

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

SPEECH OF

HON. ANDREW G. CURTIN,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

In the House of Representatives, Thursday, March 23, 1882.

The House having under consideration the bill (No. 71) to enforce treaty stipulations relating to the Chinese.

Mr. CURTIN said: Mr. SPEAKER: The gravity of the question now before the House surely entitles it to all the distinguished ability with which it has been argued. I have not the temerity to suppose that I can give to any member on this floor any reason for a change of the judgement to which he may have arrived from that discussion; yet representing a part of the people of this country, I am extremely obliged to the gentleman from California [Mr. PAGE] in charge of this bill for the time which it has been his pleasure to me to express to the House my reason for the vote which I shall give.

It is common for gentlemen on this floor, as I have learned since I have had the honor of a seat here, to speak of labor and of its protection as one of the cardinal duties of a representative of the American people; and labor, sir, cannot be magnified as the great source of values, of improvements, and of progress. I have never heard a gentleman on this floor advocate any bill or measure looking to progress or development or production when he failed to mention the protection of labor as the first duty he owed to his constituents; and who has ever known a member of Congress when a candidate for office who did not on the hustings declare himself the friend and sturdy advocate of all measures which might foster, protect, or advance the interests of labor? Now, Mr. speaker, for the first time in the history of the legislation of this government Congress is brought face to face with the clear and well-defined question of labor unalloyed by the paramount protection of any of the diversified interests which employ labor as the primary subject of legislation.

This, sir, is not a question of the incorporation of companies; it is not a measure giving vast dominions to corporations or companies of citizens; it is not subsidies, it is not money or capital to be protected, leaving labor to be employed in the vast avenues of trade and commerce, into which capital invites labor as a mere incident to protection. The American Congress stands to-day in the presence of a clear and well-defined question of the protection of a class of American citizens who most need and deserve the munificence of our Government. On the western slope of the United States 100,000 Chinamen take the place of 100,000 American citizens.

Disguise it as you will, conceal or cover it with the humanitarian principles underlying our structure of government, summon from the history of the past as has been done on this floor during the long debate the sublime utterances of the Continental Congress, what is the question we are to meet on our votes on this measure? It is sentiment and only sentiment; and it fades before the wonderful growth and changing interests of the country, its progress, its wealth, its great future, and the true logic of the necessities of the condition of our people and Government now, present, as did the silver tones of the great bell when the fathers of the Republic sealed their immortal fame in the declaration, and rung out the proclamation of liberty and equality to all humanity. And here we are in the presence of the question which, I repeat, is the protection of American labor. Do we prefer to have 100,000 Chinamen take the place of 100,000 American laborers, part and parcel of the body-politic, owing allegiance to our Government, with the right of the ballot, insuring for their children our free education, and with American hopes and aspirations?

I say to my friends on the other side if you are in favor of protecting labor you now have the opportunity. This Government only answers the expectations of its great founders, and becomes truly a state when it is united and perfect in its homogeneity and relieved from all sectional divisions. If when we disturb the interests of the people of Maine it should affect the people of California, and if we interfere with the rights or interests, the happiness, or prosperity, or fail to redress wrongs suffered by the people of Oregon, our action or failure to act vibrates in Florida, and will be felt by the people there, as if they were the sufferers. When there is real unity and harmony in our governmental organization we protect all the people of all the country, and we provide redress and remedy to any evils or wrongs suffered by any portion of the people or section of the country.

