscal year 1900. This shows a balance in favor of the Treasury in the splendid figures of \$382,950, out of which to pay the expense of an election every two years.

Statement of revenues and expenditures in Alaska, fiscal year 1900.

REVENUES.	
Customs	\$57,023.62
Public lands	2,376.32
Tax on seal skins	224,476.47
Rent of Fox Islands	1,200.00
License fees	157,234.94
Total	442,911.35
EXPENDITURES.	
Expenses of Territorial government	\$28,655.98
Salaries of agents at seal fisheries	11,473.41
Expenses, office of marshal, etc.	17,969.90
Public buildings	475.39
Refuge station, Point Barrow	108.67
Alaskan boundary survey	500.00
Education of children	\$32,970.62
Education of Indians	4,364.20
Protecting fisheries	5,512.47
Expenses of steamer <i>Albatross</i>	9,830.93
Supplies for native inhabitants	19,100.38
Building for United States courts	722.76
Reindeer for Alaska	12,746.68
Expenses, office of surveyor-general	4,800.00
Maps of Alaska	18.50
Survey of the Yukon River	9,780.69
Relief of people in mining regions	932.48
Total	159,961.16
5557	

But, aside from the question of expense, why should they not have a Delegate at this time? In the first place there is a large and ever-increasing body of the best kind of American citizens in Alaska—pioneers who are willing to forego the ease and luxury of life in the States to develop that great country. The best blood of a nation flows in the veins of its pioneers. They are the advance guard of progress. They have opened up in Alaska a mine of wealth that the world never dreamed of. They have made Alaska commercially great, and for a decade have felt the need and practicability of a Delegate, and have been asking it from our hands for years. To-day, with a population doubled since the last census was taken and material financial interests increased in a still greater ratio, they ask you for this legislation.

The bill under consideration gives the people of Alaska the right to vote for and to elect a Delegate from Alaska to the House of Representatives who shall have the same rights and the same privileges in this body as a Delegate from any of the other Territories in the United States. Alaska is entitled to that. No one can deny it. Her people should be heard on this floor, and the Alaskans want to be heard here by some one of their own selection—competent to speak for them. Some one vested with authority who will be responsible to them for what he says on the floor of this House regarding Alaskan matters, and who will be responsible to Congress as well. No one familiar with the facts can doubt that Alaska is entitled to Delegate representation. It is a fundamental principle of our theory of government that none of our citizens shall be taxed without just representation, and the Alaskans have been taxed by the Federal Government for years and years without representation and without having a voice in their own internal affairs.

Mr. Chairman, I have been to Alaska several times. I know something about that vast domain. I know something about the sentiments of the people who live there, and I stand here and declare with the confident knowledge that I can not be successfully contradicted that the people of Alaska—the people who have gone there, and who have lived there for years, and who are bona fide residents of Alaska, and intend to stay there during the rest of their lives—I know what they want, and I declare here that they want not only a representative in Congress, but they want Territorial government. They want the right that every other Territory in the Union has—the right to make their own laws, to levy their own taxes, to regulate their own internal affairs, and to spend the money gathered by the tax collector for their own use, for their own schools, for their own charitable institutions, for their own municipal affairs, and for their own peace and happiness. This is not asking too much in my opinion. It seems to me it is only fair and just and proper and right. Alaska has a population at the present time upward of 100,000 bona fide residents. It is true they are scattered over a vast domain of territory. But it is also true that they are an honest, brave, sober, manly, God-fearing people, who are of our kin, and who ought to be treated as American citizens.

I deprecate some of the remarks that have been made on the floor of this House during the pendency of this bill by gentlemen who have characterized the inhabitants of Alaska as nomads, as fugitives, and as a migratory people who go there simply to gather

wealth and leave for the States just so soon as they have been able to get what they want. I deny these statements. I refute these allegations. I know they are not true. If some of the gentlemen who have made these unjust remarks and uncalled-for statements would only go to Alaska and see for themselves and talk to these people, they would come back here just as firmly convinced as I am that no people in all our land are more deserving of commendation for their patriotism and their law-abiding citizenship than the good, fearless, honest folk of Alaska. They are American citizens. They demand the rights of American citizens. They are entitled to all the rights of American citizens, and one of the fundamental rights of an American is the right to representation; the right to refuse to pay a dollar's tax to the Government unless he has a voice in its affairs; the right of local self-government; the right of petition; the right of assembly; the right to have a voice in the affairs of state and in making the laws that he must obey and that govern him and his fellow-citizens.

This bill, sir, will not accomplish what the Alaskans demand; but, as I said, it is a step in the right direction, and I shall vote for it because I believe it is the best we can get at the present time. I hope, however, when this bill passes the House and comes before the Senate, that the other branch of Congress will enlarge the scope of its provisions and, if possible, report a substitute for it that will give the people of Alaska what they most devoutly desire, and that is Territorial government. They demand Territorial government, and knowing the facts as I do, I unhesitatingly say, and I defy successful refutation, that under all the circumstances Alaska is now, and long has been, entitled to Territorial government, and Congress ought to give it to the Alaskans without any more delay. Alaska is an anomaly in our sisterhood of States and Territories. It has been said here that Alaska is a Territory because a justice of the United States Supreme Court, writing an opinion about it, characterized it as such. No doubt it is a part of the territory of the United States, and perhaps that is what the distinguished jurist meant. Others here declare that Alaska is only a district, and I am inclined to concur in that view. If Alaska was a Territory in the Union, it would have all the rights of a Territory. It is not a Territory in the sense that Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma are Territories. It ought to be a Territory of our Government just the same as those other Territories and have all the rights and all the privileges that those Territories possess to-day; and the Alaskans will never be satisfied—never be contented—in my opinion, with any law that does not give them all the rights those other Territories possess.

A Delegate from an unorganized Territory would be not only a departure from all former precedent, but in the case of Alaska might be much more productive of evil than of beneficial results. In the absence of any form of local government, it may be impossible for a Delegate to properly represent the will and the wishes of the people, because of a lack of knowledge in the premises. I know that the people of Alaska are, in every point of view, abundantly capable of maintaining a local form of government, such as has always heretofore been accorded the Territories of the United States, and I deprecate the idea of further burdening the Congress with purely local legislation, as would, presumably, be the duty of a Delegate to press upon the attention

of this body in the absence of Territorial organization. In my opinion, such legislation can safely be intrusted to the people of Alaska themselves, and in my judgment, instead of the bill providing a Delegate for the unorganized Territory, or district, of Alaska, an organic act should be passed, according to her people the measure of self-government to which they are justly entitled, and which has never heretofore, except in the case of Alaska, been withheld from any considerable body of American citizens engaged in the settlement of a new district.

Looking at the question in the light of the past, and by way of comparison with other portions of our country that have been made Territories in our Union, I believe that Alaska is more entitled to-day to Territorial government than seven-tenths of the other Territories that were organized. I am opposed, as a matter of right, and of justice, and of principle, to taxing the Alaskan people, gathering the taxes by a Federal tax collector, and, instead of giving the taxes to the people of Alaska for their own local purposes, depositing the money in the Federal Treasury and trying to govern Alaska from the Treasury Department or by the Congress, when nine-tenths of the men in Congress know absolutely nothing about the people up there, nor the country, either. But that is another story that will come up ere long, when we legislate to give Alaska Territorial government.

Mr. Chairman, something has been said here regarding the impossibility of holding an election in Alaska under this bill, should it become a law, and that its provisions would open the door to frauds on the ballot box. In my opinion, that conclusion is assumed, farfetched, and without justification. If this bill should become a law in its present state, the election of a Delegate in Congress from Alaska would be just as honestly conducted as the election for a Representative in Congress in any State. And the Delegate elected would be, no doubt, in the estimation of the Alaskans, or in the estimation of a majority of them, the most competent man they could find to send here to represent them, to get their rights, and to give Congress the information desired regarding legislation.

Let me say here, Mr. Chairman, that I appreciate all that the gentleman from Washington [Mr. CUSHMAN] has done in getting this bill reported and before the House. I understand the difficulties he had to contend with. I am familiar with the obstacles which were put in his way. I know he has done the very best he could. He and I substantially agree regarding the immediate legislative needs of Alaska, but everything relating to Alaska can not be accomplished in one Congress. This bill is a step in the right direction—a forward step toward Territorial government—and it is apparently the very best that we can do for the Alaskans at the present time. I want to congratulate the gentleman from Washington and the members of the committee which reported this bill on the success which thus far has crowned their efforts, and in the hope that this bill will accomplish some good I shall vote for it, and I trust it will pass by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Chairman, I have spoken of Alaskan resources in general terms as a reason for her recognition. Her mines of gold, silver, coal, and copper, already known to be great, are considered by many practically inexhaustible. She has the largest stamp mill in the world at Treadwell and bids fair to become the greatest gold-producing country on earth. The rapid development of the

gold and silver mining industry of Alaska during the past four years is shown by the fact that the production has advanced from about \$3,000,000 in 1896 to about \$7,000,000 in 1900. This will increase, rather than diminish. At present the value of the precious metals lies chiefly in the gold placers of Nome and the interior regions. In the Nome region some 5,000 square miles are known to carry auriferous gravels, while in the Yukon Basin the area of auriferous gravels is probably several times as large. But it is not all placer mining. Governor Brady says that quartz mining is the kind in which Alaska will be preeminent in the near future and that even now it is affording the finest illustration that the world knows of profitable working of low-grade ore.

In the coast region of southeastern Alaska mining for gold, copper, and silver has been going on for a number of years. The development of this industry has been especially rapid since 1898, and it promises to become one of the most important mining districts of the country. The discovery of copper deposits in Alaska was made only three years ago, and hence the development is comparatively insignificant, though there are three districts in which valuable copper ores have been found. Mining has only been done in the one lying on the coast, and many tons of copper ore have been shipped from the Territory. The investigations of the past two years have shown, however, that there are unquestionably vast undeveloped copper deposits in at least three districts of Alaska. The coal of Alaska embraces lignites, bituminous coal, and some anthracite. The lignites are the most widely distributed of the three, and are the ones that have been largely prospected. Coal has been found in nearly every part of the District, both on the coast and in the interior. It has been mined at probably 100 different localities, but up to the present time only for local consumption, and the aggregate output, of which there are no authentic data available, would not amount to more than a few thousand tons a year. The coal is so widely distributed in the district that it must be regarded as one of its most important resources. It is a conservative estimate to place the area occupied by the coal-bearing rocks at 100,000 square miles. Accurate statements can not be made as to the figures of the fish industry for the year 1900, but it can be said that it has been continually growing and is still in its infancy. More than one hundred varieties of food fish inhabit the Alaskan waters. The annual output of salmon alone will amount to more than \$9,000,000 at this time. The Territory alone can feed the fish-eating world.

Mr. Chairman, no man can visit Alaska without being deeply impressed. Alaska is a wonderful country. No words can adequately describe it. It is the poor man's, and the rich man's, and the sportsman's paradise. It is a wonderland. The time, in my judgment, is at hand when this vast territory will be developed by American genius, American capital, and American enterprise, and take my word for it, there will be no more prosperous section in all this progressive land for American brawn and American brain. Alaska is the place for the new settler—for the hustler—for the man who wants to go ahead and get on.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, let me say again in conclusion, I shall vote for this bill, but in doing so I think I have made it clear that the bill does not go far enough, that it is only a step forward in the right direction to the one boon the good people in Alaska demand, and that is Territorial government. Alaska wants this; Alaska

must have it; Alaska with her population of nearly 100,000 people; Alaska with her splendid and invigorating climate; Alaska with her beautiful scenery, her magnificent distances, her towering snow-capped mountains, her majestic rivers, her fertile fields, her great industries of fish and furs and timber and agricultural possibilities; Alaska with her immense wealth in gold and copper and silver and lead and iron and coal—mineral wealth beyond the dreams of the most imaginative person in the world; Alaska with her brave and loyal and God-fearing and patriotic American citizens; Alaska with her churches and schools, her splendid institutions, her towns and villages; Alaska under the blue dome of the Union sky and in the shadow of the midnight sun; Alaska with her incomparable glaciers, with her great harbors and innumerable lakes and countless cascades; Alaska, in the name of of all these and more, in the name of this generation and the glory of our institutions, I ask why you should not have the right of home rule, of local self-government, and all the rights of the Territories? [Applause.]

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The Trusts—Do the People like to be Humbugged?

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 7, 1903.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This so-called and much-heralded antitrust bill, stripped of all its tautology, pruned of its crudeness, and separated from its extraneous verbiage, seems to be an uninitiated and unsophisticated individual like myself to be a very good bill to give the trusts the right to continue business at the old stand and keep on robbing the people all the time without let or hindrance unless, in their magnanimity, they see fit to tell the people the method of their scientific system of taking from the many for the benefit of the few and make such returns to the Government—true or false—regarding their affairs as they desire. It is an antitrust bill only in name. The friends of the trusts can vote for it with as much pleasure as the foes of monopoly. It will do no great good, and it will do no great harm. It may please some, especially those who say there are good and bad trusts and that we must go slow for fear of injuring a good monopoly.

Mr. Chairman, before the last election the gentleman from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD], in all the glory of his greatness, perambulated around the country making speeches and posing as the great and only and original and simon-pure trust buster. He had introduced in this House a bill which to some extent would curb the power and the sway of the trusts, and it was entitled "A bill requiring all corporations engaged in interstate commerce to file returns with the Secretary of the Treasury, disclosing their true financial condition, and of their capital stock, and imposing a tax upon such as have outstanding capital stock unpaid in whole or in part."

That was a good title, and the bill, so far as it went, was a fairly effective measure. Now, sir, I notice that in the bill which the gentleman from Maine has reported from the Committee on the Judiciary as a substitute for his original bill he has struck out that title and practically presents to the House an entirely different bill from the bill which he introduced on December 2, 1901, before the last Congressional election. It is for all remedial purposes a new bill—a bill which, if it were enacted into law, would not do any harm to the trusts, and in my humble opinion would not remedy a single trust evil that the people complain about to-day.

The new title to the new bill is as follows: "A bill requiring corporations engaged in interstate commerce to make returns,

prohibiting rebates and discriminations and the use of interstate commerce in attempts to destroy competition, and for other purposes."

That tells the story. This new bill does not require "all" corporations to make returns; only some; only those to be hereafter organized, and the word "true" is also eliminated, so that the next growth of monopolies can simply make such returns as they see fit—true or false, good, bad, or indifferent. And the new bill, too, if you will compare it with the original, is just as flimsy, just as insincere, and just as hypocritical; but, in my opinion, it goes a great way to change the law now on the statute books known as the antitrust law of 1890 in repealing by implication the civil and criminal penalties provided in that law.

I do not stand alone in this opinion. Several distinguished lawyers who have carefully investigated this proposed bill believe that if it should be enacted into law the Attorney-General of the United States and the United States district attorneys would be absolutely powerless to enforce the civil and criminal penalties under the antitrust act of 1890. If this be so the bill, weak and impotent as it is, may become the agency of nullifying the provisions of the only law we now have to prosecute and punish criminal monopolists and trust conspirators.

The bill is defective, but perhaps it was intended to be so for this very reason, and instead of being against the trusts is intended under the surface to really be for the trusts. This is a very serious matter, and this bill should not pass this House without a proviso that nothing contained in its provisions should be construed as amending or changing any of the provisions of the antitrust law of 1890.

The criminal trusts of the land are more opposed to the penal penalties of the act of 1890 than to any provisions contained in this bill. And in this respect I might say it seems strange that no Attorney-General since 1890 has ever had the temerity to enforce the criminal provisions of the act of 1890 against any violator of the law. Why? You all know the reason why. The trust magnates are too powerful.

And this new bill, so cleverly drawn, so cleverly worded, and so cleverly devised, not so much by the gentleman from Maine as by some distinguished trust lawyers, may have for its sole purpose the elimination of the criminal provisions of the statute of 1890. If that is so—if that is the latent intent of this new bill—then I can understand why the trusts are not opposed to it, and why every friend of the trusts here is in favor of it. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It is too bad that under the rule adopted a member can not amend this new bill, and I regret my friend from Maine did not stick to his original bill; but somehow, Mr. Chairman, these trust lawyers succeeded in changing the opinion of the great "trust buster" from Maine, so that he stands here to-day revealed in his true colors [laughter], not as a great "trust buster," but as a great trust advocate. [Laughter.]

I thought my friend from Maine was a true friend of the people and a real enemy of the criminal trusts; but alas! it seems otherwise. I am sorry for it; I am sorry for him and for myself, because my simple faith has been rudely shaken. [Laughter.] I thought the gentleman was sincere; that he meant all he said on the hustings; that he really was to be the agency through whom the overtaxed, hoodwinked, and oppressed people would secure

their rights against the trusts and monopolies; but I was mistaken. [Laughter.]

I thought the gentleman was honest in all he said against the trusts and that the trust-owned and trust-controlled newspapers meant all they said about his heroic efforts to crush the trusts. I looked up to him; I wanted to follow him wherever he went to grapple with monopolies. I thought he would be bold and audacious as he pursued the octopus, but I am disappointed.

The gentleman does not go far; he does not rage against the iniquity of the monopolies; but, on the contrary, he seems very mild and rather apologetic, and even goes so far as to inform us that there were monopolies before the tariff, and before the Republican party, and before Christ, and before the Flood. It is all no doubt very wonderful—but quite beyond me.

The gentleman's new trust bill, so different from the gentleman's original antitrust bill, his remarkable speech yesterday, and his attitude here to-day have disconcerted his antitrust friends, mystified every foe of monopoly, and put every one of his true followers all at sea. Even his friend, the President, must stand aghast when he contemplates the gentleman's sudden change of front on this important question, and I hardly know what the President will do with this new bill if it ever passes the Senate and goes to the White House. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, we should be careful not to nullify any part of the antitrust law of 1890. That is a good law, and if it were enforced it would remedy most of the trust evils. In regard to that law and in this connection I want to read a letter recently written by former Senator George F. Edmunds, which confirms the position I maintain. The letter is as follows:

AIKEN, S. C., *January 2, 1903.*

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 27th ultimo has reached me here. The statement of Senator Vest contained in the slip you inclose is correct. I have not the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or the Senate files to refer to, but I am sure on looking them up you will find that the bill reported by Mr. Sherman from the Finance Committee was not the one passed by Congress, but that the one passed by Congress was reported by the Judiciary Committee to which the Sherman bill, after it was reported from the Finance Committee and discussed and probably more or less amended, was referred for consideration; and that the bill reported by the Judiciary Committee and passed was in every essential respect entirely different from the Sherman bill, and was purely a substitute for it.

The Judiciary Committee was, I think, unanimously of the opinion that the bill it reported was, in respect of its general scope, an exercise of the whole constitutional power of Congress, which could only legislate for the freedom and regulation of commerce with foreign nations and among the several States; and I am of the same opinion still. The only difficulty with the bill we reported and which became law was the want of administration, that is to say, that the law was and is entirely capable of putting an end to such so-called trusts and such combinations as interfere with or restrain commerce among the States, etc., if the officers of the Government having charge of the enforcement of law understand their duty and are willing to do it, being, of course, supplied with sufficient means to put it into force.

If the famous Knight case had been instituted and carried forward with suitable allegations of the precise nature and history of the Knight affair, and had been supported, as it could have been, by adequate proof of the facts it set forth, I believe the Supreme Court of the United States would not have had the least difficulty in preventing the carrying on of the combination under consideration, and putting an end to it, as it can still do with similar ones. The bill of complaint in that case was unhappily not drawn in such a way as to present the question which now so much commands just public concern.

What is needed is not, so much, more legislation as competent and earnest administration of the laws that exist. I have no doubt that the present Attorney-General and his very able assistant will find easy means, if supplied

with the necessary funds, to arrest the progress and undo the mischievous work of such great and injurious combinations as have so largely come into recent existence.

Very truly, yours,

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

JOHN A. SLEICHER, Esq.,
110 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I have not had and I could not get an opportunity during the general debate to say a word in regard to this bill, and I now ask unanimous consent that my time be extended.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that he may proceed. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SULZER. I thank the House for its courtesy. As I have said before, and it can not be successfully denied, the law on the statute books against trusts is clear and plain, and the highest court in the land has passed on its validity and sustained the constitutionality of its provisions. The antitrust act of 1890 declares that every contract or combination in the nature of a trust in restraint of trade and commerce among the several States and Territories or with foreign nations is a conspiracy, illegal and void, and punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Under the law of our country trusts are criminal, and there is no distinction between a so-called good trust and a so-called bad trust, between a big trust and a little trust. Every trust is contrary to both the spirit and the letter of the law. To seriously contend otherwise as a legal proposition would be preposterous. If we did so, by analogy we might as consistently assert that there were good pirates and bad pirates. If robbery is criminal, it is immaterial, so far as the crime is concerned, whether the robbery is a big one or a little one. The violation of law is the same.

Under this antitrust act it seems to me every trust in the United States can be prosecuted for violation of law, the charter annulled, and the men behind it punished for conspiracy. Every trust by its very nature is in restraint of trade and commerce and in violation of this law.

If you will read the antitrust act of 1890 and the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the trans-Missouri freight case and the Addyston Pipe Line case, the conclusion will be irresistible to the logical mind that the fault is not so much with the law as it is with the men who are sworn to enforce the law. The law so far as it goes is all right—the do-nothing Attorney-General is all wrong. The imperative mandate of the day is “Enforce the law, and every trust in the country will dissolve.” Whenever the trusts have been brought before the courts, and their true character shown, they have been declared illegal.

In my opinion—and I say so advisedly—the Department of Justice under the present law can institute and successfully maintain actions against every trust doing business in the United States.

Nothing would be more welcome to the trusts than to change this law—especially its criminal penalties. These, it is true, have never been enforced, but some day the people may get an Attorney-General who will enforce them and if they are enforced a few trust magnates may have to go to jail, and that will be the end of the criminal trusts. One trust magnate behind the bars will

be an object lesson that will do more good than all the speeches ever delivered here against the trusts.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD] seems to me to be in an embarrassing position. He changed the title to his bill—he gave up his original bill—and substituted for it a weak, apologetic makeshift that will accomplish nothing or do great harm. Now, I want the members of this House to see how cleverly the trust lawyers amended the title of the original bill. If you will take the title of the original bill introduced by my friend from Maine, you will find it required “all” corporations to make “true” returns, and the trust lawyers some way or other induced the great trust buster from Maine to amend his bill so that it leaves out entirely “all” corporations and “true” returns. [Laughter on the Democratic side.] The entire bill—I mean the new trust bill—now before us is a hollow sham.

Mr. Chairman, I had an idea at one time that amounted to almost a conviction that my good-natured friend from Maine was as earnest, as honest, and as sincere a friend of the people and as bitter a foe and as intense an opponent of the trusts and monopolies as I am. [Laughter.] But I am compelled, reluctantly compelled, I regret to say, to be constrained to stand here to-day, after having carefully read the bill originally introduced into this House by the gentleman from Maine and the substitute bill prepared by the trust lawyers, which the gentleman from Maine substituted for his bill, and which he now offers us and stands sponsor for—I am reluctantly constrained, I must confess, to say that this substitute, as a remedy to more effectually curb the power and the sway of the criminal trusts and monopolies, is seven pounds lighter than a straw hat. [Prolonged laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, now, another matter in this connection, somewhat personal, and I dislike exceedingly to refer to myself, but I must. [Laughter] I introduced a bill, an antitrust bill—a real antitrust bill—a bill that would do something and that meant something—a genuine trust-busting antitrust bill, in December, 1902, more than a year ago. I thought my bill, in my modest and humble way, was a better bill than the bill originally introduced by the gentleman from Maine. It was referred to the gentleman’s committee. I went before the gentleman’s committee and made a strong and, if I say it myself, I believe, an eloquent argument in favor of it. I thought at that time the gentleman from Maine liked my bill, perhaps not so much as he did his own creation, but I got the idea that we nearly agreed as to the necessary remedy.

A great many distinguished gentlemen who are opposed to trusts, representing labor organizations, representing the American Antitrust League, representing commercial bodies and other industrial enterprises, also went before the gentleman’s committee and spoke long and earnestly and eloquently in favor of my genuine antitrust bill. The gentleman from Maine intimated substantially that my bill was a most excellent bill, but that he was just a little afraid that it went too far, perhaps, and might hurt the trusts just a little too much, but he in substance suggested that there were features in my bill regarding “publicity” which he thought ought to be incorporated in any bill which the committee reported. That was all very nice—and I thought so then.

And, Mr. Chairman, I am glad to stand up here and say that the gentleman from Maine, my friend, the erstwhile trust buster, did put into his bill some of the provisions of my bill, but they were the mild provisions of my bill which amount to little or nothing. [Laughter.] The gentleman from Maine studiously left out of this bill everything in my bill which would do something, which would amount to something, which would check and cure the trust evil, and which would more effectually curb the potential power and the autocratic sway of the trusts.

Now, another thing—and this is a good time to say it again, and I want to repeat it every chance I get, on behalf of my Democratic colleagues—that when the department of commerce bill was pending in this House I offered my antitrust bill as an amendment to one of the sections of that department of commerce bill, and every Democrat in this House voted for it, and every Republican in this House, including the great, the only, and the original trust buster, my good friend from Maine, voted against it. [Applause and laughter on the Democratic side.] I have noticed, however, that since the department of commerce bill has been pending in the Senate a farseeing and sagacious Senator contemplates amending that bill by incorporating in it an anti-trust provision very similar to mine.

I hope the Senator will do so. He can have my antitrust bill in toto; and I believe it is the best bill ever introduced in this House to establish “publicity” regarding the trusts. I have no personal vanity in this matter. I am only a humble servant of the people, with mediocre ability; and being in the minority, I can not hope to do more than construct legislation. I can only prepare good bills; I can not pass them. Only Republicans can make laws nowadays. But I care not for the glory; all I want is to secure results for the people. [Laughter.]

Yes, Mr. Chairman, we witness quite a spectacle to-day. We see the eloquent former trust buster from Maine now the advocate of the octopus, the historian of monopolies, and the special pleader of the trusts. Perhaps it may be unconscious, but the fact can not be overlooked. And the Republican party, as represented on the floor of this House, has changed its position very materially on this question if you compare the promises made with the meager bill presented. My friends on the other side seem to be running away from the President. I believe the President is honest in his antagonism to the criminal trusts of the country. I believe he is sincere in his recommendations to check their apparent evils. I know he is a true American, and I believe the President wants this Congress to do something to curb the power of the trusts in the interest of the people.

The Republicans pretend that they do also, but you do not carry out your promises or the recommendations of your President. You wink at the exactions of the trusts while you throw a sop to the people in the nature of a futile bill like this that will be just about as effectual to remedy trust evils as a last year's bird's nest. It is apparent you are fooling the people again. You seem to glory in it, and they seem to like it. If it were not for the sadness of it all—the misery, the woe, the want, the poverty of it all—it would be to laugh. Every time I see the Republican elephant at his old tricks I am reminded of what P. T. Barnum facetiously said: “The people like to be humbugged.” The Re-

publican party has evidently copyrighted that remark, and on every occasion religiously lives up to it.

When will the people open their eyes and wake up? How much longer do they want to be humbugged? The President asks for and recommends antitrust legislation, the people all over the land plead for relief from the exactions of the trusts, and the sad experience of the past and the urgent exigencies of the present demand drastic legislation against monopolies and the rigid enforcement of existing laws. But what do you do? What you always do. Fool the people some more. When they ask for bread, you give them something you call bread, but which is really only a stone.

This bill now under discussion will accomplish nothing. It is a misfit, a makeshift, a miscarriage.¹¹⁷ Its ostensible purpose is to please the people and not displease the trusts. Its hidden object is to strike a deadly blow against the penal penalties of the antitrust act of 1890; and I believe, and I say, that if this bill, with all due respect to the legal ability of my friend from Maine, should become a law in its present shape, it will go far to repeal, by implication, the criminal provisions of the antitrust law of 1890. Why not allow me or some one to amend the bill so that there will be no question about it?

Let me say in this connection that it is remarkable that no Attorney-General, under the provisions of the antitrust law of 1890, has ever instituted a single prosecution to enforce the criminal penalties of that act, and I believe, and I stand up here and assert and defy successful contradiction, that if the Attorney-General would enforce in one prosecution the criminal provisions of the antitrust act of 1890 and put one trust magnate behind prison bars for violation of law it would do more to effectually curb the power and the sway of the trusts than all of the oratory and all of the little pop-gun bills will ever be able to do.

I do not believe this bill that is now before this House, this so-called substitute bill, this bill which really does nothing, will be any more effectual, so far as the enforcement of any remedy is concerned, than if the gentleman from Maine should try to stop the progress of a mad elephant on the rampage with a putty blower. I do not believe this bill is going to accomplish what the country demands. I believe it is really liable to accomplish harm.

I think there ought to be some provision in this bill similar to that which the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] put in his bill—that nothing in this bill should in any way repeal any law now on the statute books against the trusts, so that no matter how the courts may construe this bill, if it becomes a law, there shall be nothing in it by which any part of the civil penalties or the criminal penalties of the act of 1890 shall be repealed or eliminated.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this bill is a mere makeshift. It is a mere sop to the people. It is what the Republicans always do. They talk all right at the moment. They talk all right during the crisis. They talk all right before the election, but after the crisis is passed, after the election is over, when they begin to legislate they legislate so as to do no injury to those who sustain them, to those who aid them, to those who make large contributions to their campaign fund in every political campaign. It can

not be successfully denied, and it will not be truthfully denied, that every trust in this country, from the greatest to the smallest, in every Congressional, State, and national campaign, makes contributions, some great, some small, to the Republican campaign fund.

I want to say that on account of that fact the intelligent people of this country know that there will never be enacted into law by the Republican party any legislation that will do material harm or substantial injury to the great monopolies, to the great criminal trusts, and to the great corporate wealth of this country. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. SIMS. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. SULZER. I can only yield a moment—only for a question.

Mr. SIMS. In view of the characterization which you have given this bill, why should any Democrat vote for it?

Mr. SULZER. In my opinion, and I speak only for myself, I care not whether the Democrats vote for this bill or against it. I think it is the poorest apology for antitrust legislation that the mighty legal mind of the gentleman from Maine could possibly devise, and I think it has made a great giant—a valiant trust fighter—look exceedingly small, almost a pigmy. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

THE NEW POST-OFFICE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Tuesday, March 3, 1903.

WASHINGTON.

1903.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 6702) granting a pension to Emily Lawrence Reed—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not my intention to discuss the merits of the pending pension bill, save to say that it will have my sincere support and that I trust it will pass the House without opposition. My purpose now, sir, in accepting the time courteously yielded to me by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] is to fix the responsibility for the elimination of the \$2,000,000 appropriation in the sundry civil bill to purchase a site for a new post-office in the city of New York. I want the people who are most interested in this post-office matter to understand the situation here, and I believe when they do they will not blame the Representatives in Congress from the city of New York for the delays and the failures which thus far have attended the proposition.

Mr. Speaker, when the conferees' report on the sundry civil bill was before the House for approval a little while ago I endeavored to get a few minutes' time from the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], who controlled all the time, to briefly express my opinion and voice the sentiments of my constituents regarding the appropriation for the new post-office in the city of New York. I had been informed that the appropriation for \$2,000,000 put in that bill at our request by the Senate would be held in the bill by the House conferees, and I only learned after the conferees had agreed that the appropriation of \$2,000,000 to purchase the site in the city of New York for the new post-office building had been stricken out. The gentleman from Illinois declined to let me be heard then. He did not want the matter discussed, and I was denied the right to be heard. The gentleman from Illinois declined at that time to give me a moment's time, and I am compelled to avail myself of this opportunity to say briefly what I wish to say regarding this matter.

The city of New York, which I have the honor to represent in part on the floor of this House, is the richest city in the world, the most populous city on this continent, and the metropolis of our country. Every citizen in all our land has every reason to feel a just pride in the commercial greatness of the Empire City, and it seems to be a remarkable fact and a most humiliating condition of affairs here that no matter what the great city of New York wants or how badly something there is needed, it can have no relief, it can get no aid from the Congress of the United States. The greatest city in our country is and always has been studiously ignored by the National Legislature. The way we are treated here is an outrage, and I say it has got to stop.

For years, Mr. Speaker, the people of New York City have been making a determined, but a fruitless, effort to get a new post-

office, and the Representatives of that city in this House, in season and out of season, month in and month out, have done everything in their power to secure the necessary legislation; but all in vain. We have pleaded and begged and appealed, but without avail. Congress seems to be deaf to the supplications of the first city in the land. The humblest hamlet in any State can get a Federal building or a magnificent post-office for the mere asking, but New York City can not have simple justice in a matter of the greatest urgency and necessity and that affects more or less every other part of our entire country and all the people. It is strange; but, then, there is a reason for it.

The present post-office building in the city of New York is a disgrace to the Federal Government. It is old, damp, worn-out, overcrowded, and dilapidated. It is totally unfit to properly transact its immense postal business. It was built many years ago, and its usefulness is now practically a thing of the past. New York City to-day is more in need of better post-office facilities than any other city in the United States. This old post-office building away down town is wholly inadequate, and has been so for years, to properly handle and distribute the vast amount of mail that comes in and goes out of the great metropolis. It is damp and dirty and dingy. It is cramped and clammy and unhealthy. The Government employees there, compelled to work underground, are daily endangering their health and risking their lives, and are so crowded for lack of space and necessary room that it is impossible to expedite the distribution of important mail matter; and this deplorable situation affects, I say, not only the people in the city of New York, but the people all over the country, because it is well known that New York City is our greatest postal distributor.

Mr. Speaker, the post-office of New York City pays the Government an immense revenue profit every year; more, I believe, than any other three cities in the land and more than many States of the Union. The net annual revenue from the New York City post-office is about \$6,000,000, and increasing more and more every year. With these apparent facts staring us in the face, it is a shame, in my judgment, that for this reason or that excuse it has been absolutely impossible for the people of New York City, or their representatives in Congress, to get Congress to remedy the postal evils in New York City and give the people there a post-office that will reflect credit on the Federal Government and facilitate the distribution of the mails.

It is well known, Mr. Speaker, to those members familiar with this question that after several years of weary effort and arduous struggle we finally succeeded in getting the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds of this House to pass a law merely appointing a commission composed of the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney-General to go to New York City and select a suitable site for the new post-office building. No appropriation to pay for the site was made in this law, because we were told such a proposition was unheard of and contrary to precedent, and that no appropriation was ever made by Congress until the site was selected, and that just so soon as the site was selected Congress would forthwith appropriate all necessary money to pay for the same and to begin the construction of the building.

That is all we could then do, and so we waited patiently for the commission to get to work and select the site. For some occult reason, inscrutable to the uninitiated, no doubt, the commission seemed to be dilatory, and for months did nothing. Some unknown, intangible, mysterious agency was at work to thwart the will of the people of the city of New York and prevent the commission from speedily selecting a proper site; but everything comes to an end and to those that wait, and just before this Congress was about to adjourn the commission sent to us what purported to be its report regarding the selection of the site. We could do nothing but wait, we were told over and over again, until the commission made its report. We were powerless. The report, however, came at last. It was sent here only a few days ago, after the sundry civil bill, which had to carry the appropriation, had passed the House of Representatives and was in the Senate. Was this by design? But, nevertheless, just so soon as the report came to Congress we went to work, and after much effort succeeded in getting the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate to consent to put in the bill in the Senate an appropriation for two millions to purchase the site and begin to do something.

Now, I want to say the site selected is not to the liking of the people of New York City. It is in the most out-of-the-way place, and was selected, I am told, to placate the Pennsylvania Railroad. But be that as it may, we got the appropriation on the bill in the Senate and began to look forward with some degree of expectancy to the beginning of the new post-office in our city that would reflect credit on the Government and be commensurate with the wealth, the population, and the commercial supremacy of our metropolis. But, alas, again we were doomed to sorrowful disappointment. The distinguished gentleman from Illinois and his colleagues from Indiana and Arkansas, composing the conference committee on the part of the House, who have not a city in their districts with a population as large as that contained in the smallest borough of New York City, did not think the time was quite at hand for the Government to pay for the site or to begin the building. The site might be changed, don't you know. And, again, it might not be suitable after all. But if it were to be the site finally, nothing could be done until the Pennsylvania Railroad got its tunnel into the city and the excavations made for its terminal. Besides this, Congress had appropriated enough money—over a billion and a half of dollars—and it was time enough anyway to consider this in the next Congress.

And then, again, New York City is too far away from the districts of these gentlemen for them to know much about this site or to care much about it, and they must go there and see for themselves. Perhaps they have never been to New York and want to go there semiofficially and find out a little about it, and learn for themselves if the people are so anxious and if there is an imperative need of a new post-office. Then, again, another railroad company was jealous of the influence of the Pennsylvania. It wanted a site, too, forsooth. It protested. And so the appropriation went out. We were powerless. We did all we could. Now, I am informed, Mr. Speaker, that some of the commissioners designated to select the site never saw the site finally agreed on. One of these commissioners, I am told, was never in the part of our city where the site is located. But, be this as it

may, I care not, the important thing now that I wish to impress on this House and the people of New York City, is that the conferees on the part of this House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HEMENWAY], and the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. McRAE], made a determined fight in conference to strike out this appropriation of \$2,000,000, notwithstanding our pleading and protest, and then when they brought the conference report back into the House they refused to give a New York member the opportunity to say a single word in explanation.

Were they afraid to have this matter discussed in the open? Were they sensitive to criticism which they knew must follow their betrayal and inexplicable action? Or, were they being used merely as "cat's paws" of conflicting railroad interests, that would rather have no post-office at all in New York City, unless it can be placed where they desire? I want the people of New York City to understand that the reason this appropriation was stricken out, and the cause for the delay in getting the new post-office and better postal facilities, is the great railroad interests at stake, which have not yet been harmonized, and until their wishes are complied with the people must wait.

While the conflict of railroad interests has been going on "dust has been thrown in the eyes of the people," and everything has been done to retard this great public necessity, and I say now to the newspapers of New York City and to the people there, some of whom have wondered, no doubt, why their representatives were unable to get this appropriation for the new post-office, that we never will be able to get it until the conflicting railroad and other selfish and personal interests are satisfied and withdraw their opposition. This is the truth and all there is about it. While the conflict rages as to where the new post-office site shall be and which corporation will benefit the most by it, everything will remain at a practical standstill, and there will be in our city no new post-office. Let the great metropolitan newspapers look beneath the surface in this matter and they will have no difficulty in fixing the responsibility. I do not care to indulge in further criticism, although I could, or censure those who have stood in the way, although any man familiar with the circumstances involved in this long delay, who has witnessed the cunning and the chicanery of the agents here of selfish interests and the manipulations which have been going on for years regarding this very important matter, knows as much about it as I do, and I trust the press of New York City will look into the matter a little deeper than they have heretofore and place the responsibility where it justly belongs.

Now, sir, I want to say again in conclusion in behalf of my colleagues of New York City that they are not responsible—they have done all in their power, no men could do more—but the sad truth is we are in a hopeless minority and impotent to legislate for our city except with the consent of the majority; and that majority—the Republicans—will do nothing for the Democratic city of New York, especially if it will conflict with the grasping greed of monopoly and the sordid interests of the railroads that want the new post-office site located at their terminals or not at all, and their agents here have apparently more influence with the Republican majority in Congress than the just demands of all the people of New York City and their representatives included.

Civil Appointments of Persons Honorably Discharged
from the Military or Naval Service.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 3, 1903.

WASHINGTON.

1903.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 14105) to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the preference in civil appointments of persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This is a very meritorious bill, one that will do justice to the veterans of the civil war. I am in favor of it. I want to see it pass unanimously. It should have passed long ago. Those responsible for the failure of this just measure will regret it in the days and years to come.

Now, my friends, all that this bill does is to give a preference—a very slight preference—to the soldiers and sailors of the Union who fought for our country between 1861 and 1865—to the men who saved the Union and made us all that we are and all that we hope to be. Now, what is that preference? It is a preference in the civil service that exists to-day in almost every State of the North. It is a preference to make the law of the land simply say that where in a civil-service examination, all things being equal among those competing in that examination, the soldier or the sailor of the Union during the civil war, who has been honorably discharged and who is in every other way thoroughly capable and well qualified, shall have the preference in appointment to office and retention in the same. That is all this bill does. That is the whole thing in a nutshell. It is fair and it is just. I believe in that, and I hope this bill will now pass this House without a dissenting vote.

Let me say here again what I have often said before, that I am now, ever have been, and always expect to be the true and the sincere friend of the men who saved our country in the greatest hour of its peril. We owe them a debt we can never pay. They are entitled to our everlasting gratitude, and gratitude, my friends, is the fairest flower that sheds its perfume in the human heart. [Applause.] Let us be grateful lest we forget. My sympathy will always be with the brave boys who went to the front in the greatest crisis in all our country's history. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Speaker, we are in the dying hours of the Fifty-seventh Congress. It is nearly midnight, and to-morrow at noon we will adjourn sine die. This bill has been in Congress for years. How is it, I ask, that it never passes? Why is it always put off until the final hours? I know it will pass this House now, but too late, I fear, to reach the Senate and pass there. A very similar bill was defeated in this way in the closing hours of the Fifty-sixth Congress. It is the old, old story of broken promises—prom-

ises made to the ear and broken to the hope. The Republicans do not keep faith with the Union veterans. How much longer can they be fooled? I hope the fate of this bill will open their eyes and cause them to think.

The subject-matter of this bill, sir, was introduced in this House on the 2d day of December, 1901. From that day to this it has slept in a Republican committee of this House. H. R. 14105, now before the House, was introduced April 29, 1902. Appeal after appeal, effort after effort, has been made by the friends of the measure to get it reported, but without avail. Who has been responsible? The Republicans. And I ask if this bill fails to become a law at this time, who must take the responsibility? The Republicans. How much longer will you deny the just demands of the old veterans? How much longer must they wait—and wait in vain? Republicans, you must answer.

Let us keep our word. Let us be just and make this bill a law. It is not yet too late. The Republican leaders in this House and in the Senate can do so if they are sincere and mean what they say. I am with the veterans, and I am opposed to fooling them. It is late, but if we act quickly it is not too late. Republicans, in the name of justice, in the name of gratitude, will you do it? These grand old battle-scarred veterans are not asking much. There is little, very little, that we can do now or hereafter to fittingly repay the heroic soldiers and sailors of the Union. They deserve much. What they did will never perish. I say again, I have always been with them, and what is more, I always will be with them so long as I live. [Applause.]

The ranks of the Grand Army are thinning out. Call the illustrious roll to-day and the silence tells the story. In a few years they will be no more. As the years come and go they are getting fewer and fewer, and we all know the time is not far distant when the old soldier and sailor of the Union will be a sacred memory of the past. But, sir, while they are here, while the few yet live, I say, let us give them the preference in the same spirit that they gave their lives, their blood, their fortunes, and their best efforts for the safety, the greatness, and the perpetuity of our glorious Union in the mightiest struggle in war that ever shook the world. [Applause.]

I believe, Mr. Speaker, my Democratic colleagues are with me in my efforts to do justice to the veterans of the civil war. I am glad to know this, and I am surprised, sir, to hear my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] compare the soldiers and the sailors of the greatest civil strife in the history of the world with the soldiers on dress parade during the Spanish-American war. [Laughter.] That war was a ninety-day affair—a military holiday. The Spaniards were not in it at all. Why, everybody wanted to go, I believe, to the Spanish-American war—

Mr. WACHTER. Did you?

Mr. SULZER. Yes, my benighted friend; I wanted to go very badly. [Laughter.] The Republicans, however, wouldn't let me. They were afraid I might come back. [Laughter.] The records of this House, and at Albany, N. Y., and in the War Department here, will tell the story if my friend will look them up. I organized a regiment in New York City to go to that war, but I was not permitted to muster it in by either a Republican

governor of New York or a Republican President, presumably on account of my politics. [Applause.] Oh, yes; I wanted to go mighty bad, but I was forced to stay at home and fight Spain in Congress by the Republican governor of the State of New York. [Laughter.] He thought at that time that I might come back and be a candidate in 1898 for governor [laughter], but he was watching the wrong man; another citizen of New York State also organized a regiment and got it mustered in, and he came back and succeeded Frank S. Black as governor, and that man is now President Roosevelt. Brother Black had his eye on the wrong man, and history is different—but my friend can read all about it in the archives of his country. Now, my friends, I think we all agree that there is no comparison between the terrific struggle from 1861 to 1865 and the Spanish-American war. When I look back upon the war with Spain it pales into insignificance in comparison with the former mighty conflict. Sometimes now I really feel sorry for Spain, although you all know I was one of the chief members here who from 1895 to 1898, in season and out of season, never failed to denounce Spain and demand the freedom of Cuba. [Applause and laughter.]

