The Sun.

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR. NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1871. PRICE TWO CENTS.

A STORM IN THE HOUSE.

The Fussy Buster Butler Catching a Tartar.

SPEAKER BLAINE'S MASTERLY REBUKE.

The Republicans Repudiating an Odious Leadership.

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A Political Gamester Complaining of Tricks.

Butler's Insult to the Speaker—Mr. Blaine Takes the Floor, and Demolishes him—Butler says, "I'll be Damned if I Will"—A Nice Candidate for Governor of the Circumspect State of Massachusetts.

WASHINGTON, March 16.—The scene in the House to-day between Gen. Butler and the members who got up the resolution of investigation into the Southern outrages, was one of the most remarkable ever beheld in the House. The assault of Gen. Butler upon the Republicans whose conduct did not suit him, excited a good deal of feeling, which burst forth to-day upon his head in a manner that only Butler could have stood up under. Judge Kelley of Pennsylvania damaged him first in a quiet manner on his charge that the protectionists had sold out the Southern Union men. He showed its falsity, and then Mr. Peters of Maine gave him a shot which annoyed him, and in a taunting manner he asked Mr. Peters who wrote the resolution.

Speaker Blaine had evidently been watching for this, and he quickly called Mr. Wheeler of New York to the chair, and taking a position in the Republican centre of the House, waited for Butler to finish his reply to Mr. Peters, and then, holding in his hand the handbill in which Butler had printed his letter, he opened upon him in a piece of invective and criticism that arrested the attention of the House, and drew forth frequent attempts at applause as he made a telling hit. He spoke under much excitement and feeling, being greatly incensed at the aspersions put upon him. Butler tried to whistle it down, but seeing that the House sympathized with the Speaker, he, too, got excited, and instead of explaining away the misstatements he had made, and the unjust attacks upon his fellow members, he replied to Mr. Blaine by winding up with vague charges that no one believed, and only damaged the maker.

Messrs. Dawes, Blair, Garfield, and Shellabarger all followed, and censured Butler very severely. Butler feels that he was worsted, and will not be apt to let the matter drop, although he realizes that the Republican members of the House do not stand by him; and the fact that his bill was never read in caucus and nobody was bound to support it shows how weak it was, and how foolish it is to try and hold a large body on such a measure by a caucus, and that nothing can be passed which is not acceptable to all the Republicans.

The Senate caucus having spent twenty hours over a vain attempt to do something like agreeing upon a Ku-Klux bill, finally, after a motion to adjourn on Monday failed by only three votes, referred the whole question to the Judiciary Committee who are so unlikely to agree as any other body. It will take them the best of the week to prepare anything and next week to see if they can pass it in shape to reach the disease. Butler's bill was thrown overboard bodily as unconstitutional.

The intention of procrastinating time till the San Domingo Commission returns now looks likely to win, although there is a majority of over forty in the House, and of over fifteen in the Senate, if the ring did not succeed in holding the reins tight over the Republicans who want to adjourn. Senators Chandler, Cameron, and Morton have now compelled away over the Senate, and while they can hold a majority of the Republican Senators together to decide how they shall vote in the Senate, they will continue to run the machine.

The resolution to do no business but the Ku Klux bill does not prevent the consideration of matters which have unanimous consent, several of which get through daily. When San Domingo is ready, then the agreement can be changed. It will, however, undoubtedly be fatal to San Domingo, when reached, unless there is some unparalleled duplicity going on among Senators and members. Some of the friends of the scheme to-day say they have informed the President that it would be defeated beyond hope of resuscitation if nominated now. The plea for action now is that Baez cannot maintain himself until next winter.

The story of Annexation's desire to sell Cuba and Porto Rico for a 100,000,000 is not new. Gen. Sickles has reported frequently that Cuba could be bought for a hundred millions, and receiving no encouragement here in Congress or in the press, the ring who are trying to work it off as one of the most gigantic jobs ever conceived of, now offer to include Porto Rico. How much of the money Annexation would ever get is a problem, but probably not five cents full. The President is anxious to entertain it until he is done with San Domingo.

THE OPENING OF THE FIGHT.