When the people of California or of any part of the Pacific coast knock at the doors of the Congress of the United States and present in evidence not to be impeached and in language of truth not to be misunderstood in the almost unanimous declaration of the people, and through the united voice of all their Representatives in these Halls that they suffer from the introduction of a foreign element not in harmony with the rights and interests, and interrupt the prosperity and pursuit of happiness of a large body of American citizens who have cast their lot there; when it is claimed by them that there should be a preference to American labor over recently imported Chinese labor; the whole people of the United States are touched by the appeal, and it is our right as it certainly is our duty to protect and defend their citizens against the introduction of this new element which they declare disturbs their peace and interferes with the rights and interests of a large portion of their people. I need not say in this intelligent presence, so thoroughly versed in the duty of the Government

of the United States to protect labor, that it is our first duty to the constituents who sent us here, nor need I remind gentlemen on this floor that it is which has made us great. Labor has developed the resources of our country and lies at the foundation of our wealth, our prosperity, and our power. It is from the exertions taken from the toil of the man who works a day for an honest day's pay, which is but the dictate of common honesty, that all the wealth and prosperity of this country comes.

I am selfish enough to believe that it is time that this great country should say, if it is our pleasure, to all the world who may come here and who shall not come, and on that serious question the American people will judge wisely and justly whose coming may not interfere with the prosperity of American citizens by birth or adoption, and it is surely the duty as it is in the province of our Government to interfere when that question is presented, as in the present measure; and whatever there may be in the future, we are only called to deal with living facts and actual conditions and demands. If the people of California are oppressed or wronged, if their rights and interests are affected by the introduction of Chinese labor to the exclusion of American labor, this Congress will perform its duty by answering their appeal to the magnanimity and power of their central Government.

It is said on this floor, and it is a sentiment which can bear repetition, that we opened the portals of our Government and invited the oppressed people of all the world to come here in peaceful approach and enjoy our true civil and religious liberty and the dead level of American social organization; and yet who would for a moment believe in that liberal declaration which is claimed in its behalf in this discussion.

We would not suffer paupers or criminals or diseased people to come here to spread contagion or disturb us by crime in order to make this continent a great reformatory asylum, which it would be come if the declarations of gentlemen on this floor were carried to their full and logical conclusions. We might reform such people and cure their diseases, but they might infuse their virus into the health and morality of the American people.

There will come a time when the great nation will be understood by all the family of the nations of the world; and the governments of the nations of Western Europe cannot regard us and our free system with the satisfaction and the affection of which we are accustomed to hear so much, and which, I must be permitted to say, is the sublimity of sentimentalism.

Our great ideas of human liberty and the rights of the citizen have undermined the legitimate governments of Europe silently, constantly, progressively, and surely to final consummation, until centralized power has been heroically claimed, demanded by, and given to the masses, and the emperor and the king remain but the nominal heads of our governments where public opinion has asserted its power in the regulation of all authority, and is rapidly settling their destiny for the future, when their governments will be more and more assimilated to ours. We take the German, the English, the French, the Irish, the Scandinavian, people from all nationalities of Western Europe. They or their children learn our language, accommodate themselves to our social organization, swear allegiance to our Government, become part of our people—our equals. They deserve our protection, as they contribute to our wealth. The Chinaman, in his instincts, in his birth, and his feeling remains a Chinaman after twenty-five years' residence upon the western slope. He is without the influence and happiness of home, wife, and children, and his rigid, selfish nature is not chastened by the influences of social enjoyments. The Chinaman has not broken his allegiance to his native country. He is incensed in and controlled by superstition and caste, which has bound him in its fetters and his country for more than fifty centuries, and no matter to the Chinaman how long he remains in this country, those who know him best and have studied his nature and habits tell us the desire to return once again to the Flowery Kingdom is ever present with him and in the article of death his last wish is that his bones shall be sent back and buried there.

The representatives from the Western coast tell us that he only seeks to get money enough to return to China and provide for his scanty living there. He never has assimilated with our people, and he never will. Surely if he ever intended to, the experiment of twenty-five years has failed to accomplish what gentlemen on the other side say may be accomplished in the future. It is perfectly proper that we should feel for oppressed humanity, that we will give to all the people of the earth our Christian faith, and teach them to demand as their natural right the large liberty and individuality which we enjoy and cultivate under our system of Government; but it is carrying sentiment to the extreme when we will not relieve the people of any part or section of this country from the presence of men who they allege do not contribute to their prosperity, but degrade the labor of the American, and who fail to become citizens of the United States, yield allegiance to our Government or accept our religious faith, our language or morals. The gentleman from Massachusetts says the Chinamen does not increase. No, sir, he does not. There are physical reasons why he cannot, except by immigration.