But, Mr. Speaker, thrashing Spain was a good deal like a giant kicking a cripple. We should not crow too much about it. History will set it all right, and give every man his true place in that momentary international triumph of American arms on land and sea.

Mr. SIMS. Have you forgotten Funston?

Mr. SULZER. Not at all; Funston is swimming along all right. [Laughter.]

But, sir, Thackeray—that great master of English diction—once upon a time was constrained to facetiously remark—that “comparisons are odious.” Now, I am not a Thackeray, and it is not my purpose to make comparisons between the soldiers of this war or the soldiers of that war. They all did their duty. They were all brave soldiers. They were all true Americans. They all loved their country and were willing to die that it might live and triumph.

I am a friend of the Spanish-American war veterans. No braver men ever faced a foe. Their glory will live while our history is a memory, and the work they did for struggling liberty in Cuba and for humanity in Porto Rico will ever be an imperishable monument to their valor, their heroism, and their glory. They, too, deserve our help, our consideration, and our eternal gratitude. Feeling about this matter as I do—speaking from my heart—and imbued with the sentiments I now express, I would like to see the veterans of the Spanish-American war stand side by side with the old guard of the civil war in this bill, and I say for one here that I will vote for such an amendment with as much pleasure as I shall vote for this bill. But whether this amendment is adopted now or not, it is bound to come in the next Congress, and the time will soon be at hand when every soldier and every sailor of the Republic who can show an honorable discharge, no matter in what war he fought, will stand on an equal footing before the law of the land in regard to preferences in civil appointments.

Now, sir, I am for this bill with all my heart. Let us pass it

and hurry it over to the Senate and pass it there ere we adjourn. If we pass it here and let it die in the Senate it will do no good, but cause sadness and disappointment to thousands and thousands of the bravest men the world has ever seen. I say to the gentlemen on the other side of this Chamber that if this bill fails to become a law during this Congress, they will be held responsible for its defeat. How will you ever be able to explain why you left it in the committee for fifteen months, and now, on the eve of adjournment, move to discharge the committee from further consideration and try to pass it under a suspension of the rules, when you know it is so late in the session that it is extremely improbable if it can pass the Senate? The responsibility is yours. If this bill dies in the Senate, the Republican party kills it. Soldiers and sailors of the Union, remember this.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to print, in connection with my remarks, some data.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SULZER. The report in 1900 of the committee on legislation for veterans in public service, made at Chicago, was as follows:

*To the Thirty-fourth National Encampment,
Grand Army of the Republic, greeting:*

COMRADES: The committee on legislation for veterans in public service, appointed by the commander in chief, submit the following report. Regrettably, but necessarily so, it is one of progress:

PROGRESS REPORTS.

Progress reports are not always satisfactory, particularly if they concern a subject that has been hammered at, unsuccessfully, for twenty years; especially so when hard, earnest, devoted work for simple justice to war veterans during all those years produces little or no effect on those who make our laws.

Less than forty years ago the Armies and Navy of the Republic, through their great leaders, began to make progress reports. These latter, representing an unparalleled sacrifice of life and health and limb to men and of suffering to women and children, borne without murmur or complaint during four years of cruel war, did not partake of the idea "how not to do it." The paramount issue then was the Union. There was no dispute about that. To meet it no sacrifice was regarded too great.

The progress reported from the battle line finally gave satisfactory assurance to the American people at home that war would cease and peace come again. This result was reached. When the struggle ended the issue was settled right, and settled forever. The Union was saved, our nation made forever free, and joy reigned throughout the land.

But what of the survivors of those who wrought out so much for free government and humanity? Has there been any such hope for them as Appomattox gave to the people? Have they been remembered? Have their material interests been regarded; and if not, why? The pathway is strewn with promises. Alas! Promises made to the ear, but broken to the hope; and hope deferred maketh the heart sick. 'Twas ever so.

As the result of war, two obligations were incurred. One was financial. It required money, principal and interest, to liquidate this. And the promise to pay was well kept. The other was sacrifice. To be canceled by gratitude. Not in eloquent words, but acts. To care for him who had borne the battle, the widows and orphans of the fallen, and to suitably recognize those who survived. How? Pensions to those who deserved them; a reasonable preference in the public service to those who were worthy and sought needed employment. This in justice. In incurring this obligation of sacrifice, a national debt was created. None more sacred. In settling it, political considerations have no rightful share. Such sacrifice was above all politics. Gratitude is over a paramount issue.

A SAD REFLECTION.

In the light of our present greatness as a leading power in the affairs of the world, the history of free government in America, having its origin with the liberty-loving pilgrim fathers who landed at Plymouth Rock, embodied and emphasized in the Declaration of Independence, fought for its success in the Revolution, and made absolutely secure in the sixties, the cause continually progressing—and ever in blood and sacrifice while the battle raged—some self-evident facts are apparent. It must not be forgotten that into the four years of 1861-65 were crowded four centuries of human progress of an advanced civilization. A just payment of one obligation to those who did this and still survive is long past due.

Yet a sad reflection is found for us in the knowledge we have, as representatives of the survivors of those who fought for union and freedom and liberty successfully then, that thirty-five years after that war closed committees of this body are still reporting progress concerning an important matter. The fulfillment of a promise involving not a dollar of appropriation, but to which the honor and good faith of the people were then pledged, ever since unredeemed.

Even now history is repeating itself. What we have experienced of neglect and indifference for many years others are now finding out. Young men who served in the war with Spain, in Cuba and in the Philippines, are walking the streets seeking employment from door to door. And finding it not. Is this right?

Looking over the debates of the Congresses there can be found many kind words spoken for the soldier and sailor, but absolutely nothing in way of statutory law insuring to those who enter the military or naval service in times of war—serving until the end of their terms of enlistment or the close of hostilities, being honorably discharged—a reasonable preference in the public service in times of peace. Pensions, yes. Will any American urge that any meager pittance as a pension doled out compensates loss of manhood—the manhood that was ready to sacrifice life itself, voluntarily, in battle, in order that the Republic might survive—and the inherent desire to earn bread by labor? Perish the thought! We will not believe it.

THE PREFERENCE BILL.

Early in the Fifty-sixth Congress, viz, December 6-7, 1899, in order to carry out the expressed wishes of the thirty-third national encampment, Grand Army of the Republic, held at Philadelphia, a bill was introduced by Mr. THOMAS C. PLATT, of New York, in the Senate (S. 283), and by Mr. JAMES A. TAWNEY, of Minnesota, in the House (H. R. 2583). The loyal service of both these gentlemen commands our admiration, and they well deserve your thanks. In the Senate it was referred to the Committee to Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service, of which Mr. Jonathan Ross, of Vermont, is chairman, and in the House to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, of which Mr. FREDERICK H. GILLET, of Massachusetts is chairman. Its text was as follows:

“A bill in reference to the civil service and appointments thereunder.

“*Be it enacted, etc.,* That in every Executive Department of the United States Government, and in each and every branch thereof, whether reached by competitive or noncompetitive examinations under the civil-service laws (in which case the rules and regulations affecting the same shall so provide), honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines, who served as such between April 12, 1861, and August 26, 1865, shall be certified and preferred for appointment to and retention in employment in the public service, and for promotion therein; age, loss of limb, or other physical impairment which does not in fact incapacitate, shall not disqualify them, provided they possess the business capacity necessary to discharge the duties of the position involved. And persons thus preferred shall not be removed from their position except for good cause, upon charges and after a hearing.

“SEC. 2. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.”

The language was identical with S. 3256, which had passed the Senate, but failed of consideration in the House, though favorably reported thereto, in the Fifty-fifth Congress. Both in Senate and House, bills of similar import were introduced by others. Among these, H. R. 5773, by Mr. JACOB H. BROMWELL, of Ohio. This latter, accompanied by a report by Mr. CHARLES B. LANDIS, of Indiana, was the one reported to the House.

IN THE SENATE.

Senate bill 283 was reported back with an amendment, March 22, 1900, the Senate Committee inserting after the words “sixty-five,” the following in

italics: or in the recent war with Spain or in the Philippine Islands, they being otherwise duly qualified, etc. (as in the original bill).

Your committee, through personal interviews and by correspondence with nearly every member of the Senate committee, endeavored to secure a modification of the amended bill by striking out the word *or* and prefacing the other italicized words with the following, in small caps: **AND FIRST AFTER VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR, THOSE WHO SERVED, etc.** (as in the amended bill). But they would then listen to nothing. Mr. HOAR, of Massachusetts, and Mr. FORAKER, of Ohio, insisted that the amendment should remain as it was. The bill passed the Senate in the form reported, May 16, and the chairman of your committee, he being then department commander of New York, and the annual encampment in session at Utica, was so advised by Mr. PLATT, of New York, by wire. The very next day, however, May 17, somewhat strange to relate, in the absence from the Senate of Mr. PLATT, as your committee is advised, on motion of Mr. HOAR, the bill was recalled from the House, where it had been received and referred to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, its passage by the Senate being on a later day reconsidered by that body, and it was returned to the Senate committee. The facts are stated. The reasons for them are unknown to us.

The committee accorded a hearing on the bill May 31. Two sessions were held. We urged consideration on the line of our proposed modification. Present to oppose it were the president of the United States Civil Service Commission and a representative of the Civil Service Reform League. Neither has ever been friendly to the veteran. The bill is still in the Senate committee, not being again reported prior to adjournment. The members of your committee present, aided by Comrades E. C. Johnson and J. W. Cobaugh and Department Commander of the Potomac G. H. Slaybaugh and Special Aid George H. Patrick, as also that earnest friend of the veteran, ex-Congressman James R. Howe, who accompanied the chairman of your committee from Brooklyn on this errand, did what they could to secure action on the bill, but without avail.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON REFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

H. R. 2583, upon the organization of the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, was placed in the hands of a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. C. B. LANDIS, Indiana; JAMES R. MANN, Illinois; WILLIAM ELLIOTT, South Carolina, and CHARLES N. FOWLER, New Jersey. This subcommittee met June 2, a quorum was present, Mr. ELLIOTT being absent, and by a majority vote of that quorum decided to report the bill to the full committee. That the bill was so reported, credit is due solely to Mr. LANDIS and Mr. FOWLER. Upon the announcement of the subcommittee that they were ready to report, all else depended.

At the meeting of the House committee held June 4, eight of its thirteen members being present—seven constituting a quorum—your committee was accorded a hearing. Following that, as your committee are advised, it was decided to amend and substitute the Bromwell bill (H. R. 5779)—Mr. BROMWELL was a member of the committee—for that of others pending of a similar nature, including the Tawney bill (H. R. 2583), and to report it with the modification asked for by your committee, and this was done. For the favorable report of a majority of the quorum on this bill by the committee to the House—and it needed five votes—we are indebted to Messrs. C. B. LANDIS, Indiana; J. H. BROMWELL, Ohio; J. D. BOWERSOCK, Kansas; M. H. Glynn, New York, and J. F. Fitzgerald, Massachusetts. It was a distinguished service, and they should be kindly remembered for it. The others present at the meeting of the committee were F. H. GILLETT, Massachusetts, chairman; J. F. LACEY, Iowa, and C. N. FOWLER, New Jersey.

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 5779) in reference to the civil service and appointments thereunder, submit the following report:

"In the matter of the appointment of persons to positions in the Executive Departments of the Government under existing laws, soldiers and sailors who incurred disabilities in the service (the discharge must show that fact—J. W. K.) and who have taken the civil-service examination are to be preferred.

"Under the provisions of the bill herewith reported this preference will extend to and include all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines who served as such between April 12, 1861, and August 25, 1865, and to those honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines who served in the recent war with Spain or in the Philippine Islands, without reference to the disabilities they may have incurred in the service. Under the present law the right of

preference is based upon disabilities. Under the proposed bill the right of preference is based upon the service and ability of the soldier, sailor, or marine who has served during the time of war and has an honorable discharge.

"The present law has given rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction among soldiers and sailors, for the reason that the man who may have served only one month or less, if during that service he incurred any disability (causing him to be discharged from the service—J. W. K.), is given preference in the matter of employment by the Government over the soldier or sailor who may have served from the beginning until the close of the war, enduring all the hardships and privations incident to that service, but incurring no permanent disabilities.

"Your committee have thought it well to include those who served in the recent war with Spain or in the Philippines, being honorably discharged, giving them preference first after veterans of the civil war. The passage of this bill will not in any way affect the operation of the civil-service law, rules, or regulations with respect to examinations for appointment. Soldiers and sailors, under the provisions of this proposed law, who apply for positions will be required as now to pass the civil-service examination, the preference applying only in selection of persons from the eligible list.

"The proposed bill also applies to promotions as well as to appointments, and, if passed, will prevent the removal of any soldier or sailor except for good cause and upon charges and after a hearing.

"Believing that the discrimination which the present law makes against the soldier or sailor who has an honorable record of service, but who was fortunate enough not to incur any permanent disability (requiring his discharge from service—J. W. K.) is neither right nor just, your committee therefore recommend the passage of this bill."

PUBLIC OFFICE—PRIVATE SNAP.

Instead of public office being a "public trust," it is too frequently regarded as "a private snap." This idea permeates all our Government, in spots. An honorable discharge from the military or naval service—the greatest badge of honor that can come to any citizen in this Republic—as a recommendation when applying for employment to public officials, ought by them to be respected. In some departments, however, in recent years the badge or button of the Grand Army of the Republic, evidencing service and sacrifice in the "days which tried men's souls"—notably so in the navy-yard at Brooklyn, N. Y.—is not alone regarded with disfavor by some of the "little bosses" there, but makes him who wears it the subject of ridicule and not seldom of insulting language, unworthy to come from one who claims to be an American; and besides this, though preferred for appointment, veterans are the first discharged, and usually in such a way that they can not hope to get back. This is no fancied picture.

While such conduct has not the approval of Hon. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, who has many times when appealed to shown in various ways his regard for the just claims of veterans of war, the statute affecting employment at navy-yards and the system in vogue of making the "petty boss" sole judge, jury, and executioner concerning the merits of men, when reductions of force are made necessary for any cause, permits it. Some of these bosses hate the veteran who is a Grand Army man. The fact that no statutory law protects worthy veterans enables discriminations and wrong, many times due to prejudice alone, being done to them.

PRACTICAL GRATITUDE.

Engrafted in the constitution of the State of New York, by vote of the people and becoming operative January 1, 1895, is found the following:

"ARTICLE V., SECTION 9. * * * Appointments and promotions in the civil service of the State, and of all the civil divisions thereof, including cities and villages, shall be made according to merit and fitness, to be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations, which, so far as practicable, shall be competitive: *Provided, however,* That honorably discharged soldiers and sailors from the Army and Navy of the United States in the late civil war, who are citizens and residents of this State, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion, without regard to their standing on any list from which such appointment or promotion may be made. Laws shall be made to provide for the enforcement of this section."

Here is an example of practical gratitude which is significant. If the debt of one State, to all veterans of the Union, is thus regarded and recognized by its people, what about the debt of other States? What about the debt of the States united? The latter debt is the greater.

THE PRESIDENT.

During the year the chairman of your committee has many times had occasion to go to our comrade, William McKinley, President of the United States, in the interest of other comrades who needed help or protection. And never in vain. Numerous restorations to the public service of veterans wronged gave needed help, and some sweeping reforms in ideas of administration adopted by him for the protection of other veterans in their rights have produced good results for our people in other directions.

A letter of the President to the Cabinet officers dated July 12, 1899, requiring that where in any place in the civil service exempted from examination under an Executive order of May 29, preceding, a position was held by any honorably discharged soldier or sailor of either war, he should not be removed therefrom until the papers in the case had first been sent to him, personally, was far-reaching. In line with the desire of your committee to establish the principle for which we are now contending in the form of a statutory law, that service in war is entitled to recognition by retention and continuance in the employment of the Government in times of peace, this well-intended action was a long stride in the right direction.

The example of the President is one worthy to be regarded by all subordinates.

Of like character, in effect, was a peremptory order issued by the President in January last to the United States Civil Service Commission, to submit an amended rule so that where a veteran of the war became disconnected from the civil service through no fault or misconduct on his own part, and was restored, accepting a minor place in order that he might help provide for himself and his family, that, on the recommendation of the appointing officer, he could be fully reinstated at the highest compensation he had received before becoming disconnected from the service. Such a rule was submitted and signed, being now known as Rule XI. Many veterans were thereby benefited. And the unjust precedents in this direction established for eight years by the United States Civil Service Commission, were set aside. These no longer exist to oppress the worthy veteran or rob him of his rights.

THE LAST WORDS.

"The agony and bloody sweat are over. Lip service has again been tried and found wanting. Hypocrisy and low cunning prevail. God help the veteran. Good-by."

The foregoing were the last penned words in the contest waged by your committee at the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress, for rights. They were written at 4 p. m. June 7. By whom written, to whom addressed, is not material here. Voicing despair, they contain a rebuke to some of the lawmakers of the nation during thirty-five years last past, richly deserved. Due regard being given to the many expressions of national encampments on the subject of the veteran in the public service, to the work of the committees appointed by them from time to time for many years—and which has been performed without money and without price—in this behalf, to the supreme justice of our cause and the indifference shown to these appeals, sufficient reason is found for the expressions referred to. And they were not without effect. In less than five minutes Mr. BROMWELL of Ohio had the floor. It seemed as though justice was about to progress to some purpose. But pages 7458 and 7457 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that day best tell what happened. Read and ponder. We quote:

CIVIL SERVICE APPOINTMENTS FOR HONORABLY DISCHARGED SOLDIERS, ETC.

Mr. BROMWELL. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

"A bill (H. R. 5779) giving preference to honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines in all appointments in the civil service of the United States.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That in every Executive Department of the United States Government and in each and every branch thereof, whether reached by competitive or noncompetitive examinations under the civil-service laws (in which case the rules and regulations affecting the same shall so provide), honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines who served as such between April 12, 1861, and August 26, 1865, shall be certified and preferred for appointment to and retention in employment in the public service and for promotion therein. Age, loss of limb, or other physical impairment which does not in fact incapacitate shall not disqualify them, provided they possess the business capacity necessary to discharge the duties of the position involved; and persons

thus preferred shall not be removed from their positions except for good cause, upon charges, and after a hearing.

"SEC. 2. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

The amendment reported by the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service was read, as follows:

"After '1865,' in line 10, insert 'and first after the aforementioned veterans of the civil war, those honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines who served in the recent war with Spain or in the Philippine Islands, they being otherwise qualified.'"

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

Mr. LENTZ. I do not rise to object; I want an answer to one question. Will the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROMWELL] tell me whether this bill enlarges the provisions already contained in our statutes on this subject?

Mr. BROMWELL. It does to this extent: Under the present law the veterans of the civil war are given a preference in these appointments, provided they are not incapacitated by wounds or disease. This extends the law to all honorably discharged soldiers. And then an amendment has been reported by the committee providing that after the veterans of the civil war preference shall be given in these civil-service appointments to "honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines who served in the recent war with Spain or in the Philippine Islands."

The SPEAKER. Is there any objection?

Mr. LENTZ. I have no objection.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I object.

Mr. CLAYTON of Alabama. I hope the gentleman from Mississippi will withdraw his objection.

Mr. BROMWELL. I move the rules be suspended in order that this bill may be considered and put on its passage with the amendment of the committee.

Mr. SULZER. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. BROMWELL. Certainly.

The SPEAKER. Let the Chair state the question. The gentleman from Ohio moves to suspend the rules and pass the bill which has just been read with the amendment indicated.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I ask the gentleman from Ohio whether this is the House bill?

Mr. BROMWELL. This, Mr. Speaker, is the so-called Grand Army bill, which was introduced under the auspices of the grand encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic. It is a House bill.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, this is a good bill. I am heartily in favor of its passage. It should have been reported long ago. I want to ask the gentleman from Ohio why it has not been reported and passed before, so that the Senate could act on it? Why is it brought up to be passed in the last hour of the session? Is it a bluff (like the antitrust bill) to fool the old soldiers? At all events the bill should pass, and I hope there will be no objection to it. It should have passed this House early in the session.

Mr. BROMWELL. I will answer the gentleman by saying that this bill was considered by the Committee on Civil Service Reform only last Monday. It was reported to the House; but the business of the House has been such that it was impossible to call it up under suspension of the rules; and, as the gentleman well knows, it would have been impossible probably to obtain unanimous consent, as has been evidenced here to-day by the fact that it was objected to by the gentleman from Mississippi. Now, then, we have only a few moments left in which to pass the bill.

The SPEAKER. This debate is all out of order.

Mr. SULZER. The only complaint that I have to make is that you did not bring up and pass the bill before.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to suspend the rules.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I demand a second.

Mr. BROMWELL. May I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I object.

The Chair appointed as tellers Mr. BROMWELL and Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi.

The House divided; and the tellers reported—ayes 98, noes 6.

The SPEAKER. The motion is seconded.

Mr. ALLEN of Mississippi. No quorum present.

Several MEMBERS (on the Democratic side). Oh, no; do not make that point.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. ALLEN] makes the point that no quorum is present.

Mr. MERCER. I make the point that that is dilatory.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count the House.

[One hundred and sixty-three members were counted as present.]

Mr. BROMWELL. Before the final announcement of this count, I wish to say this: In view of the fact that there are but thirty-five minutes left before the final adjournment and that forty minutes for debate can be claimed under the rule, and in view of the dilatory tactics of some gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, it is evident that it will be impossible to get a roll call on this bill, which will probably be demanded. [Cries of "Regular order!"] I therefore ask permission to withdraw the bill from the consideration of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman withdraws the bill.

Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts. Just one moment, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. FITZGERALD of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I object to the withdrawal of this bill by the gentleman from Ohio. Inasmuch as he has claimed to inject politics into this matter, I desire to say, as a member of the committee reporting this bill, that this measure was supported by Mr. Glynn and myself in the committee. I think it is a proper bill, and we should make every effort to have it passed.

Mr. DALZELL. I move that the House take a recess until 10 minutes before 5 o'clock.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is not authorized to submit that motion in the absence of a quorum.

Mr. DALZELL. There has been no announcement of no quorum.

The SPEAKER. The Chair has announced the number present—not enough to make a quorum. The Chair is not advised of any new arrivals in the Hall.

Mr. SULZER. Regular order!

The SPEAKER. This is the regular order.

Other members having entered the Hall, the Speaker announced 178, a quorum, present.

"FRATERNITY MEANS SOMETHING."

Among the declared tenets of faith of the Grand Army of the Republic is found the proclamation, "Fraternity without regard to former rank is the broad foundation stone on which our order rests." This means cohesion. Clannishness, if you will. It naturally follows, then, that help and protection to a worthy comrade requiring it, enjoined by its constitution, is a paramount duty. One that may not pass unheeded. The material welfare of one, even the humblest among us, is the concern of every other comrade. An injury or injustice to one becomes the cause of all. Have we been true?

In two essentials of obligation veterans ought to be a unit. The first is that vigilance be exercised to see that the pension laws enacted are executed in a spirit of honesty and fairness to the deserving soldier and sailor, and to the dependent widows and orphans. In none others are we interested. The second, to secure legislation accomplishing and then guard well the right to a preference of worthy veterans for public employment. An honorable discharge from service and present ability ought to be the only passports required by them for such preference.

The sentiment expressed by one of the later mayors of a now extinguished great city, who, concerning the claims for appointment of a man who had lost one arm in the service, and by reason of another wound was, since the war, compelled to carry a leg in splints, said, "That is ancient history," will not find lodgment in the hearts of the American people. And the minds of the lawmakers of the nation should not be perverted by any such thought.

DECLARATION FOR RIGHTS.

It was long ago written, "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." What this organization most needs now is to proclaim a new Declaration of Independence—this time for rights. The prior right of veterans to serve in times of peace the country for which they fought in war. Prefer-

ence in its public employ. Compensating wages by labor. And in fraternity, charity, and loyalty—one for all and all for one—again do battle to secure and have such right enforced.

That "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" might not perish from the earth, was the task once committed to our care. With what result the whole world is familiar.

That the war for the Union and what it cost in sacrifice may not be forgotten, nor its survivors be belittled—particularly by the politicians—in this day and generation, is the supreme duty, with us, in this hour.

That volunteer service in the Armies and Navy of the United States, in times of war, deserves not alone emulation and praise, but to those who survive and are honorably discharged, being worthy and capable, preference for appointment, promotion, and retention in the public service in times of peace, is a principle to which we ought to stand committed, now and forever.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

We ask this encampment to approve and indorse the present report.

We recommend that the work of this committee be pressed by a committee of the Grand Army of the Republic during the coming year, or until the object in view in its appointment has been secured; and to aid in accomplishing that end, that a copy of this report, including the action of this encampment thereon, be sent to each post in our organization, with instructions that the same shall be read at the meeting of the post next succeeding its receipt and a resolution adopted by it approving of and urging upon Congress the passage of H. R. 5779 (the veteran preference in employment measure) now pending in the House of Representatives; that the Senators and Representatives in Congress be fully advised of such action by comrades, and that a copy of the resolution adopted by the post, officially signed by the commander and adjutant, be forwarded to the adjutant-general of the Grand Army of the Republic.

CONCLUSION.

Many little things occurring in the last battle of the campaign for justice, commencing with May 31 and ending June 7, only when the gavel fell and the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress stood adjourned, might be told, but we refrain. Perhaps an awakened conscience may cause a change of heart in some directions. We shall hope so. And as to our friends, they will remain loyal and true. It is well to say that President McKinley gave us his personal assurance that the bill now pending on the Calendar of the House (H. R. 5779) met with his approval; and Speaker HENDERSON, on the day after the adjournment, said to the chairman of your committee concerning it that "prompt consideration will be given the bill on the reassembling of Congress." The promise of "help in December" may be redeemed. We shall rely upon it, anyhow.

Fraternally, yours,

JOS. W. KAY, *New York, Chairman,*
CHAS. BURROWS, *New Jersey,*
ISAAC F. MACK, *Ohio,*
H. H. CUMMINGS, *Pennsylvania,*
W. W. ELDRIDGE, *Potomac,*
Committee.

CHICAGO, ILL., *August 29, 1900.*

And this was promulgated to the posts of the entire order, officially, as follows:

Circular No. 1.

HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
St. Louis, Mo., September 13, 1900.

The accompanying "report of the committee on legislation for veterans in the public service" was approved and indorsed and the recommendations of the same adopted by the thirty-fourth national encampment, held at Chicago, Ill., August 29, 1900.

Complying with such action, the posts of our order are hereby requested to take due notice thereof and be governed thereby. A simple form of resolution only is required. Such a form as may be used, if agreeable, accompanies this circular. When action has been taken by the post, comrades are requested, if convenient, to see the United States Senators from their States and Representatives in Congress from their respective districts, advising them of the action taken by the post, and its wishes concerning the veteran preference law (H. R. 5779). Such resolution as may be adopted should be duly authenticated by adding the signatures of the commander and adjutant of the post (and seal, by posts having one) and then be mailed promptly, addressed F. M. Sterrett, Adjutant-General G. A. R., St. Louis, Mo.

This important work, which has been so ably and satisfactorily presented and advanced by the committee having charge of same, can easily be made the law of the land if the comrades perform the service herein required of them. Commanders and adjutants are specially enjoined to secure action without unnecessary delay.

Fraternally yours,

LEO RASSIEUR,
Commander in Chief.

Official:

F. M. STERRETT,
Adjutant-General.

—

—, 1900.

At a regular meeting of ——— Post, No. —, Department of ———, Grand Army of the Republic, held at its headquarters ———, on the above date, after reading and duly considering the "report of the committee on legislation for veterans in the public service," made to the thirty-fourth national encampment at Chicago, Ill., August 29, 1900, the action of said encampment thereon, and the circular of the commander in chief, it was unanimously

Resolved, That this post approves and urges upon the Fifty-sixth Congress of the United States, at its session in December, the prompt passage of H. R. 5779 (the veteran-preference measure) as an act of justice long delayed.

* * * * *

A transcript from the record.

[L. S.]

Official:

——, *Adjutant.*

——, *Commander.*

Concerning what resulted therefrom, officially reported, page 103 of the Journal of the thirty-fifth national encampment, held at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1901, over the signature of F. M. Sterrett, adjutant-general Grand Army of the Republic, contains the following:

LEGISLATION.

The adjutant-general received resolutions from 1,287 posts, located in 44 departments of the Grand Army of the Republic, indorsing the veterans' preference law, as set forth in House resolution 5779, before the Fifty-sixth Congress of the United States, which was forwarded by him to the committee on legislation for the Grand Army of the Republic, authorized by the national encampment. The number of each post, with the name of the department, was collated on 23 typewritten pages, which, being bound, the following indorsement was placed thereon: "To be filed with the custodian of records, under the seal of the order, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., as a refutation of the charge made by Hon. WM. P. HEPBURN, of Iowa, on the floor of Congress when the veterans' preference law, House resolution 5779, was under discussion in December, 1900, when he said, 'No one is authorized to speak for these men.'"

The report of the "committee on legislation for veterans in public service," made at Cleveland, Ohio, in September, 1901, was as follows:

To the Thirty-fifth National Encampment, Grand Army of the Republic, greeting:

COMRADES: The "committee on legislation for veterans in the public service," appointed by the commander in chief in accordance with action authorizing it taken by the thirty-fourth national encampment, held at Chicago, Ill., August 29-30, 1900, strongly reaffirming the principles declared on the subject-matter and the views of the bounden duty of all comrades of our great organization concerning it and other things, as set forth and expressed in its last previous report, now submit the following:

While the last report was one of progress and of hope, based on promises made by the Speaker of the House and others, and encouragement given by our comrade, the President of the United States, concerning the desired legislation, on all which your committee placed reliance, the result shows only disaster. Yet the Union forces, as a body, never despaired of the grand results finally achieved by them during the civil war, and hence this grand organization must not despair, regardless of the character or strength of the foes it is called upon to meet in this, its present war for justice.

THE VETERAN PREFERENCE LAWS.

Much misunderstanding exists concerning the veteran preference laws and their scope. What they are should be made plain. The text of section 1754, Revised Statutes, United States, is herein given. So also is the civil-service rule of October 29, 1884, secured only after a long struggle by the present chairman of this committee. The statute is mandatory as to those covered by it; and since the promulgation of the rule, boards of examiners have allowed the preference in certification necessary to those entitled to preference under the statute who are found eligible through competitive examination.

Otherwise, even they could not be appointed. In operation, the beneficiaries of both statute and rule are, to the extent of 45 per cent, soldiers and sailors of the Regular and Volunteer Army and Navy, who enlisted and served since 1865. No preference whatever is accorded to those who were honorably discharged at the expiration of their terms of enlistment, or by reason of the ending of the civil war. And it matters not how many times a man was wounded.

The foregoing statement is true despite the wrong perpetrated on such men by an inspired article emanating from Washington (the Civil Service Reform League, likely), which appeared in the public press of the country while the veterans' preference bill was pending in Congress, wherein it was made to appear that all veterans of the civil war were given a preference. The United States Civil Service Commission, though urgently requested to do so by this committee, failed to set the matter right. Hence more false teaching was scattered among the people.

There is a law concerning the matter of retention of veterans already in the service. The force and applicability of that has recently been denied by the collector of customs and the collector of internal revenue at New York. And this denial appears to have been sustained by the head of one of the Executive Departments, viz, the Secretary of the Treasury. This furnishes one reason for an appeal to the President.

Chapter 287, laws of 1876, embodied in Statutes at Large, United States (vol. 19), is in part as follows:

" * * * *Provided*, That in making any reduction of force in any of the Executive Departments, the head of such Department shall retain those persons who may be equally qualified who have been honorably discharged from the military or naval service of the United States, and the widows and orphans of deceased sailors and soldiers."

The laws above referred to or quoted are the only ones which provide a preference for veterans, either for appointment to or retention in the public service and, except for a recommendatory statute, section 1755, the spirit of which was gratitude, but is without force, no other legislation on the subject has been enacted. Some changes of civil-service rules affecting veterans who become disconnected from the public service, in regard to reinstatement, have been made. And that is all.

IN THE HOUSE.

The defeat of the Bromwell bill (H. R. 5779) in the House of Representatives December 17, 1900, was most decisive. Concerning what then took place reference is made to pages 383-387 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, second session Fifty-sixth Congress. We will not take the time to inflict upon you the sad story to which the public records bear witness in the debate on this bill. It shows an immense amount of inexcusable and lamentable lack of knowledge on the part of many men in public life—some of whom we call comrades—regarding existing statute laws affecting the preference and status of veterans in the public service; or could it have been a fear of the Civil-Service Reform League, whose noisy opposition to this measure and the veteran on general principles is baseless and without good reason, for otherwise, it is strong evidence of willful misrepresentation and deceit, all the more harmful and reprehensible when emanating from high public officials, especially to be regretted if coming from those who served in the Union forces, and who therefore would be supposed to know the law and the facts, as well as the justice and necessity of such a law being enacted, and to speak the truth in matters concerning their comrades.

A quotation or two in support of the foregoing statement will suffice. For instance:

Mr. HEPBURN (Iowa), a comrade, said:

"I do not believe that anybody has the right to speak for those men who might be benefited by this law, and say that he represents them.

"I do not believe that those men who served between 1861 and 1865, or the masses of them, ask for this legislation." * * *

* * * "Under the law as it is to-day, preference is required in matters of appointment, other things being equal, to the old soldier." * * *

Mr. GROSVENOR (Ohio), a comrade also, said:

"Mr. Speaker, I greatly desire the passage of some legislation upon this subject, but I join the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] in the criticisms which he has made." * * *

It is fair to assume that both these men knew better, because they received the former report of your committee, and the action of the thirty-fourth national encampment on same was known to them. In addition, they had long experience as lawmakers of the nation.

Sharing in the debate, besides Speaker HENDERSON, were BROMWELL and GROSVENOR, Ohio; RICHARDSON and SIMS, Tennessee; FOWLER, New Jersey; HEPBURN and LACEY, Iowa; TALBERT, South Carolina; BINGHAM, Pennsylvania; WHEELER, Kentucky; MOODY, McCALL, and GILLET, Massachusetts; Clayton and SULZER, New York; LIVINGSTON and FLEMING, Georgia, and MONDELL, Wyoming.

Of these, BROMWELL, BINGHAM, LACEY, MOODY, Clayton, and SULZER spoke favoring the bill. Speaker HENDERSON appeared also to do so. The others opposed it.

Preceding the debate, on the demand for a second, the vote by tellers was 67 ayes to 34 noes. Following the debate, the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, as announced by the Speaker, was 51 in the affirmative to 105 in the negative. And so it has gone into history. The yeas and nays were called for, but no roll call was permitted, though 25 arose in favor of same. This failure to get upon the record has ever been the result of all attempts to pass like legislation in the House. Of course, without the aid of Speaker HENDERSON the bill could not have been considered at all. Under the rules of the House, on the pending motion to suspend, no amendment of the bill was in order. Permitted to come up at an inopportune time, without proper notice, no previous opportunity to arrange and prepare for discussion of the bill was given. Your committee can not believe, from what happened on that occasion (as also on June 7, 1900, when the bill came before the House less than one hour before the adjournment of the first session), and a subsequent flat-footed refusal made by the Speaker to the pleas of the commander in chief and the chairman of your committee, on February 11, 1901, for another hearing of one hour on the measure, when it could be properly discussed and amended to meet the wishes of its friends, as also to test, on a roll call, who were real friends of the veteran and who his opponents, that there was a desire to treat either the bill or the veterans fairly.

IN THE SENATE.

The Senate Committee to Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service, having in charge the bill S. 283, offered by Mr. PLATT, at the first session (referred to in our last report), held no meeting during the second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. Mr. ROSS, its chairman, had meantime, been retired from the Senate, Mr. DILLINGHAM taking his place there, and also as a member of that committee. Repeated urging for a meeting of it produced no effect, soon due consideration by your committee and other friends of the cause of the veteran, of the whole subject-matter, and especially the continued attitude of opposition of the Committee on Rules and of the House of Representatives, as stated by the Speaker, he saying, "It could not pass the House or Senate," and particularly with a view to remove any objections as to new legislation—one of the alleged causes for adverse action taken by the House—another bill, amendatory of section 1754, Revised Statutes United States, was drawn, and the same was introduced in the Senate by Hon. W. A. HARRIS, of Kansas, on January 7, 1901. It was known as S. 5417. This was referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment of the Senate, and on January 15 it was reported by its authority by Mr. HARRIS, to the Senate, without amendment. That bill, as then offered and reported, reads as follows:

A bill to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the preference in civil appointments of ex-Army and Navy officers.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 1754. Officers and enlisted men who served in the armies or Navy of the United States between April 12, 1861, and August 25, 1865, being honorably discharged therefrom, shall be preferred for appointment to and retention in civil offices and employments, as also for promotion therein: *Provided*, They are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices or employments."

SEC. 2. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

The committee report accompanying it (No. 1867) was as follows:

AMENDING SECTION 1754, REVISED STATUTES.

January 15, 1901.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. HARRIS, from the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, submitted the following report (to accompany S. 5417):

The Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, to whom was referred the bill (S. 5417) to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes, have examined the same and report:

Section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States reads as follows:

“SEC. 1754. Persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty shall be preferred for appointments to civil office, provided they are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices.”

Construing this section, the Civil Service Commission rule as follows, on October 29, 1884:

Any applicant honorably discharged for such cause, i. e., by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty, who, as the result of an examination has been placed upon a register as eligible for appointment, should be certified in preference to any other person thereon not entitled to such preference examined for the same part of the service, even though such persons are graded higher. Without such priority in certification, it appears to be hardly practicable to give the preference in appointment, which it seems to be the object of the statute to secure. You are requested to act upon this view in making certifications.

The amendment embodied in the bill under consideration broadens the scope of this section of the law, which limits preference for appointment to persons discharged by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness.

A large number of soldiers and sailors who were wounded and who served for years after being wounded are excluded, and preference is given to those who saw but little service, in many cases. The lapse of years has enormously reduced the number of men who saw service from 1861 to 1865. But few are left now who could avail themselves of the privilege hereby extended, and it is the opinion of your committee that those who may now be able to pass the civil-service examination and get upon the eligible lists should be preferred for appointment without reference to disabilities which forced their discharge from the service.

In the second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, Senate bill No. 3256 was passed giving this privilege. It was also favorably reported from the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service of the House of Representatives with the following report:

The Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, to whom was referred the bill (S. 3256) in reference to the civil service and appointments thereunder, submit the following report:

In the matter of the appointment of persons to positions in the executive departments of the Government under existing law, soldiers and sailors who incurred disabilities in the service and who have taken the civil-service examination are to be preferred. Under the provisions of the bill herewith reported this preference will extend to and include all honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, or marines who served as such between April 1, 1861, and August 26, 1865, without reference to the disabilities they may have incurred in service. Under the present law the right of preference is based upon disabilities. Under the proposed bill the right of preference is based upon the service of the soldier who has served during the war and has an honorable discharge.

The present law has given rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction among ex-Union soldiers and sailors, for the reason that the man who may have served only one month or less, if during that service he incurred any disability, is given preference in the matter of employment by the Government over the soldier or sailor who may have served from the beginning until the close of the war, enduring all the hardships and privations incident to that service but incurring no permanent disabilities. The passage of this bill will not in any way affect the operation of the civil-service law, rules, or regulations with respect to examinations for appointment. Soldiers and sailors, under the provisions of this proposed law, who apply for positions will be required as now to pass the civil-service examination, the preference applying only in the selection of persons from the eligible list.

The proposed bill also applies to promotions as well as to appointments, and if passed will prevent the removal of any soldier or sailor except for good cause and upon charges and after a hearing.

Believing that the discrimination which the present law makes against the soldier or sailor who has an honorable record of service, but who was fortunate enough not to incur any permanent disability, is neither right nor just, your committee therefore recommend the passage of this bill.

Your committee therefore believe it is but justice to the few survivors of that great conflict to give them this privilege, and therefore recommend the passage of the bill.

On January 16, on the plea that the committee had not met and considered the bill, and that it was not understood by Mr. Wolcott, of Colorado, one of the committee who consented to its being reported to the Senate (the vote to report it was on a canvass of the members of the committee on the floor of the Senate, a majority agreeing thereto), a motion was made by Mr. LODGE, of Massachusetts, to recommit the bill to the committee.

It was so recommitment on January 17. This was regarded as a knock-out blow. Earnest work by the members of this committee and strong personal appeals in writing and by visitation made to the individual members of the Senate committee by the commander in chief and others effected a change, however. The committee did meet and consider it, and on February 14 the bill was again reported to the Senate with an amendment (shown in words struck through. J. W. K.) as follows:

A bill to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the preference in civil appointments of ex Army and Navy officers.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 1754. Persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness, and officers and enlisted men who served in the armies or Navy of the United States between April 12, 1861, and August 25, 1865, being honorably discharged therefrom, shall be preferred for appointment to and retention in civil offices and employments, as also for promotion therein: *Provided*, They are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices or employments."

SEC. 2. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

The committee's report (No. 2289) accompanying the amended bill was the same as the report first made (No. 1887), except that in the last paragraph of the former, after the words "and therefore recommend the passage of the bill," as they appear in report No. 1887, was added "as amended to read as follows:" (The text of the amended bill is as given above. J. W. K.)

An intended amendment by Mr. JONES of Arkansas (evidently inspired by Mr. Procter, of the Civil Service Commission, and the Civil Service Reform League, both which, by the way, should be engaged in better business than devoting their time in the effort to belittle the services of and prevent justice being done to war veterans as well as to create a wrong impression in the public mind through the public press regarding a preference in public service which all veterans do not receive, and for the reasons that such acts are unworthy of Americans, and their interference is unwarranted and uncalled for, and as well obnoxious to the sense of justice existing among the people at large, as we believe) was as follows:

[In the Senate of the United States. February 20, 1901. Ordered to be printed.]

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. JONES of Arkansas to the bill (S. 5417) to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the preference in civil appointments of ex Army and Navy officers, viz: At the end of section 1 insert the following:

The preference herein provided for shall only be given where consistent with the maintenance of the apportionment of appointments among the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia, as required by the civil-service act of January 16, 1883; and nothing herein contained shall be construed to deprive any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia of its equal representation in such apportionment upon the basis of population as ascertained at the last preceding census.

In the open Senate numerous attempts were made by Mr. HARRIS to get consideration of the bill, but he was always met by an objection. Among the objectors shown in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are Mr. KEAN and Mr. Wolcott. There were others.

Indeed, it seemed as though the bill was not properly labeled. All efforts to secure action on the subject beyond the report of the committee failed.

The chairman of your committee finally appealed to Mr. FORAKER, of Ohio, to move the bill. He solicited him, as also Mr. HANNA, of Ohio, and Mr. SCOTT, of West Virginia, and many others, for reasons well known to them, to aid in having the Senate take action on the same, even if adverse to the bill, but all to no purpose. Objections continued being made to its consideration until the end. And so the bill died.

SOME WORDS OF THANKS.

From the beginning of the first to the ending of the second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress, of the Senators and Representatives, 447 in number, comprising it, there would need to be some straining of conscience to record as friends of the veterans of the civil war, from the view point of this committee—by their acts ye shall know them—any great number of them.

Worthy of special thanks for efforts made at the second session were W. A. HARRIS, in the Senate; JACOB H. BROMWELL, CHARLES E. LANDIS, B. T. CLAYTON, WILLIAM SULZER, and JAMES A. TAWNEY, in the House; and to these may be added those named elsewhere who spoke in favor of the bill while under consideration in the House.

This is a white, not a black list. In it the committee desire to include those who were true blue under all circumstances. Beyond that it does not care to go.