Mr. KELLEY (Rep., Pa.) asked to be excused from serving as a member of the select Committee to investigate Southern outrages. Neither the condition of his health nor his affairs permitted him to devote the summer to any public duties. He was now under medical charge, threatened with a pulmonary affection and therefore after the adjournment of Congress must seek repose and not labor. He invited attention to a circular addressed to all members this morning, addressed to the Republicans of the House of Representatives, signed by B. F. Butler. It was charged that this Committee was raised by a combination of the high tariff Republicans with the Democracy. He begged leave most emphatically to deny that assertion, and to say that he was on the floor yesterday as a high tariff Republican, and voted on every one that put will his health permitted him to be there, and by an examination of the journal it would be found that his views were on all questions consistent with those of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler), while the revenue reformers around him, the men who joined with the Democratic party of the House and secured its ascendency and success in the assaults upon the industry of country, by showing a determination to rush through, without debate or consideration, a repeal of duties on articles in the production of which many thousands of American laborers are employed, all voted against him when they voted in opposition to his accuser, the gentleman from Massachusetts. In the name of the industrial interests of the country and their representatives upon the floor, he made this early, earnest, and honest protest against this

FALSE AND UNFOUNDED ACCUSATION;

and having done this, he asked the House to excuse him from service on the Committee.

Mr. BUTLER (Rep., Mass.)—I may be pardoned for saying a word in reply to what has been said by my friend from Pennsylvania (Mr. Kelley). I have made no accusation against him. His vote has always been in accordance with his party obligations. He attended the caucus of the party so long as his health permitted. I know that he is not one of those who entered into the combination, but I ask, is there any other high tariff gentleman who desires the floor to explain his vote? I say again, analyze the votes, and while admitting that two or three high tariff men have voted with the Republican party, I say and I reaffirm that this resolution which is so obnoxious to a majority of the Republicans on this floor was put through lest there should be legislation on the tariff.

Mr. LYNDE—An analysis of the yeas and nays as made by many gentlemen shows that 58 Republicans voted for and 50 Republicans against the resolution.

Mr. BUTLER—I understand all that perfectly. The resolution was sprung upon the House. Many of the warmest opponents of the resolution voted for it, because as Southern men, as well as other good Republicans, they saw from

THE TRICK THAT WAS PLAYED

upon them that there would be no other legislation except this in favor of the South, and they did not like to vote against it.

Mr. DAWES (Rep., Mass.)—I would like to ask my colleague a question.

Mr. BUTLER—Let me finish my sentence. Thereupon the vote in that way so that they might not be placed in a seemingly false position at home. But that was not the way in which the eight gentlemen who attended the Republican caucus, held the day before, which many of those Republicans who voted for the resolution either did not attend or left before the close of its deliberations, intended and ordered their committee to bring the matter of protection to the Southern Union men before the House. By the aid of a majority of the Democratic votes, the legislation of this House is carried on in defiance of any organization of Republicanism. Now I will yield to a question from my colleague, Mr. Dawes.

Mr. DAWES—What I desire to ask my colleague is, that he will state explicitly what he means by the term trick which he applied to his fellow-members upon the floor, acting under the same responsibility that he acts under.

Mr. BUTLER—The term what?

Mr. DAWES—What the gentleman means when he applies the term trick to the action of his fellow-members here upon the floor. I want to know what my colleague means by applying the term trick to fifty-eight of his political associates upon this floor who differed with fifty acting under the same sense of responsibility and the same sense of duty that my colleague acts upon here in this House.

Mr. BUTLER—I do not understand that I applied the term trick to Republicans.

Mr. DAWES—My colleague, in his circular that he has been pleased to place upon our desks—

Mr. BUTLER—Mr. Speaker!!

Mr. DAWES—Wait a moment.

Mr. BUTLER—Why should I wait when I do not choose to? [Laughter.]

Mr. DAWES—In that circular, and in the remarks which just fell from his lips, he says that the resolution was carried by a trick.

Mr. BUTLER—No, sir! What I did say was this: "That it was sprung upon the House by a trick;" and I do not apply it to fifty-eight men.

Mr. DAWES—My colleague has forgotten what he said himself.

Mr. BUTLER—I have not forgotten.

Mr. DAWES—More's the pity then. [Laughter.]

Mr. BUTLER—I am not troubled about all this. I say here that after the Republican caucus, regularly called by the duly elected members of the House, at which the gentleman was present until he found what the action of the caucus was to be, had acted upon and had determined what measure should be put before the House for its consideration, then that was

A LEGISLATIVE TRICK

by which a minority of the party sprung a question upon the House which compelled the votes of a portion of the Republicans, and gave a seeming majority to a measure illusory in its character, and useless in action, which had no majority in fact in its favor, so that the measure of the majority might be defeated by the aid of Democratic votes. There are gentlemen all around me who did not feel at liberty to vote against the resolution when it was thus sprung upon them, who felt about it just the same as I do, but felt obliged to vote for it, lest they should be compromised. That is what I mean by a legislative trick by which a seeming majority is compelled, where there is none in fact, I mean that when a man stays out of the caucus of the Republican party, and that caucus settles a measure, and then he comes in and undertakes to thwart that party by the aid of the votes of our opponents, whom I expected to vote as they did, by offering them a measure they can support and he gets them to support, which a Republican majority cannot—as these gentlemen did—that, I say, is a legislative trick, and I say it with a full knowledge of my responsibility. If it is not true in the judgment of the country, I shall fail. If it is true, then on the heads of those who did it be the responsibility of the loss of life, liberty, and property of our friends, the loyal men of the South, unprotected and uncared for by any aid they receive from Congress when our hands are tied by this trick.