If the people of California are affected in their interests by the presence of the Chinese then, if we are a Government and a State, this appeal comes to every man on this floor influenced by patriotism. Patriotism, sir, is not confined to a locality, and I say to the gentleman from Massachusetts it is not confined to New England, and I would not claim it for Pennsylvania alone. Patriotism is not fondness for your home, or county, or state, or the amities of our social surroundings, however pleasant they may be, or to your family, to whom you may be tenderly attached, and make life desirable and happy, but is a holier and higher sentiment, which wells up from the human heart and makes the true citizen regard every man within the borders of his country as his brother;

and if the people of the western slope are affected in their enjoyment of life by the presence of these people it is my patriotic duty and yours to protect and defend them against what they should know and present as a wrong and claim redress from the American Congress. [Applause.]

Mr. CURTIN. Mr. Speaker, is my time out.

The SPEAKER. It is.

Mr. CURTIN (to Mr. PAGE.) What say you, sir? Shall I have more time? Shall I have five minutes more?

Mr. PAGE. Very well.

The SPEAKER. The Chair hears no objection to the gentleman from Pennsylvania proceeding.

Mr. RANDALL. To come out of the time of the gentleman from California.

The SPEAKER. The Chair understands the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] to object to his colleague proceeding unless the additional time comes out of the hour of the gentleman from California.

Mr. MANNING. I understand that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HAMMOND] is willing to give his time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. PAGE. If the gentleman from Georgia is willing to give his five minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, of course I have no objection.

Mr. HAMMOND, of Georgia. Under the arrangement which has been made I am to have five minutes, of which the gentleman from Pennsylvania may have as much as he likes.

Mr. CURTIN. I thank the gentleman from Georgia. We were enemies once; we are friends now. I thank you, my brother. [Great applause.] It is said we are in no danger from having among us this race of Chinamen, with their obedience to centuries of a civilization not in harmony with ours; with language, habits, religion, tradition, and educated, trained, and in the practice of gross sensual morality which surely the most ardent advocate of our duty to all mankind could not wish to have injected into the moral habits and lives of the American people. Mr. Speaker, early in our history we tried the assimilation of a race of different traditions, habits and faith. Those of our ancestors who first settled this country found the Indian, the man of the forest, the owner of the soil, and they offered to him our civilization and he refused to accept it. They gave him their vices, because we must be permitted to suppose they had them to spare. I do not know that they offered him their virtues. I am glad they did not, because the generation now present needs all that kind of legacy our ancestors left to us. [Laughter.]

Who now will pretend to say that it is not better that this great continent should be peopled by civilized men than by the barbarian men found here? I say, sir, they refused to accept our civilization, and the great wave of civilization rolled over them. It has bridged our rivers, tilled our fields, surmounted mountains—bored through where it could not surmount—felled the forest, turned the virgin soil of the prairies to the living light of the sun and subjected it to the uses of human industry, and in its progress at every step rose the schoolhouse and the church, providing for advancement in all the ways that lead to a national supremacy in all fair business and prosperity. The Indian neither would accept it nor move upon it, and it rolled over him; and the poor barbarian is fast fading before the mighty march of the civilization of the western continent. There is the end of one race.