WHAT PRESIDENT M'KINLEY SAID.

The declaration of President McKinley in his second letter of acceptance, "Preference should be given to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and their widows and orphans in respect to the public service" bespoke what we believe is in the hearts of the people. It was a fair index of their loyalty to our cause. And to them we should now appeal.

RETROSPECTIVE.

Looking back over the entire field of action, consideration being given only to the prominent factors in the contest, it may be stated here that at no time from the adjournment of the thirty-fourth national encampment, August 30, 1900, until the closing hours of the Fifty-sixth Congress, March 4, 1901, was there any relaxation or diminution of labor or sacrifice to secure proper legislation in way of simple justice.

The promulgation, through national and department headquarters, to the posts of our order, by direction of the national encampment, of the committee's adopted report, accompanied by circular No. 1, current series, from the commander in chief, for action by them, and which, by the way, received attention everywhere in our order (except in one department, where it appears that orders from superior headquarters were not in this instance recognized or obeyed), with the result that more than 2,000 posts are on record as having petitioned for the passage of the bill; and the transmittal of personal letters containing a copy of the report alluded to, to each Senator and Representative in Congress at his home address preceding the meeting of Congress in December, and visitations to many of them at Washington during the session to behalf of the desired legislation, are but two among the numerous efforts made.

With the earnest cooperation of Commander in Chief Leo Rassieur, Adjt. Gen. Frank M. Sterrett, Department Commanders George H. Slaybaugh and Israel W. Stone, of the Potomac, and the committee on veterans' rights of that department, Comrade E. A. Cobaugh, chairman, as also the aid of Comrades Daniel E. Sickles and George H. Patrick, all of which was willingly given, your committee feel that there has been no shortcoming in any direction on the part of the accredited representatives of the Grand Army of the Republic, to whom this work was committed in their efforts to do their full duty to the order and to its rank and file. And that responsibility for defeat rests elsewhere.

CONCLUSION.

We again repeat: "The agony and bloody sweat are over. Lip service has again been tried and found wanting. God help the veteran." His countrymen in Congress assembled have not helped him in this matter. Perhaps the people will instruct some of them in their duty. It only remains for your committee to regretfully acknowledge defeat and gracefully retire. In doing so, we have some suggestions to offer for the consideration of the encampment.

One of these is in the form of preambles and resolutions requesting the issuance of an Executive order by the President of the United States, on the subject of the veteran in the public service. This we ask may be adopted and a copy properly authenticated by the commander in chief and adjutant-

general, at a time in the discretion of the commander in chief, be forwarded to the President for his consideration, and that copies of the same be furnished to the press.

The other is "An Address to the American People," by the Grand Army of the Republic, which we recommend may be adopted by the encampment, and that copies be furnished the press, with the request that the same may be published, copies being also sent to the commanders of all posts, urging that they will personally see the editors of their local papers and request of them its publication.

We also recommend that the Harris bill (S. 5417) be introduced in the Fifty-seventh Congress, and its enactment into law again be urged by a committee of our order, to be appointed by the incoming commander in chief. And, to the end that there shall be no question about such committee properly representing the Grand Army of the Republic, we further recommend that copies of this report, together with general orders announcing and naming the committee, may be sent to the members of the Fifty-seventh Congress in Senate and House, to their home address.

Respectfully submitted, in fraternity, charity, and loyalty.

JOS. W. KAY, *New York, Chairman,*
CHARLES BURROWS, *New Jersey,*
ISAAC F. MACK, *Ohio,*
H. H. CUMINGS, *Pennsylvania,*
W. W. ELDRIDGE, *Potomac,*
Committee.

And this was approved and adopted. In compliance therewith, copies of the same were mailed, under direction of Commander in Chief Ell Torrance, to all members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives in the Fifty-seventh Congress. What followed this action appears in full on pages 597-599 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, of date January 13, 1902. It was a most remarkable attack on the representatives of the Grand Army of the Republic, who had been strictly performing a duty assigned them. And particularly distressing, because it came from men who were themselves veterans of the "great war," members of the grandest organization the world ever knew, and who should, in justice to the committee of the order, have informed themselves properly concerning the truth and the facts of the case.

Concerning the subject generally and the attack, the Ohio Soldier, published at Chillicothe, Ohio, under date February 19, 1902, contains among other things an article which, with its caption, reads in part as follows:

SOLDIERS' PREFERENCE LAWS—A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT ON THAT SUBJECT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

There is no subject upon which politicians have more persistently misled the public, and with more success, than that of existing laws on preference of appointment for soldiers in public employment. The following communication from Gen. Jos. W. Kay, of Brooklyn, N. Y., chairman of the national G. A. R. committee on veterans' preference legislation, now and for a number of years past, is so comprehensive and so fortified with existing laws and civil-service rules that it should be cut out by comrades everywhere and carried under their hats for use in next fall's Congressional elections. He says:

"The article, 'Squaring the Circle,' in the Ohio Soldier of January 22, evidences and emphasizes a knowledge of the situation and of the subject of legislation for veterans in the public service—or rather the lack of any such legislation preferentially affecting the interests of the men who served and suffered until the end of their terms of enlistment or the close of the war for the Union, albeit wounded many times—that is refreshing. Particularly so in view of the seeming lack of knowledge prevailing in Congress—among our comrades there—on the same subject.

"* * * The report of a committee made at Cleveland to the national encampment, September last, fully covering the ground of the law and making it plain, tells the story."

* * * * *

In the House of Representatives, the pension appropriation bill being under consideration, on January 13, it would seem that Mr. GROSVENOR was discussing the Harris bill (S. 5417) of the Fifty-sixth Congress, which was before the Senate only, and to which, if he desired to aid his deserving comrades, he could take no exception, instead of the Bronwell bill (H. R. 5779), the effect of a clause therein being to excite his ire, which was then before the House and not the Senate. His argument caused the question to be so mixed as to excite remark. Perhaps he so intoned it. The clause concerning the Spanish war men inserted by the House committee, that he took exception to, was not in the Harris bill in any form or at any time.

Mr. HEPBURN, in his remarks, had the correct bill (H. R. 5779) in mind, but still persisted, as in the Fifty-sixth Congress, in showing clearly an incorrect understanding of what the existing law on the subject of the veteran in the public service really is. * * *

He seemed also to be wrongly advised concerning the authority of the committee of the Grand Army of the Republic to advocate H. R. 5779, as reported by the committee of the House.

He said concerning this:

"* * * The bill as approved by the authorities of the Grand Army of the Republic did not contain that language. * * * No authority of the Grand Army of the Republic had ever asked for that bill. There was no committee authorized to approve of that bill. * * *"

Read and ponder:

That identical measure was the one passed upon by the National Encampment at Chicago, August 29-30, 1900, in open session. The report of its committee, in printed form, was in the hands of the delegates over night. The situation requiring such an amendment to be accepted by the Grand Army, to avoid a worse injustice, was fully known to every one of them. And, knowing it, by unanimous vote of the body, the report was sent to every post, through the 45 department headquarters, with a circular from the commander in chief requesting action. * * *

- And that was the authority for action by them.

As a result nearly 2,000 posts petitioned Congress for the passage of that particular measure. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shows in detail all this action to have been officially brought to the attention of the House.

As already pointed out, the national encampment met at Chicago, August 29-30, 1900.

In General Orders No. 2, headquarters Grand Army of the Republic, St. Louis, Mo., dated September 28, 1900, the commander in chief, Leo Rassieur, in again naming the committee, says:

"The following comrades, whose excellent work, as shown by their report to the encampment, entitles them to the thanks of our order, are reappointed a committee on legislation for veterans in the public service." * * *

And in his report to the national encampment at Cleveland, on the subject of veterans' preference legislation, the commander in chief, among other things, says:

"The committee of the House of Representatives to which the original bill of the Grand Army of the Republic was referred, deemed it proper, in view of the action of the Senate on this subject in placing the younger soldiers and sailors on a par with the older veterans by S. 283, as amended in the Senate committee and passed by that body, but recalled [from the House, J. W. K.], to include the soldiers, sailors, and marines who served in the recent war with Spain and in the Philippines, and were honorably discharged, giving them a preference next in order after the veterans of the civil war. This amendment by the House committee and the situation necessitating it was duly submitted to the Thirty-fourth National Encampment in the report of the legislative committee and was, without opposition, acceded to as a further extension of the just principles involved in the original bill."

All these demonstrate beyond question that the committee did nothing except with full authority. While the committee can stand for any misrepresentation and abuse on that score, knowing its position to be impregnable, it may not remain silent as to the other matter whereby a wrong impression again goes abroad, and which, ever since the adoption of the civil service principle, affects the veterans who deserve and most need help and protection. This, I am sure, Comrade HEPBURN would not care, knowingly, to openly stand for and encourage. And yet Mr. HEPBURN is quoted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 13 as having said:

"* * * All gentlemen who are familiar with the facts will recognize this as the truth, that in the competitive examinations the soldier who is now given preference by law is required only to reach a standard of 65. If he reaches 65 in competition with a man not a soldier who may have reached 99 or 100, the name of the man with a rating of 65 must be sent up in response to a requisition."

What an injustice. It is not true. Based on a false premise, the statement is cruel. Mr. Hepburn must know that no preference whatever is now given—not an iota—to anyone who was not "honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in line of duty."

The assertion is again made, without fear of contradiction based on truth, that the Union soldier who may have served from April 12, 1861, to August 20, 1866, and, meantime, have been wounded twenty times, unless his discharge from service was given him for disability, and the discharge shows that fact, is not now, nor has he ever been, benefited one single point in a competitive examination under United States civil-service law, or otherwise. That is the situation to-day.

The soldier who served a month or less in the Army during the war for the Union or since its close, and has a discharge given him for disability, comes strictly within the provisions of section 1754, Revised Statutes United States. He is passed at 65 and given preference in certification over one who braved it through to the end of his enlistment, or the war, as the case may be, despite his disabilities and wounds, and who may have gained a grade of 99 or 100 per cent. The latter stands precisely on the same plane with other citizens in competitive examinations in so far as the National Government is concerned. As to the recommendatory statute, section 1755, which became a law on the same day, March 9, 1865, it is a dead letter, more honored in the breach than by observance.

Section 1754 of these statutes, intended at the time for the benefit of the Union soldier or sailor, has been operative since October 20, 1894, under the civil-service system, favoring to the extent of 45 per cent men who enlisted and served, and were discharged for causes therein mentioned, since the war for the Union ended.

The language of the act permits it to be so construed, and the principle, that service in war which caused great sacrifice demands recognition, underlying it is a correct one for adoption in this Republic. It is too closely limited, however, to permit the gratitude expressed in section 1755, passed on the same day, to signify anything whatever to the men who in a period of war serve and suffer, many of them from the beginning to the end of the same, and who, under the law as it stands, have not now and never had any consideration whatever shown to them.

Personally the committee had and have no quarrel with Mr. GROSVENOR or Mr. HEPBURN. The former, at the request of the committee, has introduced in this Congress, in the House, a bill (H. R. 248) which is practically the Harris bill (S. 5417) of the last Congress, and that is now pending in the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service. The same measure (S. 3310) was introduced in the Senate by Mr. FORAKER and is now pending in the Committee to Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service in that body.

We are all comrades and have no wish beyond "who best can serve and best agree" in our work for worthy men. Yet history must not be perverted. Truth is more potent than fiction; facts are realities. The utterances of public men on the floor of Congress intended for the American people should always be based on a desire to do even-handed justice. More than this latter the American soldier does not ask or seek. With less than that he will not be satisfied.

Fraternally, yours, for the Grand Army of the Republic Committee of 1900-1901,

JOS. W. KAY, *Chairman.*

The report of the "committee on legislation for veterans in the public service," made to the national encampment at Washington, D. C., in October last, was as follows:

To the Thirty-sixth National Encampment, Grand Army of the Republic, greeting:

COMRADES: The "committee on legislation for veterans in the public service," appointed by the commander in chief, in accord with action authorizing it by the council of administration, acting for the thirty-fifth national encampment, at Cleveland, Ohio, September 13, 1901, submit the following:

Having before us the reports of many like committees of our order, especially those of recent years, in which the principles contended for and the duty of comradeship concerning them were therein expressed and set forth, and well knowing the lack of results accomplished by appeals to Congress for legislation in the material interests of the veterans of the war who served out their terms of enlistment affecting the right of such to a preference for appointment, employment, and retention in the public service of the National Government, in harmony with the spirit of existing statute law, it is not necessary at this time to comment extensively on any shortcoming of the Fifty-seventh Congress at its first session, which it is our duty to report. The fact is there. We shall therefore recite our own experience in another effort to secure justice for comrades, and thus enable the placing of the responsibility for failure where it properly belongs.

At the request of your committee, represented by its chairman, who was thereby acting in entire harmony with the desire of the commander in chief, Hon. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, in the House, on December 2, 1901, and Hon. JOSEPH B. FORAKER, of Ohio, in the Senate, on January 28, 1902, introduced bills known as H. R. 248 and S. 3310, respectively, both being similar in language, as follows:

A bill to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the preference in civil appointments of ex Army and Navy officers.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 1754. Persons honorably discharged from the military and naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness, and officers and enlisted men who served in the Armies or Navy of the United States between April 12, 1861, and August 25, 1865, being honorably discharged therefrom, shall be preferred for appointment to and retention in civil offices and employments, as also for promotion therein: *Provided*, They are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices or employments."

SEC. 2. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

H. R. 248 was referred to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service of the House and S. 3310 to the Committee to Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service of the Senate.

Your committee met, pursuant to call, at the Ebbitt House, Washington, a quorum being present, February 18, 1902. Meantime other bills had been introduced in both Houses bearing on the same subject. Consideration of all these being had by your committee, it was decided to recommend and urge the passage of H. R. 248 and S. 3310 as introduced.

On February 19 your committee attended a meeting of the "Committee on Reform in the Civil Service" at the Capitol, arranged by Hon. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, its chairman, in which all the pending bills were discussed. Comrades Leo Rassicur, Joseph W. Kay, George H. Patrick, Thomas G. Sample, and Commander in Chief Ell Torrance spoke for the Grand Army of the Republic, favoring H. R. 248. Messrs. POU, SHALLENBERGER, ALLEN, BRISTOW, and Chairman GILLETT, of the House committee, also shared in the debate.

No report being made by the House committee on any of the pending bills, such a report not being likely, as the chairman of your committee was advised, and deferring to the objections stated by Representative HEPBURN in a speech in the House January 13, 1902, as to the promotion feature (see pp. 587-599, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD), your committee united over the signatures of all its members and those of the committee on legislation of the Department of the Potomac in a letter, a copy of which was furnished to Mr. HEPBURN, as follows:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., April 13, 1902.

Hon. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND COMRADE: As the national "committee on legislation for veterans in the public service" of the Grand Army of the Republic, appointed by General Orders, No. 3, C. S., a copy of which is inclosed, we hand you the text of a bill to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes, which is given below, and ask you to use your best efforts to secure its passage at the present session of Congress. The statute referred to now reads:

"SEC. 1754. Persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in line

of duty shall be preferred for appointments to civil offices, provided they are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices."

The proposed bill would, if enacted into law, cause this statute to read:

"SEC. 1754. Persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness, and officers and enlisted men who served in the armies or navies of the United States between April 12, 1861, and August 25, 1865, being honorably discharged therefrom, shall be preferred for appointment to and retention in civil offices and employments, provided they are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices or employments.

"SEC. 2. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

The lines italicized above are amendatory, and the remainder of the bill is the present law.

The bill now submitted is an exact copy of the bill heretofore, to wit, H. R. 248, introduced by you December 2, 1901, except making a slight correction in the title and striking out the words "as also for promotion therein," which, to avoid objection, we ask you to have omitted.

From the proposed bill has been eliminated every word or phrase to which we ever have heard any objection, in or out of Congress, and we believe that it will receive the concurrence of the House. On behalf of the Grand Army of the Republic we unanimately indorse and express our satisfaction with the terms and conditions of the bill, which have been revised after consultation with Colonel HEPBURN, of Iowa, and yourself, as well as others.

It will be observed that every person entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this measure by reason of the amendment must have been honorably discharged from the Army or Navy prior to August 25, 1865, and at the date of his appointment be able to discharge the duties of his prospective office or employment. In addition, where a prescribed examination for public employes is required, he must pass the same and be duly certified by the Civil Service Commission to be eligible for appointment.

Very truly and fraternally, yours,

JOS. W. KAY,
Past Department Commander New York, G. A. R., Chairman,
 LEO RASSIEUR,
Past Commander in Chief, G. A. R., St. Louis, Mo.,
 JOHN P. S. GOBIN,
Past Commander in Chief, G. A. R., Lebanon, Pa.,
 HENRY A. CASTLE,
Past Department Commander Minnesota, G. A. R., St. Paul, Minn.,
 GEO. H. PATRICK,
Past Department Commander Alabama, G. A. R., Montgomery, Ala.,
 O. H. COULTER,
Past Department Commander Kansas, G. A. R., Topeka, Kans.,
 I. G. KIMBALL,
Senior Vice Department Commander Potomac, G. A. R., Washington, D. C.,
Committee on Legislation for Veterans in the Public Service,
Grand Army of the Republic.

The committee on legislation of the Department of the Potomac, G. A. R., respectfully concur in the above letter and proposed legislation.

I. G. Kimball, senior vice-commander, Department of the Potomac, G. A. R., chairman; Nathan Bickford, past department commander of the Potomac, G. A. R.; Thos. S. Hopkins, past department commander of the Potomac, G. A. R.; Robert Reyburn, M. D., of Post No. 1, Washington, D. C.; A. Hart, junior vice department commander Potomac, of Post No. 2, Washington, D. C.; L. P. Williams, past senior vice department commander Potomac, of Post No. 3, Washington, D. C.; Henry N. Copp, of Post No. 10, Washington, D. C.; Bernard T. Janney, past junior vice department commander Potomac, of Post No. 19, Washington, D. C.; Edwin J. Sweet, past judge-advocate, Department Potomac, of Post No. 20, Washington, D. C.; Lewis H. Douglass, of Post No. 21, Washington D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1902.

Based upon that letter (prepared to meet the views of Messrs. HEPBURN and GROSVENOR at their suggestion) a new bill was introduced by Mr. GROSVENOR, April 23, 1902, and referred to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service. It is known as H. R. 14105. This was not reported to the House,

nor was any other of similar nature, notwithstanding that Congress was in session from December 2, 1901, to July 1, 1902, and that the effort to secure some action was continued until the day and hour the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress was adjourned.

The Senate committee, April 26, 1902, reported S. 3310 to the Senate, with amendments, as follows:

[Omit the part in brackets and insert the part printed in italics.]

A bill to amend section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the preference in civil appointments of ex-Army and Navy officers.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 1754. Persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness, and officers and enlisted men who served in the Armies or Navy of the United States between April 12, 1861, and August 25, 1865, being honorably discharged therefrom, shall be preferred for appointment to and retention in civil offices and employments, as also for promotion therein [: Provided they], *provided they are found to possess [the business capacity necessary] equal qualifications for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices or employments with other competitors from whom the selection is made.*"

Sec. 2. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

And the bill, as thus amended, is now on the Senate Calendar. Can this be the measure of the nation's gratitude expressed in section 1755, Revised Statutes, as the Senate committee seem to think? Certainly not. We ask for justice and are offered a stone. Should such a bill become law, then the statute (sec. 1754) signed by the martyred President, Abraham Lincoln, is repealed, and nothing is left. Even that little which was long since given to some is taken away. And the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, even the few who are now preferred ones, are to be its victims; while the injustice and ingratitude ever meted out to those honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of the end of their terms of enlistment are still to continue.

Thirty-seven years is too long to wait for justice to the Union soldier and sailor, especially when anxiety is now expressed concerning the people of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the far-away Philippines, ay, even those of China, lest the national honor, pledged to them, be not fully observed. Are the obligations of America to foreigners more sacred or binding than those due to the defenders of the nation?

We would remind the Congress that when the lamented President William McKinley wrote, "Preference should be given to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors and their widows and orphans in respect to the public service," he simply reechoed and emphasized the sentiment emblazoned on a banner which stretched across Fifteenth street from the Treasury building, Washington, at the time of the final grand review, in May, 1865, and which proclaimed, "There is one debt this nation can never repay—the one it owes its defenders," or words to like effect.

And that, entirely in harmony with the foregoing, a recent convention at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., squaring by performance the constitutional provision adopted by the people of the State in 1894 for the preference of veterans in the civil service, declares:

"We believe that the devotion of those who took part in the great struggles of our country should be fully recognized, and we promise our support to such amendment to existing laws according to their recognition as may be deemed necessary in the furtherance of this resolution."

In strong contrast with no result of all appeals to the Congress was that action of the President, in direct answer to the request of the last national encampment, contained in resolutions emanating from your committee of last year, which appears in the following:

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

The attention of the Departments is hereby called to the provisions of the laws giving preference to veterans in appointment and retention.

The President desires that whenever the needs of the service will justify it and the laws will permit, preference shall be given alike in appointment and retention to honorably discharged veterans of the civil war who are fit and qualified to perform the duties of the places which they seek or are filling.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

WHITE HOUSE, January 17, 1902.

It is considered well to state that Comrades John W. O'Brien, United States weigher, and A. Reiman, deputy collector of internal revenue, who were named in a preamble of the resolutions above referred to, and who had been unjustly and illegally removed in disregard of the provisions of chapter 287, laws of 1876, which reads in part, as follows:

"SEC. 3. * * * Provided that in making any reduction of force in any of the Executive Departments, the head of such department shall retain those persons who may be equally qualified who have been honorably discharged from the military or naval service of the United States and the widows and orphans of deceased soldiers and sailors," * * * have, through Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury, and Hon James S. Clarkson, surveyor of customs at New York, both been restored to their positions.

The President himself in some instances—notably so in the case of a comrade who was postmaster at Skaneateles, N. Y., who applied for, but was refused, reappointment by the Congressman of the district, and to which his attention was called by Comrade Maj. Gen. Daniel E. Sickles—ruled that the comrades concerned came within those intended by his Executive order, and directed their reappointment or restoration.

Recognizing in these and in many other acts and words showing his patriotism that President Roosevelt is in full sympathy with fair and just treatment being extended to our comrades of the "great war" who seek or are in public service under the National Government, in accord with both the letter and spirit of existing law, and in harmony, as we believe, with what is still in the hearts of the American people toward the survivors of that great struggle, your committee, through its chairman, thereby lending emphasis to H. R. 14105, wrote him as follows:

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *May 10, 1902.*

MR. PRESIDENT: Annexed I take the liberty to hand you copies of sections 1753, 1754, and 1755 of the Revised Statutes, and H. R. 14105,^a recently introduced by General GROSVENOR, to amend S. 1754.

As you know, the present law (S. 1754) prefers only those discharged for disability, and, technically, as to offices, but the latter word has been construed to include employments. The proposed amendment applies the preference to offices and employments and extends it to all capable, honorably discharged soldiers.

Section 1755 recommends all private employers of labor to prefer soldiers discharged for wounds, disease, and at expiration of terms of enlistment. The Government ought most willingly and voluntarily to do as much for "the boys" as it asks its citizens to do, and more, if possible. None of the veterans of the war of 1861-1865 will be here to annoy legislators many years longer, yet very many of them are quite capable of fair and even splendid work—and they need this work. Unless capable, the proposed amendment will not, and is not intended to, affect them.

For obvious reasons it is better and more generous, more "in grateful recognition of their services, sacrifices, and sufferings" (quoting from S. 1755), that the addition we desire should be made by statute than Executive order, and by the party in power. I am sure that a timely hint from you to Speaker HENDERSON and half a dozen members of the House whose names will occur to you would result in the prompt taking up and passage of H. R. 14105, as I am equally sure that the objects of this bill have your hearty approval. It has the cordial support of the Grand Army, which will be satisfied with its enactment and execution; in fact, the bill was introduced at the request of the order.

I earnestly ask you to adopt the above suggestion, or, in the event that Congress should not act, that you will consider the matter of issuing an Executive order or civil-service rule to the same effect.

This letter is the following up of a personal interview of some time ago, in which I more fully set forth the ideas herein embodied. With great respect, I am,

Very respectfully, yours,
The PRESIDENT, *Washington, D. C.*

JOS. W. KAY.

[Extracts from the Revised Statutes of the United States.]

S. 1753. The President is authorized to prescribe such regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service of the United States as may best

^aThe text of H. R. 14105 already appears in this report.

promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate in respect to age, health, character, knowledge, and ability for the branch of the service into which he seeks to enter; and for this purpose he may employ suitable persons to conduct such inquiries, and may prescribe their duties and establish regulations for the conduct of persons who may receive appointments in the civil service.

S. 1754. Persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty shall be preferred for appointments to civil offices, provided they are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices.

S. 1755. In grateful recognition of the services, sacrifices, and sufferings of persons honorably discharged from the military and naval service of the country, by reason of wounds, disease, or the expiration of terms of enlistment, it is respectfully recommended to bankers, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, farmers, and persons engaged in industrial pursuits to give them the preference for appointments to remunerative situations and employment.

Act of March 3, 1865 (res. 27), sections 1 and 2, volume 13, page 571, Revised Statutes.

Act of March 3, 1871, section 9, volume 16, page 514, Revised Statutes.

This brings the story up to date. In plain and concise form, with little in way of comment, your committee has endeavored to give some intelligent idea of its work. The heartburnings met with are passed over, the sacrifices entailed not considered. The contest we wage is for justice, based on principles which are greater than men. "Fraternity means something." We aimed to do our duty.

To Commander in Chief Ell Torrance, Adj. Gens. Frank M. Sterrett and Silas H. Towler, Comrades Daniel E. Sickles, Henry S. Peck, S. C. James, Israel W. Stone, and B. F. Bingham (now department commander of the Potomac, formerly of this committee, but who resigned, being succeeded by Comrade Ivory G. Kimball), as also to the committee on legislation of the department of the Potomac, for advice, counsel, and other aid, willingly extended, the thanks of the committee and of this national encampment are due.

It only remains to offer such suggestions and make such recommendations as will enable the constituted authorities of our order to continue urging the justice of the cause of its rank and file. In view of all the premises herein stated or outlined, and of the fact that the Fifty-seventh Congress will reassemble at its second session in December, we therefore recommend and ask as follows:

First. That the "committee on legislation for veterans in the public service" be continued. That a similar committee to this be appointed by the incoming commander in chief, with instructions to urge upon the lawmakers of the nation at the coming session of Congress the enactment of H. R. 14105, as introduced, or some similar measure of legislation.

Second. That in the event of failure to secure a vote on the subject-matter and the adjournment of the Fifty-seventh Congress occurs without legislation thereupon, the commander in chief and said committee are fully authorized, directed, and charged to appeal to the President of the United States, in the name of the Grand Army of the Republic, for justice, and respectfully request and urge that he will exercise the power conferred upon him by section 1753, Revised Statutes, to the end that, by Executive order or otherwise, he will make effective throughout the civil service, in a practical way, as applied to the National Government, the recommendatory provisions of section 1755, Revised Statutes, and also insure that the requirements of all other laws affecting the rights of honorably discharged soldiers and sailors in matters of appointment, employment, and retention in the public service shall be carried out and observed.

Third. That this report with its recommendations be in all things approved and adopted as the sense of the Thirty-sixth National Encampment, Grand Army of the Republic, and that copies thereof be sent to the Senators and Representatives in Congress to their home addresses.

In fraternity, charity, and loyalty,

JOSEPH W. KAY,
LEO RASSEUR,
J. P. S. GOBIN,
HENRY A. CASTLE,
GEO. H. PATRICK,
O. H. COULTER,
IVORY G. KIMBALL,
Committee.

And the Washington Post, of date October 11, 1902, in its account of the proceedings of the thirty-sixth national encampment, then in session at that city, says:

HOUSE ATTACK RESENTED.

Immediately upon the acceptance of the legislative committee's report, the following resolution was introduced by Joseph W. Kay, of New York, and adopted as a reply to an attack made upon the committee on legislation in the House on February 19 last:

"Whereas the work of the committee on legislation for veterans in the public service of the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth National Encampments and their reports thereto were fully in accord with authority conferred upon such committee, the same being approved and adopted, and

"Whereas in the House of Representatives on January 13, and also before the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service of that body on February 19, 1902, the authority of such committee was brought in question and its members accused of forgery and other wrongdoing in way of misrepresentation of the Grand Army of the Republic; and

"Whereas the general orders from national headquarters, and the journal of the Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, and Thirty-fifth National Encampments, and as well the archives of our order at Philadelphia, refute any such charges of forgery, lack of authority, or any shortcoming on the parts of such committee: Therefore,

"Resolved, That this national encampment deems it a matter of duty and justice to its authorized representatives herein referred to to declare in this solemn form that said committee was fully justified in its action and fully authorized in the manner in which they represented the order, and that the Representatives in Congress who attacked their position on the occasions mentioned had no basis whatever for any such criticism; be it further

"Resolved, That we commend our representatives on such committee for their faithful discharge of the duties intrusted to them concerning legislation for veterans in the public service."

The foregoing fully placed the Grand Army on record concerning the whole business—and it could do no less except through stultification. It certainly disposed of any question of doubt concerning the authority of its committees.

In accordance with the requirements of the report proper, a copy of the same, with the following letter, was sent as therein required, addressed to every member of the Senate and of this House. In many cases the report has been sent several times:

HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
OFFICE OF COMMANDER IN CHIEF, INDEPENDENCE HALL,
Philadelphia, November 22, 1902.

HON. FREDERICK H. GILLET, M. C.,
Chairman, etc., House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In the discharge of my duty I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of the report of the "committee on legislation for veterans in the public service," which was submitted to, and unanimously adopted by, the national encampment, Grand Army of the Republic, at its meeting in Washington, D. C., October 10 last. This report explains itself and is commended to your attention and consideration. Especially so the recommendations concerning action by the Congress. Your active assistance and support are earnestly asked to the end that legislation may follow on the lines indicated in the report at the coming session.

It is my pleasure to advise you, also, that in General Orders, No. 2, bearing even date herewith, the committee appointed by the commander in chief to represent the Grand Army of the Republic on the subject has been named and promulgated. Said committee is constituted as follows: Joseph W. Kay, New York; Isaac F. Mack, Ohio; Leo Rassienn, Missouri; J. P. S. Gobin, Pennsylvania; George H. Patrick, Alabama; O. H. Coulter, Kansas; Ivory G' Kimball, Washington, D. C.

Very truly, yours,

THOS. J. STEWART,
Commander in Chief.

Duplicated to home address November 25, 1902.

Since then, from the convening of Congress at its second session until now, as I am advised, the guns have been thundering "along the whole line" for justice. Personally I know that the great department of New York, through its commander, Allan C. Bakewell, has been active. Doubtless my associates in this House from that State have heard from him, as I have, and the RECORD since February 21 shows that department after department have been moving in the same direction, all pleading for legislation which should long, long ago have been enacted by the Congress as a matter of national honor, and in the doing of which the payment of not a single dollar of appropriation is involved.

But not alone is national honor overlooked by us. Something that should be of equal moment to us all, personal political honor, is at stake. It has caused to be written and sent, hopeless that other appeals would receive consideration, two letters, which I will now read. In them is embodied a cry of anguish, the voice of despair, caused by our neglect. Truly the veterans who preserved our Union of States and saved free government upon the earth have reason to cry aloud.

WAR VETERANS AND SONS' ASSOCIATION,
Brooklyn, N. Y., February 28, 1903.

Hon. CHARLES DICK,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

COMRADE: "A friend in need is a friend indeed." In such view I write you. Under date 25th I have letter from General GROSVENOR which is discouraging. His antipathy to civil service seems to control him in the matter of H. R. 14105. And so last evening I wrote him, inclosing a copy of my letter to GILLET of date 14th in which are some intimations of what happened in Chicago and New York in the summer of 1900, based on which Major McKinley, in his letter of acceptance, used the language quoted in inclosed report. My object was to fully advise the General. In my letter to GILLET he was referred to Mr. PAYNE, Mr. HANNA, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. Manley, and Mr. Cortelyou concerning how those words came to be written. And why? His answer, as usual, was "consideration of my letter would be given, but he did not think that he would be able to comply with my request for a meeting of his committee." Personal political honor is with some people stronger than that of a national character, and I suggested this in the letter referred to.

The conditions in the campaign of 1900, both as to the political situation and that of the national encampment, were altogether unsatisfactory. As to both the sky was overcast. A solution of all was found at a meeting at the Palmer House, Chicago, August 28, 1900, some 40 or more leading veterans, all of whom were past commanders in chief or department commanders, being present from States where the situation was the worst, the outlook most threatening. Sickles was asked to organize another whirlwind tour, as in 1896, but emphatically refused to volunteer to do any such thing. He did consent to act as chairman of that meeting, and appointed a committee of five to wait on some people in a representative capacity at the Auditorium, I being one of the five. The four others went to the national committee, stated the situation and what was wanted, which was agreed to, viz, a change in Commissioner of Pensions and the passage of the veteran bill then pending (BROMWELL'S), as also approval of a court of pension appeals bill, the latter wish being vetoed by the President later on, but confirmed as to the others, and at the encampment all opposition was stifled. Following that, the strongest organization ever perfected among veterans was brought to bear in every doubtful locality. You will recall this.

I called personally on Saturday morning, saw Mr. PAYNE, went over the ground with him and the others then there, and, losing my return ticket to New York, bought another, went directly to Washington, and on Labor Day saw the President, who congratulated me; and he then and there called for the draft of his letter of acceptance and changed it, at my suggestion, to read as it went to the people. And then, returning to New York, the other matters were taken up, and everywhere the fighting was forced until the close of the polls. In that campaign the Veterans' Patriotic League deserved and received the thanks of Mr. HANNA, Mr. Manley, and Mr. PAYNE, in letters to myself and others. In the name of Heaven, is the sense of honor lost entirely among Americans?

As chairman of the committee of the national encampment, Grand Army of the Republic, it not being in politics, I could not write to GILLET, or GROSVENOR, or anybody else, as I now write you. As chairman of the executive committee of this association, which is political and local, and of the which you are an honorary member and comrade, I can and do write you. Satisfy yourself that I am right and then lend your aid to see that the promise made to the representatives of the veterans by another body having a representative capacity is carried out at this session. The time to talk and parley is gone, and the time for action is at hand. You are at liberty to use what is herein written as you may think best. Many of those named by me can be reached. Regarding Mr. GILLET simply as a "fool" to again deceive the veterans of the nation, I will not again stand for such treatment of their cause. And, in order that I may not longer be a party to it, have resigned my membership and chairmanship on the Grand Army committee, and will go at this matter as a citizen, from another direction. A copy of my letter of resignation is sent herewith.

When I reflect that even the change in the Pension Commissioner was brought about only because the promise concerning it was made known to President Roosevelt, and he, holding it to be a matter of honor which might not be pushed aside, made the change, and under such circumstances no power on the earth could have saved Evans, it seems to me that political honor is not regarded at its value, or as having any, except in rare instances, and by few men. Among these I place President Roosevelt and Mr. PAYNE, The latter has "stood by the guns."

When I think that nearly three years have passed since the promise of 1900, and from thirty-eight to forty-two years since the promises of the people in the "great war" days to the men who saved the nation were made, all being dishonored through nonperformance, it seems to me that national honor and personal political honor, alike, must be at a low ebb. We need your help. We want the party in power to do our people justice, now. And more than that is not sought.

Assuring you of the fraternal regard for you of our entire membership, but having little for those who by duplicity, low cunning, and chicanery try to "fool all the people all the time," which has made necessary my action of resignation and such a letter as this to you, I am,

Fraternally and truly, yours,

JOS. W. KAY,
*Chairman Executive Committee,
War Veterans' and Sons' Association.*

HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION
FOR VETERANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE,
Brooklyn, N. Y., February 27, 1903.

THOMAS J. STEWART, Esq.,
*Commander in Chief Grand Army of the Republic,
Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.*

COMRADE: In line with the reservation made by me in accepting the chairmanship of the "committee on legislation for veterans in the public service" at the time of my appointment thereto, by you, I hereby surrender the charge and resign said chairmanship and also my membership on that committee, to take effect forthwith. I am constrained to take this action notwithstanding the active help you have rendered, and which has also been so generously extended to the committee in its work by many department encampments and department commanders in their appeals to Congress, and concerning which I am advised. This course is taken in order that I may be free to write, as in the letter a copy of which accompanies this, what my conscience dictates to me to say as a veteran of war and a citizen concerning the treatment meted out to my comrades of long ago, and which, having regard for my obligation as a comrade, acting for them in a representative capacity on such committee, I am not privileged, nor permitted, under our laws, to do.

Your active, earnest cooperation in the work of trying to secure legislation in aid of our rank and file has been unceasing. In this my associates on the committee and others herein referred to have rendered active help. To that end, also, my own efforts have been directed; but it all avails nothing. And so, having reached "the parting of the ways," my duty to principles greater than men and to the organization whose representative I have been entails upon me that I sever the connection which has been to me one of great sacrifice—lay down the "white man's burden" and cry "quits."

When a great organization such as ours can appeal to reason and for fair treatment to the veterans of the great war to those "who have ears and hear

not" in the Congress of the nation for, lo, these many years, there comes a time when manhood rebels, conscience protests, and from another viewpoint and forum than that of the Grand Army of the Republic the subject of decent treatment of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic must be brought to attention.

Fraternally, yours,

JOS. W. KAY.

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 HEADQUARTERS GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
 OFFICE OF ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL,
Albany, N. Y., February 27, 1903.

Hon. WILLIAM SULZER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to acknowledge receipt of your courteous letter of February 24, expressing yourself interested in H. R. 14105, amendatory of section 1754 of the Revised Statutes, concerning the preference of veterans, and I am directed by Department Commander Bakewell to express his appreciation of your attention. It will give him further cause for gratitude if you will have his request of the 21st instant mentioned in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a petition, and personally see the Speaker of the House, Gen. C. H. GROSVENOR, and Hon. F. H. GILLET, chairman of the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, in the interest of action being taken on the bill at this session. The Department Commander will be pleased to hear from you as to probable results.

Respectfully,

WILBUR F. BROWN,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

5626

O

CUBAN RECIPROCITY.

The Democratic Party is in favor of reducing taxes
on the necessaries of life.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, November 19, 1903.

WASHINGTON.

1903.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1921) to carry into effect a convention between the United States and the Republic of Cuba, signed on the 11th day of December, in the year 1902—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The Cuban reciprocity bill, now under consideration in this House, is a step in the right direction, and I shall vote for it for that reason.

Let me say at the outset that I am in favor of reciprocity—not halfway reciprocity, not pretended reciprocity, but true, real reciprocity; Democratic reciprocity, that will accomplish something for the consumer; reciprocity that will mean something to our manufacturers; reciprocity that will continue to develop and build up our growing trade in a greater commercial way with all our neighbors on the Western Hemisphere and give us a more commanding trade position of a reciprocal character with Canada, Mexico, the West Indies, and the Central and South American States. We need the raw material and we want the products of these countries. They want our manufactured goods. True and honest reciprocity with them will benefit our manufacturers, help our consumers, and be of inestimable advantage to those countries and their industrious inhabitants. "Live and let live" should be our national motto regarding trade and commerce.

Reciprocity along these lines is true tariff reform, a bright harbinger of better commercial days, a firm step forward in the right direction, and the knitting together in closer ties of political friendship and more amicable trade relations of all the people in North and South America.

Let me say now that this bill is not perfect. It does not go far enough to meet my sanguine expectations. I indulged the hope of better things from the Republicans in this House, and believed that they would rise to the occasion, comply with the wishes of the great majority of the American people, meet the Cubans halfway, and deal fairly and honestly and justly with Cuba, so that true reciprocal trade relations would for all time be firmly established between the two Republics.

It is a matter, in my opinion, to be regretted, Mr. Chairman, that this bill can not now be amended and perfected by the real friends of reciprocity in this House who want to help Cuba onward and upward, and at the same time benefit our manufacturers and consumers. But the political oligarchy that controls the proceedings in the House of Representatives has decreed otherwise, and we are compelled to take this bill with all its imperfections, with all its limitations, and with all its meager concessions, just as it is.

At the very beginning of this discussion the Committee on Rules, composed of three Republican Members of this House,

brought in a cast-iron gag rule, which the majority adopted supinely and obsequiously, notwithstanding the earnest protest of every Democrat here assembled. The adoption of this rule makes it impossible for us to offer an amendment to this measure, and at the end of a few days' debate forces us to vote for or against the bill just as it came from the Ways and Means Committee. We are prevented from perfecting the bill. We are shut off from offering a single amendment. Any motion is quickly ruled "out of order," and we must take the bill or leave it, just as a few Republicans on the committee which reported it desire.

Such a proceeding is a travesty on intelligent legislation, violates all parliamentary precedent, and makes a farce of the popular branch of the lawmaking power.

I protest against this tyrannical rule. It makes the Members of this House mere automatons, legislation here a laughingstock, and representative government a stumbling-block. We have 388 Members in this House, and 385 of them by virtue of these gag rules are simply figureheads. We sit here day in and day out simply to vote now and then "yea" or "nay." We are the playthings of a legislative triumvirate. This Committee on Rules, composed of the Speaker, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL], and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], practically runs the House. These three Members are omnipotent—we propose and they dispose. That is about all there is to-day to the historic House of Representatives. We might as well stay home and delegate to the Committee on Rules the little privilege we have left, to cast our votes. The House of Representatives is no longer a deliberative body. It is the creature of this legislative triumvirate. We have no chance to construct legislation; no opportunity to perfect contemplated laws. If we have ability and desire to initiate and have considered legislation demanded by our constituents and the people generally, we can not do so. A minority Member has to-day no opportunity in this House, and a majority Member very little. No other parliamentary body in the world would tolerate the gag-act proceedings of the three Republican Members of the anomalous Committee on Rules. It is a disgrace to our manhood, an insult to our intelligence, an assault on our legislative rights, a blow to parliamentary government, and a perversion of the Constitution. How much longer shall we submit to it? How much longer shall this triumvirate continue? For one, I am tired of it. I cry out against it, and say it must be stopped. It can be stopped if we assert our rights and have the courage to maintain them.

Now, sir, I say this and I mean it—I shall continue to say it just so long as the Republican gag rule is enforced. I wanted to offer several amendments to this bill. In the first place, I wished to amend the bill by reducing the tariff tax one-half on all goods, wares, and merchandise going into Cuba from this country or coming into this country from Cuba. This bill proposes a reduction of 20 per cent of existing tariff taxes. I am in favor of a 50 per cent reduction. That would be little enough, and it would do some good and mean real reciprocity. Here is an opportunity to secure genuine reciprocity. I want to offer this amendment making the tariff-tax reduction 50 per cent instead of 20 per cent, as proposed in the bill, but the Republicans refuse to permit me to do it. Why? Because they fear it might be agreed to, and

that, forsooth, would hurt some sheltered monopoly entrenched behind their high protective-tariff walls. How much longer will the American people be deceived by Republican hypocrisy regarding the tariff-made trusts?

In the second place, I intended to propose an amendment to the bill, striking out the differential and eliminating the color restriction now in the present law on sugar imported into this country from Cuba. If this were done, there would be no shelter to monopoly, competition in the manufacture of sugar would be free and untrammelled, and the price of sugar to the consumer materially reduced. Sugar is one of the necessities of life. Its price is one of the great items of household expenses to every family in the land. There is a tariff tax of about \$7 a barrel on sugar under the present law. This tax is a hunger tax. It is a Republican tariff tax. The consumer pays it. It should be repealed. There should be no tax on sugar. If this tax were taken off, the price of sugar in this country to the consumer would be reduced about one-half—quite an item of expense to every household. Here is an opportunity to give cheaper sugar to the consumers of our country, but the Republicans oppose it and decline to permit us to offer the amendment for fear it will be adopted. You are afraid to go on record on this question. What a spectacle! The Democratic party is in favor of reducing taxes on the necessities of life. The Republican party is opposed to all tariff-tax reduction, even where the tariff shelters monopoly. No tinkering with the tariff is the mandate of the Republican party even where trust-made goods are sold by tariff-protected industries cheaper in foreign countries than at home. The tariff is a tax on consumption, and the consumer pays the tax. This high protective tariff question, which robs the many for the benefit of the few, is one of the leading issues between the Democratic and Republican parties, and will be submitted to the people in the next national campaign for their decision.

Another amendment, sir, I proposed to offer to this bill is to the effect that all goods, wares, and merchandise going into Cuba from the United States, or coming into this country from Cuba, shall be carried in American or Cuban ships—built in Cuba or the United States, carrying the American or the Cuban flag, and manned by Cuban or American sailors. If this amendment were adopted it would do something to aid the restoration of the American merchant marine. Republican policies have driven American ships and the American flag from the high seas.

Here is an opportunity, to some extent, to restore the flag to the ocean, but the Republicans refuse to permit me to offer the amendment. Why? Because the Republican Members would not dare to go on record in this House against restoring the American flag and American ships to the high seas. What a spectacle of commercial selfishness, monopolistic greed, and political shortsightedness the Republican party in this House presents to-day! The Republican Members of the House do not dare to go on record against these suggested amendments. They seek refuge in the gag rule of the legislative triumvirate, which protects them from going on record, and makes legislation in this House a sham and a farce. The Republicans are in the majority here. They are responsible to the people for this condition of affairs. The minority Members are precluded from offering a

single amendment. We are compelled to vote for or against this bill just as it comes from the committee. It is an outrage, and I protest against it.

Notwithstanding the fact, Mr. Chairman, that I am prevented from offering the amendments I have referred to, it is my intention to vote for this bill on the theory that half a loaf is better than no bread, and that a step in the right direction is better than standing still. I believe that reciprocal commerce between this country and Cuba and Canada and our immediate neighbors in Central and South America should be as free and untrammelled as possible, consistent with the needs of revenue for economical governmental administration, and with a view of not disturbing honest industry or legitimate effort among our own producers and manufacturers. I trust the day is not far distant when we shall have reciprocity with the Dominion of Canada, with Mexico, with the West Indies, and with all the Central and South American Republics. We should make it to the interest of these countries to trade with us, and the self-interest established by reciprocal trade will ever constitute the strongest tie of lasting friendship, of permanent peace, and of material prosperity for all concerned.

Last spring, Mr. Chairman, I visited Cuba, and was greatly impressed by all I saw during my sojourn there. It is a genial land of sunshine and shadow—a veritable wonderland—rich in natural resources beyond the dreams of avarice. It is a great field for the man who wants to get on and succeed. No one need ever be hungry in Cuba. Her climate is ideal; her skies more beautiful than Italy's; her days an everlasting summer's dream; her air the most healthful in the world; her people generous, courteous, and hospitable; her valleys the garden of the Lord; her landscape so beautiful no painter can picture it and no poet adequately describe it. Cuba is the land of perpetual flowers, of stately royal palms, the Bohemia of the dreamer, generous in tropical fruits, the home for the painter and the poet, the paradise of all the islands of the sea—one long, harmonious, brilliant, indescribable mental melody. It will soon become the greatest winter resort in the world. As Mr. James Gordon Bennett said to me in Habana, in beauty, climate, and scenery, Cuba far surpasses the Riviera or any other part of the Mediterranean. I was impressed most favorably by everything I saw in Cuba. The climate so dreamy and so salubrious; the indescribable beauty of the magnificent scenery—odoriferous forever and a day with enchanting and entrancing perfumes; her vast undeveloped resources; the richness of the soil; her quaint towns and cities and villages resplendent in subdued colors of pale pink and lemon yellow and baby blue—remindful of the Orient—and full in every place with historical reminiscences bringing to memory myriads of patriotic thoughts and to recollection hundreds of heroic deeds from the days of Columbus to the present time. And then the quiet—the peaceableness of her people, so law-abiding and so different from the helter-skelter turmoil, the nervous hurry, and the everlasting rush of the people of higher latitudes.

The Cubans have many problems to work out as the youngest Republic in the world, but destiny is with them and they will solve all difficulties of self-government successfully. I have no fears for the Republic of Cuba. It has taken its place among the nations of the earth, and success, happiness, contentment, and

prosperity will ever follow its bright new flag; and the island country will as the years come and go become greater and grander and more glorious—a gladsome demonstration that the Cubans are capable of self-government and have the ability to work out unaided and alone their own future.

Tomas Estrada Palma is making a splendid President of Cuba. He is the right man in the right place. His administration is giving general satisfaction among all the people throughout the island, and under his sagacious and patriotic guidance the Cuban Republic is moving along successfully and harmoniously. Great credit is due President Palma. He is Cuba's first, and will go into history as one of her greatest, Executives. He has the absolute confidence of everyone, and is doing an enormous work with a quiet heroism that commands respect and speaks more eloquently than words for Cuba's radiant future.

The Cubans welcome capital from the States to invest there and encourage in every way in their power northern progress and energy and enterprise. They know it is to their advantage. They realize its benefits. They see what Mr. Van Horne has accomplished in two years for their country. He has opened up Cuba's possibilities with a wand of magic, built and equipped a modern railroad from the west to the east, made Habana and Santiago walk hand in hand—sister provinces—added millions and millions of untold wealth to her values, made possible thousands and thousands of new homes and new towns, annihilated distance and made the Cubans, from one end of the island to the other, united and one. He has done and is doing a wonderful work for Cuba. No one who has not been there can fully conceive it. But the far-seeing Cubans fully appreciate it. Mr. Van Horne is today Cuba's pioneer of progress, the advance agent of her coming higher civilization, the helper of humanity, the guide of the coming generations, who blazes the trail through the primeval forests that happiness may follow his handiwork.

Mr. Chairman, let me reiterate what I have frequently said before on this floor, that I am now, always have been, and always will be the friend of Cuba. The RECORD will show that ever since I have been a Member of this House I have done all in my power for the Cuban people. I am glad the Cuban Republic has taken her place among the nations of the earth. May success, happiness, prosperity, and domestic tranquillity abide with her forever.

The time is at hand, nevertheless, when we must live up to our sacred obligations to Cuba. We granted her the freedom and the independence promised. We have launched this young Republic upon the ocean of nations, and said to all the world, Cuba is free and independent. We must say to every nation she is our creation—a daughter of the great Republic—and any interference with her will be an act unfriendly to the United States.

But that is not all. We must grant her immediate trade relief. In a commercial way she is at our mercy. This is not her fault—it is our fault. Congress has made it practically impossible for Cuba to market her products in other countries; they must be sold here, and they can not be sold in this country at present except at a loss, unless our tariff law is repealed or modified. This must be done at once—it should have been done months ago. The situation is serious and admits no further delay. The people want Congress to act, and our honor demands the immediate enact-

ment of a liberal reciprocity law. We must keep our word—our faith is pledged.

The Republican party is responsible for this deplorable commercial condition. The Republican party, wedded to its high protective-tariff policy, would rather see the commercial destruction of Cuba than consent to reduce its present system of outrageous high-tariff taxes.

When the Congress adopted the so-called Platt amendment, which I am glad I voted against, and which, in my judgment, never should have been adopted, it took an unfair advantage of Cuba; but when the amendment finally became a law the Cubans accepted it in good faith, and at our request wrote it into their constitution. By virtue of that amendment Cuba is commercially at our mercy to-day and unable to make treaties of a commercial character with other nations. Under the circumstances it seems to me that it is now incumbent on this Government to grant trade relief to Cuba, so that her products can be admitted into this country and sold without a loss.

So, sir, I shall vote for this bill because I am in favor of doing something now for Cuba. I want to see Cuba prosperous. I will vote for any measure to reduce the present tariff duties between this country and Cuba. In my judgment we should have free trade with Cuba. It would be beneficial to us and advantageous to the Cubans. It would help the people of both countries, commercially, financially, and politically. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The friends of the letter carriers' bill will never cease their efforts until it is written on the statute books of our country.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

THURSDAY, MARCH 24, 1904.

WASHINGTON.

1904.

S P E E C H
OF
H O N . W M . S U L Z E R .

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I move to strike out the paragraph under consideration and substitute the following, which I ask the Clerk to report.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York moves to strike out the paragraph under consideration, and offers a substitute, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Free-delivery service: For pay of letter carriers in offices already established, and for substitute letter carriers, and for temporary carriers at summer resorts, holiday, election, and emergency service, \$23,250,000. *Provided, however,* That the Postmaster-General is hereby authorized in his discretion on and after June 30, 1904, to pay letter carriers in cities of more than 75,000 population for the first year of service, \$800; for the second year of service, \$800; for the third year of service, \$1,000; for the fourth year of service and thereafter \$1,200; and after June 30, 1904, to pay letter carriers in cities of a population of under 75,000 for the first year of service, \$600; for the second year of service, \$800; for the third year of service and thereafter, \$1,000.

Mr. OVERSTREET. Mr. Chairman, against that I make the point of order for the same reason. It is identically the same provision.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Indiana makes the point of order.

Mr. SULZER. On that, Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman from New York on the point of order.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, in my opinion I do not think the point of order made by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET] is well taken with regard to this provision. The substitute just offered by myself is not in derogation of existing law and does not in any way change the law or place any limitation upon existing law. It simply gives the Postmaster-General a discretionary power to increase the pay of letter carriers. It is not mandatory in any sense, and hence it does not violate the rule.

It provides that this money is appropriated for the pay of letter carriers, and leaves it in the discretion of the Postmaster-General whether he wants to increase their pay or not. I do not think it comes within the rule of the House, and, in my judgment, I do not think the point of order made by the gentleman from Indiana is well taken, and I trust, in the interest of fair play and simple justice, the point of order will be overruled. Let us be fair; let

us be honest; let us be just; and, finally, let us pay the efficient, hard-working letter carriers decent wages, so that they can live like honest, hard-working, respectable American citizens. That is all I want to say now, so far as this point of order is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is prepared to rule. The Chair understands that the salaries of letter carriers are now provided by law. The amendments offered by the gentleman from California were in the form of limitations; the present amendment alters the existing law by vesting in the Postmaster-General the discretion to pay increased salaries. No question as to a limitation arises. It is a positive enactment, changing the existing law prescribing the salaries and vesting in the Postmaster-General the discretion to increase them. The Chair therefore sustains the point of order.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I move now to strike out the last word, in order to get recognition to say what I want to say for the letter carriers of our country. I am now, always have been, and always will be their friend. For many years the letter carriers have been endeavoring to get fair, just, honest, decent pay from the Government of the United States. The people of this country, who are really the Government, are in favor, in my opinion, of paying the letter carriers a just day's pay for an honest day's work. That is all that is asked for. These letter carriers are the hardest worked, the most honest, the most efficient, the most competent, and the most obliging, courteous, and industrious employees of the Government; and they are the poorest paid. Do not forget that. It is a shame the way these men are compelled to work for a mere pittance, not enough to keep body and soul together. It is a disgrace to this great and wealthy Republic. They can not afford to bring their children up as children should be reared, and properly fed, and decently clothed, and sent to school, so that they will make honest men and good women and become fearless and patriotic citizens.

Mr. Chairman, I have received thousands and thousands of petitions from people all over this country which read as follows:

Mr. WILLIAM SULZER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

I believe that the letter carriers are entitled to the increase of pay that they so earnestly desire. Their faithfulness, integrity, and energy in transacting the business of the people should certainly be recognized and rewarded, considering the fact that they are ill paid now. They suffer much from exposure, are docked when they miss a day's work, and there are no pensions for them.

OTTO BORY,
100 St. Marks Place, New York City.

Now, sir, I want to state that in every Congress since I have been here a bill has been introduced for the relief of the letter carriers. In five different Congresses—namely, the Fifty-fourth, the Fifty-fifth, the Fifty-sixth, the Fifty-seventh, and the Fifty-eighth—I had the honor of introducing such a bill myself, and I worked as hard as I could—before the committee, with Members of the House, in season and out of season—continually to get a favorable report, but all in vain. I never could get the Republicans on the committee to report the bill and do justice to the deserving letter carriers of the country. Time and time again on the floor of this House I have pleaded for just pay and decent treatment for these faithful employees.

Let me say to the Members of this House that on the 10th day of last November I reintroduced the letter carriers' bill, which reads as follows:

A bill (H. R. 835) to increase the pay of letter carriers.

Be it enacted, etc., That after June 30, 1904, the pay of letter carriers in cities of more than 75,000 population for the first year of service shall be \$600; for the second year of service shall be \$800; for the third year of service shall be \$1,000; for the fourth year of service and thereafter shall be \$1,200. And after June 30, 1904, the pay of letter carriers in cities of a population of under 75,000 for the first year of service shall be \$600; for the second year of service, \$800; for the third year of service and thereafter, \$1,000.

Sec. 2. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

If there ever was a bill introduced in this House that ought to appeal to every Member as a matter of right and justice, it is this letter carriers' bill. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads. It is there now. It is sleeping in that committee, and it will never wake up, never come out. That is all there is to it—a most commendable bill. Why should it not be reported? Why should it be smothered in the committee? Why should it not be presented to the House and the Members given an opportunity to vote for it or against it? We want a record on this bill. We want to fix responsibility, and the Republicans in this House are responsible and can not evade that responsibility.

The letter carriers' bill, now peacefully and silently slumbering in committee, has the support of over 1,450 petitions, covering nearly 2,000,000 names. One petition from New York City has on it 327,000 names. Resolutions from over 2,100 organizations, representing labor unions, boards of trade, business men's leagues, independent organizations, and fraternal associations, indorsed it. These came from all parts of the country. State legislatures, city councils, and in fact every organization of any kind, political, religious, and economic, have asked that this bill be passed, but still it sleeps. Not only that, but over 400 newspapers, daily and weekly, have supported the bill editorially. The demand that Congress take action on this bill has become general, but nothing is done. Why not? Ask the Republican members of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. Chairman, let me say again, I am a friend of the letter carriers. The Government in all its service has no more honest, no more tireless, no more faithful employees. These men are the most efficient, the hardest worked in all the country's service, and the poorest paid. The letter carriers of the land are compelled to toil day in and day out, in sunshine and in storm, in winter and in summer, in all kinds of weather, sometimes eighteen hours out of the twenty-four; and taking all other employees in the various Departments of the Federal Government as a basis for comparison, it can not be denied that the letter carriers render the most and the hardest work for the smallest remuneration.

Now, sir, why is it when every Democrat, I believe, on this side of the House is anxious for a favorable report on this bill, is anxious to have it passed, is anxious to vote for it to make it a law, why is it, I ask, that the Republicans in this House smother the bill every session in the committee? Why is the Republican party against the letter carriers' bill? Is it because a few Republican leaders of this House are opposed to giving the letter carriers decent wages? Or is it because the Republicans are so busy

legislating for monopoly that they have no time to legislate for man? And to think of it! The chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET], has the brazen audacity to rise in his place in this House and assert that this great Government can not afford to pay the letter carriers and postal employees decent wages! And in the face of the fact that we have in the Treasury a surplus of over \$224,000,000, the largest surplus in all our history, and every dollar taken from the pockets of the taxpayers.

There is a general sentiment, an urgent demand, from all over this country in favor of this bill to increase the pay of the letter carriers so that they shall be able to live decently. I have made a great many speeches in this House in favor of the letter carriers. After the action of the chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices to-day I am of the opinion, and I want the letter carriers of the country to understand it, that they will never get their wages increased so long as the Republican party is in power in this House and can stop it. [Applause.]

Now, sir, I want to read an editorial from the New York American, one of the greatest newspapers in this country, owned, published, and edited by my distinguished colleague, WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, which expresses my views and ideas upon this question better than any words of mine. The editorial was published on Wednesday, March 23, 1904, and is as follows:

**THE LETTER CARRIER THE POOREST PAID MAN IN THE UNITED STATES—
LET HIM HAVE DECENT WAGES FOR WORK THAT IS HARD AND EXPOSES
HIM TO CONSTANT DANGER OF SICKNESS.**

In keeping with their attitude toward those who earn their bread in the sweat of their face, the Republicans in the lower House of Congress yesterday, by the brutal force of a majority, rejected a plea for additional pay to the letter carriers of the United States.

Representative LIVERNASH moved for an increase in the general appropriation bill in order that the letter carriers could be more decently paid.

The motion was rejected, and rejected by the Republican majority.

The demand for increased pay to the letter carriers is just. It is not a favor to these public servants. Increased pay is their right. They are the poorest paid men of all the thousands working for the United States.

Their scale of wages was fixed in 1878. They are paid at beginning \$600 a year. Then, after several years, they are paid \$800 a year, and if they live long enough, escaping the dangers of pneumonia and other disease incident to the exposure they undergo, they get \$1,000 a year.

But the letter carrier must work every day. He is docked for a day's absence. If he is sick he must lose his wages. When he gets old he draws no pension.

There is no reward for long or faithful service on the part of the letter carrier. If he would better his condition he must seek employment in another line of work.

A scale of wages made in 1878 may have been fair then, but such a scale is manifestly small now. The cost of food, of clothing, and all things incident to human life has increased since 1878, but the letter carrier is asked to work now for wages fixed under conditions that obtained over twenty years ago.

The United States Government should be liberal in payment of wages. The Government should give an example of fair dealing to the private employer.

In the case of the letter carrier the Government affords an example of stinginess that would do credit to a miser.

But the Government is not a living thing. It is what the majority in Congress makes it. That majority in Congress is Republican. The Republicans are asked to make it so that honest toilers can get decent wages, and they refuse.

This is more than a party question. It is a matter of humanity. Thousands of men in responsible positions in cities all over the United States, undergoing hardships that will wreck the constitution of any human being, are asking for enough money to live decently, to educate their children and give them something to live on when they are old. They can not in person make

the demands. Their case is in Congress, and yet the majority in Congress rejects an effort made in their behalf.

Write to your Member of Congress and ask him to vote for the bill to give letter carriers better pay. They are honest men. They work hard. They are held to the observance of the strictest rules, and they are more poorly paid than any other class of workmen in the United States, considering the character of their duties.

Demand that the Republican majority, for once in its career, cease its opposition to decent treatment for men who labor for a living.

Let it be made so that the United States will always be a generous employer of labor and a fair paymaster.

[Applause.]

That editorial tells the truth. Written by a sincere friend of the wage-earners, it tells the truth in trumpet tones. It expresses my sentiments, and you must answer it. This matter can not be longer ignored. It can not be whistled down the wind. It is here to stay until justice is done. You must meet it, and sooner or later you will be forced to go on record and vote for it or against it, because the friends of the letter carriers' bill will never cease their efforts until it is written on the statute books of our country.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT FOR ALASKA.

COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES,

April 4, 1904.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Edward L. Hamilton in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, Mr. Sulzer is with us this morning, and if there is no objection we will hear him in favor of his bill for Territorial government for Alaska. You can proceed, Mr. Sulzer.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, on the first day of the meeting of this Congress—namely, on the 10th day of November, 1903—I introduced a bill to provide for Territorial government for the District of Alaska. The bill was referred to and is now pending before this committee.

This bill has been approved by a great majority of the people of Alaska and is what they want—Territorial government. That is, sir, what the people up there want, and that is what they ought to have. It is right, and it is American. Alaska is just as much entitled to Territorial government to-day as Arizona or New Mexico. If we follow the precedents of the past we can not withhold this boon from the people of Alaska. They are fairly entitled to it.

In the light of all precedents and the experience of the past their population warrants it. For the benefit of those who know not, I insert a table which shows the population of 12 different States and Territories about the time they were given representation. Many of them had a representative for some time before the enumeration had been made which brought forth these figures. Probably at the time of their receiving Delegate privileges this population did not average 3,000 whites in each Territory, and they had very little but agricultural matters to look after, with no comparison in commercial affairs to Alaska to-day.

	Date of organization.	Population by census nearest date of organization.		
		Census.	White.	Total
Arizona.....	Feb. 24, 1863	1870	9,581	9,658
Dakota—North and South.....	Mar. 2, 1861	1860	2,576	4,837
Idaho.....	Mar. 3, 1863	1870	10,618	14,999
Illinois.....	Feb. 3, 1809	1810	11,501	12,282
Indiana.....	May 7, 1800	1800	2,402	2,517
Michigan.....	Jan. 11, 1805	1810	4,618	4,762
Minnesota.....	Mar. 2, 1849	1850	6,938	6,977
Mississippi.....	Apr. 7, 1798	1800	4,446	7,600
Montana.....	May 26, 1864	1870	18,306	20,595
Nevada.....	Mar. 2, 1863	1860	6,812	6,857
Utah.....	Sept. 9, 1850	1850	11,330	11,380
Washington.....	Mar. 2, 1853	1860	11,138	11,594

In 1890 the census of Alaska showed a population of 32,052. The census report for 1900 gives the population of Alaska as 63,592. When we consider the vast difficulty attendant upon the full and correct enumeration of population in thickly settled and more accessible districts, and how frequently the statement is made even in large cities that the census enumerators failed to properly enumerate and return a considerable per cent of the population, then how much more likely is it that in a district like Alaska, a vast expanse of territory with widely scattered towns, settlements, and mining camps, isolated and separated, without railroad and telegraphic communications—how much more likely is it, I say, that where conditions like these exist that the census enumeration has not been full and complete?

I submit, in view of the foregoing, that it is not an extravagant estimate to place the present population of the Territory of Alaska at 100,000 people, and this population will undoubtedly increase in a greater ratio during the next few years than it has in the past.

The number of white people were less than 5,000 in 1890, with a very large portion of the remainder Indians and mixed. This great increase during the last ten years has not been caused by the births of natives. The Indian is rapidly passing away, so that the majority of the present population of 63,592 are beyond question whites who have emigrated from the States. These persons dominate the Territory, and in a short time, through the evolution of nature, the native Indian will have become a tradition.

Now, Mr. Chairman, by way of comparison, let me cite you a few cases. In the record of Territorial organizations we find that Nebraska, embracing all the district of country lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains and extending from the 40th degree of latitude to the boundary line between the United States and Canada, was made a Territory in 1854, with a population too insignificant to be mentioned in the report of the preceding census, if, indeed, it were ascertainable. Yet we find that six years later it had attained a population of only 28,841—less than half that of Alaska in 1900. The Territory of Dakota, embracing what are now the States of North and South Dakota, was organized in 1861, having for two years previous maintained a provisional government of her own, although she was credited by the census of 1860 with a population of only 4,837, which, owing to the unsettled state of the country induced by the great civil war during that decade, increased to the extent of only 9,544 in the next succeeding ten years.

The capital was established at Yankton, in the extreme southeastern end of what is now the State of South Dakota, distant from the most remote settlements little, if any, less than 700 miles. There were no railroads or wagon roads, and the means of communication, except between Missouri River points, were not only more primitive than is now the case in Alaska, but at the same time far more expensive and dangerous. The country was a vast wilderness of treeless prairie, arid plains, and "bad lands," which, but for the building of subsidized railroads in advance of settlement, would never have become the home of any considerable number of white men. It was not then known to possess any of the great natural resources of which Alaska can now truthfully boast, and had the little handful of hardy pioneers who set up a government of their own in advance of Territorial organization

been subjected to the operation of a policy similar to that which long ago obtained in the government of Alaska, and is still in vogue, it is not improbable that what are now two great and prosperous States of the Union would have remained to this day, figuratively speaking, a wilderness.

And so, sir, with many, if not all, of the Territories when they were first organized. The facts and the figures conclusively prove that Alaska is more entitled now to Territorial government than any of the Territories organized in the years gone by west of the Mississippi River. Why should we deprive the citizens of Alaska of Territorial government? Is there a man here that can give any answer, except the logical answer that Alaska should become a Territory with all the rights of a Territory?

Mr. Chairman, the district of Alaska is a vast domain lying in the extreme northwestern corner of the North American continent, on Bering Sea and the North Pacific. It comprises an area of about 577,390 statute square miles, with a seacoast of 26,000 miles, or nearly two and one-half times the seacoast of the balance of the United States. The district was acquired by purchase by the United States from Russia for \$7,200,000, and the boundaries as laid down in the treaty of cession of March 30, 1867, are: "Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called 'Prince of Wales Island,' which point lies in the parallel of 54° 40' north latitude, and between the one hundred and thirty-first and one hundred and thirty-third degrees of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Canal as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude (of the same meridian), and finally from the said point of intersection the said meridian line of the one hundred and forty-first degree in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean.

"With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article it is understood, first, that the island called 'Prince of Wales Island' shall belong wholly to Russia (now, by cession, to the United States); second, that whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast from the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude shall prove to be at the distance of more than 10 marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia as above mentioned (that is to say, the limit of the possessions ceded by this convention) shall be formed by a line parallel to the winding of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of 10 marine leagues therefrom. The western limits, within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained, passes through a point in Bering Straits on the parallel of 65 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and its intersection by the meridian which passes midway between the island of Krusenstern, or Ignalook, and the island of Ratmanoff, or Noonarbook, and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the same frozen ocean. The same western limitation, beginning at the same initial point, proceeds thence in a course nearly

southwest through Bering Straits and Bering Sea, so as to pass midway between the northwest point of the island of St. Lawrence and the southeast point of Cape Choukotski, to the meridian of 172 west longitude; thence from the intersection of that meridian, in a southwesterly direction, so as to pass midway between the island of Attou and the Copper Island of the Kormandorski couplet or group in the North Pacific Ocean, to the meridian of 193 degrees west longitude, so as to include in the territory conveyed the whole of the Aleutian Islands east of the meridian."

This is the vast domain of land ceded to the United States from Russia by the treaty in 1867, and the American people will never consent to give up an inch of it to any other country. It is ours and it must always be ours.

When this country in 1867 paid Russia \$7,200,000 in gold coin for the Territory of Alaska, a great outcry arose over the shameful extravagance of the Government. We had purchased, it was alleged by these fault-finders, a barren waste of snow and ice, an arctic region incapable of cultivation, whose only treasure was the seals that might be killed along its coast. The Administration had squandered the money of the people, and shrewd Russia was laughing in her sleeve over our simplicity!

It is possible that Russia did laugh in her sleeve over the simplicity that she imagined she had discovered, but it is certain that by this time she has changed her laugh to a sigh over the results of her own shortsightedness, for Alaska is recognized to-day as one of the most important gold-producing lands in the world. Her mines are the mecca of armies of prospectors, who go there to search for the precious ore that is the foundation of the money systems of the commercial world. She has returned to us in gold ore alone a thousand times more than we paid Russia for her possession, and the sources of her golden treasure have as yet scarcely been scratched.

But it is not only in mineral wealth that Alaska promises to be a valuable territory. That claim alone would be ample justification for the purchase of the arctic land, but she has other claims to add to this. Had anybody predicted, when the negotiation for her sale was conducted, that she could ever assume to be an agricultural country, he would have been regarded as a fit subject for treatment in a lunatic asylum. But we are progressing in knowledge. The Agricultural Department has been investigating, and it now announces that certain crops can be raised in Alaska at a good profit, and that great herds of cattle will thrive in her friendly climate.

Thus the purchase of Alaska promises to be one of the wisest things ever accomplished by our Government.

The great speech of Charles Sumner, delivered in the United States Senate in favor of the purchase of Alaska, in the light of to-day reads like a marvelous prophecy. Alaska ceased years ago to be called "Seward's folly." No amount of money could buy it from us to-day, and ultimately it will make three great States of the Union—and no doubt they will be called "Alaska," "Seward," and "Sumner." What a monument Alaska is to-day to the wisdom and far-sighted statesmanship of Charles Sumner and William H. Seward!

In my opinion, fortified by the judgment of the great majority of the population of the district of Alaska, whose best men have not

only recommended it, but have urged it as an absolute necessity at this time, I submit that the Congress should no longer delay the right of these people to Territorial government.

It is a tenet of our American creed that proper elective representation is the heritage of our citizenship. Whatever may have been the needs and the requirements of the limitations of Alaska in the past, I think the time has now arrived when it is not only feasible for its inhabitants to elect and have Delegate representation in the House of Representatives, but that its absolute necessity makes it a matter of right which we should heed by speedy action.

Alaska is a district whose prospects, resources, and commercial and political importance have heretofore been almost wholly unappreciated by most people. Even now, in the period of Alaska's marvelous development, the first thought of many persons is that a Delegate would be a doubtful experiment and an unnecessary expense, when, in fact, of all our outlying Territories, Alaska is the one whose needs in this respect are paramount. Its isolation, distance, and peculiar surroundings as to climate, soil, resources, business, and trade conditions, as well as population, render it impossible for Congress to fully recognize its wants and exigencies.

Alaska has an area of over 577,000 square miles. It would cover one-sixth of the territory of the United States proper. Its resources are simply wonderful, with its mines of gold, silver, copper, and coal, its mighty forests of merchantable timber, its rich wealth of fur-bearing animals, its enormous fisheries of seal, whale, salmon, cod, and halibut, and its already great and commanding commercial and political importance. And then, in connection with all this, comes the voice of a resistless and increasing flow of the most manly, virile, and hardy people in the world, who say, "Give us the protection of an interested and sympathetic government and we will not only support ourselves, but we will return direct into the United States Treasury revenues many times multiplying the amount of her investment by purchase."

At this point the expense of an election and the salary of a Delegate might well be considered. This country is a large territory of the primeval ruggedness of nature, unmitigated in part with long stretches of snow and ice and a scattered population. There may be inconveniences in an election on the frontier to which we are not accustomed, but that is the daily incident of their lives. Tenacity of purpose and power of endurance are the two essential qualities that took them there. They have great interests to be looked after, and they say, "We want a man at Washington who knows us, our country, and our business to represent us and our interests."

It will be of some inconvenience and expense, but they are asking the privilege to incur whatever inconvenience it may be to hold an election. After that the only question for us to consider is: Is it reasonable and practicable? Those who seem to be most competent to judge say it is. As to the expense, they pay it. That is all there is to that. While discussing this phase of the subject I desire to insert a statement from the Treasury Department showing the revenues and expenditures of the government of Alaska for the fiscal year 1900. This shows a balance in favor of the Treasury in the splendid figures of \$282,950, out of which to pay the expense of an election every two years.

Statement of revenues and expenditures in Alaska, fiscal year 1900.

REVENUES.

Customs	\$57, 623. 62
Public lands	2, 376. 32
Tax on seal skins	224, 476. 47
Rent of Fox Islands	1, 200. 00
License fees	157, 234. 94
Total	442, 911. 35

EXPENDITURES.

Expenses of Territorial government	\$28, 655. 98
Salaries of agents at seal fisheries	11, 473. 41
Expenses, office of marshal, etc	17, 969. 90
Public buildings	475. 39
Refuge station, Point Barrow	106. 67
Alaskan boundary survey	500. 00
Education of children	32, 970. 62
Education of Indians	4, 364. 30
Protecting fisheries	5, 512. 47
Expenses of steamer <i>Albatross</i>	9, 830. 93
Supplies for native inhabitants	19, 100. 38
Building for United States courts	722. 76
Reindeer for Alaska	12, 746. 68
Expenses, office of surveyor-general	4, 800. 00
Maps of Alaska	18. 50
Survey of the Ynkon River	9, 780. 69
Relief of people in mining regions	932. 48
Total	159, 961. 16

But, aside from the question of expense, why should they not have Territorial government at this time? In the first place, there is a large and ever-increasing body of the best kind of American citizens in Alaska—pioneers who are willing to forego the ease and luxury of life in the States to develop that great country. The best blood of a nation flows in the veins of its pioneers. They are the advance guard of progress. They have opened up in Alaska a mine of wealth that the world never dreamed of. They have made Alaska commercially great, and for a decade have felt the need and practicability of a Delegate, and have been asking it from our hands for years. To-day, with a population doubled since the last census was taken and material financial interests increased in a still greater ratio, they ask you for this legislation.

The bill under consideration gives the people of Alaska the right of self-government, to vote for and to elect a Delegate from Alaska to the House of Representatives who shall have the same rights and the same privileges in this body as a Delegate from any of the other Territories in the United States. Alaska is entitled to that. No one can deny it. Her people should be heard on this floor, and the Alaskans want to be heard here by some one of their own selection—competent to speak for them. Some one vested with authority who will be responsible to them for what he says on the floor of this House regarding Alaskan matters, and who will be responsible to Congress as well. No one familiar with the facts can doubt that Alaska is entitled to Delegate representation. It is a fundamental principle of our theory of government that none of our citizens shall be taxed without just representation, and the Alaskans have been taxed by the Federal Government

for years and years without representation and without having a voice in their own internal affairs.

Mr. Chairman, I have been to Alaska several times. I know something about that vast domain. I know something about the sentiments of the people who live there, and I stand here and declare, with the confident knowledge that I can not be successfully contradicted, that the people of Alaska—the people who have gone there, and who have lived there for years, and who are bona fide residents of Alaska, and intend to stay there during the rest of their lives—I know what they want, and I declare here that they want not only a representative in Congress, but they want Territorial government. They want the right that every other Territory in the Union has—the right to make their own laws, to levy their own taxes, to regulate their own internal affairs, and to spend the money gathered by the tax collector for their own use, for their own schools, for their own charitable institutions, for their own municipal affairs, and for their own peace and happiness. This is not asking too much in my opinion. It seems to me it is only fair and just and proper and right. Alaska has a population at the present time upward of 100,000 bona fide residents. It is true they are scattered over a vast domain of territory. But it is also true that they are an honest, brave, sober, manly, God-fearing people, who are of our kin, and who ought to be treated as American citizens.

I know what the people of Alaska want. They demand Territorial government, and, knowing the facts as I do, I unhesitatingly say, and I defy successful refutation, that under all the circumstances Alaska is now, and long has been, entitled to Territorial government, and Congress ought to give it to the Alaskans without any more delay. Alaska is an anomaly in our sisterhood of States and Territories. It has been said here that Alaska is a Territory because a justice of the United States Supreme Court, writing an opinion about it, characterized it as such. No doubt it is a part of the territory of the United States, and perhaps that is what the distinguished jurist meant. Others here declare that Alaska is only a district, and I am inclined to concur in that view. If Alaska was a Territory in the Union, it would have all the rights of a Territory. It is not a Territory in the sense that Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma are Territories. It ought to be a Territory of our Government just the same as those other Territories and have all the rights and all the privileges that those Territories possess to-day; and the Alaskans will never be satisfied—never be contented—in my opinion, with any law that does not give them all the rights those other Territories possess.

A Delegate from an unorganized Territory would be not only a departure from all former precedent, but in the case of Alaska might be much more productive of evil than of beneficial results. In the absence of any form of local government, it may be impossible for a Delegate to properly represent the will and the wishes of the people, because of a lack of knowledge in the premises. I know that the people of Alaska are, in every point of view, abundantly capable of maintaining a local form of government, such as has always heretofore been accorded the Territories of the United States, and I deprecate the idea of further burdening the Congress with purely local legislation, as would, presumably, be the duty of a Delegate to press upon the attention of this body in the absence of Territorial organization. In my opinion, such

legislation can safely be intrusted to the people of Alaska themselves, and in my judgment, instead of the bill providing a Delegate for the unorganized Territory, or district, of Alaska, an organic act should be passed according to her people the measure of self-government to which they are justly entitled, and which has never heretofore, except in the case of Alaska, been withheld from any considerable body of American citizens engaged in the settlement of a new district.

Looking at the question in the light of the past, and by way of comparison with other portions of our country that have been made Territories in our Union, I believe that Alaska is more entitled to-day to Territorial government than seven-tenths of the other Territories that were organized. I am opposed, as a matter of right, and of justice, and of principle, to taxing the Alaskan people, gathering the taxes by a Federal tax collector, and, instead of giving the taxes to the people of Alaska for their own local purposes, depositing the money in the Federal Treasury and trying to govern Alaska from the Treasury Department or by the Congress, when nine-tenths of the men in Congress know absolutely nothing about the people up there, nor the country, either.

Mr. Chairman, something has been said here regarding the impossibility of holding an election in Alaska under this bill, should it become a law, and that its provisions would open the door to frauds on the ballot box. In my opinion, that conclusion is assumed, farfetched, and without justification. If this bill should become a law in its present state the election of a Delegate in Congress from Alaska would be just as honestly conducted as the election for a Representative in Congress in any State. And the Delegate elected would be, no doubt, in the estimation of the Alaskans, or in the estimation of a majority of them, the most competent man they could find to send here to represent them, to get their rights, and to give Congress the information desired regarding legislation.

I have spoken of Alaskan resources in general terms as a reason for her recognition. Her mines of gold, silver, coal, and copper, already known to be great, are considered by many practically inexhaustible. She has the largest stamp mill in the world at Treadwell and bids fair to become the greatest gold-producing country on earth. The rapid development of the gold and silver mining industry of Alaska during the past four years is shown by the fact that the production has advanced from about \$3,000,000 in 1896 to about \$7,000,000 in 1900. This will increase rather than diminish. At present the value of the precious metals lies chiefly in the gold placers of Nome and the interior regions. In the Nome region some 5,000 square miles are known to carry auriferous gravels, while in the Yukon Basin the area of auriferous gravels is probably several times as large. But it is not all placer mining. Governor Brady says that quartz mining is the kind in which Alaska will be preeminent in the near future and that even now it is affording the finest illustration that the world knows of profitable working of low-grade ore.

In the coast region of southeastern Alaska mining for gold, copper, and silver has been going on for a number of years. The development of this industry has been especially rapid since 1898, and it promises to become one of the most important mining districts of the country. The discovery of copper deposits in Alaska was made only three years ago, and hence the development is comparatively insignificant.

nificant, though there are three districts in which valuable copper ores have been found. Mining has only been done in the one lying on the coast, and many tons of copper ore have been shipped from the Territory. The investigations of the past two years have shown, however, that there are unquestionably vast undeveloped copper deposits in at least three districts of Alaska. The coal of Alaska embraces lignites, bituminous coal, and some anthracite. The lignites are the most widely distributed of the three and are the ones that have been largely prospected. Coal has been found in nearly every part of the district, both on the coast and in the interior. It has been mined at probably 100 different localities, but up to the present time only for local consumption, and the aggregate output, of which there are no authentic data available, would not amount to more than a few thousand tons a year. The coal is so widely distributed in the district that it must be regarded as one of its most important resources. It is a conservative estimate to place the area occupied by the coal-bearing rocks at 100,000 square miles. Accurate statements can not be made as to the figures of the fish industry for the year 1900, but it can be said that it has been continually growing and is still in its infancy. More than one hundred varieties of food fish inhabit the Alaskan waters. The annual output of salmon alone will amount to more than \$9,000,000 at this time. The Territory alone can feed the fish-eating world.

Now, gentlemen, on the 27th day of October, 1903, a nonpartisan convention was held at Juneau, Alaska. That convention, called to take action on Territorial government, unanimously passed resolutions in favor of Territorial government, and appointed a committee to prepare a memorial to the Congress—which was sent to me, and I will now read it, together with a letter from former governor of Alaska, Hon. A. R. Swineford.

KETCHIKAN, ALASKA, *January 25, 1904.*

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In behalf of the committee appointed in pursuant to resolutions adopted by the nonpartisan convention at Juneau, I herewith forward memorial to Congress, of which I desire that you will make such use as to you may seem meet and proper. I can only hope that the paper will commend itself to you as worthy of presentation, and that it may be of assistance to you in the passage of your bill.

Yours, very truly,

A. P. SWINEFORD.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned respectfully begs leave to represent to your honorable bodies that at a representative nonpartisan convention of the people of Alaska, held at Juneau on the 27th day of October, 1903, resolutions in favor of a Territorial form of government for the district were unanimously adopted, and a committee consisting of A. P. Swineford, of Ketchikan; John W. Troy, of Skagway; Thomas Marquam, of Haines; E. C. Barnes, of Rampart, and John B. Denny, of Juneau, was appointed, with instructions to prepare and transmit to the Congress a respectful memorial expressive of the sense of the convention, and embodying therein the reasons why, in its opinion, the passage of an act providing a Territorial form of government for Alaska would be for the best good of all concerned.

This committee, in view of the fact that a Republican district convention held at the same place a week later for the purpose of choosing delegates to the Republican national convention, though split in twain on questions pertaining to temporary and permanent organization, likewise and without a dissenting voice declared itself in favor of Territorial organization, and considering the further fact that a subcommittee

of the Senate Committee on Territories had but lately concluded a tour of the district for the purpose of investigating existing conditions and recommending proper and necessary legislation for the district, on conferring together concluded, out of respect for the honorable and distinguished gentlemen of the subcommittee, to await their report before proceeding to the discharge of the duty enjoined upon them by the convention, and have accordingly done so.

This committee now begs leave to represent that the two conventions referred to as having unanimously declared in favor of a Territorial form of government were in all respects representative of the people of Alaska, and that their membership in personnel would gain rather than lose in comparison with an equal number of delegates called together in any given section of any of the States or organized Territories. It has every reason to believe, indeed is absolutely certain, that when the Democratic district convention meets to choose delegates to the national convention of that party it will with equal unanimity voice the declaration of the others in favor of Territorial organization. It therefore believes itself justified in asserting, and it does here and now assert without fear of successful contradiction, that an overwhelming majority of the people of Alaska, irrespective of former party affiliations, are not only dissatisfied with the present anomalous form of government with which they are provided, but most heartily desire that the district shall be erected into a Territory in accordance with long-established precedent.

The earnest desire of the people of Alaska having thus been made manifest, your memorialists fail to discover any good and sufficient reason why it should not be granted. Certainly there can be no objection on the grounds of right or of justice. The right of local self-government is inherent in the American people, and the people of Alaska are nothing if not loyally, patriotically American. They are, moreover, not more American in spirit than in enterprise, and your memorialists believe and confidently assert that they are better qualified in every respect to successfully exercise the right of local self-government than were the people of any other section of the Union when they made similar demand upon the Congress for Territorial recognition. Whatever their number, a large majority of them are American-born citizens of the several States and Territories, and in their case, politically speaking, no process of assimilation is necessary, as in the case of the other noncontiguous territory of the United States. They are to all intents and purposes Americans, true and loyal, and the only question is whether they shall be accorded the rights never heretofore withheld from any fragment of American territory or fraction of American people.

Your memorialists can not and do not believe that the failure of the Senate subcommittee to recommend a Territorial form of government for Alaska could have been prompted by other than a desire to promote the welfare of the Alaskan people, for the reason, if there be no other than that, its report makes no denial of the right of this people to the measure of relief a Territorial form of government will afford. It must be, therefore, that the disinclination of the Senate committee to recommend an enactment, the right and justice of which is not denied, must be based upon other objections which the committee deem insuperable. If we are permitted to judge from the report itself, as given in the press dispatches, the committee bases its objection on insufficiency of population and presumed impracticability of embracing so large a district of country in a single Territorial organization.

With all due respect, your memorialists aver, whatever may be the number of permanent white residents in Alaska, the white and native population of the district is little, if any, less than 100,000. Of the undeveloped resources of the country, its present wealth-producing capacity and its great promise for the future, your memorialists need do no more than refer to the report of the Senate committee for any desired information, though they can not forbear to invite comparison in that regard with the record of any other heretofore unorganized territory of the United States.

But if we concede as wholly true the statement of the Senate committee that the number of permanent white residents does not exceed 20,000, and the inference that by reason of that fact a Territorial form of government would be impracticable, your memorialists beg leave to respectfully submit that in the light of the history of Territorial organizations, compared with present existing conditions in Alaska, the objection, if made, is one worthy of little consideration. The history of Territorial organizations shows that very few of the Territories had nearly so large a population as that credited to Alaska by the Senate committee at the time of their organization, and but two or three at the most to which the objection of impracticability might not have been urged with much greater force than in the present case. Oregon, at the time far more remote from the seat of government than Alaska now is, with means of communication in no wise to be compared with those which have already obtained in Alaska, and embracing a superficial area nearly as great, was created a Territory with a population of only about 13,000; Washington was made a Territory

with a population of less than 5,000, Dakota with a population about the same, and in case of none of the Territories heretofore organized was the mere question of practicability allowed to weigh in the balance against the right of their people to govern and control their own local and domestic affairs.