Mr. Speaker, in passing through the Rotunda of this Capitol a few days since, I looked over its vastness in admiration of its just proportions and great beauty, and symbolizing in crowning this magnificent pile, the advances in power, art, and culture, the march of a mighty people, noticing around its base the record in the crude art of our earlier national life of the great events of the beginning of our history; and there, sir, above the periods in history told in paint is the history of the Indian race. Over the northern door of the entrance, to the Rotunda the Indian is presented as receiving the white man and extending to him the hand of friendship. Over the eastern door the Indian gives the white man corn. Over the western door in mercy, an attribute of deity, the Indian maiden falls upon the prostrate Englishman who was the robber of her father, a great forest king, pleads for his life, and in mercy his life is spared. And over the door leading to this Chamber the white man kills the Indian. Sir, the story is told in imperishable stone. It is the history of a race, put in the Capitol of a great people by whom destroyed, whether to our glory or our shame the future historian, who will deal with us as we deal with those who have preceded us in the lives of nations, will tell; and if history is philosophy teaching by example, we may not be exempt from the destinies of nations.

When we contemplate the ages yet to come, when it may be possible that all the prosperity that now surrounds this great people, this magnificent pile shall crumble down to earth and the records of the great events of our early history in the crude art of the time are lost to the magnificent dome so just in its proportions, so symbolical of our wonderful progress, a learned archaeologist may come and there may find amid its ruins the history of a mythical people preserved in stone, placed in the Capitol by a superior race; a history certain and imperishable as the Assyrian marble or the Egyptian granite, which record the uncertain history of races long since decayed and lost. There, sir, we record the end of one race. I have to speak, sir, if I have the time, of another race. Shall I be spared a little time with the patience of this House to speak of the negro race? [Cries of "Go on!"]

The negro was taken from his native home. He was not consulted as to his immigration, he was forced to become a native of this country. When dealing with the negro race the gentleman from Massachusetts must forget the sublime sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, for the negro was here then and a slave; forget the advanced humanity and Christianity of the liberty-loving people who settled that sterile portion of the United States, that cold region and inhospitable soil, which, in its progress, has so marked the thrift and industry and intelligence of the

race of men it has produced, of the great part their illustrious statesmen have borne in every step in our progress and in the very foundation of our matchless Constitution. Sir, it was not the humanitarian principle of which the gentleman speaks that brought the negro, those who did it eliminated all the teaching of their lives. They forgot their free civil and religious sentiment and the introduction of the negro from Africa to this country was the use of power, the practice of unjustifiable wrong, moral degradation, and the instinct of iron-souled cupidity. [Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. PAGE. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. CANNON.]

Mr. CURTIN. I would be very much obliged if the gentleman would allow me a little more time.

Mr. PAGE. I have no objection if the gentleman can proceed by unanimous consent.

Mr. CURTIN. I shall want but a few minutes.

Mr. PAGE. I am willing the gentleman shall go on if the additional time is not to be taken out of my hour.

Mr. CAMP. I object.

Mr. SPRINGER. The gentleman from California [Mr. PAGE] has promised to yield me five minutes. I will give to the gentleman from Pennsylvania whatever portion of my time he may desire to occupy.

Mr. PAGE. I have already yielded my time liberally. I have no objection, of course, to the gentleman from Illinois yielding his time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CURTIN. I thank the gentleman from Illinois for his courtesy. Instinctively the negro moved to the South. There he had the genial warmth of the sun, so natural and necessary to his race. At a propitious era in the history of this people Whitney invented the cotton gin, and introduced a measure of prosperity quite unknown to any portion of this country in the past, and added to the wealth of the nation and to the ease and comfort of his owner. The negro made the southern portion of the United States fruitful and prosperous.

Who, Mr. Speaker, can refer to the history of that race in this country without emotions of sorrow for the past and apprehensions for the future? We are all familiar with it. It is a lesson we have all learned and know only too well. Year by year the problem of African slavery in this country grew upon us. It engaged the attention of our wisest and most skillful statesmen. It strengthened with the coming years and finally the question was settled in the blood of more than 750,000 of our people. Strong, useful, intellectual men bit the dust. Untold millions of treasure were spent in the struggle which affected the business, the commerce, and the sentiments of the civilized world. The contest ended with the freedom of the negro. He was raised to manhood, and to-day he stands the equal of the white man before the law and one of the common humanity of this great country.

The negro is our legacy. The disturbing element of his bondage in American politics is gone forever. That era, sir, is fast fading into forgetfulness—would to God we could erase it from our history and from our memories! And yet since my presence in this Hall I have taken courage for the future when I notice the mingling of men together on this floor who struggled in battle, the halting gate and maimed bodies of members of this House; ay, sir, more. When I listened the other day to the speech of the eloquent gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. Hooker] noticed the beauty and perfection of his sentences and the depth and power and force of his classic allusions, utterances of the gentleman which attracted the profound attention of this House, there was more appeal to me, sir, in the mate eloquence of the waves of his armless sleeve than in all the beauty and power and fascination of his language. It brought to me the consolation that we were once at peace and that true liberty founded on unity, concord, and fraternity was now present, and to grow and increase forever and forever. [Great applause.]

What the true philosophy of the future of the negro race in this country may be no man has yet been wise enough to predict, for reasons which are acceptable and convincing to those who study and reflect upon the momentous question. In his native country the negro never built a highway, and he never engaged in commerce or trade. He never made a tangible religious faith which consoled him living or gave hopes for the future, or raised a temple to a deity. He never learned to build for himself a house, to manufacture, or to invent, and scarcely knew how to make clothing to cover his nakedness. He inhabited a country of great rivers and extensive forests, a land of great productivity; a healthy climate with all the surroundings and appointments of beneficent Providence, and yet he lived without a language or an alphabet, without history or tradition. He was a barbarian then, and he remains in the ignorance and superstition of a barbarian still.

Now, Mr. Speaker, with five or six millions of that race in this country—a race now our wards—our first duty as a Christian people will be performed in giving them all the enlightenment they will accept, all the teaching in our power. Having raised them to manhood we must instruct them in the principles of our Government, the value of the rights they have acquired, and instill into them our religious faith, and it may be in the mysteries of Providence that Ethiopia, the country of their home, may open her arms to the light and knowledge of civilization which we have given to those of their unfortunate and unhappy race who were forced among us and who are now the wards of this great nation. If our duty to this race is performed, as I trust and hope it shall be, we may condone the first crime of bringing them here, and they may contribute to the future prosperity of our country. But the fact cannot be concealed that there are many patriotic and learned and wise men who look with apprehension to future disturbance from that element in our political organization.

Mr. Speaker, having disposed of one race, and in the disposition of the In-

dian we cannot have very great pride in that part of our history; and having another race entirely foreign to the Caucasian people here, over whom we have assumed protection, to whom we propose to give enlightenment and knowledge, until we have made some disposition of them, or incorporated them so firmly into the body-politic that we need apprehend no disturbance from them in the future, I do not think that we should try another experiment with a race quite as dissimilar, with an older civilization, surrounded by caste, by prejudice, speaking in a foreign tongue, who refuse to assimilate in any respect with us, and are no part of the body-politic, and who never will be; and inasmuch as the portion of our people where they live do not want them and are wronged and injured by their presence, it is the part of justice to our State and the assertion of our sovereignty, independent of sentiment and in harmony with our interests, to exclude them.