Your memorialists therefore respectfully submit that no good and substantial reason can be advanced why Alaska should not be made a Territory in accordance with precedent as old as the Government itself. On the contrary, every consideration of right and of justice demands it. The district has a larger population than had any of the Territories of the United States at the time of their organization. Its developed wealth and resources, its trade and commerce, are infinitely greater than were those of any of the Territories in their incipency, and in most cases for a long time after their organization. Instead of a burden of expense to the Government, your memorialists need but refer to the report of the Senate subcommittee in proof of the assertion that she has been and is now a source of national profit. Her people are in large majority wide-awake, energetic Americans, loyal and patriotic, abundantly capable of an intelligent exercise of the right of local self-government, and as such fully deserving the recognition they now seek at the hands of Congress.

The conditions are such as to render the successful administration of a Territorial form of government more practicable than was the case in many of the Territories now become great States, and your memorialists honestly believe at less expense both to the General Government and the people of the district as well. Indeed, your memorialists aver that the people of Alaska are now paying into the National Treasury, in the form of license taxation, official fees, etc., an annual amount of money doubly sufficient to cover the cost of a Territorial form of government economically administered, including the expense of as many county and township organizations as would be necessary and expedient.

Your memorialists beg leave to further respectfully represent that the present form of government set over Alaska, in form and in administration, is one that no self-respecting American community should be expected to endure without protest. It is one in which the people have practically no voice whatever, either in the making or administration of the laws by which they are governed. It is a government of law enacted by strangers, administered by strangers, and in large measure for the benefit of strangers, and has become well-nigh intolerable. The officials, except the few municipal officers in the incorporated towns, are all appointive, and the so-called "government" is one of official "graft," pure and simple.

Your memorialists, with all due respect, venture to suggest that the Congress, however kindly disposed, can not, with the manifold questions of grave national importance constantly demanding its earnest consideration, legislate intelligently for Alaska on matters of purely local concern. As well, and with even more justice and propriety, might a legislature exercise the power of making the ordinances for the towns and cities of a State as for the Congress to undertake the enactment of suitable and satisfactory local laws for Alaska. Laws intended to meet the exigencies of peculiar conditions can best be made by those intimately acquainted with those conditions, and this is especially true in the case of Alaska, because of her remoteness from the seat of government to which she is now compelled to look for all her legislative requirements.

Your memorialists believe, and a large majority of the people of Alaska and those of the Pacific States as well believe, that a Territorial form of government is essential to the more rapid settlement and development of that great country of incomparable natural resources. They have so expressed themselves by resolutions unanimously adopted by the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress in which all the great States west of the Mississippi River were represented, at its session held in Seattle last summer, and by two representative conventions held in Juneau in October and November last. They ask nothing more than that Alaska shall be accorded the same liberal treatment heretofore accorded to every other fraction of the American people engaged in the settlement and development of more or less remote sections of country, however sparsely populated. With them the question is not what Congress shall do for them in the way of local legislation, but that Congress shall put them in a position to do something for themselves. They feel themselves abundantly able and capable, from every point of view, to successfully administer a government of their own.

Alaska is no longer an infant. Remove the swaddling clothes in which she is bound and she will step forth a young giant, who will not only speedily achieve a destiny which will astonish the world, but add untold millions to the wealth of the nation.

Very respectfully,

A. P. SWINEFORD,
Chairman.

I wish to also read in connection with this matter some newspaper interviews and editorials. I read now from an editorial in the Philadelphia Inquirer:

A DELEGATE FROM ALASKA.

The proposition to give Alaska a Delegate in Congress is before the Senate. Why there should be so much hesitation in facing the issue is not comprehensible. Why shouldn't Alaska have a Delegate?

It is a far-away Territory and not easily reached, it is true, but for that very reason it ought to be in a position to make its wants known. The Delegate would not have a vote in the House. He would be there simply to look after the interests of Alaska, to advise with the committees, to make speeches if he saw fit.

Surely the Union would be in no very great danger from a voteless representative of seal fisheries and gold mines. Many years will elapse before Alaska is admitted as a State. The fear of statehood need not bother anyone. It won't be hastened to any appreciable extent by granting the Territory a Delegate to speak for it.

[From Washington Post, May 4, 1902.]

SEEKS AID FOR ALASKA—FORMER OFFICIAL HERE TO URGE MORE LEGISLATION—EX-COLLECTOR J. W. IVEY ARRIVES IN WASHINGTON TO IMPRESS UPON PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS NEEDS OF PEOPLE OF NORTHWESTERN POSSESSION—DECLARES COUNTRY HAS BEEN SHAMEFULLY TREATED.

Mr. J. W. Ivey, who was appointed collector of customs of Alaska by President McKinley, and who, upon a number of occasions, has taken an active part in the struggles of the Alaskan settlers, came to Washington on a mission relative to the development of the great northwestern possessions of the United States. At the request of numerous bodies of miners and residents of Alaska, Mr. Ivey has made the long journey across the continent in order to lay before Congress and the departments having control of the affairs of Alaska the urgent needs of the district for legislation that will aid in the progress and prosperity of that Territory.

Speaking last night of his aim in coming here, and of the general situation in Alaska to-day, he said:

"I am here to see the President and two committees of Congress in the interest of legislation for Alaska, which has not been as well treated as Russia treats her colonies. The United States Government has done those things it should not have done and has left undone those things it should have done. We are taxed without representation, and it is the first time in our history that the people of an outlying district have paid a tax into the Treasury of the United States.

"CHARGES OF NEGLECT.

"Alaska has been shamefully and cruelly neglected. The feeling among the people is fast becoming a settled conviction that the tremendous intellectual forces of this nation are producing thought in advance of their representatives in Congress. Members of Congress do not seem to apply business principles to the conduct of public affairs and seem to be lacking in the power of concentration. They should give us less talk and more action; less time-taking bickerings over petty and more unimportant things.

"This nation is not bounded on the west by the Mississippi, nor does it stop where the waters of the Pacific lash the shores of California, Oregon, and Washington. Thirty-five years ago we purchased Alaska from Russia for the sum of \$7,200,000. Russia practically made us a present of it. It is a country nearly one-third as large as the United States, having to-day within its borders over 75,000 intelligent, rugged, patriotic pioneers, the flower of the young manhood of the common people of the country.

"Alaska is rich in gold, silver, copper, iron, and other metals, as well as furs, timber, and fisheries. It also has large coal resources. Portions of the country are adapted to agriculture, and its possibilities for stock raising are vast. It is a country of inestimable value far beyond the dream of the people of the States. Great ships, carrying passengers and freights, are leaving Pacific coast ports every day for Alaska, and they return with millions of our gold and other products. And yet the country has scarcely begun.

“SEVERELY ARRAIGNS CONGRESS.

“What does the ordinary Senator or Representative know about Alaska? It is their duty to know all about it. They still languidly refer to it as the land of the ‘midnight sun,’ the ‘home of the glacier and the polar bear;’ but they have no intelligent appreciation of its extent and territory, its value, or the rapidity with which it is being settled and developed by the sturdy men of the West, who are blazing the trees and cutting the trails for civilization. They are building railroads, opening and working mines by the hundreds, navigating great rivers—in short, carving out an empire. For thirty-five long years Alaska has been waiting for some recognition from Congress and the Departments, and she is still waiting. Now and then a Senator or Congressman will visit Alaska as a summer tourist and pledge the people what they will do when they return to Washington. But their promises are still unfulfilled. Is Congress too unwieldy a body to handle the whole country? I read that it is talking of buying more territory, but it had better demonstrate its ability to properly govern that which it already has before buying more. Congress has no time now for a great country like Alaska, which lies at its very door.

“If the days of Congressmen are wholly occupied over the Philippines, which are not worth one-tenth as much to us as Alaska, and over other questions, let them cut out a social party or midnight dinner and give Alaska an evening session. Let them call up and pass the bill now pending which provides for a Delegate to Congress from Alaska. We would then have an authorized representative here who would present our needs and necessities and look after the interests of that vast district, and he would be a very busy man. The justice of this demand is surely apparent to everyone.

“Our only means of being heard now is to go to Seattle, a thousand miles away, and get their Chamber of Commerce to pass resolutions in our interest and forward them to their Representatives in Congress, asking their intercession for us. The Delegate bill should be passed immediately. It is the same old cry every year, ‘more important matters to attend to.’ If they can not attend to an empire like Alaska, now in its formative period, needing attention and retarded in its growth for the lack of it, they had better resign and go home and allow their places to be filled by men who will attend to it.

“SHOULD BE REPRESENTED.

“In addition to giving us a Delegate to Congress, the oppressive features of the license-tax law should be repealed. The United States land laws should be extended in full to Alaska, and the mining laws should be amended, among other things, so as to deny the right to locate mining property by power of attorney. The fishing laws are sadly in need of overhauling, and should be attended to without delay or the industry will be destroyed. An appropriation of \$25,000 or \$30,000 should be made for the immediate construction of six or seven light-houses in aid of navigation and for the protection of human life and property. Within the past four years two marine disasters have occurred with great loss of life at places where there should have been light-houses. Is not this criminal neglect? Why don't Congress and the Departments cut through this red tape and delay and attend to the public business? The President has recently requested Congress to enact a law for the preservation of game in Alaska. Such a law is necessary, but we are in far greater need of a few light-houses for the preservation of human life.

“The Valdez wagon road, now half completed from the ocean to the Yukon River, the abandonment of which has been recommended by an impracticable army officer, should be completed at once by the Government. The Government offices should be removed from Sitka to Juneau at once, the former place being out of the line of trade and commerce. Alaska should have home rule, and the Federal appointments should be made from citizens of the district who are known to the people and are familiar with the conditions existing there. The bar association, and people generally recently asked that an attorney of many years' residence in Alaska be appointed to a vacant judgeship. He is honest, fearless, and able, yet their request has been unheeded, and an unknown quantity is to be sent into their midst. Among the great pioneers of Alaska are men fit to stand on the floors of senates or to command armies, but they have none to speak for them here. The corporations doing business in Alaska send lobbyists to Washington, and they sometimes get protection, but the real producers of Alaska, the miners, have no champion, and are mute witnesses of injustice, neglect, and wrong. I maintain that this is not the way to run a government. If the people of Alaska could vote they would not be treated this way.”

* * * * *

[From the Mining Journal, January 3, 1903.]

FACTS AND FIGURES.

There are still those who present the weak and altogether untenable argument that a Territorial form of government would be impracticable in Alaska because of its comparative small and widely scattered population, on the one hand, and the alleged burdensome taxation it would involve on the other. To such arguments, were the question not of such vital importance to the future welfare of Alaska, the Mining Journal might be content with the mere counter assertion of the fact that a Territorial form of government in Alaska is not nearly so impracticable of operation as was the case in some of the Territories at the time of their organization, and that the cost to the people would not necessarily be more than half as much as they are now paying for a government in which they have no voice.

But assertion is not argument and the Mining Journal's assertion would be no better than any other, if not supported and backed by facts and figures which are undeniable. A few such facts and figures in connection with the history of Territorial organizations are here quoted to show not only that Alaska to-day stands credited with a larger population than any Territory of the United States had at the time of its organization, but that the impracticability of Territorial administration in Alaska is not nearly so great as it was in the case of some others.

Arkansas was organized in 1819, with a population of 14,273, including slaves.

Florida, organized in 1823, with a population of 18,385 whites and 15,501 slaves.

Illinois, organized 1809, with a total population of 12,282.

Indiana, organized in 1800, population 4,875.

Iowa, organized in 1838, population 22,859.

Kansas, organized in 1854, practically without population. At the time of the preceding decennial census (1850) the country was a wilderness—practically without population other than Indians.

Louisiana, organized in 1804; population 34,311 whites and about the same number of slaves.

Michigan, organized in 1805; population five years later, 4,762. The Territory of Michigan, with capital at Detroit, embraced all of the present great States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota. Iowa, the Dakotas, and a part of Montana. Some of the settlements were much farther remote from the Territorial capital than would be any in Alaska from any town likely to be made the seat of government, while the means of travel and communication were as nothing compared with those of Alaska. Even as late as 1870 legislators from some parts of the State were obliged to travel a distance of 800 miles, part of the way through three other States, to reach the capital.

Minnesota, organized in 1849; population, 6,077. This Territory also had a very large superficial area, over which there were practically no means of travel and communication other than by trail and canoe. So also of the Dakotas, Oregon, and Washington.

Mississippi, organized in 1789; population, 5,176 whites and 3,671 negroes.

Missouri, organized in 1812; white population, 17,227.

Montana, organized in 1864 with a population estimated at 60,000 in 1868, but which was shown by the census of 1870 to be only 20,595.

Nebraska, organized in 1854; population in 1860, 38,841.

Nevada, organized in 1861; population, census 1860, 6,867, and not yet equal to that of Alaska.

Oregon, organized in 1848; population 1850, 13,294. Of the great size of this Territory at the time of its organization the lack of means of travel and communication many people still living have personal knowledge. In the early days of the Territory the people living east of the mountains and on Puget Sound were more remote from the Territorial capital, as distance is now measured, than are those of the far northern sections of Alaska distant from Juneau, Sitka, Valdez, or Skagway.

Wisconsin, organized in 1836, population in 1840, 30,945. This was another territory of large superficial area, and in which the difficulties and hardships of travel to and from the seat of government, including distances, were even greater than they would now be in Alaska.

Arizona, organized in 1863, population by preceding census, 6,482 white people and 26,642 Indians, about one-half of the latter being citizens and more than half the whites being Mexicans.

Colorado, organized in 1861, population 34,277.

Dakota, now two States of the Union, organized in 1861, with a total population of 4,837. Here too the means of travel and communication were far more scant, more

difficult and dangerous, than are those of Alaska, while at the same time the Territory could boast absolutely nothing in the way of developed resources.

Idaho, organized in 1863, population by census of 1870, 14,999.

New Mexico, organized in 1850, population 61,547, composed mostly of domesticated nomad Indians, with an intermixture of Mexicans, Spaniards, and a few Americans.

Utah, organized in 1850, population 11,380.

Washington, organized in 1853, population by census of 1860, 11,594. Prior to the advent of railroads, the impracticability of Territorial government applied, as many still living will testify, with even more force than can now be argued in the case of Alaska.

Wyoming, organized in 1868, population in 1870, 9,118.

The Mining Journal took occasion a week or two since to call down one of the more voluble opponents of Territorial organization who assumed to tell in advance of the wrongs and burdens the people would at once proceed to inflict upon themselves if accorded the right of self-government. Among the evils which obstructed his prophetic vision was a multitude of officials the governor would, without let or hindrance, immediately proceed to appoint, and the burden of debt a Territorial legislature must of necessity at once incur in order to set the machinery of a local government in motion. There is, perhaps, no better way of forecasting the probable action of a legislature representative of a more than ordinarily intelligent people than that of judging of the future by the past. In the cases of the few more lately organized Territories it will be found that the records do not justify the fear of evils to come indulged by the anti-Territorial pessimists.

As the Mining Journal has suggested, the officials of a Territory other than those provided by the organic act to be appointed by the President would be such as the legislature would provide, to be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Territorial council. The records show that Arizona succeeded in worrying along for some years with a treasurer and auditor with salaries of \$650 each; Colorado had an auditor, treasurer, adjutant-general, and superintendent of public instruction whose salaries combined amounted to \$2,300 annually; Dakota got along with an auditor, who does not appear to have received any pay, a treasurer with a yearly salary of \$75, a superintendent of public instruction who received \$3 per day, and an attorney-general whose salary was \$250 and fees—in 1867 the total disbursements to Territorial officers was \$357.75; Idaho had a salary list of a treasurer who received a percentage, a comptroller who received a salary of \$2,000, and a superintendent of public instruction at \$1,600; the Territorial salary list of Montana embraced a treasurer with salary of \$700 and fees, auditor at \$700, attorney-general \$200 and fees, secretary board of agriculture \$700, superintendent of public instruction \$700. Washington managed to get along with a treasurer with fees only, an auditor with a salary of \$500 and fees, in addition to which there was a prosecuting attorney for each of the three judicial districts, elected by the people, each of whom was paid a salary of \$200 and fees. Why should more be required for the honest and efficient administration of a Territorial government in Alaska?

Then when we come to inquire as to the cost of administering a Territorial form of government, what do we find? The Mining Journal has before it the statements of the treasurers of several of the Territories in 1867-68, and they not only fail to justify, but on the other hand are such as to wholly refute any real or fancied fear of excessive taxation. The statement of the Colorado treasurer shows the total expenditures for the fiscal year 1867 to have been as follows:

Legislative fund	\$12, 238. 47
General contingent fund	2, 830. 47
Colorado agricultural society	500. 00
Territorial officers	2, 551. 09
Military debt	4, 388. 10
Adjutant-general's special fund	1, 396. 60
Miscellaneous	2, 043. 88
Total	24, 948. 61

As elsewhere stated in the foregoing, the total expenses of Dakota in 1867 was for salaries of Territorial officers, which amounted to just \$357.75, leaving a balance of \$28.74 in the treasury.

In Idaho the total receipts in 1867 were \$56,968.52, which, together with the sum of \$7,090.74 on hand at the beginning of the year, made a total of \$64,059.26, from which the total expenditures, amounting to \$58,005.76, were paid, leaving a balance of \$6,053.50 on hand.

In Montana the same year the revenues collected from all sources amounted to \$56,620.50 and the expenditures to \$56,346.10, itemized as follows:

Salaries Territorial officers	\$875. 00
Transportation	500. 00
Apportionment to Government	400. 00
Commissions	889. 73
Territorial warrants	53, 231. 37
Miscellaneous	450. 00

The total valuation of all property in that year was \$6,308,118.

Now, why can not that which has been done in other Territories be done in Alaska? Assuming, for the sake of the argument, that a Territorial form of government would be more expensive in Alaska than it was in either Idaho or Montana, then what follows? Double the figures quoted, if you please, and then it will be found that a Territorial government would not cost the people one-half as much as they are now paying in license taxes alone, to say nothing of the fees that go into the pockets of the regiment of officials set over them.

WILL GLADLY BEAR BURDEN.

Every little road house and trading post along the trails running up the creeks of the lower river country are taxed, but receive no benefit whatever in return. All the trails are made at the private or volunteer expense of the miners, and aside from the recording offices, which are maintained by those fees paid in for the recording of claims and transfers, there is very little to connect the American Yukon miner with his Government. But just across the border, in the Yukon territory, there is no creek upon which fair pay has been struck that is not connected with navigable water by a good wagon road. From a civic standpoint the Yukon territory is progressing in every way, while the American Yukon is hampered in coming to the front because all improvements that are usually made by the Government are done by the volunteer and joint efforts of miners and prospectors.

The people of that country are not only taxed without representation, but the taxes that are wrested from them are sequestered and they are not allowed to make laws whereby they may tax themselves.

They would gladly bear the burden of paying for some of the communal appurtenances of civilization if they were allowed to do so.—Skagway Alaskan.

In its advocacy of a Territorial form of government for Alaska the Mining Journal's arguments have been directed not so much to the Congress, by whom the question must ultimately be determined, as to the people of Alaska themselves, to whose authoritatively expressed wishes in the premises the Congress may reasonably be expected to accord fair and favorable consideration. It has believed, and still believes, the question one which should be fairly and honestly considered by the people, to the end that Congress may be authoritatively advised as to their wishes through the medium of a convention in which all the people may be represented, and through which the Congress may be memorialized in such a manner as to dispel all doubt on its part as to what the people as a whole really want. They can expect no good to come from the divided, and for the most part ill advised, counsels of the self-constituted "representatives" who worry and nag the members of Congress at each and every succeeding session of that body, nor do they deserve that any good should come to them from that source so long as they hold aloof from the discussion and, so far as they may be able, final determination of questions of vital import to themselves. A general representative convention would be a good thing even at this particular junction, if for no other purpose than to authoritatively call off the new brood of self-designated "representatives" at Washington, between the divided counsels of whom Alaska is more than likely to get the worst of it.

[From Washington Post, December 8.]

ALASKA ASKS ACTION—URGENT NEEDS TOO LONG NEGLECTED BY CONGRESS—DEVELOPMENT OF TERRITORY—POPULATION OF 100,000 STURDY, PATRIOTIC CITIZENS WHOSE PETITIONS IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN PERSISTENTLY OVERLOOKED—BROKEN-DOWN POLITICIANS SENT TO FILL THE OFFICES AND ADMINISTER LAWS.

Mr. J. W. Ivey is in Washington representing Alaska. He is sent here by mass-meetings held all over the Territory, by chambers of commerce, city councils, and by petitions from Nome to Skagway. He is perhaps the best-informed man on Alaska in that region. When seen by the Post reporter last evening, Mr. Ivey said:

"This is my second visit to Washington within a year in the interest of legislation for Alaska. Legislation for that country has gone over from year to year upon the plea that Congress has had more important business to attend to. It is high time for the Government to wake up and begin to realize the importance of their vast holdings in the far north. President Roosevelt has made himself even more popular than before with the people of Alaska and the Pacific Northwest on account of the strong recommendations contained in his recent message to Congress in behalf of our neglected people. The citizens of Alaska cherished the hope that the President would not forget them in his message; nor has that hope been in vain. Out West we claim the President as a western man. He knows more about the great West and has done more for it than any former President.

"Alaska is only second in importance to the great Louisiana purchase. It contains nearly 600,000 square miles of territory. Its present population will not vary much from 100,000 people. Its climate in the interior is similar to that of Montana, while along its coast line for 3,000 miles it is very much the same as your climate here in the District of Columbia. Our resources are almost as diversified as in the States. Mining will always be our greatest source of wealth. The whole country is gold bearing, both quartz and placer. In five more years the output of gold will astonish the country. Copper has been discovered in larger quantities than in any other place in the world. It is also rich in silver, tin, marble, oil, coal, iron, timber, furs, and fisheries. The product of the fisheries alone for the past year is estimated at a value of about \$7,000,000, equal to the amount we paid Russia for Alaska.

"PATRIOTIC AND LAW-ABIDING PEOPLE.

"That country is as permanent as any Commonwealth in the Union. We have large and well-ordered towns, with electric lights, waterworks, fire departments, chambers of commerce, and city councils. Our business buildings, hotels, churches, and schoolhouses would be a credit to almost any community in the States, and we have hundreds of school children. Alaska will sustain a population of many millions of people, and has a larger population to-day than any of the Western States had when they became Territories. The population of Alaska is composed of the best brain and brawn of the country; they are a superior people—the drones don't go there—and they are as law abiding and patriotic as in any section of the United States. These brave and rugged men and women are engaged in the building of an empire, and I believe they are building wiser than they know. To longer deny these people a voice in their own affairs would be little short of an outrage. Their voices should be heard at Washington regarding the conduct of their own affairs. They are fast becoming sullen and angry at the treatment they have received. Their requests and petitions have been slighted and ignored, while the counsels of men high in position at Washington have been accepted on Alaskan matters.

"At the same time it is known in Alaska that these same high officials have been connected in business with carpetbaggers who have gone to Alaska for purposes of exploitation. Alaska has been the dumping ground for broken-down politicians and the weak and unfortunate relatives of those who have had a "pull" at Washington. In the name of decency and common sense, let there be an end to it. Federal judges have been appointed for Alaska who would not have made a good justice of the peace at a four-corners. The very first case a judge might be called upon to try is more than likely to be a mining case involving millions of dollars. Without a single exception the two judges who were appointed from the bar of Alaska some years ago were the most able men we have had upon the bench and gave the best satisfaction. It is certainly time for Alaska to have a day in Congress; there can be no more important legislation before it than that pertaining to Alaska. Its treatment and neglect will soon become a national scandal. Alaska is no longer Seward's ice chest; it is Seward's monument. Give us the few simple laws we are asking for, and we will hasten on to statehood. The child will soon become a giant. It will always be worth far more in net profits than the Philippines.

" SHOULD HAVE DELEGATE TO CONGRESS.

"Our first great need in Alaska is a Delegate to Congress, to be elected by the people. We will then have a representative on the floor of Congress to make recommendations in our behalf and to attend to the public business in the Departments. The Delegate bill now pending in Congress should be passed immediately, and there should not be a dissenting vote. We now have taxation without representation, as we pay about \$400,000 annually into the Treasury of the United States, something unprecedented in the history of our country.

"We also need an adequate system of land laws, so that we may be able to secure a title to our homes. Does this request strike anyone as being unreasonable? Suppose you were denied that right down here; would you not have open rebellion? Congress gave us a land bill providing for 80 acres some three years ago, but no one would waste his life upon it; and, besides, they made no provision for surveys, which made it inoperative. We were given land offices without land laws, and we were also given the luxury of a high-priced agricultural expert and expert stations, which we needed about as much as a wagon needs the fifth wheel, especially before the land laws were in operation. Will Congress pass a land bill for us after it is recommended by the committees? While the actual settler has been unable to secure a homestead, land grabbers from the East have purchased soldiers' additional scrip at Washington and have located many of the strategic points in Alaska.

For years our people have been asking for a few cheap light-houses for the protection of life and property. Congress appropriated over \$400,000 at the last session for this purpose, but the Light-House Board say they can not build them for lack of funds. The Board proposes to build light-houses at a cost of from \$40,000 to \$125,000 each. So we have to go without light-houses indefinitely. Light-houses costing from \$7,000 to \$10,000 each is all we have been asking for. We will agree to take \$100,000 of the \$427,000 appropriated and build all the light-houses we need. There is a very ugly look to this light-house question, especially when, in all probability, it will be found that these high-priced light-houses were built in the wrong places, like the expensive custom-house the Government built at the entrance to Alaska some time ago, and which is now being used by the owls and bats."

* * * * *

I now read an editorial from the Daily Alaskan, of Skagway, Alaska, dated March 7, 1904, written by John W. Troy, the editor, and one of the ablest and best-informed men in Alaska to-day:

WASTING TIME.

The Committee on Territories in the National House of Representatives has agreed to recommend for passage the bill of Representative Cushman providing for a Delegate in Congress for Alaska. The action is a foolish expenditure of energy. It is foolish for two reasons. In the first place there is absolutely no chance of its ever becoming a law, because it could not pass the Senate. For the present session at least the fate of Alaskan legislation, so far as the Senate is concerned, is in the hands of a pair of New England Senators who do not think the people of Alaska are even qualified to elect a proper Representative in Congress. But more than that, the bill would please nobody. It is not wanted by Alaskans.

The people of this district are on record clearly and unequivocally in favor of a full Territorial government, with a legislature of their own. They want to make and execute their own laws. Last fall there were three conventions held at Nome—one Democratic and two Republican. All declared for Territorial government. Two of those conventions sent delegates to a Republican convention at Juneau. This convention, at which were representatives from all sections of Alaska, split in two parts over personal politics, and selected two delegations to the national convention, but both factions declared for Territorial government by unanimous votes.

Both the Republican and the Democratic district conventions of 1900 declared for Territorial government. A nonpartisan convention held at Juneau in last October declared in favor of Territorial government. In fact, the people of Alaska have by every method given them asked for Territorial government. They want that, and not the bastard proposition proposed by the Congressman from Tacoma.

If the National House of Representatives desires to set itself right with the people of Alaska it will pass the bill introduced by Representative William Sulzer, of New York, which provides for Territorial government. Mr. Sulzer has spent more time in Alaska than has any member of either branch of Congress. He has associated with the people of the district. The National House of Representatives would do well to follow his leadership in Alaskan matters.

If the House of Representatives would pass the Sulzer bill it would do something really worth while. It would place itself on record as being willing to grant the people of Alaska that which they want, and in the event of the failure of the bill in the Senate the odium of denying to American citizens the right of self-government would rest upon that branch of Congress only.

I also read from the Mining Journal, March 19, 1904:

Of all the bills affecting the welfare of Alaska now pending before Congress, there is not a single proposed measure, aside from the bill of Representative Sulzer providing for a Territorial form of government for the district, which will not, if passed, tend to further restrict the rights and liberties of the Alaskan people. In this latter view of the case no exception is made of Senator Nelson's bill providing for the election of a Delegate, for the reason that outside the incorporated towns not only the first but all subsequent elections must be held in precincts established by the several judges, who also appoint the inspectors; in fact, provides for an election which will be exclusively under the control of judges already charged with extra-judicial powers wholly autocratic.

Aside from that, a Delegate without popular home government, including a representative legislative assembly through which such Delegate could be made acquainted with the legitimate needs and wants of the district as a whole, would be worse than no representation at all in the Congress, and therefore is not to be desired. A Delegate from an organized Territory is of comparatively little benefit at the best, and one from Alaska under the present political status would only tend to further complicate a wholly undesirable situation.

In the absence of the advice and suggestions of a legislative assembly authoritatively voicing the wishes of the people, intelligent and satisfactory representation in Congress by a Delegate will be utterly impossible, and he who accepts an election under the Nelson bill, should it become a law, will be very apt to reap more curses than the number of dollars fixed as a compensation for the services he is expected to render. Alaska can better afford to defer the doubtful representation proposed by Mr. Nelson until they are accorded that of the kind which should come hand in hand with popular home government, by means of which Delegate representation can be held in some degree responsible to the people rather than to the judicial triumvirate by which they are now ruled.

Let me say, gentlemen, that I could read you articles and editorials along similar lines all day, but I think it unnecessary. The people of Alaska are practically of one mind in favor of Territorial government. There is no doubt about this, and no man can visit Alaska without being deeply impressed with the unanimity of the demand. Alaska is a wonderful country. No words can adequately describe it. It is the poor man's and the rich man's and the sportsman's paradise. It is a wonderland. The time, in my judgment, is at hand when this vast territory will be developed by American genius, American capital, and American enterprise, and take my word for it, there will be no more prosperous section in all this progressive land for American brawn and American brain. Alaska is the place for the new settler—for the hustler—for the man who wants to go ahead and get on.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, let me say again in conclusion, the one boon the good people in Alaska demand is Territorial government. Alaska wants this; Alaska must have it; Alaska with her population of nearly 100,000 people; Alaska with her splendid and invigorating climate; Alaska with her beautiful scenery, her magnificent distances, her towering snow-capped mountains, her majestic rivers, her fertile fields, her great industries of fish and furs and timber and agricultural possibilities; Alaska with her immense wealth in gold and copper and silver and lead and iron and coal—mineral wealth beyond the dreams of the most imaginative person in the world; Alaska with her brave and loyal and God-fearing and patriotic American citizens; Alaska with her churches and schools, her splendid institutions, her towns and villages; Alaska under the blue dome of the Union sky and in the shadow of the midnight sun. Alaska with her incomparable glaciers, with her

great harbors and innumerable lakes and countless cascades; Alaska, in the name of all these and more, in the name of this generation and the glory of our institutions, I ask why you should not have the right of home rule, of local self-government, and all the rights of the Territories?

Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to attach and print with my statement a copy of my bill for Territorial government for Alaska.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no objection, it is ordered.

[H. R. 30, Fifty-eighth Congress, first session.]

A BILL to create the Territory of Alaska and to provide for the government of the same.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all that part of the Territory of the United States ceded to the United States by Russia by the treaty of March thirtieth, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, and known as Alaska, is hereby created into a temporary government, by the name of the Territory of Alaska: *Provided,* That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the Government of the United States from dividing said Territory or changing its boundaries in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper: *Provided further,* That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of property holders, as provided for by said treaty of March thirtieth, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, between the United States and Russia, or to make any regulations respecting uncivilized Indian tribes, their lands, property, or otherwise, which it would have been competent for the Government to make if this act had never been passed.

SEC. 2. That the executive power and authority in and over said Territory of Alaska shall be vested in a governor, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States. The governor shall reside within said Territory, and shall be commander in chief of the militia and superintendent of Indian affairs thereof; he may grant pardons and respites for offenses against the laws of said Territory, and reprieve for offenses against the laws of the United States until the decision of the President of the United States can be made known thereon; he shall commission all officers who shall be appointed to office under the laws of said Territory, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SEC. 3. That there shall be a secretary of said Territory, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall reside therein, and shall hold his office for four years unless sooner removed by the President of the United States; he shall record and preserve all laws and proceedings of the legislative assembly hereinafter constituted, and all the acts and proceedings of the governor in his executive department; he shall transmit one copy of the laws and journals of the legislative assembly within thirty days after the end of each session, and one copy of the executive proceedings and official correspondence semi-annually, on the first days of January and July in each year, to the President of the United States, and two copies of the laws to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the use of Congress; and in case of the death, removal, resignation, or absence of the governor from the Territory, the secretary shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and required to execute and perform all the powers and duties of the governor during such vacancy or absence or until another governor shall be duly appointed and qualified to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 4. That the legislative power and authority of said Territory shall be vested in the governor and the legislative assembly. The legislative assembly shall consist of a senate and house of representatives; the senate shall consist of seven members, having the qualifications of voters as hereinafter prescribed, whose term of service shall continue two years; the house of representatives shall, at its first session, consist of twenty-one members, possessing the same qualifications as prescribed for the members of the senate, and whose term of service shall continue one year; the number of representatives may be increased by the legislative assembly from time to time in proportion to the increase of qualified voters, and the senate in like manner. An apportionment shall be made as nearly equal as practicable among the several counties or districts for the election of the senators and representatives, giving to each section of the Territory representation in the ratio of its qualified voters as

nearly as may be; and the members of the senate and of the house of representatives shall reside therein and be inhabitants of the district or county or counties for which they may be elected, respectively; and the first election shall be held at such time and places and be conducted in such manner, both as to the persons who shall superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the governor shall appoint and direct; and he shall at the same time declare the number of members of the senate and house of representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this act. The persons having the highest number of legal votes in each of said council districts for members of the senate shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected to the senate and the persons having the highest number of legal votes for the house of representatives shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected members of said house: *Provided*, That in case two or more persons voted for shall have an equal number of votes, and in case a vacancy shall otherwise occur in either branch of the legislative assembly, the governor shall order a new election; and the persons thus elected to the legislative assembly shall meet at such place and on such day as the governor shall appoint; but thereafter the time, place, and manner of holding and conducting all elections by the people, and the apportioning of the representation in the several counties or districts to the senate and house of representatives, according to the number of qualified voters, shall be prescribed by law, as well as the day of the commencement of the regular sessions of the legislative assembly: *Provided*, That no session in any one year shall exceed the term of sixty days, except the first session, which may continue ninety days.

SEC. 5. That every free white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years who shall have been an actual resident of said Territory at the time of the passage of this act shall be entitled to vote at the first election and shall be eligible to any office within the said Territory, but the qualifications of voters and of holding office at all subsequent elections shall be such as shall be prescribed by the legislative assembly.

SEC. 6. That the legislative power of the Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil. No tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States, nor shall the lands or other property of nonresidents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents. Every bill which shall have passed the senate and house of representatives of the said Territory shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the governor of the Territory. If he approves, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it; with his objections, to the house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large upon their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law; but in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, to be entered on the journal of each house, respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the governor within ten days, Sunday excepted, after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the assembly, by adjournment, prevents its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

SEC. 7. That all township, district, and county officers not herein otherwise provided for shall be appointed or elected, as the case may be, in such manner as shall be provided by the governor and legislative assembly of the Territory of Alaska. The governor shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint all officers not herein otherwise provided for, and in the first instance the governor alone may appoint all said officers, who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the legislative assembly, and shall lay off the necessary districts for members of the senate and house of representatives and all other officers.

SEC. 8. That no member of the legislative assembly shall hold or be appointed to any office which shall have been created, or the salary or emoluments of which shall have been increased, while he was a member during the term for which he was elected, and for one year after the expiration of such term; but this restriction shall not be applicable to members of the first legislative assembly; and no person holding a commission or appointment under the United States, except postmasters, shall be a member of the legislative assembly, or shall hold any office under the government of such Territory.

SEC. 9. That the judicial power of said Territory shall be vested in a supreme court, district courts, probate courts, and in justices of the peace. The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice and four associate justices, any three of whom shall constitute a quorum, and who shall hold a term at the seat of government of

said Territory annually; and they shall hold their offices during the period of eight years, and until their successors shall be appointed and qualified. The said Territory shall be divided into three judicial districts, and a district court shall be held in each of said districts by one of the justices of the supreme court, at such times and places as may be prescribed by law; and the said judges shall, after their appointment, respectively, reside in the district which shall be assigned them. The jurisdiction of the several courts herein provided for, both the appellate and original, and that of the probate courts and of justices of the peace, shall be limited by law: *Provided*, That justices of the peace shall not have jurisdiction of any matter in controversy when the title of boundaries of lands may be in dispute, or where the debt or sum claimed shall exceed two hundred dollars; and the said supreme court and district courts, respectively, shall possess equity as well as common law jurisdiction. Each district court, or the judge thereof, shall appoint its clerk, who shall keep his office at the place where the court may be held. Writs of error, bills of exceptions, and appeals shall be allowed in all cases from the final decisions of said district courts to the supreme court under such regulations as may be prescribed by law. The supreme court, or the justices thereof, shall appoint its own clerk, and every clerk shall hold his office at the pleasure of the court for which he shall have been appointed. Writs of error and appeals from the final decision of said supreme court shall be allowed and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the circuit courts of the United States, where the value of the property or amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party or other competent witnesses, shall exceed one thousand dollars, except that a writ of error or appeal shall be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States from the decision of the supreme court created by this act, or of any judge thereof, or of the district courts created by this act, or of any judge thereof, upon any writs of habeas corpus involving the question of personal freedom. And each of the said district courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States as is vested in the circuit and district courts of the United States; and the first six days of every term of said courts, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, shall be appropriated to the trial of causes arising under the said Constitution and laws; and writs of error and appeals in all such cases shall be made to the supreme court of such Territory, the same as in other cases. The said clerk shall receive in all such cases the same fees which the clerks of the district courts of the Territories of the United States now receive for similar services.

Sec. 10. That there shall be appointed three attorneys for said Territory, one for each judicial district, who shall continue in office four years and until their successors shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States, and who shall receive the same fees and salary as the attorneys for the United States for the present district of Alaska. There shall also be three marshals for the Territory appointed, one for each judicial district, who shall hold their offices for four years and until their successors shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States, and who shall execute all processes issuing from the said court when exercising their jurisdiction as circuit and district courts of the United States. They shall perform the duties, be subject to the same regulations and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees and salary as the marshals for the district of Alaska received prior to this enactment. There shall also be appointed one surveyor-general for said Territory, who shall continue in office four years and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States, and who shall receive a salary of four thousand dollars per annum. Said surveyor-general shall hold his office at the seat of government of said Territory.

Sec. 11. That the governor, secretary, chief justice and associate justices, attorneys, marshals, and surveyor-general shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The governor and secretary, to be appointed as aforesaid, shall, before they act as such, respectively, take an oath or affirmation before the district judge or some justice of the peace in the limits of said Territory duly authorized to administer oaths and affirmations by the laws now enforced therein, or before the Chief Justice or some associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to support the Constitution of the United States and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices, which said oaths when so taken shall be certified by the person by whom the same shall have been taken, and such certificates shall be received and recorded by the said secretary among the executive proceedings; and the chief justice and associate justices and all civil officers in said Territory, before they act as such, shall take a like oath or affirmation before the said

governor or secretary, or some judge or justice of the peace of the Territory who may be duly commissioned and qualified, which said oath or affirmation shall be certified and transmitted by the person taking the same to the secretary, to be by him recorded as aforesaid; and afterwards the like oath or affirmation shall be taken, certified, and recorded in such manner and form as may be prescribed by law. The governor shall receive an annual salary the same as that heretofore paid to the governor of the district of Alaska; the chief justice and associate justices shall receive an annual salary the same as now provided by law for the Federal judges in Alaska; the secretary shall receive an annual salary of three thousand five hundred dollars. The said salaries shall be paid quarter-yearly from the dates of the respective appointments at the Treasury of the United States, but no payment shall be made until said officers shall have entered upon the duties of their respective appointments. The members of the legislative assembly shall be entitled to receive ten dollars each per day during their attendance at the session thereof, and one dollar each for every twenty miles traveled in going to and returning from said sessions, estimated according to the nearest traveled route; and a chief clerk, one assistant clerk, one engrossing clerk, one enrolling clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, and doorkeeper may be chosen for each house; and the chief clerk shall receive ten dollars per day and the said other officers five dollars per day during the session of the legislative assembly, but no other officer shall be paid by the United States: *Provided*, That there shall be but one session of the legislative assembly annually, unless on an extraordinary occasion the governor shall think proper to call the legislative assembly together. There shall be appropriated annually the usual sum, to be expended by the governor, to defray the contingent expenses of the Territory, including the salary of the clerk of the executive department; and there shall also be appropriated annually a sufficient sum to be expended by the secretary of the Territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the legislative assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the governor and secretary of the treasury shall, in the disbursement of all moneys intrusted to them, be governed solely by the instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and shall semiannually account to said Secretary for the manner in which the aforesaid moneys shall have been expended; and no expenditures shall be made by said legislative assembly for objects not specially authorized by acts of Congress making the appropriations, nor beyond the sums thus appropriated for such objects.

SEC. 12. That the legislative assembly of the Territory of Alaska shall hold its first session at such time and place, in said Territory, as the governor thereof shall appoint and direct, and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the governor and legislative assembly shall proceed to locate and establish a seat of government for said Territory at such place as they may deem most eligible: *Provided*, That the seat of government fixed by the governor and legislative assembly shall not be at any time changed except by an act of the said assembly duly passed, and which shall be approved, after due notice, at the first general election thereafter by a majority of the legal votes cast on that question.

SEC. 13. That a Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, to serve for the term of two years, who shall be a citizen of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the legislative assembly, who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as are exercised and enjoyed by the Delegates from the several other Territories of the United States to the said House of Representatives; but the Delegate first elected shall hold his seat only during the term of the Congress to which he shall be elected; the first election shall be held at such time and places and be conducted in such manner as the governor shall appoint and direct, and at all subsequent elections the times, places, and manner of holding the elections shall be prescribed by law. The person having the greatest number of legal votes shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected, and a certificate thereof shall be given accordingly. That the Constitution and laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Alaska as elsewhere.

SEC. 14. That when the lands in the said Territory shall be surveyed, under the direction of the Government of the United States, preparatory to bringing the same into market, sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in each township in said Territory shall be, and the same are hereby, reserved for the purpose of being applied to schools in said Territory and in the States and Territories hereafter to be erected out of the same.

SEC. 15. That until otherwise provided by law the governor of said Territory may define the judicial districts of said Territory and assign the said judges who may be appointed for said Territory to the several districts, and also appoint the time and

places for holding courts in the several counties or districts in each of said judicial districts by proclamation to be issued by him; but the legislative assembly, at their first or any subsequent session, may organize, alter, or modify such judicial districts and assign the judges and alter the times and places of holding the courts as to them shall seem proper and convenient.

SEC. 16. That all officers to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the Territory of Alaska who, by virtue of the provisions of any law now existing, or which may be enacted by Congress, are required to give security for moneys that may be intrusted with them for disbursements shall give such security at such time and in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

SEC. 17. That this act shall take effect immediately.

2 or 3 vols
Chronologically - Index

"In my judgment, no man in this country ought to be compelled to work more than eight hours a day."

(From speech in favor of Eight-Hour Bill.)

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES

...OF...

WM. SULZER

Member of Congress from New York City, in the House of Representatives during the 54th, 55th, 56th and 57th Congresses.

Compiled from the Congressional Record.

"I stand for the rights of the toilers, and will do all in my power to advance their interests."

(From speech in favor of Labor Arbitration Bill.)



THE RECORD SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

The Record Shows Mr. Sulzer is Opposed to Trusts, Monopolies and Plutocracy.

* * * * *

"To-day the great trusts of the country are practically supreme. Many of them are so entrenched in power that they are to all intents and purposes above the law and no longer amenable to legislative action. The crying evil of the times is the power and the sway of the trusts. They endanger not only our free institutions but our free men. The battle cry of the Democratic party should be, 'The trusts must go!'

"To-day about 200 trusts control, wholly, or in large part, every conceivable product and industry of the country.