Mr. Speaker, there were before the war affinities between the negro man and the white man in the South which we have never understood at the North. The white man at the South would be the companion of the negro, admit him to his house, join in his pleasures, find satisfaction in his society, because between the white man and the black man the law raised a distinction, broad, distinct, well known and understood by both. With us in the North the distinction between the white man and the black was only a social distinction, and it remains a social distinction still, and the distinction between the races has not been broken by the ballot. If the negro man of the South, having been raised to an equality with the white man, is to be advanced by that equality to a higher plane of civilization and learning; if he is to learn the duty of obedience to the Government, of the support of its laws, and through the blessings of freedom and equality, the white man of the South is his proper teacher, because between the white man of the South and the negro man of the South there are friendships and affiliations which are not understood in the North; and I have failed to understand the character of the Southern white man if he is not inclined to make the most of the negro race that he can, and surely inspired by the affinities of which I have spoken the colored man of the South will find in the white man his true friend. If it is not his sentiment, it is his interest. And, sir, with the knowledge, the satisfactory knowledge, that the intellectual stature of the negro man has been improved by his condition of freedom, and without apprehensions of disturbance from that element in the near future, I am inspired by the hope that all that is expected by the highest and most expansive philanthropy will be accomplished in that hitherto degraded and unhappy people.

I have said, Mr. Speaker, that it is a common and favorite topic, however sincere, to speak of labor, and very much has been said of its powers and its demands for just protection by and through the Government. This Government should give protection to the laboring classes in any enactment of this Congress. The object of previous legislation has generally been the protection of capital, and the protection of their interests the incident. Sir, we have given away empires to corporations. We raise subsidies. We extend the credit of our Government to assist centralized and incorporated capital, and we protect the products of our own ingenuity and industry by imposing duties on foreign competition when we raise revenue. Of that I do not complain, because I know capital offers enterprises in which labor will find employment and pay. And, sir, if the centralization of power and of capital, which I must not think that American citizens look upon with satisfaction for the future of this country, and if we do not direct the legislation made to the protection of all classes engaged in and necessary to develop our resources in which capital is invited to active employment we fail in our duty. There should be perfect harmony between capital and labor. One is dependent upon the other; and it must be remembered that capital is much more able to take care of the interest of capital than labor can be of labor. Independently of the Government there is scarcely in this country any of the enterprises or avenues through which capital find its direction and employs labor where there are not combinations to regulate the supply and demand, provide for markets, and sometimes, I regret to say, fix the price of wages.

When incorporated companies or associated capital can combine to establish prices of production or carriage or the value of labor, or at their pleasure or convenience fix the value of the productions of the farm or the price which shall be paid for the products in our markets or needed in the prosecution of their business, it is not strange, indeed, that we are often disturbed by the restlessness of laborers. My learned and eloquent friend from Mississippi read in the course of his remarks a record made of a farm of thirty thousand acres in California, where Chinamen were employed, in which it was stated that they were patient and obedient workmen and in no danger of strikes; and that no doubt is the testimony of men who employ them, and it is true patience and docility are not characteristics of freemen. If capital can combine labor has the right to reasonable and enlightened association in self-defense. Meetings are constantly occurring all over the country in almost every State at this time by men who earn their living by the sweat of their face, and those who have noticed the proceedings of recent meetings of that character must have noticed with great satisfaction that there is no violence threatened, no intimation of any breach of the law, but they have associated for the purpose of getting the highest possible pay for a day's work. They have the right to refuse to work when they believe the compensation inadequate to their necessities unless they are serving under an agreement. They have the right to interfere with the rights or interests of others and their enjoyment of the blessings of our Government, or to destroy property, nor, as I understand the proceedings, do they claim the right to prevent or interfere with others who desire to work when they

refuse, because then they are in violation of the law, as the rights of others have intervened. I cannot but regard the recent proceedings and utterances of workingmen as sending to an intelligent understanding between labor and capital and to their mutual prosperity.

Now, sir, it is not likely to occur, but it is possible to bring 50,000 Chinamen from California and settle them down in Massachusetts, at Lowell or Lynn or Fall River or other enterprising towns, where they are as busy as bees in their productive industries, and thus displace 50,000 Massachusetts workmen and laborers. I apprehend the enlightened workmen who now make the flourishing cities I have mentioned so prosperous and yield such plentiful returns to the capital invested in their manufacturing establishments, I apprehend, sir, that strikes might be expected, and John Chinaman would not fare better, or as well, in the land and under the protection of the steady habits and exalted political ideas of the Puritan; and the violent denunciation of the enlightened Yankee orator would dwarf into harmless inane prattle, the grand oratory of the shambles and the sandlots of California. [Laughter and loud applause.] Then, sir, they would scarcely entertain the sympathy that now goes out with such generosity, and in the expression of which their members on this floor are so eloquent, toned and beautified by the perfection of their language.

If, then, the introduction of forty or fifty thousand Chinamen would interfere with the rights or the interests or happiness or ability to work in New England, where so much of their prosperity depends on labor, we have the right, nay, it is our duty when the people of a great State, one of the great sovereignties which make up our Government, ask for relief to grant it if in our power. If New England could not tolerate such an invasion, and the Chinaman in thousands should be carried to the South by capital, seeking cheap labor; or if he should go there to a climate adapted to his nature and work and production, in harmony with his life and teaching, what would become of the colored man, and what of the poor white man of that section? Who would inflict such a grievous wrong on the black man, the ward of the nation, and take from him the interests, the teachings, and sympathy of the white man, his real friend? Such a calamity is not to be for a moment contemplated to the colored man of this nation.

I will most heartily give my vote for this bill; and accepting the principle as admitted by all the gentlemen who have discussed this question that we have the right to put a limitation on the immigration of the Chinese people under the treaty with that nation, a question I need not now discuss, I will vote for twenty years' suspension of immigration because, first, we assert the right; we believe the representations made by all the people of the Pacific coast to be true, and they are our own people, and as they are the best judges of the limitations as to time, I yield any judgment I might have to the better judgment of those who should understand this question. When we concede to their judgment we give it force and effect by our legislation in this Congress. [Great applause.]

The Activity of the Lobby.

It cannot have escaped the observation of the country that the present Congress is beset by lobbyists on every side. It has been so from the first day of the session. Long before the organization of Congress the country had been made to understand that some gigantic schemes for depleting the public treasury were in preparation, and for ten years there has been no such pressure in behalf of all sorts of jobs as there is at this time. The fact is not only creditable to the majority in the present Congress, but it is a shame and humiliation to the whole country.

During the six years in which the Democrats held a majority in the House of Representatives no lobby made its appearance around the Capitol. It seemed to understand from the moment the result of the elections of 1874 became known that a change of policy would freeze out the lobby which had for years disgraced Washington and corrupted Congressmen. No lobby whatever made its appearance when the Forty-fourth Congress was organized. If it had it could have done nothing. A Congress whose committees carefully scrutinized the expenditure of almost every dollar of the public money and cut down the appropriations some thirty or forty millions in a year was not the sort of Congress to encourage lobbyists.

The contrast with the present is significant and altogether dismaying to the present Congress. Many of the old schemes have been brought back to Washington and many new jobs have been added until the list is appalling. There are several canal schemes of more or less magnitude, all represented by lobbyists of great enterprise, who are spending considerable sums of money for suppers and wine and other good things of life such as Congressmen are presumed to be particularly fond of. There are a number of other internal improvement schemes on hand, too, and money seems to be wanted at every turn for things in which the government can have no interest whatever.

At the beginning of the session there was reason to fear that some of these jobs would be made successful. The Treasury was well filled, with a large surplus constantly coming in, and there was every indication of a disposition on the part of Congress to give the lobby a lift. That this has not been done is largely due to the rules of the House, which fortunately prevent bills of any kind from being rushed through out of order. This has enabled those who have been opposed to jobs to hold them in check.

The fact, however, that the lobby under the circumstances does not prosper does not relieve Congress of the scandal. It is disgraceful that lobbyists should dare to appear at the Capitol at all and offer their schemes to Congress. But Congress itself is to blame for that. The average lobbyist is too shrewd to waste his time and money where there is no hope. He usually knows his Congress, and a Congress which has the confidence of the lobbyist cannot also have the confidence of the people.