"These gigantic combinations constitute, in my judgment, the greatest menace at the present time to our democratic institutions. They control the supply, monopolize the product, and dictate the price of every necessary of life. They force out of legitimate employment thousands upon thousands of honest toilers. They enhance prices, reduce wages, and write the terms of their own contracts. They destroy competition, paralyze opportunity, assassinate labor, and hold the consumers of our country in their monopolistic grasp. They levy tribute on every man, woman and child in the Republic. They blight the poor man's home, darken the hearthside of his children, cloud the star of legitimate hope, and destroy equal opportunity. They control legislation, escape taxation, and evade the just burdens of government, while their agents construct and maintain tariffs to suit their selfish ends and greedy purposes. They imperil trade, stagnate industry, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, declare quarterly dividends on watered stocks and make fortunes every year out of the people. Their tyrannical power, rapid growth, and centralization of wealth are the marvel of recent times and the saddest commentary on our legislative history. Prior to the Civil War there was not a trust in the country, except the United States Bank trust, which Jackson killed.

"They practically own, run and control the Government to-day, and defy successful prosecution for violation of law. If their power of centralization is not speedily checked, and they go on for another quarter of a century like they have in the past few years, I believe our free institutions will be destroyed, and instead of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, we will have a government of the trusts, by the trusts, and for the trusts."—From the Congressional Record June 5, 1900.

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He Favors Electing United States Senators by a Direct Vote of the People.

"The right to elect United States Senators by a direct vote of the people is a step in advance and in the right direction. I hope it will speedily be brought about. It is the right kind of reform, and I hope it will be succeeded by others, until this Government becomes indeed the greatest, the best, and the freest government the world has ever seen, where the will of the people shall be the supreme law of the land.

* * * * *

"I favor this change in the Constitution, as I favor every other that will restore the Government to the control of the people. To oppose the people, in fact as well as in theory, to rule this great republic and the people, is to be directly responsible and immediately responsive to their will. In that way, as Abraham Lincoln said, 'The republic will live and the Government will not perish.' The people never perish from the earth."

* * * * *

"I am opposed to delegating away the rights of the people, and where they have been delegated I would restore them to the people."

"I am a Democrat of the Jefferson school. I trust the people, and I believe in the people. I believe with him that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. In this matter under discussion I want to restore to the people the right now delegated to the legislatures by the framers of the Constitution, so that the Senate as well as this House will be directly responsible to the people, and the Government become more and more a pure democracy, where brains, fitness, honesty, ability, experience, and capacity, and not wealth alone, shall be the true qualifications for the upper branch of the Federal Legislature."

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"In my judgment the people can and ought to be trusted. If the people cannot be trusted, then free government is a failure and our institutions are doomed."

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See Congressional Record 55th Congress, 2d Session.

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Mr. Sulzer is Now, Always Has Been, and Always Will Be, the Friend of the Wage Earners.

From speech in favor of the Eight Hour Law.

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"In my judgment, no man in this country ought to be compelled to work more than eight hours a day."

* * * * *

"We want fewer idle men and more work in this country."

* * * * *

"I want to say that I am a friend of the wage-earner. I want to see, and I hope the day is not far distant when we all shall see, an eight-hour law all over the land and rigidly enforced in every State, every city, every town, and every village in the country. I believe it will be beneficial to the laborer, advantageous to the community in which he lives, and for the best interest of the Government. Too long hours make the wage-earner a poor workman. Shorter hours, in my opinion, will produce better results."

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"I am and always have been an advocate of shorter hours for a legal-working day. The history of the past teaches us that every reduction in the hours constituting a day's work has resulted beneficially."

* * * * *

"These reductions in the hours of labor have decreased intemperance, increased knowledge, made better homes, happier and better clothed wives and children, brighter and more prosperous firesides, and in every way benefitted the social relations, promoted happiness and contentment, and improved the moral, economical, and financial condition of the producing masses of our land."

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See Congressional Record, 55th Congress, 2d Session.

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Mr. Sulzer presented a resolution.

"Protection has nothing to do with the price of labor. Capital buys labor as cheaply as it can. Wages are regulated by the inexorable law of supply and demand."

Whenever you find two employers looking for one workman wages will be high, and whenever you find two workmen looking for one employer wages will be low."

* * * * *

"The Democratic party stands for a fair, just, and equitable revenue system, a tariff for revenue that will support the Government, economically administered, with equal justice to all and favoritism to none, having a jealous care for our farmers and toilers."

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See Congressional Record, 54th Congress, 2d Session.

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Mr. Sulzer Against Special Legislation.

"We should legislate for the best interests of the whole country, and not for the interests of any one section of the country, or for the advantage of the trusts, the monopolies, the syndicates, and the manufacturers."

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From speech in Congress, March 31, 1897. See Record of Congress.

Mr. Sulzer Stands for the People.

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"In the conflict which is now on I want to see the people win and the Government of the republic restored to them, to be wisely, honestly, and economically administered, not for the advantage of the few, but for the benefit of all."

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See Record of Congress, 54th Congress, 2d Session.

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"The centralization of wealth in the hands of the few by the robbery of the many during the past quarter of a century has been simply enormous, and the facts and figures are appalling. Three-quarters of the entire wealth of our land appears to be concentrated in the hands of a very small minority of the people, and the number of persons constituting that minority grows smaller and smaller every year. The legislative schemes which have been most favored for checking this growing centralization of wealth are generally the most delusive and the most impotent."

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From speech in Congress, February 18, 1898.

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Mr. Sulzer Sounds a Note of Warning.

"My sympathies are all with the poor, the oppressed, and the unfortunate. My heart goes out to those who toil and struggle and fail. I know in the long race of life's tempestuous battle only the few win, that the many lose heart, become discouraged, and give up the fight in hopeless despair."

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From speech in Congress, February 18, 1898.

He Speaks for the Volunteers.

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"I believe in the citizen soldiery of our land. I take a deep interest in their welfare, and in so far as I can I shall always maintain their rights. The history of our country in time of war demonstrates that there are no better soldiers. They are brave, patriotic and intelligent. They come from the professions, from the workshops, from the counting rooms, from the mills, from the mines, and from the fields. There are no better fighters than those who come from the volunteer forces of the people. These volunteers constitute the great patriotic army of our country. They are no hirelings, no mercenaries; they fight for the defense of home and country, for principle and glory, for liberty and the rights of man. In time of peace, they follow their usual trades, professions and occupations. They do not menace our liberties or the stability of our free institutions. In time of war they constitute an army of intelligent, well-drilled soldiers as large as any army in the world. In a republic like ours a great standing army in time of peace is useless, expensive and dangerous. In time of trouble we should and we must rely upon the volunteer forces of the country." * * *

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From speech on Volunteers in House of Representatives, April 7, 1898.

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Opposed to the Banking Trust.

"I am opposed to the Government delegating away its powers to the national banks. In my judgment they already possess entirely too much power. They are doing precisely to-day, only to a greater extent, what the United States Bank did in the days of Andrew Jackson. The right to coin and issue money is one of the greatest prerogatives of the Republic and one of the highest attributes of its sovereignty. It should not be delegated, transferred, assigned, or set over to any national bank, to any trust, or to any monopoly. We should resist the encroachments of national banks on the liberties of the people with the same zeal and the same courage that Andrew Jackson resisted the audacious claims of the United States Bank in his day. And when the national banks impudently declare that the Government should go out of the banking business, we should answer that the banks should and must go out of the governing business.

"In Jackson's day there was only one Nick Biddle. To-day there is a Nick Biddle in every national bank in the land.

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See Congressional Record, June 5, 1900.

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The Record Shows Mr. Sulzer is the Friend of the Plain People, and Stands for Equal Rights to All, Special Privileges to None.

From speech in favor of Labor Arbitration Bill.

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"I shall vote for any bill that will, in my judgment, benefit, as I believe this bill will, the labor organizations throughout the United States.

"The labor organizations represented here by their delegates favor this bill and want it to pass. I am guided largely by their wishes, for I have always found them honest, intelligent, fearless, and efficient.

"I believe they know what they want, and I think we should accede to their wishes in this matter. They hope and believe this bill will do some good."

"There is one thing this bill does that I like, and that is, it recognizes by law for the first time, I believe, organized labor and its rights."

* * * * *

"Let me say, what many of you know, that I am now, always have been, and always will be a friend of organized labor. I stand for the rights of the toilers, the workers and the masses, and in my humble way will always do all in my power to advance their interests and protect their privileges."

* * * * *

"If you really want to do something for the working people in this country, why do you not take up and pass the labor-commission bill, the eight-hour law, the bill to tax out of existence the sweating shops, the bill to prevent prison-made goods from being sold outside of the State in which they are made, and several other bills demanded by organized labor all over the country and really in their interest and for their benefit?"

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See Congressional Record, 55th Congress, 3d Session.

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A Friend of the Letter Carriers.

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"How poorly, how miserably the letter carriers are paid! Under the present law they do not, and can not, earn enough, no matter how long they have been in the service of the Government or how many hours a day they labor, to keep body and soul together. And what do they get? A mere pittance a month that is not enough to economically support one man. It is a disgrace, a crying shame. Many of these letter carriers have wives and children—little homes—and these wives and children in many cases are to-day in want.

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"These men are the most efficient, the hardest worked in all the country's service and the poorest paid. The letter carriers of the land are compelled to toil day in and day out—in sunshine and in storm, in winter and in summer, in all kinds of weather—sometimes eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and taking all other employes in the various departments of the Federal Government as a basis for comparison, it can not be denied that the letter carriers render the most and the hardest work for the smallest remuneration. Let us be just to these honest, hard-working faithful men."

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See Congressional Record, February 19, 1902.

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Compelled the Continued Lighting of Liberty Light.

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"On the 1st day of March, this year, by order of the Light-House Board, Liberty light, on Bedloe's Island, in the Harbor of New York, was extinguished. Just why the Light-House Board issued that order I know not, and no one whom I have talked to about it has been able to give to me a satisfactory explanation. In my opinion there is no good reason for that order. The light from Liberty's torch should not be put out. It is essential to commerce, but more than that, it represents a patriotic sentiment that should never be extinguished.

"The great statue of Liberty Enlightening the World was unveiled on the 28th day of October, 1886. It was a splendid gift from the Republic of France to the Republic of the United States. It was intended to be a bond of sympathy, of fraternal feeling, of undying memories, of lasting friendship, of eternal good will between the two great Republics. It meant sympathy for republics and republican institutions all over the world. It glorified liberty, fortified freedom, and emphasized the rights of man. It was to be and it ever should be a great beacon light of democracy, dispelling the darkness of tyranny and welcoming to our hospitable shores the oppressed of every land. It was Bartholdi's apotheosis of liberty; a gift from the greatest Republic in Europe to the greatest Republic in all the world.

"Its light should shine for all the ages. It should never go out while liberty lives in the breast of man. It links the past with the present, and should be prophetic of the future."

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See Congressional Record, April 1, 1902.

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He Favors the Republic—Against Empire.

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"In the contest which is now on between the Republic and the empire, I take my stand with the people against empire and in favor of the perpetuity of the Republic. Ours is the great republic, the beacon light of the world, the refuge of the oppressed of every clime, the home for the downtrodden of every land, and it is incumbent upon those who are here and enjoying the inestimable blessings of our free institutions to see to it that the Government of Jefferson, of Madison, and of Lincoln does not perish from the earth."

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See Congressional Record, February 23, 1900.

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Always the Friend of Cuba.

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"Let me reiterate what I have frequently said before on this floor, that I am now, always have been, and always will be a friend of Cuba and of the Cubans. The record will show that ever since I have been a member of this House I have done all in my power for the Cuban people. I am glad the bright day is not far distant when the Cuban republic will take her place among the nations of the earth. May success, happiness, prosperity, and domestic tranquility abide with her hereafter forever, is my fervent prayer.

"The time is at hand, nevertheless, when we must live up to our sacred obligations to Cuba. We must grant her the freedom and the independence promised. We must launch this young republic of Cuba on the ocean of nations and say to all the world, Cuba is free and independent. We must say to every nation, She is our

creation—a daughter of the great republic—and any interference with her will be an act unfriendly to the Government of the United States.

“But that is not all. We must now grant her immediate trade relief. In a commercial way she is at our mercy. That is not her fault—it is our fault. Congress has made it practically impossible for Cuba to market her products in other countries; they must be sold here, and they cannot be sold in this country at present except at a ruinous loss, unless our tariff law is repealed or modified. This must be done at once—it should have been done months ago. If it is not speedily done I predict that conditions in Cuba will soon be worse than they ever were before. The situation is serious and admits of no further delay. The people want Congress to act.

“The Republican party is responsible for the deplorable commercial condition now existing in Cuba. The Republican party, wedded to its high protective-tariff policy, would apparently rather witness the starvation of the Cubans than consent to reduce to a slight degree for Cuba its present system of outrageous tariff taxes. What a spectacle of commercial selfishness, monopolistic greed, and political shortsightedness the Republican party presents to-day! We have been in session here since the first Monday of last December, and nothing has been done to afford relief to the Cubans.

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See Congressional Record, March 27, 1902.

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The Record tells the Story.

IN FAVOR OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.



SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FEBRUARY 20, 1905.



WASHINGTON.

1905.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WM. SULZER.

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN. I am now, always have been, and always expect to be a friend of the American Navy. It is the strongest arm of our national defense in time of war, and the best guaranty of our lasting peace. It is national insurance, and every dollar spent for the Navy is economy in the long run.

To my surprise, the gentlemen who have spoken in this debate against these two battle ships alluded to the remote possibility that it may impede the bill appropriating money for the construction of public buildings. In my opinion, that idea or suggestion is unsound and untenable. What is the use of us appropriating money to construct public buildings in our large seacoast cities if we do not appropriate money to continue the construction of the navy to protect these buildings in case of war? Let me remind these gentlemen that in 1812 there were public buildings in the United States, but a foreign fleet came to our shores and many of these public buildings were destroyed and this very Capitol burned to the ground because the American people did not have a navy to protect its public buildings and repel foreign invasion. [Applause.]

As a friend of the American Navy, voicing, as I believe, the mature and deliberate judgment of my constituents and a great majority of the citizens of New York, I am in favor of the provision in this bill for the construction of two more battle ships. I do not believe there is an intelligent man in the country who has looked into this matter and has studied the true situation that would be opposed to the appropriation for these two new battle ships. I do not understand how a Representative from

New York City, or from any other great city on our Atlantic, Gulf, or Pacific coasts can vote against these two battle ships or can oppose the judicious increase of the American Navy. We know how the people of New York and other seaport towns felt at the beginning of the Spanish-American war. I know what the feeling of the people of New York City was when a Spanish war vessel crossed the Atlantic and anchored in New York Bay just before war was declared against Spain.

There are no politics in the Navy or in continuing its efficiency. It is a nonpartisan question, and every true American, no matter what his opinion may be regarding the Army, is in favor of increasing our Navy until we have one of the strongest and one of the best navies in the world. To strike out of this bill one of these battle ships would be naval retrogression. It would be a step backwards in our naval policy. The American Navy is growing. I want to see it continue to grow until we have a navy second to none in the world. It will be money well spent in the end, and it will be economy in the right direction. The American people, in my judgment, do not want to stop the growth of their Navy. I believe the Members of this House by adhering to the provisions in this bill for two new battle ships will only meet the just expectations of their constituents. [Applause.]

The American people take a just pride in their Navy. They have every reason to be proud of it, to be proud of its past, to be proud of it now, and to be proud of its future. The Navy is one of America's greatest institutions—a bulwark of defense, a mighty engine of offense—and should be liberally supported by the Congress of the United States for all its wants by generous appropriations.

Every dollar spent on the Navy is just so much money expended for insurance. A better investment could not be made. We must all stand by and for the Navy.

The most unthinking individual in the country realizes how important it is for the Government to have a strong, a great, and a mighty navy. We have a larger and more vulnerable seaboard than any other country in the world. We will soon, I

believe, have a great merchant marine. We have great cities of immense wealth, of costly buildings, of commerce, and of property, the value of which is incalculable, all along our sea-coasts. They must and should be all protected, and they can not be better protected, better safeguarded than by a modern, a commensurate, a powerful, and an efficient navy. [Applause.]

I shall vote for these two additional battle ships. I have never voted to cripple the Navy and I hope I never shall. I am in favor of increasing the power, the strength, the tonnage, and the efficiency of the American Navy. I know how nervous the merchants in New York felt when a Spanish war vessel crossed the Atlantic and anchored in New York Bay just before war was declared against Spain. The people of my city are now, ever have been, and, in my judgment, ever will be, in favor of doing everything in their power to keep up the efficiency and continue the gradual increase of the Navy. The American Navy is growing. We ought to do nothing to stop that growth.

Mr. MADDUX rose.

Mr. SULZER. I regret, Mr. Chairman, I can not yield to the gentleman now; I have only five minutes. We ought to do nothing, I say, to stop that growth, and I hope that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. MADDUX] will, when the time comes, vote in favor of these two more battle ships. [Applause.]

We do not want to take a step backward. Our policy in naval matters should be progress—forward along well-defined and legitimate lines. The war now going on between Russia and Japan demonstrates the helplessness of a country whose navy is at the bottom of the sea. Have we so soon forgotten the lessons of the Spanish-American war? Have we forgotten what Dewey did at Manila and what Schley did at Santiago? [Applause.]

Mr. MADDUX. I say, hold on. [Laughter.]

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, I can not yield.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. MADDUX. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. SULZER. Well, I will yield to the gentleman for just one question.

Mr. MADDUX. I only want to ask the gentleman how many battle ships he is in favor of?

Mr. SULZER. Two now. That is what I said—that is what this naval bill says.

Mr. MADDUX. Go ahead, then; I am with you. [Laughter.]

Mr. SULZER. I am glad to know the gentleman from Georgia is with me, and I trust all the Members on this side of the House will be with me. I do not understand, I can not comprehend, how any Member of this House, realizing our great coast line, our interests on the Atlantic and the Pacific, realizing the wealth of our cities situated upon our shores, can possibly object to the building of two more battle ships and oppose the continuance of an increase of the Navy by voting to strike out the provision in this bill for two more battle ships.

Now, Mr. Chairman, just a few words in conclusion. I shall vote in favor of the construction of two more battle ships as provided in this bill, because we need a great navy to protect our commerce on the high seas and to vindicate American citizenship and all that it stands for in every port and in every land in the world. I believe in the Navy. I stand for the Navy, and while I am in Congress I will always do all that I can for the Navy—for the men on deck, for the men below, and for the men behind the guns. All honor and all glory to the American sailors, to the American Navy, and to their patriotic, their heroic, and their splendid achievements. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

I arraign Russia before the bar of civilization
for great crimes against a common humanity.

*"Call the roll of the earth's illustrious dead and at least one name
in every five will be the immortal name of a distinguished Jew who
has stamped his indelible impress on the brightest pages of the world's
history."*

SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. SÜLZER,

OF NEW YORK,

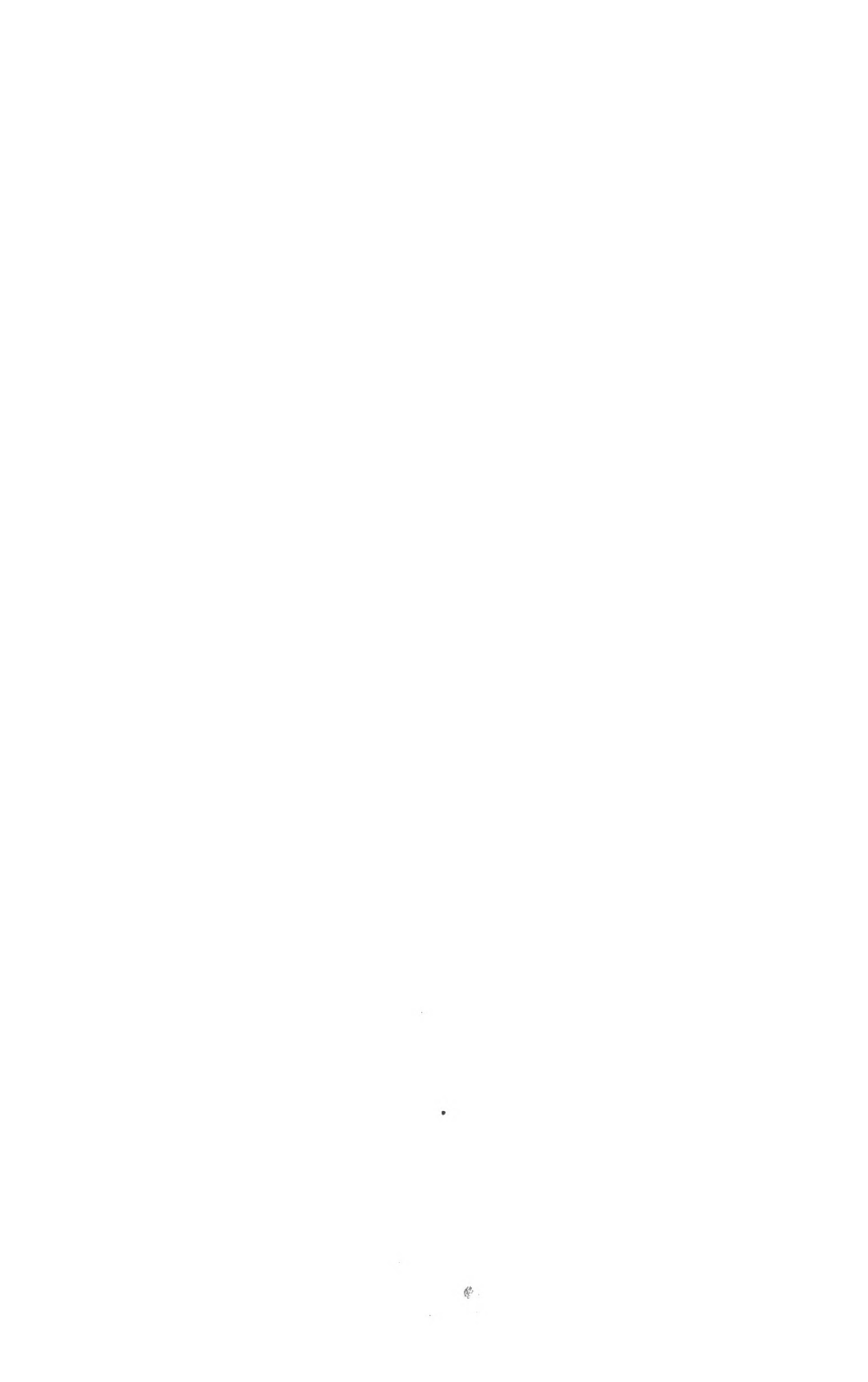
IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

December 18, 1905.

WASHINGTON.

1905.



SPEECH
OF
HON. WM. SULZER.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, on the 11th day of this month (December, 1905) I introduced the following resolution, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas the people of the United States, animated by the sympathy of a common humanity, view with deep sorrow, heartfelt commiseration, and poignant regret the deplorable condition of the people in Russia, and especially condemn and exceedingly deplore the cruel outrages, the unspeakable brutalities, and the unwarranted and wholesale assassinations of Russia's Jewish citizens; and

Whereas it is solemnly alleged, and there is a widespread and prevalent feeling throughout the world that it is true, that these terrible crimes, these brutal atrocities, and these willful murders of the Jews in Russia are connived at by the Russian Government, and have been incited by the Russian ruling classes, and are instigated directly or indirectly by high officials in Russia for political purposes, and have continued for a long time in all parts of Russia to such an extent that they have aroused the sympathies and shocked the moral sensibilities of the civilized world: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States, voicing the humanitarian sentiments of the American people, deploras the terrible crimes, the brutal outrages, and the uncalled-for and wanton murders of the Jews in Russia, and hereby condemns and denounces these awful outrages, these shocking assassinations, and these appalling atrocities as great international crimes against a common humanity that must be stopped, and stopped quickly, by the Russian Government; otherwise Russia, in the opinion of mankind, will and must stand indicted before the judgment bar of the world as beyond the pale of its civilization.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, that resolution expresses my sentiments in regard to the terrible crimes against the Jews in Russia; and, if I mistake not, it expresses the sentiments of most of the Members of this House of Representatives, and the heartfelt and sympathetic opinion of the humane and liberty-loving citizens of our country, who are shocked and grieved and outraged by the inhuman barbarities and appalling atrocities which have been going on for the past two years in Russia. During this short time, I am reliably informed by those most competent to testify, that more than 100,000 helpless Jews—men and women and children—absolutely defenseless and guilty of no wrong, have been cruelly, inhumanly, pitilessly, and barbarously murdered and butchered to make a Russian holiday. There has been nothing like it in all the history of the world, not even during the horrors of the Dark Ages, and humanity to-day stands aghast, stunned and grieved and horrified. It is simply impossible to describe the outrages on the Jews in Russia. Whole communities have been destroyed by fire and sword. No calamity of such magnitude has ever befallen Israel. All the horrors of the Inquisi-

tion, all the persecutions of the Middle Ages pale into insignificance in comparison with these stupendous crimes and appalling atrocities. The terrible bloody work is too frightful to contemplate; and yet we only know but a fragment of the awful truth. What a spectacle Russia presents at the dawn of the twentieth century!

Mr. Chairman, I feel deeply on this question. Only a few weeks ago 125,000 Jewish people, at the least calculation, relatives of the thousands and thousands of murdered Jews in Russia, marched through the streets in my Congressional district, clothed in somber black and crape, in a great mourning funeral procession for the martyred dead in Israel. It was one of the most impressive, one of the most striking, and one of the most pathetic scenes in all the history of the city of New York. Sadness and misery were written on every face. Bystanders took off their hats, bowed their heads in sympathy, and shed tears of sorrow. Nothing like it ever occurred before—Israel weeping and mourning for her dead—and I hope nothing like it will ever occur again in this land or any other.

But the murders go on. A veritable reign of terror exists. The black hand of ignorant fanaticism, race hatred, and religious bigotry has been raised throughout Russia against the law-abiding, peaceable, and defenseless Jews, and the barbaric work of rapine, plunder, outrage, and assassination continues and increases until even the heartless and hardened and superstitious Cossack is sickened by the bloody and ruthless scenes. Thousands and thousands of helpless men, women, and children are being slaughtered before the very eyes of civilization, and not a power lifts its voice in protest or raises a hand in condemnation. The facts—such as we get—are blood curdling and the numbers of the dead are appalling. Nothing like it ever occurred before in all the annals of time. It is a big, blood-red page in human history—a gigantic crime against a common humanity—and Russia must be forced to stop it. How, do you ask? I answer, How were the butcheries in Armenia stopped? How were the cruelties in Cuba ended? What did the powers do in China? Russia can, if Russia wants to do it, end these atrocities in a day. They must be stopped. The red reign of the Romanoffs must end. We can not look on longer without taking some decisive action. These crimes are great international crimes. The victims appeal to mankind, to the brotherhood of men, to the justice of the world. The massacres of Lodz and Odessa and Kishineff cry out to high heaven, and the time has come when the civilized world must tell Russia in no uncertain tones that these wholesale crimes against the Jews must cease, now and forever, or the civilization of this day will stand disgraced in the eyes of future generations. [Applause.]

Now, sir, I stand in my place on this floor, and charge on my responsibility as a Member of Congress, that it is solemnly alleged, and not denied, and there is a widespread and prevalent feeling throughout the world that it is true, that these terrible crimes of rapine and pillage and devastation, that these brutal atrocities, and that these monstrous murders of the helpless Jews in Russia, are secretly connived at by the Russian Government; that they have been incited by the Russian ruling classes—the grand dukes—and that they are instigated, directly

or indirectly, by high officials in Russia for religious and political purposes. What a fearful indictment of Russia! Is it true? We will know some day. It is not for me to say now, however, whether these fearful charges implicating the Russian Government with direct responsibility for these atrocities on the Jews in her dominions are true or not, impartial history, sooner or later, will reveal the truth and the whole truth, and I leave that awful charge to unerring Time. But I do stand here to-day and I do say that any nation that will permit, or that does permit, or that has permitted, these terrible assassinations to go on and continue, and makes no effort to check them, deserves the condemnation of the civilized world; and that we, the representatives of the American people, have the right, true to our traditions, voicing the sentiments of our constituencies and a common humanity, to cry out against these wholesale and willful crimes against a persecuted race, and denounce these barbarous outrages upon the Jews, and to notify Russia that, in our opinion, unless she stops, and stops immediately, these assassinations of the Jews, she will place herself, in the judgment of mankind, beyond the pale of civilization. That is the position I take now, and that is the position this House should take, and we should take it at once.

Mr. Chairman, I arraign Russia before the bar of civilization for great crimes against a common humanity. The Russian Government is responsible for these outrages on the Jews. She can not avoid the awful and tremendous responsibility. I believe that Russia could stop these murders if Russia wanted to stop them. These great crimes, sir, against an oppressed race, on account of race, are not local crimes; they go beyond State lines; they are great international crimes; they are butcheries of innocent men and women and children, and in the eyes of the Master these innocent victims are our brothers and our sisters, and we would be false to ourselves, to all that we revere and hold dear, and to every dictate of humanity, if we did not denounce and cry out against them with all the vehemence of our righteous American indignation. If we do not, ours will be the shame and ours the blame. We can not evade our responsibility by asking "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Oh, yes, Mr. Chairman, I know it is said by those who speak for the Administration that our Government can do nothing; that the President and the Secretary of State can not act and have no power, according to international law, to intervene or to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. That may or may not be true, but one thing is certain—it has been done in Turkey and in Cuba and in China; and another thing is sure, and that is, that we, the Representatives in Congress of the American people, have the right to raise our voice in protest against the plundering and the massacre, week in and week out, of thousands and thousands of poor, helpless, defenseless men, women, and children in Russia. We can do that. Let us do it. We aided the Greeks in their heroic struggle; we sympathized with the Irish in their aspirations; we interfered when the Turks massacred the Christians in Armenia, and we intervened with force of arms to aid the Cubans.

Why should we refrain from aiding the Jew in Russia? I say, in my judgment, it is our duty and the duty of the Government to condemn and denounce these Jewish atrocities and

to protest against these unspeakable crimes against the Jewish people in Russia in words that can not be misunderstood, and I believe that if we do, that if we pass this resolution, that it will have the desired result and effectively put a stop to the Russian Jewish outrages, atrocities, and massacres. That right we have; let us exercise it. It will be a declaration to Russia, to the Czar, and to the grand dukes, who are directly or indirectly responsible for these crimes, that the American people and the House of Representatives of the United States sympathize with the Russian Jews the same as we would with any other outraged and downtrodden and oppressed people, and that we are opposed to these race crimes and that the ruthless extermination of the Jews in Russia must cease. If this is all we can do, let us do it, and do it quickly; and I believe that if we do our protest, our condemnation, and our denunciation will be heard in St. Petersburg and that the Russian Government will quickly see to it that the wholesale butchery of Jewish communities is stopped. We can not ignore these crimes against humanity. We can not escape our duty and our responsibility. These innocent victims are our brothers and our sisters—mankind throughout the world are one. A great and continuing crime against one race is the concern of all the other races. Can anyone who believes in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man successfully deny it?

For mankind are one in spirit, and one instinct bears along,
 Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong;
 Whether conscious or unconscious, yet humanity's vast frame
 Through its ocean-sundered fibers feels the gush of joy or shame—
 In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

[Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have said that we do not know one-half of the truth regarding the terrible crimes against the Jews in Russia. The facts at present are unobtainable. Russia suppresses them. In the dying throes of their official power, the cruel and heartless rulers of Russia have sense enough to preclude the world from knowing the awful truth of the unprecedented barbarities that are taking place within their dominions. To their credit be it said that they have decency enough to be ashamed to let the light of publicity beat on their cruel infamies and their infamous butcheries. But murder will out, and sooner or later the bright light of investigation, searching for truth, will beat upon them more fiercely than ever. Then, and not till then, will the awful calamity of the Jews in Russia be known, and when it is known I predict the revelation will be the most frightful in the annals of time, and the blackest page in all history.

Mr. Chairman, my heart goes out to the ravished and plundered and oppressed Jews in Russia. I grieve with those who grieve for the dead. I sympathize with the living and the terror stricken. I have enlisted with all my soul in their cause, and in Congress and out of Congress I shall do all that I can to aid them to ameliorate their condition. I am not a bigot. I care naught for creed. I have no race prejudice. I stand for humanity, and a man is a man, for all that, to me. I have struggled all my life to help those who needed help, to do something to better the conditions of the poor and the humble, to aid oppressed humanity in every land and in every clime, and to raise the lowly and downtrodden to a higher plane and push

them forward a step further in the grand march of human progress. I shall continue my work along my own lines. I shall never turn back. I know my duty to my fellow-man, and it makes no difference to me whether he lives in the Orient or the Occident—whether he be Jew or gentile. In the battle for the right I can not go far wrong. There is nothing right but justice. I appeal for justice for the Jew, and I say to all the world that these outrages on the Jews in Russia must stop. I tell you that we can do our share to stop them. This resolution I offer is only a beginning. Let us pass it. Let us condemn and denounce the massacres of the helpless Jews in Russia, and that will accomplish something; and then let us hold a monster demonstration of protest—here in the capital of the Republic; here in the shadow of the White House—and demand, in the name of the American people and a common humanity, that official America, in a diplomatic way, serve notice on official Russia that the murders of the Jews in Russia must cease, and that will accomplish much more, and I believe effectually put a stop to these atrocities and devastations. A word from the President will go far to realize the object desired. A note of warning from the Secretary of State will have a most salutary effect. All the world applauded Theodore Roosevelt in using his good offices to bring about peace between Russia and Japan. We ask him now to use his good offices as President of the great Republic to bring peace to the harassed and maligned and outraged and persecuted Jew in Russia. He can do it if he will; and if he does, sorrowing humanity will place him on a higher pedestal, and a great race of grateful people will forever call him blessed.

Mr. Chairman, let me say to this House that I have the honor to represent in the heart of the city of New York one of the largest Jewish constituencies in the United States, and most of these people, or their parents, have come to our shores from Russia and southeastern Europe, and I want to say here, knowing them as I do, living among them, believing in them as I do, and respecting them as I do, that there are no better, no more loyal, and no more patriotic citizens in the United States. They are honest, sober, thrifty, industrious, liberty loving, and intelligent. They have come to our free land to escape the ostracism and the persecution of governments like Russia, and taking advantage of the opportunities vouchsafed them here, by frugality and industry, by perseverance and sobriety, by hope and tenacity of purpose, they have forged rapidly to the front in every line of endeavor, and they are to-day as good citizens as any other class of people in all our country. [Applause.] If anyone here will go over to the densely populated great East Side of New York, where I live, and where these people live, and where there are more people to the block than in any other like space on earth, he will be convinced of all I say regarding the Jew, and he will find among the throngs of school children in the public schools that the Jewish boys and the Jewish girls are among the brightest, the neatest, the aptest, the smartest, and the most intelligent. I know well these people; they know me, and have always been my friends; and I would be false to myself, false to my convictions, and false to every impulse of my nature, if I did not sympathize with them and do my best to

comfort and aid them in the day of their greatest sadness and affliction and calamity. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, just a word of truth for the Jew and I will conclude. It is, however, unnecessary for me, or any other man, to eulogize the intrepid sons and the virtuous daughters of Israel. The Jew needs no eulogy. All he asks is justice. All he demands is equal opportunity and equality before the law. The record of his race from the dawn of time down to the present day is the history of the march of humanity along the highways of progress and the avenues of civilization. In all ages of the world the ostracized and persecuted Jew has done his share for his fellow-man, for enlightenment, for liberty, for freedom, for progress, and for civilization—and he has done it all in the face of intense adverse circumstances. In science and in art, in literature and philanthropy, the Jew, in all lands and in all times, has written his name high in the temple of human fame. In statesmanship and diplomacy, in law and in medicine, in ethics and philosophy, in research and discovery, the greatness of the Jew is and ever has been unchallenged. In commerce and in trade, in industry and husbandry, overcoming forces that would deter another, he has held his own in the vanguard of progress. Persecuted for thousands of years he has surmounted all obstacles; shunned for centuries he has kept in the very front of the higher and the better civilization. In trial and in triumph, in tempest and in sunshine, in war and in peace, on land and sea, in all eras and in all places, the Jewish race has written its enduring name and its eternal fame all over the pages of human history. Civilization owes much to the Jew; Christianity owes more. Neither debt can ever be paid. Destroy what Israel has done for the human race and you leave a void that can not be filled—an abyss which can not be bridged. Call the roll of the earth's illustrious dead and at least one name in every five will be the immortal name of a distinguished Jew who has stamped his indelible impress on the brightest pages of the world's history. [Prolonged applause.]

OLD IRONSIDES.

The Constitution Must Not be Destroyed—
We Won't Give Up the Ship.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM SULZER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1905.



WASHINGTON.

1905.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the resolution (H. Res. 42) for the distribution of the President's message—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: A few days ago I introduced into this House the following resolution, which I now send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas It has been published in the newspaper press of the country, and is now generally believed, that the Secretary of the Navy has recommended and contemplates the breaking up and the absolute destruction of the last vestige of one of the most famous historical relics of the United States, namely, the frigate *Constitution*, lovingly, patriotically, and popularly known as *Old Ironsides*; and

Whereas the patriotic people of the country regard such contemplated destruction of *Old Ironsides* with the most profound sorrow and regret, and as an irreparable loss, because *Old Ironsides* can never be replaced and her like can never be looked upon again if once totally destroyed; and they believe that if only one of her planks remains it should be sacredly saved and preserved as an historic relic: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and he is hereby, respectfully requested, if not incompatible with the public interests, to send to the House of Representatives as soon as possible all information upon the subject of the contemplated destruction of the frigate *Constitution*, popularly known as *Old Ironsides*, and in the meantime to await such further action as the Congress may deem proper to take to prevent such destruction; and be it further

Resolved, That the President of the United States is hereby respectfully and earnestly requested to promptly intervene and recommend such measures as shall secure the permanent preservation of all that now remains of the frigate *Constitution* as one of the most sacred historical relics remaining to the people of the United States.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, that is a patriotic resolution and it speaks for itself. I am in favor of it, and I believe it should pass this House without delay. It was introduced by me for the purpose of getting definite information and finding out, through the Secretary of the Navy, as soon as possible, just when, and how, and where, and why the Secretary of the Navy proposed, intended, or contemplated the destruction of the frigate *Constitution*, popularly known to the American people as "*Old Ironsides*," and what authority, if any, he has in the premises to destroy this historical relic of the American Navy.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. SULZER. Certainly.

Mr. DALZELL. Do I understand that it is offered as a resolution to be passed on by the committee?

Mr. SULZER. Not at all. It has just been read by the Clerk for the purpose of giving the House notice of what I am going to talk about.

Mr. DALZELL. Oh, all right.

Mr. SULZER. I introduced the resolution for the purpose of getting information from the Secretary of the Navy about the frigate *Constitution* and her proposed destruction. It is privileged under the rules and will come up ere long in the regular way. We do not know just how the old *Constitution* is to be shot to death, but if it is going to happen, I think the House is entitled to have this information from the Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. DALZELL. All right.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, the patriotic people of the country were very much surprised a short time ago when they read in the public prints that the Secretary of the Navy proposed to destroy "Old Ironsides," the flagship of Hull and Preble, of Bainbridge, and of gallant Charles Stewart, the grandfather of Charles Stewart Parnell. The Secretary said, if the reports in the newspapers are correct, and I doubt not they are, that this old frigate, the *Constitution*, now lying at Charlestown Navy-Yard, in Boston Harbor, was of no earthly use, and the best thing that could be done with her was to tow her out to sea and make her a target for American naval gunners to shoot to pieces. Think of it! Imagine, if you can, this official vandalism! It shocked public sentiment. It aroused American patriotism. I can hardly believe it to be true, but if it is true I trust the Secretary of the Navy has heard the indignant remonstrance and the patriotic protest which has rolled into Washington from every part of the country, and that he will do nothing further in the matter. His action has aroused the spirit of the nation. The American people will never consent to the wanton destruction of the frigate *Constitution*; and, in fact, sir, I doubt if the Secretary of the Navy has any authority to order her demolition. She belongs to the people of the United States, and they will never sell her or give her up; and the Secretary has no more right to destroy her than he has to order the destruction of this Capitol. I think that the Congress has something to say about what shall be done or not done with the people's property, and I hope the Secretary will refrain from further action in the premises until this Congress can act in the matter. Her fate is in our hands. She can not be shot and sunk without our consent. We must stop this sacrilege. The venerable old frigate *Constitution* should not be destroyed. She is sacred to the American people, and as long as one of her timbers remains she should never be demolished. She was launched in the harbor of Boston in 1797. Her story on the sea is American history, and time can not dim her greatness nor sully her glory. She belongs to Boston, and there let her rest in peace with the Stars and Stripes floating from her masthead until she shall crumble and rot away and be no more. [Applause.]

Once before, Mr. Chairman—a long time ago, away back in 1830—a certain former Secretary of the Navy also proposed the destruction of "Old Ironsides." Is the present Secretary of the Navy familiar with that incident? Does he remember what then happened? Has he forgotten the storm of protests, the white heat of popular indignation, that aroused the people and stirred

the very depths of American patriotism? The people then saved the *Constitution* and the storm of outraged popular sentiment subsided; but at its height there came a flash of poetic lightning, the inspiration of Oliver Wendell Holmes, who wrote this poem on "Old Ironsides:"

Ay, tear her tattered ensign down!
 Long has it waved on high,
 And many an eye has danced to see
 That banner in the sky,
 Beneath it rung the battle shout
 And burst the cannon's roar—
 The meteor of the ocean air
 Shall sweep the clouds no more.

Her deck, once red with heroes' blood,
 Where knelt the vanquished foe,
 When winds were hurrying o'er the flood
 And waves were white below,
 No more shall feel the victor's tread
 Or know the conquered knee—
 The harpies of the shore shall pluck
 The eagle of the sea!

Oh, better that her shattered hulk
 Should sink beneath the wave;
 Her thunders shook the mighty deep,
 And there should be her grave;
 Nail to the mast her holy flag,
 Set every threadbare sail,
 And give her to the god of storms,
 The lightning and the gale!

[Applause.]

That gem, sir, from the pen of dear old Doctor Holmes did much in the long ago to save the day and preserve intact "Old Ironsides." As I sat here to-day thinking about the contemplated action of our present Secretary my memory went back to that other time. It seemed like history repeating itself, and I wondered if our Naval Secretary—poor benighted man—had ever read that patriotic poem by one of America's most gifted authors. But no matter; suffice it now for me to say that from that day in the distant past down to the present more practical time no sacrilegious hand has ever been raised to strike a blow against "Old Ironsides." [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, this may be a practical age, but American sentiment is not dead, and it is well that there is enough left to arouse the people in protest against destroying in a most unpatriotic way the gallant old ship *Constitution*. If only a sentimental value is left of all her greatness, it is enough to save her, and it is a very beautiful sentiment, and one altogether creditable to the hearts of the American people. This sentiment fights our battles, wins our victories, and preserves our liberties. Sentiment—deep-rooted, patriotic sentiment—is the progressive life of every people, and I trust the day will never come in our land when it will slumber so soundly that an unsympathetic act of vandalism can not arouse it to protest and action and indignation. The doom of the Republic will be knelled when American sentiment dies. So, sir, I say that for sentimental and patriotic reasons the frigate *Constitution* must not be destroyed. No act of vandalism must ever profane "Old Ironsides." Her glorious ensign must never be hauled down. She is the most valuable relic historically, and the most priceless possession to-day, in the American Navy. No wonder the patriotic people of New England, and elsewhere, were grieved

and shocked when they learned that the Secretary of the Navy, in the most matter-of-fact way, intended to have this historic old ship of war towed out to sea and shot at for a target—shot to death with American gunpowder and by the Navy she made possible and did so much to embellish. But it shall never happen—perish the thought—because I believe I voice the patriotic feelings of all true Americans everywhere when I say we shall never give up the ship—we shall never destroy “Old Ironsides.” [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I am a friend of the Secretary of the Navy. I have no disposition to harshly criticize that distinguished official. I think in this matter that he has been, to say the least, indiscreet, and has mistaken the patriotic sentiments which animate the American people, especially when some object of their reverence is assailed. Hence I believe it is only necessary for us to suggest to him that we are opposed to the destruction of this good old ship in order to preserve her as a common heritage for future generations. And that is for us to do—our work and our duty. Let us then meet the expectations of the people of our country, and put into the naval appropriation bill a provision that will carry a small annual appropriation for the care and the maintenance of this venerable old ship *Constitution*, and that will end the doubts as to her future most effectually for all time to come.

And now, sir, I want to read another poem anent this matter. After I had introduced the resolution just read by the Clerk, my dear old friend, the good gray poet of Washington, a son of old Kentucky, and as gallant, as warm-hearted, and as lovable a man as ever lived—Col. John A. Joyce—inspired by the subject as his prototype, Oliver Wendell Holmes, was on a former and similar occasion, dashed off the following poem and sent it to me to read when this matter came up for discussion. I take great pleasure in reading it:

Spare, oh, spare, the *Constitution*;
 Grand old battle ship of ours.
 Let it live in song and story,
 Festooned with the fairest flowers.
 Leave it as an object lesson
 To the children of this land,
 Teaching loyalty and valor,
 Lessons they must understand.
 Hull and Prebel, Bainbridge, Stewart,
 Fired thy guns in battle roar,
 Slaughtered Albion's bravest sailors—
 Sunk and drove them from our shores.
 Congress true and patriotic
 Will not let thy glory die;
 But be “target” for all praising
 Like the stars in yonder sky.
 Once you fought on stormy ocean,
 “Target” for the tyrant foe;
 Must “Old Ironsides” be shattered,
 Friendless in its age and woe?
 No! Let it shine in Boston Harbor,
 Down the ages, by the sea;
 Veteran of our naval glory—
 Emblem of our liberty!

[Loud applause.]

Mr. Chairman, all honor to Colonel Joyce. He is now, and always has been, a true poet and a pure patriot. And now a

few words more, and I am done. I want to say, in conclusion, that I am a friend of the American Navy. I glory in its brilliant and illustrious achievements. In every war and on every sea its valor and its heroism have illumined the pages of American history. There is no blot on its heraldic shield. The patriotic soul of every school boy in America has been fired by the valor, the bravery, and the glory of our naval heroes. Their motto is, and was, and ever will be, "Don't give up the ship;" and we, the Representatives of the American people in Congress, reechoing that heroic and patriotic sentiment, send greetings to our constituencies, and notice to the Secretary of the Navy, that we won't give up the ship; that we won't sacrifice "Old Ironsides;" that we won't destroy the *Constitution*—the oldest and the grandest and the proudest ship that ever nailed her colors to the mast in all the glorious history of the American Navy. [Prolonged applause.]

6397



THE FACTS IN THE CASE OF SPECIAL IMMIGRANT
INSPECTOR MARCUS BRAUN.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JANUARY 16, 1906.

WASHINGTON.
1906.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WM. SULZER.

SPECIAL IMMIGRANT INSPECTOR MARCUS BRAUN.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I move to discharge the Committee on Foreign Affairs from the further consideration of a privileged resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read and adopted.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves that the Committee on Foreign Affairs be discharged from the further consideration of the following resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows :

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be, and he hereby is, respectfully requested, if not incompatible with the public interests, to send to the House of Representatives, at his earliest convenience, all letters, correspondence, dispatches, information, and documents, or copies of the same, between the Government of the United States and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy regarding, affecting, and relating to the arrest, detention, fine, and imprisonment of Special Immigrant Inspector Marcus Braun by the Hungarian Government, or its agents, in Budapest, Hungary, in the month of May, 1905.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ADAMS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania such time as he desires.

The SPEAKER. The Chair is under the impression that the motion is not debatable except by unanimous consent.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, there should be no objection to the resolution; it is now privileged.

Mr. ADAMS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I simply wish to make a statement for the benefit of the House.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Speaker, I trust the gentleman will be heard.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAMS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I would simply state for the information of the House that the State Department has no objection to the passage of this resolution, although it does not advise it, as the correspondence relates to the question of Mr. Braun being *persona non grata* to the Austrian Government, the correspondence having taken place between that Government and ours. The State Department, of its own volition, does not wish to publish this correspondence, as Mr. Braun is or is believed to be in the employ of another department of the Government, so that naturally the State Department, of its own volition, would not desire to give out the correspondence; but

so far as the public interests are concerned, if Mr. Braun and his friends desire it, it has no objection to furnishing the correspondence.

Mr. GARDNER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the gentleman from New York a question.

Mr. SULZER. Certainly.

The SPEAKER. This can only proceed by unanimous consent.

Mr. GARDNER of Massachusetts. I ask unanimous consent to ask the gentleman the question for my information.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARDNER of Massachusetts. Will this bring the publication of the Braun reports on the state of the immigration agencies in foreign countries?

Mr. SULZER. Let me say, Mr. Speaker, to the gentleman from Massachusetts that the resolution calling for the Braun reports on immigration passed the House last week, and I understand the Secretary of Commerce and Labor is going to send those reports to the House this week. This is a different resolution, and I want to say just a few words about it at this time.

This resolution calls for all the papers now on file in the State Department relative to the arrest, detention, and fine by the Austro-Hungarian Government of Mr. Marcus Braun, an American citizen and the special immigrant inspector of the United States. The facts in the case very briefly are as follows:

On the afternoon of May 8, 1905, Marcus Braun, then a guest of the Hotel Hungaria, in the city of Budapest, Hungary, saw one of the state detectives of the Royal Hungarian Government, by the name of Hugo Kalmar, taking out and reading Mr. Braun's personal and official letters. The detective was just in the act of reading a letter written by Dr. Frank Dyer Chester, United States consul-general at Budapest, to Mr. Braun relating to emigration matters in Hungary, which Mr. Braun was at the time officially investigating on behalf of the United States Government.

Many weeks before, let me say, Mr. Braun had complained to the United States consul-general at Budapest; to the Hon. Beilamy Storer, United States ambassador at Vienna, and also to the Commissioner-General of Immigration of the United States, that his mail, both official and private, was tampered with, but up to that time he was under the impression that the spoliation of his letters was caused by the post-office department of the Kingdom of Hungary, but when he caught Detective Kalmar red-handed in the act he had positive evidence that the opening of his mail was caused direct by the Hungarian Government.

Mr. Braun recognized in the person of this detective the man who for weeks prior to this incident had followed him on all the trips he was making in the capacity of United States immigrant inspector throughout that country, and when he caught this detective in the act of rifling his letters he gave expression to his indignation and denounced the act as outrageous, and immediately telegraphed to the United States ambassador at Vienna and to his superiors at Washington for protection and intervention.

The day following, namely, on the 9th day of May, Mr. Braun was served with a summons to appear before the police captaincy of the fourth district of the city of Budapest, on May 10, to answer a charge of insulting a royal Hungarian official. Consul-general Chester went with Mr. Braun to the chief of police, Mr. Bela Rudnay, to demand an explanation, and he also called on the councilor of the ministry of interior, Dr. Alexander Selley, and at both places they practically admitted that Mr. Braun was considered by them as a private person for the purpose of possibly detecting him in some offense against the Hungarian emigration law and to make his further stay impossible in that country as an American inspector of immigration.

The evidence secured by Mr. Braun and Consul-General Chester showed conclusively that the reason for this action by the Hungarian Government was that Mr. Braun's reports of 1904 had hurt the feelings of several prominent officials in the Adrea Steamship Company, which is a concern subsidized by the Hungarian Government, in which many of the highest officials of the Kingdom of Hungary are shareholders. At the beginning both the ministry of interior and the police department, including Detective Kalmar, denied the fact that they had opened Mr. Braun's mail or followed him around, but when they were confronted with the evidence in Mr. Braun's possession they made a brazen stand and said: "Well, we had a perfect right to do that. What are you going to do about it?"

By direct order of Prime Minister Tisza the police department issued official statements to the press against Mr. Braun, and paid the expenses for printing and circulating a pamphlet which was sold openly all over the Kingdom, which pamphlet contained all kinds of false charges against the honor and integrity of Mr. Braun.

The Hungarian Government did all this in spite of the fact that in 1897, at the time when Mr. Braun became a citizen of the United States, they had issued, upon his petition, official documents discharging him from all further allegiance to the Hungarian Kingdom, and then gave him a certificate from the civil and military authorities certifying that Mr. Braun had an absolutely clean record. More particularly, one document from the royal criminal court signed by the presiding justice and addressed to the mayor of the city of Budapest, when the latter, as prescribed by law, inquired whether or not there was anything pending against Mr. Braun, who had demanded a certificate of discharge from the country of his nativity. The document in question when translated reads as follows:

[Royal criminal court of justice, Budapest, No. 63722, 1897.]

To the honorable Mayor's Office of the Capital and Residence City of Budapest, Budapest:

To your inquiry in the matter of Marcus Braun, No. 25609, and dated July 4, 1897, I have the honor to inform you with official respect that there is no criminal procedure against the individual in question under way at this court, and that no sentence has been brought which should be executed upon him.

Budapest, September 16, 1897.

ZSITVAY, *Presiding Justice.*
Doctor SALZER, *Clerk.*

And another document issued by the Royal Hungarian ministry of interior, and also addressed to the mayor, which, translated, reads as follows:

[Royal Hungarian ministry of the interior, No. 123707, 1898.]
To the Mayor of the Capital and Residence City of Budapest:

Marcus Braun, who was born in 1865, resident of New York, is, in the meaning of Article I of the State's Treaty incorporated in Law XLIII of the year 1871, to be considered as a citizen of the United States of America. Whereof I inform the honorable mayor, returning the documents sent with your report, No. 38413, of October 15th of the current year, as well as the petitioner's certificate of citizenship, for further proper action and calling upon you to communicate my above declaration as soon as possible to the petitioner, attaching his documents.

Budapest, December 3, 1898.

For the minister:

JAKABFFY, *State Secretary.*

Mr. Braun, on the 10th day of May, was fined against his protests, at the captaincy of the fourth district, Budapest, 50 crowns, about \$10 in our money, which he had to pay immediately. He remained in Budapest until the 26th of May, and during that time he supplied the ambassador in Vienna with all the necessary evidence as to the outrageous treatment to which he had been subjected, and then suddenly received orders from his superiors in Washington to quit the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and proceed elsewhere in pursuance to his instructions to investigate conditions governing emigration from other countries.

Not knowing how his cause had been disposed of and finding that through the great publicity that was given to his case all over Europe he could not do justice to his mission because he had been charged in the public prints by the Government of Austro-Hungary with serious criminal offenses, Mr. Braun returned to the United States and demanded an investigation and that justice be done him in the case, which thus far has been denied to him in all respects.

Now, a few words in conclusion. I want to say that Mr. Braun lives in my district. I know him well, and I can testify that he is an able, industrious, intelligent, and affable man. He has been an efficient official of this Government for several years and has won the esteem of his official superiors. He is a friend of President Roosevelt, who reposes in him the most implicit confidence. The charges filed against him secretly in the State Department by the Austro-Hungarian Government are absolutely false, and that Government knows the charges to be false. A great wrong and a great injustice has been done Mr. Braun by Austria. We should have all the facts in this case. Mr. Braun demands that all the papers in this matter secretly filed in the State Department by the Austro-Hungarian Government be given the fullest publicity so that the truth shall be known, and in order that Mr. Braun may be vindicated and seek such redress in the premises as may be just and proper this resolution should be adopted, and I hope the Secretary of State will comply with it speedily and send us all the papers in this case as soon as possible. I can not understand why there should be any secrecy about these papers, unless it is to shield guilty officials in Austro-Hungary or screen derelict officials here. But the truth in this case will prevail sooner or later, and we shall, I believe, ere long know all the facts in this contemptible conspiracy and outrageous trespass on the rights and the dignity of a well-known and popular American citizen and a high and distinguished official of the United States. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is on the House agreeing to the motion of the gentleman from New York to discharge the committee.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

6462

THE RAILROAD RATE BILL
AND THE
GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF INTERSTATE
COMMON CARRIERS.

Just and reasonable railway rates and Government regulation of interstate commerce transportation companies is one of the most important questions now before the American people.

It will never be settled until it is settled right.

The highways of commerce, the avenues of industry, and the byways of trade must be open to all; and every shipper and every producer must be treated exactly alike—no midnight tariffs, no rebates, no discriminations, and no favoritism.

I am with the people in this fight. It is either Government regulation now or Government ownership hereafter. Let the railways take their choice.

The railroads must be the servants of the people, not their masters.

S P E E C H
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER,
OF NEW YORK,
IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1906.

WASHINGTON.
1906.

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM SULZER.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12987) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, and all acts amendatory thereof, and to enlarge the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission—

Mr. SULZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It was not my intention to speak during the general debate on the pending measure, because I did not expect to get the time. However, by the courtesy of my friend from Georgia [Mr. ADAMSON], and quite unexpectedly, and I might say quite unpreparedly, I am afforded at this inopportune time the privilege of having my say on this all-important subject—a matter of much moment to all the people of the land, and affecting more or less intimately every section of our country—the question of the fixing of railway rates and the regulation of railroad and other transportation companies doing an interstate-commerce business in the United States.

I thank my friend from Georgia for his kindness in yielding to me his time, and I grasp the opportunity to use some of it, because I realize that if I did not take advantage of it now, I might not get a chance to speak to-morrow, when the debate on the bill will close; and I know by sad experience in this House that when the bill is to be read and is open for amendment, the day after to-morrow, there will be little or no debate permitted by those having this measure in charge. The bill, I am informed, is going to be rushed through the House—railroaded, as it were—regardless of its defects and its omissions and its incompleteness, and all amendments that Members desire to offer to strengthen the measure are to be quickly voted down, and the bill just as it came from the committee passed on to the tender mercies of the sacrifice Senate.

Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, this matter of just and reasonable railroad rates and the governmental regulation of transportation companies doing an interstate-commerce business is one of the most important questions now before the American people. It is a live question, and no matter what we do now, or say now, you know and I know that it is here to stay until it is settled and settled right; and the problem never will be solved, and the issue will never down, until it is solved and settled for the best interest of all the people, and not in the interest of the selfish few.

I have given much careful study to this great subject. I know something about it. As a legislator trying my best to do my duty as I see it to all the people, I have given, and will con-

tinue to give, my very best efforts to help in the solution of the many problems we are called upon in these matters to determine, and they should be solved and determined by us in a spirit of fairness and equality and equity to all concerned. The highways of commerce, the avenues of industry, the byways of trade must be open to all; and every shipper and every producer must be treated exactly alike—no midnight tariffs, no rebates, no discriminations, and no favoritism. Equal rights to all and special privileges to none must be our watchword. [Applause.]

Now, sir, we all realize, I believe, that the great interstate-transportation agencies of our country are here to stay. They are essential to the business of the country. They can not be dispensed with nor destroyed. They are as fixed in our commercial life as the hours of the day, and as immutable in our industrial existence as the medium of exchange. Their mileage, and their equipment, and their wealth, and their power, and their influence will not diminish, but will increase more and more as the years come and go. They will continue to dominate the people if the people do not take action to control and to regulate them. The people of the country are aroused on this question. They will keep up the fight until it is won. You can beat the people to-day, you can deceive the people to-morrow, but the contest between right and wrong will go on, and sooner or later the people will win. I am with the people in this fight. It is either Government regulation now, or Government ownership hereafter—take your choice. [Applause.] As the President said on this subject in his message to the Congress in December, 1904, the Government must in increasing degree supervise and regulate the workings of the railways engaged in interstate commerce, and such increased supervision is the only alternative to an increase of the present evils on the one hand or a still more radical policy on the other.

I read not long ago, Mr. Chairman, that more than 80 per cent of the enormous railroad mileage which to-day gridirons the United States has been constructed since the civil war. We have over 215,000 miles of main railroad tracks, and the giant spider is still spreading its web of steel in every and all directions. And when we take into consideration the second, third, and fourth tracks, and sidings and terminals, the total foots up to nearly 300,000 miles of steel railroad tracks. Just think of that! Sufficient to go twelve times around the earth, or make a journey to the moon, if such a thing were possible, and have miles and miles to spare. We are indeed the greatest railroad country on earth, and will continue to be for a century to come. And if we pause to consider these marvelous figures and facts we must be impressed with the consciousness of the far-reaching power and effect of the railway influence in every line of human industry, and if we stop to analyze the volume of traffic handled we can not fail to realize how greatly the railway systems of our country enter into every phase of modern life.

In 1894 the railroads carried 638,000,000 tons of freight. In 1904 the figures more than doubled and reached the enormous total of 1,309,000,000 tons, with aggregate traffic earnings amounting to the enormous total of \$1,977,638,713. Last year they did a largely increased business, and the figures for 1906

will greatly exceed those of last year. In 1895 the records show that 527,421,000 passengers were carried; in 1904 the figures increased to 715,419,000, and when the reports for last year are at hand a much larger increase will be evident. The figures are bewildering and the facts as startling as they are astonishing; and the end is not yet.

To transport this vast number of passengers and gigantic amount of freight, including all varieties of foodstuffs, there were utilized 47,000 engines, 40,000 passenger cars, and 1,760,000 freight cars. In the operation of this great network of railways more than 1,250,000 men are directly employed, of which 52,000 are engine drivers, 55,000 firemen, 40,000 conductors, and 106,000 trainmen.

Of course, I know figures are usually uninteresting; but these figures are alive with human interest and full of flesh and blood activity, because they have to do not only with men and measures, but also with our national commercial life and our fundamental political and industrial institutions, which should safeguard the interests of all the people—but more often do not—and the home life, and the very existence of every man who works for a livelihood and earns his bread in the sweat of his face. [Applause.]

The rapid growth of our interstate common-carrier systems during the past quarter of a century has been simply marvelous, and the tremendous power they wield to-day in the intimate political and social and economic life of the country is truly inconceivable. The average man who rides on a railroad train in comfort and in luxury to a distant point has little conception of how the railway affects even the most intimate details of his existence. It is the power that dictates political conventions and makes nominations; that seats its well-paid lawyers in the courts of justice; that rules legislatures; that subsidizes the press; that dominates the National Congress, and that compels all of us, who must eat to maintain life, to pay the price for food which the big transportation interests fix directly or indirectly.

From a systematic investigation of existing conditions and a careful examination of governmental statistics, I fearlessly assert that the time is now at hand when the Government must take decisive action to regulate the great railways and great public transportation utilities of the country doing an interstate-commerce business, or they will ere long absolutely own and control the Government, and, through their great tentacles stretching out in every direction, they will be able to strangle competition, crush commercial endeavor, paralyze individual industrialism, and create the trust of all trusts and the monopoly of all monopolies.

These giant public utility transportation companies, traversing as they do every part of our national domain, are so vital a part of our complex industrial and economical and political life that their influence affects all things which go to make up our existence from day to day. I believe the people are just awakening to the consciousness of the real facts and the true situation, and in the study of the problem of the cost of living are finding out for themselves what recent economic writers have shown conclusively, and that is how the control and the power and the operation of railroads in this country overshadow every other factor of human existence.

And so, sir, knowing what I do about the facts and the conditions, and feeling as I do on this subject, I welcome remedial legislation, and shall favor any bill that will correct the abuses and remedy the evils incident to the subject-matter now under consideration. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have carefully listened to the several clever speeches which have been delivered during the consideration of this measure. These brilliant forensic efforts, however, have failed, to my mind, to greatly illumine the subject or to impart to us very much valuable information. The time consumed in this debate, nevertheless, may not have been altogether wasted. Far from it; but it does seem to me strange that no two Members who have discussed the bill agree as to just what it means and as to just what it will do. In justice to myself I want to say that I do not agree with all that has been said in favor of the pending bill, and neither do I concur in all that has been said against the bill. We all appear to agree that the measure under consideration is not a perfect bill, intended to remedy every evil incident to the subject-matter. I do not think that even its distinguished author, for whose abilities in these matters I have great admiration, will seriously assert such a claim. Take this bill all in all, and the best that can be claimed for it, in my judgment, is that it is only a feeble effort to correct, in a doubtful way and to a limited degree, long-standing and patent and glaring abuses. Will the bill in its present shape even do this? I indulge the hope that it will to some extent, and if it does it will accomplish something; and believing that it will do some good, that it will remedy some evils, that it will correct some abuses, I shall vote for the bill; because with all its faults, with all its doubts, with all its omissions, with all its defects, I sincerely hope, and I want to honestly believe, that it is a step in the right direction—a legislative advance—a Congressional stride forward along right lines for the benefit of the many against the selfish interests of the few. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, as I said, there are some things about this bill that I do not like, and that I would change if I could have my way. I trust I will be forgiven by the sponsors of the bill if I indulge in a few criticisms of the measure, and, by way of suggestion, point out some glaring defects that should be cured by amendment to make the legislation more effective. The bill is a long one, but not a very comprehensive measure. It is an amendment to the interstate-commerce act, and purports to enlarge the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The committee reporting the bill generously admit that in its preparation they were aided by the study of all the bills introduced by Members on this subject, and I want to say that I introduced at the beginning of this session what I believe to be a bill in the right direction, a bill that I seriously believe if enacted into law would, to a very great extent, effectually put a stop to railroad rebates and transportation discriminations. It is a short bill and a simple bill and a comprehensive bill. I do not know what consideration it received from the committee reporting the bill before us, but I do know that if it were a part of the law not a transportation company in the land would dare violate its provisions, because if it did the doors of a felon's jail would open to receive the offi-

cial of the company granting the rebate or discrimination, as well as the shipper receiving the gratuity and the favoritism. I have no vanity in the matter. I am seeking results for the best interests of all the people.

I do not claim perfection for my bill, like some of the zealous advocates of the pending bill claim for the measure now before us; but I do claim that my bill, to say the least, will go very far toward the serious solution of the many problems confronting us, and, in my opinion, have a beneficial tendency to correct present interstate transportation abuses. I believe that one of the greatest evils complained about in all these matters is the rebate abuse, by which an unjust discrimination is made between shippers and a rebate given back to one shipper, or to several shippers, which all the others must contribute to by paying an exorbitant rate.

This bill, sir, which I introduced (H. R. 8414) to amend the interstate-commerce act, and which is referred to in the report of the committee, would, in my opinion, effectually put a stop to rebates by making the rebate, if one is given, the maximum rate—that is to say, the rate paid minus the rebate would stand as the highest rate. If this bill were a law I am satisfied that no railroad or other transportation company could give a rebate without the fact being quickly found out by some shipper who was discriminated against, and just as soon as the fact of the rebate was established the Commission would fix the rate charged minus the rebate as the maximum rate. I believe if some provision of that kind were put in the bill now under consideration with a criminal penalty clause for its violation, it would effectually do away with rebates; but I would go further in this matter and make it a felony for any official connected with a railroad company, or other transportation system, doing an interstate commerce business, to grant a rebate, or for any shipper over the line to receive a rebate. If this were the law I am satisfied there would be no more rebates and that the evil would cease for all time to come. [Applause.]

We should make the punishment fit the crime, and if we do I believe there will be no more railroad rebates. Put in the bill a provision making the giving or the receiving of a rebate a criminal offense, punishable by a long term of imprisonment, and I say to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and to the Members of this House, and I say to the country, that there would not be a railroad or interstate transportation company that would give a rebate, and no shipper would dare receive a rebate for love or money. [Applause.] You will never stop this iniquitous system of rebate favoritism and discrimination until you point to the prison doors. If this bill were intended to carry out the recommendations of the President it would contain a provision of this kind and the problem, so far as secret rebates are concerned, would be solved, and you never again would hear a shipper complain about a railroad or any other great public-utility transportation company doing an interstate-commerce business giving a secret rebate. [Applause.]

But here we have the unanimous report, the concentrated wisdom, of all the members of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and after laboring industriously for a year [laughter] they bring forth this remarkable document [laughter], this bill of twenty-six long pages of uncertain phrases,

that a Philadelphia lawyer can not comprehend [laughter], and which, I undertake to say, if placed on the statute books in its present shape and ultimately held to be constitutional, will not accomplish the purpose desired by the people of the country who have been complaining for the last quarter of a century against these unjust and unreasonable rates, these railroad favoritisms, and these interstate transportation discriminations. [Applause.]

I can demonstrate it, I think, in a very few words. If the gentlemen interested will glance at page 11 of this bill, section 15, they will find there what may aptly be termed the weak link in the chain of this measure. [Laughter.] On page 11, line 5, section 15, the bill prescribes the procedure of the Commission to fix and establish "a fair and just and reasonable rate." There follows this significant language:

"That such order shall go into effect thirty days after notice to the carrier, and shall remain in force and be observed by the carrier unless"—mark the language. Here is what I believe to be the little joker in this bill [laughter]—"unless the same shall be suspended or modified or set aside by the Commission, or suspended or modified or set aside by a court of competent jurisdiction." Here is the committee's little black man. [Laughter.] This is the African in the railroad wood pile. [Laughter.] Can these words be misunderstood? I think not. I believe the railroads of the land and their lawyers are aware of their significance. I believe they know the import of this section, and I want to submit in all candor [laughter] to the railroad lawyers of the country how they interpret these words in the last line, to wit: "Or be suspended or set aside by a court of competent jurisdiction?" They know now what these words mean. I think I know what they mean, but the people who want railroad-rate legislation will find out later what they mean. [Laughter and applause.]

The word "suspended," if I am not mistaken, is used in this section of the bill advisedly, and it was put in there to baffle the efforts of those most anxious to accomplish something for the relief of the shippers of the country from unjust railroad rates and discriminations. I am aware that the word "suspended" has a well-known definition. [Laughter.] I am inclined to believe, however, that some of us just now fail to grasp the real significance of the word [laughter]; but if this bill becomes a law in its present shape those now crying at the doors of Congress for relief against railroad extortion will soon find out the fatality and the significance of the word "suspended." [Laughter.] Then some of us will be "suspended" by our trusting constituents. [Laughter.] The whole object sought by this remedial legislation may "hang" on this ominous word "suspended." [Laughter and applause.] And when the poor and injured shipper complains to the Interstate Commerce Commission created by this bill, consisting of seven members hereafter to be appointed for a term of seven years, at an annual salary of \$10,000—and I can imagine the struggle of the railroads to get just the right kind of men on this new commission—when the shipper makes his complaint, and the Commission fixes the rate—that is to say, makes its order establishing a fair and just and reasonable rate—I can see in my mind's eye the temporary joy of the shipper, until the railroad

lawyer rushes into court and during the thirty days allowed gets an injunction "suspending" the order of the Commission, and then what is the poor shipper to do? Why, go on paying the old railroad rate just the same as before. That is the way it will be done. [Applause.]

Let us, for the sake of argument, assume a case and follow it to its logical end. This bill in its present shape becomes a law. The new Commission, we will assume, has been appointed and a shipper who has been discriminated against for years, or who has been injured by rebates, who has been getting poorer and poorer while some other favored shipper, who has been profiting by his misfortunes, is getting richer and richer, makes complaint before the Commission and establishes that the rate he is paying is unjust. The Commission, on all the testimony adduced, is satisfied his complaint is justified and thereupon makes an order fixing a just and reasonable rate. That order will not go into effect for thirty days, and before it can go into effect—that is, during the thirty days, if the order is not satisfactory to the railroad company—the railroad lawyer will go into a court of "competent jurisdiction" and get an injunction "suspending" the order. Then the shipper will have to pay the old extortionate rate, and if he wants to fight the matter he must hire an experienced lawyer to carry the case up on appeal, and before the court of last resort adjudicates the matter between the railroad company and the shipper to see whether an injustice has been done or not, the shipper's business will be "suspended" [laughter] or in the hands of a receiver, and unless the shipper is a well-to-do and a shrewd and a sagacious and a pertinacious business man he will be "suspended" ere the final judgment of the case in the United States Supreme Court. [Great laughter and applause.]

With all due respect to the erudite authors and distinguished sponsors of the pending bill, I am inclined to think that this provision can be materially changed for the better by an amendment I shall suggest. If the bill becomes a law in its present shape, I am afraid it will accomplish very little of lasting benefit to the shippers and producers of the country, and will have a tendency to cause endless delay, and interminable litigation, and perhaps be the means of defeating the very object desired and sought to be accomplished. I am in earnest about this matter. I want to be fair. I do not want to create discord. I have no desire to find fault. I shall not be captious in my criticism of the pending bill. I am in favor of it, but I want to make it effectual—I want to make it really reach the evils involved and permanently cure them in the speediest possible way. [Applause.]

I am with the people in this railroad fight for justice. I have great personal regard for the distinguished chairman of the committee reporting this bill, but I would be false to myself and to this great cause if I did not honestly say that I believe that he and all the members of the committee could have presented to this House, under all the circumstances, a very much better bill, and I trust I will be pardoned if I am impelled by my sense of duty, and my conception of the gravity of the situation, and the importance of the subject-matter, to point out in the kindest way some of the serious defects, some of the glaring errors, and what I consider after all the vital weakness of the pending measure. [Applause.]

Hence, Mr. Chairman, I regret to say that I can not and I do not altogether agree with some of my colleagues who are congratulating themselves, and the committee, on the unanimity of the report in favor of this measure, and that the bill in its present shape is going to pass the House by a practically unanimous vote. It is true that the bill comes before the House with a most harmonious report; but a unanimous report from a committee on an important piece of legislation like this against great centralized corporate interests is not an evidence to my mind that the bill is a perfect measure and a complete remedy for existing evils. As an old and experienced legislator, having served for some time in two capitals, it is my opinion that in a great many instances where the report of a committee is unanimous in favor of a bill, especially a bill of such great magnitude as the one under consideration, which affects so many entrenched and powerful interests and which has met with so much opposition heretofore from the very interests affected—I say that the unanimity is susceptible to the construction that the bill is so drawn that somebody is going to be fooled. I do not know whether it will be those who want this legislation or those who do not want it, but I am inclined to think, that if this bill becomes a law in its present shape, that those who want it will be, to say the least, disappointed.

I believe that if the great interstate transportation companies were opposed to this bill their power and their influence would be so far-reaching that there would be a great deal more opposition to the bill than at present is evident. It is a fair assumption to believe that if the railroads of this country were opposed to this bill the measure would not meet with a practically unanimous vote in the House of Representatives. I do not want to go into details. It is unnecessary for me to elaborate the proposition. I have no desire to be a carping critic. Far be it from me to disturb the placid waters existing at present in this body. Of course I assume that the great transportation companies of the country have felt for some time that the demands of the people for the enforcement of the laws, for the abolition of rebates, and for more just and reasonable railway rates would have to be acceded to sooner or later, and perhaps they are willing to accept this weak and doubtful measure rather than run the risk of further arousing public indignation and the enactment of more drastic legislation to curb the power of these great interstate transportation companies.

Everyone familiar with the subject is aware of the fact that for years there have been secret rebates and unlawful discriminations by railroad companies and other transportation corporations to favored shippers. These discriminations and these favoritisms are criminal and must be stopped, and if the laws on the statute book now are not strong enough to put a stop to them, then we must make new laws rigid enough to put an end to them in this country forever. Whether this bill will stop them or not I do not now undertake to say, but I do hope that the bill will be materially amended ere it becomes a law, with the object of more effectually stopping them. I know of no greater injustice to the producers of our country than to have a transportation company give a rebate to one shipper at the expense of all the others. There should be no favoritism; the rate should be the same for all shippers and for all producers; equal

rates, equal rights, and equal opportunities for all should be the rule. But we know the history of the past, and we do know of many cases where one shipper has been favored at the expense of all the other shippers until the favored shipper controlled the product or the industry, drove out of business every competitor, and ultimately secured a complete monopoly.

If you will read the testimony which has been adduced in several investigations heretofore held at the instance of the Government you will readily comprehend the truth of this proposition. But I do not care at this time to go into details or to be too critical. I am an optimist and not a pessimist; I hope for the best; and I trust the bill will be materially amended and become a law and accomplish some good. I shall do my best to improve the bill by amendments, if they will be permitted; but I can not refrain now from telling what I actually believe and to voice my convictions and say that the bill in its present shape is not satisfactory to the real friends of Federal regulation. It is a good deal of a makeshift; it is weak; it is apologetic, and the railroads are not opposing it. That puts me on inquiry. The unanimity with which it is going through this House also lends color to the suspicion that the railway interests of the country see no danger in its wishy-washy provisions.

It looks to me as if the fight for a square deal from the railroads is far from won, and the friends of rate reform and governmental regulation of interstate transportation companies must keep up the fight and fight harder than ever. [Applause.]

It is apparent to me that if this bill were intended to compel the railroads to live up to the law now on the statute books, if it were a bill to force the transportation companies to give fair and just and reasonable rates to every producer and to every shipper, you would find these halls filled with railroad lawyers and transportation lobbyists protesting against the passage of the bill; and I am frank to say that the bill would not meet with so very little opposition. But I have not heard of a railroad protesting against the passage of this bill. I have yet to learn of a transportation company sending to the House objections to the enactment of this legislation; and I have not seen nor heard of a single railroad lawyer who has been sent here to argue against the progress of the bill; and so, as I say, I am inclined to be doubtful as to the effectiveness of the remedy proposed in the pending measure. [Applause.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. SULZER. Yes; I always yield to the gentleman.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Would the gentleman from New York know a lobbyist when he saw one?

Mr. SULZER. Well, that depends. There are lobbyists and *lobbyists*, and I do not pretend to be very familiar with either class; but I think I do know a few railroad lawyers when I see them. [Laughter.] I have been a practitioner of the law in an humble way for a number of years, but I have never been retained by any of the great interstate-commerce railroads and corporations. I have been retained, however, now and then by a few honest and sensible clients [laughter] to institute suits against railroads and other interstate-commerce corporations, and my clients will inform those desirous of knowledge concern-

ing the matter that I have generally succeeded in securing for them a speedy trial, justice, and a square deal. As a legislator my sympathies have always been with the under dog, with the poor and the oppressed, with the toiler and the bread winner; and whenever an injustice was committed by some powerful corporation against the weak and the helpless I have been on the latter's side; and as a lawyer my field of professional endeavor has been along the lines of helping the poor and the humble and the distressed; and I suppose I am so constituted that I will continue to do so all the rest of my life, to the loss no doubt of my bank account, but with the approval of my conscience. [Applause.]

I could have been a railroad lawyer had I desired to enter that field of human activity; in fact, I have received one or two offers in my time to devote my energies to that branch of the law. I recollect a very flattering offer made to me a few years ago of \$25,000 a year; but I never was very anxious to make money, with me money is a secondary consideration; and I have preferred to pursue the even tenor of the simple life, to work out my professional salvation in my own way and my political career along my own lines. [Laughter.] I work pretty hard here in the Halls of Congress, day in and day out, week in and week out, trying to do the right thing for my constituents and the square thing for the good of the people generally throughout the country. I am content with my work; I rather like it. I would not exchange places with any of the opulent members of "the system." I have cast my lot along the pleasant sunshiny highways of humanity; but sometimes it seems to me that almost every man in the land who has a grievance, or thinks he has a grievance, comes to me to set things right and to secure him justice. I spend a great deal of valuable time investigating some of these complaints, and it takes much labor to do so conscientiously; but whenever I find a case that is really and truly a worthy cause I do not fear or hesitate to take up the burden of the fight and do the best I can. This may be altruistic, and I know that often my efforts are unappreciated, derided, misconstrued, and futile, but I suppose, nevertheless, that I will go on doing so to the end of my time. [Applause.]

I know that the world, that the great big world,
 From the pauper up to the king,
 Has a different tale from the tale I tell,
 And a different song to sing;
 But for me, I care not a single fig
 If they say I'm wrong or I'm right,
 For I'll always go in, if I go in at all,
 For the under dog in the fight.

[Applause.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to give credit in this debate to whom credit is due. I want to say that I have been an interested listener to several of the excellent and eloquent speeches which have been delivered for and against this measure, not only an attentive and interested listener, but I have been edified, instructed, and highly entertained. I listened with great interest, as I always do, to my genial friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. STELBY]. He ridiculed the bill and arraigned its effectiveness, and I was much amused by the serious earnestness of his incisive and epigrammatic and eloquent remarks. The gentleman nearly

convinced me that I ought to vote against the bill of my distinguished and erudite friend from the classic fields of Iowa. [Laughter.] I was greatly interested and listened with rapture to the studied periods of my always eloquent and distinguished friend, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD]. He seemed to prove to his own satisfaction the inability of the people to govern themselves. [Laughter.] His argument was an indictment of free institutions—an arraignment of the power of public opinion. [Applause.] I can not follow the gentleman from Maine. I believe in the people. I trust the people. I know the people are capable of self-government. [Applause.] I was much impressed with the beautiful diction and the eloquent words of the scholarly gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCALL], who has given a great deal of study and consideration to every phase of this whole subject; and if I did not know a little about it myself, I think I would be inclined to take his pessimistic view of the results that will follow if this bill should become a law in its present shape. [Laughter.] With these three eminent statesmen against the bill, I began to ponder whether I could conscientiously give it my vote and my support. [Laughter.] I always try to be right, but I know I am not infallible, and I concluded to wait—to hold my peace—to content my soul in patience—until I could listen to the wisdom and the dulcet voice of my dear old friend and philosopher the learned and experienced gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR]; and lo! he began to speak; and to my amazement I heard him call the bill a fake—just think of it—a fake! [Laughter.] Is it any wonder we are bewildered? [Laughter.]

But, then, it is only fair for me to say that although I do not often agree with the gentleman from Ohio regarding the merits of proposed legislation, I do, in this instance, however, agree substantially with him regarding the significance of the omission in this bill of express cars and palace cars and sleeping cars. I do not know of any good reason why these railway cars should be carefully omitted from the grasp of the provisions of this bill, but perhaps we shall be enlightened about this later on by some of the speakers for the bill. [Laughter.] I think these palace and sleeping and express cars should be amenable to the plan and the scope and the possibilities of this bill, and I would amend the bill to bring them within its provisions, together with all the other private cars and car lines of the country. The private-car line system is one of the most iniquitous frauds in the transportation business and should be wiped out. I am with the gentleman from Ohio on these propositions. I shall be glad to vote with him to put all these cars under the provisions of this bill. I commend the gentleman from Ohio, and I assure him I shall vote for his proposed amendment—

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. SULZER. Certainly.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I did not state that I would offer any such amendment as that.

Mr. SULZER. I thought that is what the gentleman wanted to do. If I remember correctly, the gentleman was complaining because he could not—

Mr. GROSVENOR. I pointed* out the care that had been taken in the drafting of the bill. But my amendment is a matter of very much more importance, in my judgment. That is the one relating to the commingling of the corporation that produces the goods that are shipped on the railroad and the corporation that handles the railroad.

Mr. SULZER. Very good; I am with the gentleman on that proposition, too. [Laughter.] But I understood the gentleman from Ohio to complain about the omission from the provisions of this bill of palace, sleeping, and express cars, and I concur with the gentleman and justify his complaint, and think it is a mistake that these cars, doing an interstate-commerce business, should be omitted from the provisions of the measure we have before us. They should be included in this bill, and the gentleman from Ohio was quite right in what he said in this connection. But he went further and complained most bitterly that the House was going to stand by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and pass this bill just as it is now, just as it came from the committee, without the crossing of a "t" or the dotting of an "i," and vote down every amendment that will be offered by any Member to strengthen the bill and make it a more perfect measure. [Laughter.]

I was astonished when I heard the gentleman make this complaint. It was a great surprise to me to hear him protest about the majority standing by its own committee. I am making no complaint, because I know it is useless, and I am not surprised that the majority will stand by the bill of the committee and vote down all amendments. I am surprised, however, that we are granted the poor privilege—for the sake of the record—of offering amendments at all to make the bill better, more perfect, more complete, and more effectual. I am surprised that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce did not go to the Committee on Rules of the House and have that committee, of which the gentleman from Ohio is an active member, bring in a rule, as it usually does, making this bill a special order and precluding a Member from offering an amendment, allowing him only the right to do one thing, and that is to vote for the bill or to vote against it. So the gentleman from Ohio complains that he is only allowed to offer an amendment with the knowledge that it is understood and agreed between the majority and the members of the committee that all amendments are to be voted down; and that the bill is to be railroaded through the House just as it came from the committee. [Applause.]

It is some consolation, however, to me to know that the gentleman from Ohio realizes once in a while that Republican chickens come home to roost. [Laughter.] But I inferred the gentleman as a last resort intended to vote for the bill. So shall I; but I do so with reluctance and many misgivings, and only because I know that it is not the best bill, but the one bill that the real and sincere friends of railroad-rate reform and governmental regulation of interstate common carriers can get for the people at the present time. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have earnestly studied the various bills which have been introduced thus far in this Congress regarding railway-rate legislation and the regulation of interstate commerce transportation companies, and briefly referred to by

name and number at the beginning of the report of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which accompanies the bill now under consideration. It will be of considerable interest, in my opinion, for the industrious Members of the House to get these respective bills and read each and every one of them carefully.

One of the best of these bills, in my judgment, is the measure introduced by my friend and colleague, Mr. HEARST, H. R. 469, entitled "A bill to increase the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and to expedite the final decision of cases arising under the act to regulate commerce by creating an interstate commerce court." This is a brief and simple bill, but a very comprehensive measure, and goes further to correct these abuses and remedy these evils than any of the bills which have heretofore been introduced, and if Mr. HEARST'S bill were a law I believe that it would effectually stop the abuses we are seeking to prevent. I am sorry the bill can not be brought before the House and voted for on its merits. It has many excellent features, and it seems to me that there are many provisions in it which the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce could to much advantage have incorporated into the bill which they reported, and if they had done so they would have made the bill now before us a very much stronger, and a very much better, and a very much more comprehensive measure in every respect; and one about whose constitutionality there could be absolutely no question.

There is to my mind no doubt about the effectiveness and the constitutionality of Mr. HEARST'S bill, and there would be no question about the constitutionality of the bill now under consideration if the provision regarding the fixing of the rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the creation of the court to review the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission were taken from Mr. HEARST'S bill and embodied in the bill of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. I think it is a matter of regret that this was not done. I go further and say I think it was a mistake that the Hearst bill was not reported to the House instead of the committee bill. There should be no politics in this matter. There should be no rivalry and no personal vanity. We ought to all strive to accomplish the results so earnestly desired by the people of this country. This is one of the great questions of the day, affecting every man, woman, and child in the land, and we should all rise superior to petty politics and personal glory and try to accomplish results; and if that had been done I believe the Hearst bill would now be under consideration instead of the pending bill; or, at all events, that many of the provisions of Mr. HEARST'S bill would have been put into the bill now presented to the House, and that would have made the bill before us a very much stronger, a very much better, and a very much more comprehensive measure in every way, so far as the solution of these problems are concerned, and there would have been no question of doubt as to its constitutionality.

I believe, and I assert, that if Mr. HEARST'S bill were substituted for the committee bill now under consideration we would be a great deal further advanced in the progress we are making to fix just and reasonable railway rates and to regulate transportation companies doing an interstate-commerce business.

Mr. HEARST's bill meets the demands of the people, and means what it says and says what it means. Every friend of genuine railway rate reform and for the regulation of interstate transportation corporations knows what Mr. HEARST's bill will do, but no two members of the Committee on Interstate Commerce can agree as to just what the bill reported unanimously from that committee, and now before us, will accomplish if enacted into law. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, let me say again that I do not think this bill is a perfect bill by any means, and I believe it can be made a very much more effective measure if it were amended along certain indicated lines. When the bill is open for amendment I shall offer several amendments to perfect and strengthen the bill, which I hope will be adopted.

I shall offer an amendment to the bill in line 15 on page 10, after the word "any," by inserting the words "relation of rates or," so that this section of the bill will read: "Or that any relation of rates or regulations or practices whatsoever of such carrier." And in line 23, on the same page, after the word "what," I shall offer an amendment to insert the words "relation of rates or." This proposed amendment has been suggested by my friend and colleague, Mr. HEARST, and we deem it quite vital to the effectiveness of the measure. This bill absolutely ignores differentials and relations of rates. As the bill is now drawn a rate over one line to a given point may be just and reasonable, and a higher rate over the same line by a different route, or over another line, to another point may be also just and reasonable, and this would be an unjust discrimination that would work a great injury in favor of one city or locality as against another city or locality, and that could not be remedied by this bill if it were a law.

For instance, let us assume that the Commission should hold that the rate, we will say, from Chicago to Philadelphia of \$1 per ton is just and reasonable, and a rate of \$1.10 per ton from Chicago to New York over the same line, or a different line for that matter, may also be held by the Commission to be just and reasonable; and, of course, if the rates stood, as I have assumed, the traffic and the commerce would to a very large extent be diverted from the city of New York to the city of Philadelphia on account of the difference or discrimination in the relation of the rate; and this would apply to any other section of the country with equal or greater force. Thus, Philadelphia would be benefited at the expense of New York by an unjust discrimination, and New York would be powerless, under the terms of this bill, to remedy the injustice. The bill gives the Commission no power to fix a differential rate. Within recent years I am informed that nearly 1,000 complaints of unjust discriminations have been filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission, and at least seven-tenths of all these complaints have grown out of this system of the relation of rates.

As this bill stands to-day this evil would be perpetuated and could not be corrected by the Commission even if the Commission wanted to do so. I think this is a serious defect in the bill, and it ought to be corrected by this amendment.

Then, on page 11, in line 6, of the bill I shall move the amendment heretofore referred to by striking out "thirty days after

notice to the carrier" and insert the word "immediately" in lieu thereof; and in line 8 to strike out the words "be suspended;" and in line 9 to strike out the words "be suspended or" and insert in lieu thereof the words "or modified;" and also strike out the words, in the same line, "competent jurisdiction" and insert in lieu thereof the words "last resort;" so that that portion of this section will read as follows:

Such order—

That is, the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission fixing the rate—

shall go into effect immediately—

Instead of, as now provided in the bill, "thirty days after notice to the carrier"—

and shall remain in force and be observed by the carrier, unless the same shall be modified or set aside by the Commission, or modified or set aside by the court of last resort.

Mr. Chairman, the amendment goes to the very core of the whole matter. I have given considerable study to the bill, and I believe that the weakest part of the pending measure is in this very provision, and a bill, like a chain, is no stronger than its weakest link. If this amendment suggested by me is adopted, the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission fixing the rate would take effect immediately and remain in full force and effect until modified or set aside by the Commission or the court of last resort. This amendment is squarely in line, and on all fours, with the recommendations of the President in his message a year ago last December. He was right then; and I say now that any other relief will be futile. As I understand it, we are legislating to remedy evils, not to encourage abuses and entail endless litigation; but under the terms of the pending bill the rate will not take effect until thirty days after notice to the carrier. I claim and I say that it ought to take effect immediately and remain in full force and effect unless modified or set aside by the Commission or modified or set aside by the court of last resort. [Applause.] Under the terms of the present bill, as I have pointed out, if the Commission makes an order fixing a rate it does not go into effect until "thirty days after notice to the carrier," and then it can be suspended, modified, or set aside by any court of competent jurisdiction.

Now, what does this mean? What will be its effect? As I read it, and as I understand it, the effect will be that when the Interstate Commerce Commission on the complaint of some injured shipper makes an order fixing a just and reasonable rate, in place of an unjust and an unreasonable rate, the transportation company will have thirty days in which to prepare a case and go into a court of competent jurisdiction and get an injunction suspending the operation of the order theretofore made by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the old rate will go on until the matter is finally adjudicated by the United States Supreme Court; and this may take years and years, and in the meantime the shipper is being mulcted in the old unreasonable railroad rates and put to the expense of retaining lawyers, getting witnesses, and preparing an expensive law case that will take, perhaps, until the millennium to settle; thus causing, in my opinion, an endless delay and an useless amount of ex-

pensive litigation, and all at the expense of the injured shipper; and if he is a poor man he can not afford to incur the expense of this litigation. This bill then will give him no relief. This is one of the jokers in the bill; one of the bad features for the people, one of the good features for the transportation companies. It is the protection afforded the railroads. It is one of the reasons why, in my judgment, the railroads are not opposed to this bill. They can litigate these orders of the Commission until doomsday.

I shall offer the amendment I refer to at the proper time, and then we shall see if this bill is for the railroads or the people. The adoption or rejection of this amendment will determine the matter, in my opinion, to a very great extent. I am with the people in this fight, and I want to see placed on the statute books ere this session of Congress adjourns an effectual law that will accomplish in this matter what the people now demand. I think it will be a sad mistake if we attempt in a superficial way to temporize with this question. You may fool some of the people to-day, but you can not fool all the people to-morrow, and I predict that if we do not meet this question at this time in a square and broad and manly way the people will rebuke us, and rise up in their might and wrath and send here Representatives who will carry out their wishes and who will do the square thing, and who will write upon the statute books more stringent and more radical laws not only for Government rate making and Government regulation, but for Government control and Government ownership of the great public transportation utilities doing an interstate-commerce business. Mark what I say, it will be one relief or the other, one thing or the other, one remedy or the other. Take your choice—Government regulation now or Government ownership hereafter. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, let me say that another amendment which I shall offer at the proper time and seek to have incorporated in the pending measure is the following, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

That every common carrier by railroad subject to the provisions of this act shall be liable to any of its employees who are engaged in the transportation of such persons or property, or, in the case of his death, to his personal representative or heirs at law, for all damages which may result from the negligence or mismanagement of any of its officers, agents, or employees, or by reason of any defect or insufficiency in its cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, ways, or works.

That in all actions hereafter brought against any such common carrier by railroad to recover damages for personal injuries to an employee, or where such injuries have resulted in his death, the fact that the employee may have been guilty of contributory negligence shall not bar a recovery where his contributory negligence was slight in comparison to that of the employer.

That no contract of employment, insurance, relief benefit, or indemnity for injury or death entered into by or on behalf of any employee, nor the acceptance of any such insurance, relief benefit, or indemnity by the person entitled thereto, shall constitute any bar or defense to any action brought to recover damages for personal injuries to or death of such employee: *Provided, however*, That upon the trial of such action against any such common carrier by railroad the defendant may set off therein any sum it has contributed toward any such insurance, relief benefit, or indemnity that may have been paid to the injured employee, or, in case of his death, to his heirs at law.

That nothing in this act shall be held to limit the duty of common carriers by railroads or impair the rights of their employees under the safety-appliance act of March 2, 1893, as amended April 1, 1896, and March 2, 1903.

Mr. SULZER. This amendment, Mr. Chairman, speaks for itself, and is offered by me in good faith in the name of the hundreds of thousands of railway employees of the United States. Under existing law an employee of a railroad company can not recover damages for injuries sustained in the line of his duty by reason of the negligence of the railroad or the carelessness of a fellow-workman. This amendment makes a railroad company or a common carrier liable to the employee, and in case of his death to his heirs at law, in damages for the negligence or mismanagement of any of its officers, agents, or employees, or by reason of any defect or insufficiency in its cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, ways, or works. This amendment is not new. It is similar to a number of employers' liability bills which have been introduced in every Congress for the past twenty years. It has been indorsed and recommended by the Industrial Commission and by some of the ablest thinkers and jurists and writers in the country. The best thought to-day in the civilized world favors this change in the law applicable to common carriers, and several States in the Union have recently adopted it.

This amendment is the one act of legislation above all others that the railroad employees of this country demand, and which they have tried to secure from Congress for the last quarter of a century. In justice to these deserving and heroic men, who daily risk their lives and their limbs in hazardous occupations, it ought to be the law of the land; and if it were I unhesitatingly assert that there would be fewer railroad accidents and less loss of life by reason of them every year in the United States.

The amendment is a just measure in the interest of a most worthy and industrious and reliable class of faithful and intelligent workmen. They are entitled to it as a matter of right and in the name of justice. A railroad company, in my judgment, should be held responsible in damages to its employees for its own carelessness and for the negligence of any of its officers or agents, or by reason of any defect or insufficiency in its cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, ways, or works. I hope that when I offer this amendment to the pending bill when it is before the House and open to amendment—and I give notice now that I certainly shall offer it—that it will be accepted and adopted; and I know if it is adopted it will be but an act of common justice to the great army of reliable and industrious workmen of the great transportation companies, and a safeguard against accident and injury to the people generally who ride on the railroads of our country.

Make the railroads responsible in damages to their employees and take my word for it the railroads will see to it that very few accidents happen. [Applause.] If you will look over the statistics of the country, you will find that the number of railroad accidents every year is increasing, the loss of life appalling, and the list of the injured up in the hundred thousand column. Thousands of people are killed every year by railroad accidents, and tens of thousands are injured and maimed for life through the gross negligence of these interstate-commerce transportation corporations, but on account of this antiquated and unjust and discriminatory law there is no liability to the railroads. I say this old English, antique, fellow-servant doc-

trine, as applied to the negligence of modern railroads, is eminently unjust, and every fair-minded lawyer who has ever tried a damage suit will tell you the same thing. [Applause.] It is so ridiculous that sixteen foreign states in Europe do not now recognize it, and a majority of our own States in recent years have either abolished or modified it to a great degree. Even autocratic Russia in this regard protects her industrial railroad workers. But our own Government has yet to enact the first line of this kind of desirable legislation demanded by the vast army of patriotic and self-sacrificing railroad employees who are daily giving up their lives and their limbs to the negligence of the transportation corporations of our country.

Railroad companies by virtue of their interstate character are brought directly under the control of Congress, and therefore it is necessary from a legal standpoint for Congress to enact this law. Several State legislatures have recently met and passed such laws, but the Republicans in this House—and they have had control of the House for over ten years—have assiduously prevented the passage of this bill; and its enactment seems to be as far off, if not farther, than it was ten years ago. It seems the railroads have more influence here than the people.

But it is said by some of the Republican Members who represent districts in which these railroad employees reside that they are in favor of this legislation and would be glad to vote for it if they could only get a chance to do so. They say the Judiciary Committee, to which the bill has been referred, will not report it and give them an opportunity to vote for it. This, I say, is the merest subterfuge and no answer to the appeal of these earnest employees for relief. The Republicans can vote the day after to-morrow for this amendment when I offer it, and if it goes out on a point of order, they can vote for a rule to make the amendment germane to the bill. Did they not vote for a rule the other day to abrogate the eight-hour labor law in the Isthmian Canal Zone? Then let them vote to adopt this amendment or for a rule to make it germane to this bill. The Republicans in this House can no longer evade the issue and their responsibility. Now is the time for them to show their colors. Now is the time for them to be counted for or against this just and humane measure. [Applause.] The Republicans in this House are responsible for the failure for the last ten years to pass this bill, and I do not think the intelligent railroad men of the country, who are asking for this just and humane law, will longer permit the Republicans to deceive them regarding their failure to keep their promise made over and over again to enact this bill into law.

Sir, since 1896 the Republican party has practically promised the railroad workmen of the country this legislation, but it has absolutely failed to live up to its promise and enact the law. They have ordered several similar bills, to the amendment I have just proposed, to be killed in the Judiciary Committee. The Republicans have been in absolute power for the past ten years in all branches of the Government, and I charge that they have failed and neglected to carry out this promise, or any other promise, heretofore made to the toilers and the working people of the country. Their pledges to the working people have not been redeemed. They will not be redeemed. In passing laws for the workers of the land the Republican party is

long on promise and short on performance. An ounce of performance is worth a ton of promise. I am now, always have been, and always will be a friend of the railroad employees of this country, and I sincerely believe that the amendment I propose in their interest, and which is all they ask, is not only just, but it is humane, and it should be granted to them. [Applause.] These faithful employees devote the best years of their lives to the service of large industrial corporations doing an interstate-commerce transportation business, and when they are injured in the line of their duty through the negligence of the corporation, or the carelessness of a fellow-employee, they should have the right under the law to recover damages the same as any passenger traveling for hire on the railroad. I say as a lawyer and as a legislator that any other rule is contrary to the spirit of the age. [Applause.]

The wisdom and the justice and the humanity of such a law should be apparent to all, and there is no better time than the present and no better way than the one I suggest to place this just law on the statute books. If the Republicans mean to do what they promised, they will accept my amendment and put it in this bill; if they were simply fooling the railway working people when they promised to pass this measure, they will object to it and rule it out. We shall see ere long how sincere these promising Republicans are. I believe the amendment will be germane to the pending legislation; but if it is not, I put the Republicans on notice now, and I suggest that the Republican organization of the House bring in a special rule providing that this proposed amendment in behalf of the railroad employees be made germane to his bill. The Republican organization of the House brought in a special rule the other day to put an amendment on the urgent deficiency appropriation bill suspending the eight-hour law in the Isthmian Canal Zone. If you can do it in that case, you can do it in this case. Be fair and be honest now with these deserving people. Here is the opportunity to prove your sincerity. The other day the amendment abrogating the eight-hour law was made germane to an appropriation bill quick enough when you wanted to do it, and the eight-hour law was ruthlessly "suspended" without giving the labor representatives an opportunity to be heard before a committee of this House. [Applause.]

If the Republicans are sincere in regard to their promises to the employees of the great railroad organizations of this country they will put the amendment proposed by me, and just read by the Clerk, into this railroad bill enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It appropriately belongs in this bill. Be honest and do it. The Republican party has promised the railroad working people this law, and I am offering it now as an amendment to this bill, and in my opinion it properly belongs in this bill, to see whether or not the Republicans intend to keep faith with the toilers, and to live up to their promise to the working people on the railroads of the United States. If the Republicans are sincere in what they have promised to these industrious working people they will vote to adopt this amendment, but if they simply made that promise to catch the votes of these railway employees then this amendment will not be permitted to go into this bill, but will be stricken out when I offer it, by some Republican raising the point of order; and if the

point of order is sustained by the Republican Chairman of this committee on the ground that it is not germane to the bill, then I ask again that the Committee on Rules bring in a special order providing that this amendment be made germane to this bill so that every Member can vote on it. [Applause.]

Let us have a record vote and find out the truth. I believe I can safely say that every Democrat on this side of the House will vote for it. If the amendment is not incorporated into this bill it will be because the Republicans do not want it incorporated into the bill; it will be because the Republicans are insincere and have been fooling the thousands and thousands of working men employed by the great railroads and interstate transportation companies of the country.

I shall offer this amendment in good time, and I shall put to the test the sincerity of the Republicans in this House who promise the working people so much in every political campaign, and who give them so little after the campaign is over and they get back into full power in the legislative branch of the Government. I want to prove by this amendment to the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, to the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers and Firemen, and to the Brotherhood of Railway Employees who are their true friends and who are their real enemies in the Halls of Congress, and the record that will be made when this amendment is offered by me to this bill will be a light to guide railway employees in the future when they come to exercise that greatest of all American privileges—the elective franchise. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, at this time I desire to refer to another matter which I deem of some importance in connection with this pending legislation in regard to railway rates, and to give notice that when the pending bill is before the House for amendment, it is my intention to offer as an amendment my bill, now before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of this House, entitled "A bill to create the Department of Transportation," which I now send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill to create the Department of Transportation.

Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be at the seat of Government an executive department to be known as the Department of Transportation, and a Secretary of Transportation, who shall be a Cabinet officer and the head thereof, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall receive a salary of \$8,000 per annum, and whose term and tenure of office shall be like that of the heads of the other Executive Departments; and section 158 of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended to include such Department of Transportation, and the provisions of title 4 of the Revised Statutes, including all amendments thereto, are hereby made applicable to said Department.

SEC. 2. That there shall be in said Department a First Assistant Secretary of Transportation, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall receive a salary of \$6,000 per annum. He shall have charge of all matters in the Department of Transportation relating to steam and electric railways, and shall perform such other duties as shall be prescribed by the Secretary or required by law.

There shall be in the said Department a Second Assistant Secretary of Transportation, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall receive a salary of \$5,000 per annum; and he shall have charge of all matters in the Department of Transportation relating to telegraph lines.

There shall be in the said Department of Transportation a Third Assistant Secretary of Transportation, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,

who shall receive a salary of \$5,000 per annum; and he shall have charge of all matters in the Department of Transportation relating to telephone lines.

There shall be in the said Department of Transportation a Fourth Assistant Secretary of Transportation, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall receive a salary of \$5,000 per annum; and he shall have charge of all matters in the Department of Transportation relating to waterways and similar lines of transportation thereon.

There shall be in the said Department of Transportation a Fifth Assistant Secretary of Transportation, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall receive a salary of \$5,000 per annum; and he shall have charge of all matters of the Department of Transportation relating to pipe lines.

There shall be in the said Department of Transportation a Sixth Assistant Secretary of Transportation, who shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who shall receive a salary of \$5,000 a year; and he shall have charge of all matters in the Department of Transportation relating to the express business.

There shall be one chief clerk, and a disbursing clerk, and such other clerical assistance as may from time to time be authorized by Congress in each of the said assistant secretaries' departments; and the Auditor for the State and other Departments shall receive all accounts accruing in, or relative to, the Department of Transportation and examine the same and thereafter certify the balance and transmit the accounts, with the vouchers and certificate, to the Comptroller of the Treasury for his decision thereon.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the province and duty of said Department of Transportation to inspect, examine, and regulate, as may be prescribed by law, all corporations engaged in interstate or foreign commerce as common carriers, or owners or operators of transportation highways; and to this end it shall be vested with jurisdiction and control of the departments, bureaus, offices, and branches of the public service herein-after specified, and with such other powers and duties as may be prescribed by law.

SEC. 4. That the following-named offices, bureaus, divisions, and branches of the public service, now and heretofore under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and all that appertain to the same, known as the Life-Saving Service, the Light-House Board, and the Light-House Service, the Marine-Hospital Service, the Steamboat-Inspection Service, the Bureau of Navigation, and the United States Shipping Commissioner, and the same are hereby transferred from the Department of Commerce and Labor to the Department of Transportation, and the same shall hereafter remain under the jurisdiction and supervision of the last-named Department; and that the Secretary of Transportation shall have complete control of the work of gathering and distributing statistical information naturally relating to the subjects confined to his Department; and to this end said Secretary shall have power to employ any or either of said bureaus, and to rearrange such statistical work and to distribute or consolidate the same, as may be deemed desirable in the public interest; and the said Secretary shall also have authority to call upon other departments of the Government for statistical data and results obtained by them; and the Secretary of Transportation shall collate, arrange, and publish such statistical information so obtained in such manner as may to him seem wise.

SEC. 5. That there shall be in the Department of Transportation six bureaus, to be called the Bureaus of Transportation Corporations, and a chief of each of said bureaus, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to serve under each of the six assistant secretaries of the Department of Transportation, and who shall receive a salary of \$4,000 per annum. There shall also be in each of said bureaus one chief clerk and one auditor and such number of examiners as may be needed to carry out the purposes of this act; said auditors and examiners shall be expert accountants and shall be paid a salary to be fixed by law and necessary expenses. There shall also be such other clerical assistants as may from time to time be authorized by Congress. It shall be the province and duty of said Bureaus of Transportation Corporations, under the direction of the Secretary of Transportation, to inspect, examine, and regulate all corporations engaged in interstate and foreign commerce as common carriers, or owners or operators of transportation highways, by gathering, compiling, publishing, and supplying all available and useful information concerning such corporations, including the manner in which their business is conducted, and by such other methods and means as

may be prescribed by the Secretary of Transportation, or provided by law.

Every corporation governed by this act shall make annual reports in writing to the auditor, and such reports shall in all cases include:

(a) Capital authorized and issued, the amount paid up in cash or otherwise, with a statement of the method of payment where it is not in cash.

(b) Debts, including details as to the amounts thereof, and security given therefor, if any.

(c) Obligations due from officers, which shall be separately stated.

(d) A statement of assets and the method of valuing the same, whether at cost price, by appraisal, or otherwise, and of the allowance made for depreciation. Small items of personal property included in the plant may be described by the term "sundries" or like general term.

(e) Gross earnings for the period covered by the report, all deductions necessary for interest, taxes, and expenses of all sorts, the surplus available for dividends, and dividends actually declared.

(f) Increase of assets since the last statement, with a showing in what way such increase has been secured.

(g) The names and addresses of all stockholders, with the number of shares held by each at the date of the report.

(h) The amount of stock disposed of and the amount of property taken for stock sold since the last report, with all facts necessary to show the result of the transaction.

(i) A statement showing that the corporation in question has not, during the period covered by the said report, received or given any rebates, drawbacks, special rates, or other discriminating advantages, or preferences by money payments or otherwise, from or to any railroad, pipe line, water carrier, or other transportation company or paid to any shipper any such payments; or if any such have been received or given, stating to whom, from whom, on what account, and in what manner they were so received or given, with all other details necessary for the full understanding of the transaction or transactions.

(j) The names and addresses of all officers, location of transfer or registry offices, wherever located.

(k) A statement that the corporation has not fixed prices or done any other act with a view to restricting trade or driving any competitor out of business.

(l) A statement that the corporation is or is not a party to any contract, combination, or conspiracy in the form of a trust or otherwise, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or Territories or with foreign nations.

(m) It shall be the duty of the auditor of each Bureau of Transportation Corporations to prescribe the form of the reports before mentioned. He may, in his discretion, require additional reports at any time, upon reasonable notice, whenever he may see fit. But his determination shall be prima facie proof that the notice given is reasonable.

He may also require supplemental reports whenever, in his judgment, the report rendered is in any particular or particulars insufficient, evasive, or ambiguous.

He may prescribe rules so as to avoid undue detail in making the reports, but no detail of the business of the corporation shall be considered private so as to be exempt from the examination of the auditor whenever he may demand report thereon.

He shall make public in his reports, which shall be issued annually, all the information contained in the reports so made to him. When a report has been made by a corporation and, with all supplemental and additional reports required by the auditor, shall have been approved by him, the corporation making such report or reports shall publish the same in some newspaper nearest to its principal place of business, after the usual custom in such cases, with the auditor's minutes of approval, and shall file with the auditor proof of such publication by the publisher's certificate.

Sec. 6. That if any corporation shall fail to make a report when required, either by the terms of this act or when required by the auditor, as herein provided, said corporation shall be fined not less than one-twentieth of 1 per cent of its last annual gross earnings for each offense. Every week of failure after such reasonable written demand has been made by the auditor shall constitute a separate and distinct offense. In case also of failure, each of the directors of the said corporation shall be ineligible for the year succeeding the next annual meeting to hold either directorship or any other office in the said corporation; but any director shall be exempt from said penalty upon making a statement under oath that he has individually made such a report to the best of his ability from the facts at his disposal.

If such report is false in any material respect the officer making same shall be guilty of perjury and the corporation shall be fined not less than ten thousand nor more than fifty thousand dollars, and each false statement in any material matter shall constitute a separate offense. All fines and penalties imposed by this act shall be recovered or enforced in any court of competent jurisdiction.

SEC 7. That it shall be the duty of the examiners, under the direction of the auditor, to make examinations of any corporation governed by this act.

Any of said examiners presenting his official credentials shall be furnished by the officers of the corporation with every facility for complete and full examination, not only of the books, but all of the property, records, or papers of the corporation, which may be necessary, in the judgment of the examiner, for a complete knowledge of the affairs of the concern.

Such examinations shall not be at fixed periods, but shall be at such times as the auditor shall fix and without notice.

Examiners shall have the power to examine under oath all officers or employees of the corporation, or any other persons having any knowledge of its affairs, and to send for, demand, and inspect books, papers, and any other matter of evidence whatever which is in the possession or control of the said corporation.

For the purpose of this act examiners shall have power to require, by subpoena, the attendance and testimony of witnesses, and the production of all books, papers, contracts, agreements, and documents relating to any matter under investigation.

Such attendance of witnesses and the production of such documentary evidence may be required from any place in the United States at any designated place of hearing, and in case of disobedience to a subpoena the examiner may invoke the aid of any court of the United States in requiring the attendance.

And any of the circuit courts of the United States within the jurisdiction of which such inquiry is carried on may, in case of contumacy or refusal of any witness to obey a subpoena issued to any corporation subject to the provisions of this act, or other person, issue an order requiring such corporation or other person to appear before said examiner (and produce books and papers if so ordered) and give evidence touching the matter in question; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as and for a contempt thereof. The claim that any such testimony or evidence may tend to incriminate the person giving such evidence or testimony shall not excuse such person from testifying; but such testimony shall not be used against such person on the trial of any criminal proceeding.

The auditor shall also have all the authority of an examiner in any case wherein he chooses himself to act.

No examiner shall be assigned to examine any corporation who is himself interested in the business thereof, or of any competing concern, or who has relatives who are so interested.

It shall be unlawful for an examiner to divulge private business except by his report to the auditor. But such report, or the substance thereof, shall be open to public inspection.

Each examiner shall follow the rules, regulations, and directions which the auditor may from time to time lay down or communicate to him as to the method of examination, the form of report, the matters to be covered by the said examination, and all matters pertaining to his duties.

Said examinations and reports shall always cover, among others, the following questions and matters:

(a) Has the said corporation, or any officer thereof, during period covered by the examination and report, given or received any rebates, drawbacks, special rates, or other discriminations, advantages, preferences, by money payments, or otherwise, to or from any railroad, pipe line, water carrier, or other transportation company, or person engaged in interstate commerce, or from any manufacturer or vendor of any supplies or materials purchased by or for said corporation.

(b) If there have been such preferences when they were received or given, from whom or to whom, on what account and in what manner, giving all details necessary to a full understanding of the transaction.

(c) Is the said corporation or any of its officers a member of any combination having, seeking, or intending to secure a monopoly of any commodity other than such monopolies as are legally granted by patents or otherwise?

(d) Has the said corporation any such monopoly or does it use methods tending to secure such monopoly?

(e) Has it made any contracts or agreements tending to secure any such monopoly to itself or any other concern, whether owned by an individual or individuals, a corporation, or some combination of individuals or corporations?

(f) Is such corporation, or any of its officers, a party to any contract, agreement, combination, or conspiracy, in the form of a trust or otherwise, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations?

(g) Has the corporation, or any of its officers, purchased or does it hold the stock of any other corporation for the purpose of controlling its management?

Said reports of the examiners shall be prima facie evidence as to their truth, and may be introduced in evidence in all courts to prove the facts therein set forth. Copies certified by the Auditor shall be admissible with like effect and under the same circumstances as the original.

The word "corporation," wherever used in this act, shall be deemed to include companies and associations existing or authorized by the laws of the United States, the laws of any State or Territory, or the laws of any foreign country.

SEC. 8. That the Secretary of Transportation shall annually, at the close of each fiscal year, make a report in writing to the Congress, giving an account of all money received and disbursed by him and his Department, and describing the work done by the Department in inspecting, examining, and regulating, as prescribed by law, all corporations engaged in interstate and foreign commerce; in the ownership, or operation, of any of the foregoing-described transportation highways or lines of transportation or engaged as common carriers in interstate or foreign commerce, and making such recommendations as he shall deem necessary for the effective performance of the duties and purposes of the Department. He shall also, from time to time, make such special investigations and reports as he may be required to do by the President, or by either House of Congress, or which he himself may deem necessary and urgent.

SEC. 9. That the Secretary of Transportation shall have charge of the building or premises occupied by or appropriated to and for the Department of Transportation, of the library, furniture, fixtures, records, and other property appertaining to it, or hereafter required for use in its business; and he shall be allowed to expend for periodicals and the purposes of the library and for the rental of appropriate quarters for the accommodation of the Department of Transportation within the District of Columbia, and for all other incidental expenses such sums as Congress may provide from time to time: *Provided, however*, That where any office, bureau, or branch of the public service transferred to the Department of Transportation by this act is occupying rented buildings or premises it may still continue to do so until other suitable quarters are provided for its use: *And provided further*, That all officers, clerks, and employees now employed in any of the bureaus, offices, departments, or branches of the public service referred to in this act transferred to the Department of Transportation are each and all hereby transferred to said Department at their present grades and salaries except where otherwise provided: *And provided further*, That all laws prescribing the work and defining the duties of the several bureaus, offices, departments, or branches of the public service by this act transferred to and made a part of the Department of Transportation shall, so far as the same are not in conflict with the provisions of this act, remain in force and effect until provided by law.

SEC. 10. That all power and authority heretofore possessed or exercised by the head of any Executive Department over any bureau, office, branch, or division of the public service by this act transferred to the Department of Transportation, or any business arising therefrom or appertaining thereto, whether of an appellate or advisory character, or otherwise, shall hereafter be vested in and exercised by the head of the said Department of Transportation. And all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

All branches of the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission, except such as relates to the work of said Commission in examining into and regulating rates and classification of rates for transportation, are hereby transferred to the Department of Transportation. But nothing in this act shall be construed as in any way abandoning any of the powers over interstate commerce and interstate carriers conferred by the interstate commerce act.

SEC. 11. That it shall be the duty of the Department of Transportation to especially see to it that all the laws regulating common carriers and interstate transportation highways are strictly enforced and that all violations of the same are promptly punished according to law. And said Department of Transportation shall execute promptly the enforcement of all orders and decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission affecting rates, classifications, and so forth.

SEC. 12. That all said transportation corporations, and their stockholders, officers, directors, and agents, are hereby required to report annually to the Department of Transportation within ten days after each Congressional and Presidential election all sums of money contributed directly or indirectly by them to the committees, candidates, or campaign funds of the separate political parties engaged in said elections.

SEC. 13. That a person, to be designated by the Secretary of State, shall be appointed to formulate, under his direction, for the instruction of consular officers, the requests of the Secretary of Transportation, and to prepare from the dispatches of consular officers for transmission to the Secretary of Transportation such information as appertains to the work of the Department of Transportation; and such person shall be the chief of such bureau, with a salary of \$4,000 a year, and be furnished with such clerical assistance as may be deemed necessary by the Secretary of State.

SEC. 14. That this act shall take effect immediately.

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, the bill just read by the Clerk, introduced by me, to create the Department of Transportation, is a most comprehensive measure, dealing in a logical way and a practicable manner with this great interstate-commerce transportation problem. The measure provides for particular officials in the new department to investigate, report on, and regulate steam and electric railways, telegraphs, telephones, waterway traffic, pipe lines, and the express business. Powers are conferred on the department to obtain full information not only as to rates and other traffic arrangements, but as to the genuine capital employed, the resources and liabilities, earnings, dividends, etc.; and penalties, rather more severe than those usually made for the tender discipline of lawless corporations, are fixed, such as heavy fines and ineligibility of directors to retain their office when they have made false reports or defied the officials seeking information. The purpose of the bill is not to interfere with the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission in examining into and regulating rates, but to assist in the work of compelling the transportation companies to obey the law, as all others are expected to do; and if this bill were placed on the statute books, I feel confident it would help very much, and go very far to solve some of the intricate questions presented by these powerful interstate transportation systems.

I believe, sir, that if a simple bill were prepared and enacted into law, making the giving or receiving of a rebate a felony, and the power conferred on the Interstate Commerce Commission, where rates were unjust and unreasonable, to fix just and reasonable rates and maintain the same, unless modified or set aside by the court of last resort, and my bill, which has just been read by the Clerk, placed by its side on the statute books, that the cause of the people would triumph, that the Government would control the situation, and be able to fix the rates and regulate the great interstate transportation systems of our country, instead of the great interstate transportation companies controlling and dominating the Government. [Applause.]

I have given much time and careful study to the problems which we have been debating here for the past week, and which are and have been live questions before the people of this country for the past ten or fifteen years; and I believe that if we had a Department of Transportation to regulate the railroads and the transportation companies of the country, as provided in my bill, and to see to it that they did not violate

the law, and if they did violate the law that the penalties of existing laws were speedily enforced against them, I believe that most of the problems would be solved and the question at issue settled in justice to all and with injury to none.

This bill of mine, sir, to create the Department of Transportation has been approved in editorials by some of the leading American newspapers. It has met with most favorable comment by many of the leading political writers and philosophical thinkers and railway economists of the land; and I believe that sooner or later this bill of mine, or some measure of a similar character, will be enacted into law by the Congress of the United States. It is the first attempt that has ever been made in this country to deal with this interstate-transportation problem in a scientific manner and a practicable business way. And just in this connection I want to have read a letter from the American Anti-Trust League, a well-known nonpartisan organization of earnest and determined and patriotic and liberty-loving Americans, who have done and are doing most effective work for reform, for good government, for the enforcement of the laws against the criminal trusts, for honest and just and equal laws, and for every righteous struggle in the cause of the plain people, and who are organized for influential work in every State in the Union. I ask the Clerk to read to the House the following letter.

The Clerk read as follows:

M. L. Lockwood, national president; H. B. Martin, national secretary; C. T. Bride, national treasurer; W. B. Fleming, national financial secretary; William M. Morgan, national recording secretary.

National executive committee.—M. L. Lockwood (chairman), Pennsylvania; H. B. Martin (secretary), New York; F. S. Monnett, Ohio; P. E. Dowe, New York; F. J. Van Vorhis, Indiana; W. T. LaFollette, South Dakota; James Barrett, Georgia; William Prentiss, Illinois; C. T. Bride, District of Columbia; H. J. Schulteis, District of Columbia; W. B. Fleming, Kentucky; W. A. L. Riegel, New York.

Capt. Charles Campbell, general organizer, New York.

"Salus populi suprema est lex."

THE AMERICAN ANTI-TRUST LEAGUE,
NATIONAL OFFICE, 1229 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NW.,
Washington, D. C., January 20, 1906.

DEAR SIR: The national executive committee of the American Anti-Trust League believing that the prompt and thorough enforcement of the laws governing the great transportation corporations now in control of the transportation business of the nation is of most vital importance to the whole people, and believing, after a careful examination of its main features, that H. R. 8453, the bill creating a department of transportation, introduced by Congressman WILLIAM SULZER, of New York, is a much needed and effective step toward securing the proper enforcement of the laws regulating transportation, we hereby heartily indorse the said bill and urge upon Congress that it be enacted into law at the present session for the following reasons:

First. Because at the present time there is no proper provision for the enforcement of the laws governing the vast transportation business of the United States.

Second. Because H. R. 8453 provides for a thoroughly competent department of the Government, charged with the sole duty of securing an effective enforcement of the laws and regulations governing the transportation industry.

Third. The creating of such an executive department of transportation, clothed with the comprehensive supervisory and regulative powers provided in Congressman SULZER'S bill, will act as a powerful preventive of many violations of the law and will secure prompt punishment of the great corporate offenders who now seem to be beyond the reach of the law.

Fourth. Such a department of transportation, as provided in H. R. 8453, will secure full publicity in the workings of the transportation corporations, and thus prevent those numerous violations of the laws, which are only made possible because of their secrecy.

Fifth. The secret rebates and discriminations of the carriers which have built up the great criminal trusts will be prevented by the provisions embodied in Mr. SULZER'S bill.

Sixth. The Interstate Commerce Commission being relieved of the enormous details of the executive duty of attempting to enforce the laws, will be able to much more effectively perform its proper function of regulating rates, classifications, etc.

Seventh. The defiance, both open and secret, of the laws by the great transportation corporations, which has become a national scandal and an intolerable abuse, can be easily put a stop to by the provisions for policing the railroad corporations and other transportation companies embodied in the Sulzer bill.

Eighth. H. R. 8453 also provides an effective check upon the great evils connected with the corrupt influence in elections, of the enormous contributions to the campaign funds of favored political parties and candidates which now prevails.

Ninth. H. R. 8453 greatly simplifies the work of government regulation and enforcement of existing laws relating to this vast transportation business by providing what we should always be extremely careful to maintain, viz, the complete separation of the legislative and executive branches of our government machinery.

For these reasons, and others that will readily commend themselves to all who carefully consider the provisions of the Department of Transportation bill (H. R. 8453), we request all friends of the proposed law to use their influence through commercial and industrial organizations, through the press, and with their Congressmen and Senators, to secure the passage of the bill at the present session of Congress.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN ANTITRUST LEAGUE.
H. B. MARTIN, *National Secretary.*

Mr. SULZER. Mr. Chairman, that letter from the American Anti-Trust League of the United States, indorsing my bill to create the Department of Transportation, speaks for itself. It is a bugle call in no uncertain tones to every friend of governmental regulation of interstate transportation corporations to favor and aid in the enactment of the legislation proposed in my bill, and needs from me no further comment.

It is only just for me to say, however, that I have received numerous letters from all over the country in favor of this bill to create the Department of Transportation to regulate the great interstate transportation companies of the country and to be able to see to it that they obey the law and do no injury to the people. I have taken this opportunity to put the bill in the RECORD as a part of my speech to give notice to the Members of the House that I shall offer it as an amendment to the pending bill when the bill is open for amendment; and to get my measure, with all that it means, before the people generally of the country, so that those who are really interested in this great transportation question can read it for themselves, in connection with the matters now under discussion, and can study its features and their application to the problems we are endeavoring to solve; and I believe that those who look deeply and carefully into the subject and who truly and earnestly desire to accomplish something of a permanent character to compel the railways and other interstate transportation corporations, including the steamboats, the telegraph, the telephone, the express, and the pipe line companies, to obey the law of the land, will agree with me, that this proposed legislation, embodied in this bill introduced by me, goes further than any other plan heretofore conceived to treat all the matters involved in this discussion in a practical business way and in a comprehensive governmental manner. [Applause.]

I shall do my best, Mr. Chairman, in Congress and out of Congress, to make this bill a law. I do not say it is perfect. I know in the first instance that no proposed constructive legislation is

absolutely perfect; but I do claim that it is practicable, that it is comprehensive, that it is constitutional, and that it will go further in every way than any other plan thus far proposed to effectually check the evils which have grown up during the last twenty-five years in connection with our interstate transportation corporations, and do more than any other thing thus far suggested to remedy all the interstate transportation evils so bitterly complained of, at the present time, by the people of the United States. I shall welcome letters of approval, or suggestions and criticisms concerning this bill, from any and every citizen of our country who will take the trouble to study this broad and complete measure and the time to write me his views concerning it.

If it is claimed that the enactment of this bill into law would create additional offices and more expense to the Government, I answer, that if the people can get the right kind of men to occupy these offices, created in this bill, the gain will be the people's gain; and so far as the expense is concerned it will be infinitesimal in comparison with the importance of the data and statistics which will be procured, and the magnitude of the work which can be accomplished all along the line of the people's desires and demands. I say, and those who have studied this subject sufficiently to speak intelligently about it I think will agree with me, that the real solution of the problems presented in connection with the evils growing out of abuses by great interstate transportation systems is publicity and the rigid and prompt enforcement of the law, and this can only be done and accomplished by Government regulation and Government supervision of these interstate transportation corporations. It is just as practicable from a business view, and a governmental standpoint, as the supervision and the regulation by the Government of the national banks, and I say just as necessary. The railroads must be the servants of the people—not their masters.

This bill is in the interest of the toilers of our land, the shippers and producers of our country, and the people generally. If there be any genuine opposition to this legislation it comes from the interstate transportation systems that are violating the law, and dread publicity, and fear exposure, and speedy punishment through the agencies created by this bill for governmental supervision and regulation. I say, the bill is a good bill, a just bill, a comprehensive bill, and a feasible constructive scheme of practical legislation along proper and intelligent lines to eradicate entrenched wrongs that are to-day oppressing the people and doing a great injustice to the citizens of this country. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, legislative reforms are things of slow growth. It takes years of agitation to create sufficient public opinion to write a new law upon the statute books in the interest of all the people. But how different concerning the wishes of the selfish few. A great trust battenning on the people's credulity, or a great monopoly fattening on special privilege and nurtured by political favoritism, can come to the halls of Congress and pass a bill for its own selfish interests and greedy purposes during the lifetime of a single session. It takes, however, a long time for the people to win; but the truth will and must eventually prevail if one man dare assert it every day. So the truth of this proposition will win in the end.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as I have said, I shall offer this bill of mine as an amendment to the pending measure when the bill is open for amendment in the House. I believe my bill is germane to the proposition we are at present discussing and will not be subject to a point of order, but whether it is or not, I want to give notice now that I am in earnest in my contention for the enactment into law of this bill, and I shall keep up the fight week in and week out until the matter is properly presented to the House and an opportunity given for discussion and a vote taken upon it on its merits. The vast extent of the interstate transportation problem and the pressing and urgent importance of legislative remedies to correct existing evils to all the people of the United States are ample warrant for Congress to give this question the deepest investigation and the fullest consideration. There are many bills now before Congress affecting this question, some good, some bad, some indifferent, but no one of the bills, in my opinion, is a complete solution of all the questions involved in the problem. Hence the disposition on the part of some of the Republican leaders, which must be manifest to all, to rush through some plainly imperfect bill, to railroad to the Senate some defective measure, and then attempt to wash their hands of all further responsibility in the matter, as was done in the last Congress with the Esch-Townsend bill, is a procedure that should not commend itself to the Members of this House, and I know will not be approved by the people.

I do not claim that my bill is a panacea for all the evils growing out of the interstate transportation problem. But I do assert that my bill proposes to settle, and settle right and for a long time to come, a most important phase of this abstruse and intricate question, and to do it in a thorough, prompt, practical, effective, and businesslike way, by publicity, and by the enforcement of the laws of our country affecting every company and corporation doing an interstate-commerce transportation business. This will include all railways, all steamboats, all express companies, all pipe lines, all telephone lines, and all telegraph lines, and the Government will be able to make investigations, secure the information, collect the data, and effectually deal with the questions involved through the instrumentalities created in this bill in an intelligent way and a comprehensive manner. [Applause.]

If this bill becomes a law the Government will be in a position to have in its power the agency to gather data, ascertain facts, get information, make investigations, enforce its orders, and prevent evils and wrongs by the strict and speedy execution of the laws now on the statute books, and if those laws are not sufficient to stop the evils complained of by the people, then the Government can recommend to Congress the enactment of additional laws to effectually eradicate every evil in connection with the interstate transportation problem.

Mr. Chairman, in studying this great question I am satisfied that three things are absolutely necessary to be done, at the present time, to effectually deal with the problems arising from the abuses of these interstate transportation systems.

First, there must be a body like the Interstate Commerce Commission, clothed with the right and authority to make just, fair, and reasonable rates in place of unjust, unfair, and unreasonable rates, and have these rates take effect immediately,

and remain in full force and effect until modified or set aside by the Commission; or modified or set aside by the court of last resort. This is an administrative function and should be the sole and only power under the constitutional limitations of our Government conferred on the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Second. There must be a body clothed with authority to determine controversies, review the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and interpret the laws of Congress governing and regulating transportation. This is a judicial function, and should properly be vested in the courts of our country.

Third. There should be an executive department in the National Government, with a Cabinet officer at its head, charged with the responsibility and the sole duty of the prompt and thorough enforcement of the laws of the United States concerning companies and corporations doing an interstate-commerce business. My bill creates this department. This is an executive function, and belongs to the executive branch of the Government; and these three functions should always be kept separate and distinct.

Now, sir, I think I have stated the proposition broadly and briefly. I have drawn my bill to create such a department in the executive branch of the Government, for the effective and speedy enforcement of the laws governing every company, and every corporation, and every common carrier doing an interstate-commerce business. My plan is in line with the true principles of our institutions from the days of the fathers down to the present time, and when it is adopted by Congress, and it must be adopted sooner or later, it will provide the quickest agency for the proper and speedy execution of the laws against flagrant violations of our statutes; and, to my mind, after mature reflection and careful consideration I believe it will prove an effectual remedy for the principal evils we are trying to check and to stop; and for once and for all time eradicate from the body politic and our system of government the lawless abuses of the great and the powerful interstate-transportation companies of our country. [Loud applause.]

OF TIME AND SPACE.

By WM. SULZER

Former Governor of New York.

Our word time comes from the old Saxon word *tima*. It is not related to the Latin word *tempus*.

Time is a measurement from one event to another event. It is the distance of duration from one period to another period.

What we call time is measured by successive intervals. The astronomical information for this statement is the rotation of the earth, which, from remotest antiquity, has been employed as a measurement. Astronomers use what they call *sideral time*, and regulate their chronometers accordingly. Many ancient people measured time by the moon—called *lunar time*. Now the countries of the world use *solar time*, which means the successive returns of the sun to the meridian; but neither *lunar time*, nor *solar time*, was ever an accurate measurement. The *Mayan* people fixed their time by the transit of *Venus*, which was the most accurate calendar of any people in the history of the world.

More than 7,000 years ago the wise men of *India* saw four planets in conjunction. So far as they knew this had never happened before. It was a marvelous sight. They called it the "*Caliyoga*." Then they decreed that it should constitute the year one, and that every 600 years thereafter a *Hindu* god, or sacred person, should be born. This reckoning was subsequently adopted by other people in the East, but most of them changed the number of years to suit their own views, history, or tribal traditions. Astronomers now know that these four planets are in conjunction every 28,000 years.

When the *Roman Senate* decreed *Augustus Caesar* god, and made his person sacred, they adopted a new calendar, and made his birthday the year one—*Anno Domini*. They also named our days and months. Their calendar, however,