Mr. KELLEY—I desire, inasmuch as I am simply replying to

AN ASSAULT ON THE PROTECTIONISTS

of the House, to ask the gentleman whether an examination of the record will not show that these Republicans who voted to repeal the duties on articles which American labor produced, but voted against the repeal of the duties on tea and coffee, which we cannot produce, and which do not compete with any of our industries, do not make the bulk of the Republican vote of which he complains; and whether he does not saddle upon innocent shoulders the offences of the revenue reformers, who gave the Democratic party the ascendancy in this House and have maintained it.

Mr. BUTLER—I move to take up the late measures of the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Hale) in reference to coal and salt and tea and coffee by no means shows the tariff or revenue reform strength in this House. For one, I voted steadily against the repeal of the duty on coal, although I think the duty is in no sense equal to that upon the salt question, because I did not desire to take part in legislation shaped by the Democratic party in this House. If all the Republican party, the majority, want to repeal the duties on salt, we will do it in our own way; we will not follow the lead of the Democracy. If we were to repeal the duty on coal, we will do it in our own good time, and in our own proper way; we will not do so under the lead of the Democracy as a Democratic measure. If we want to repeal the duties on tea and coffee, we will do it; we will not follow the Democracy. I voted for the repeal of the duties on tea and coffee bill I think it would be unwise in the present state of the Treasury to take off all those duties. That was the feeling under which I voted. I did so because I wanted the country to see where our party would go if we continued to follow the Democratic lead and vote their measures. The difficulty is that I am with the minority and I want to shape my action, so that the majority of this House may carry on the legislation of the country for itself and not permit the Democratic minority, by a carefully and artfully prepared resolution of a Republican minority to do it, as in this instance, and defeat

THE WILL OF THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY.

Mr. DAWES (Rep., Mass.)—Is there any better way than to acquiesce in the majority?

Mr. BUTLER—Yes, sir; always to acquiesce with the Republicans in majority, but never with the Democratic majority. [Laughter.] That is the way in which I understand acquiescence.

Mr. DAWES—How do you cipher fifty-eight to fifty? [Laughter.]

Mr. BUTLER—I cipher fifty-eight to fifty by men who were compelled to vote for this resolution or compromise themselves. That was the reason why this resolution was so cunningly prepared.

Mr. DAWES—There does not seem to be anybody troubled but you.

Mr. BUTLER—I am not in the slightest trouble. I think somebody else will find troubles when they reason with the people for thus defeating legislation to give peace to the South.

Mr. PETERS (Rep., Me.) said the resolution proposing a select committee was written by his colleague and friend (Mr. Blaine). The friends of the resolution went about the House and consulted with other gentlemen. Many Republicans thought the resolution was desirable as a compromise, and ought to pass even if other legislation was to come. It was not sprung upon the House, for all notice was given that could be given in the way he had just mentioned. It was also shown to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler).

Mr. BUTLER—What was the answer?

Mr. PETERS said he stated the fact, not being called on to give an answer.

Mr. BUTLER—The answer was that on no condition could I vote for it.

Mr. PETERS—I understood, saying that it was stated in the caucus that its action was not binding, but that it was understood the bill for the protection of loyal citizens should not be introduced, leaving all at liberty to do what they thought proper to come to some action upon it. There was

NO TRICK WHATEVER

in the case; but, acting on his own convictions and responsibility, no caucus determination would have restrained him from the right. He would, however, be the last to cast reproach upon himself for the organization of the House. He would go into caucus, and, if possible, agree with his friends to a certain extent; but he was not to be forced into voting against a measure because the gentleman from Massachusetts opposed it, or gentlemen on the other side advocated it. He was not to be driven to vote or from the hall, of free coal, because the Democrats want them. He was glad they agreed with him when he stood upon his opinions and convictions. He believed the resolution was salutary, and he congratulated the House that it had been passed by a majority of all the Republicans and Democrats who voted.

Mr. BUTLER asked what the gentleman would have thought of him or ten of their friends who, having attended a caucus and agreed upon a nominee, should come into the House and throw the Speakership into the hands of the Democrats?

Mr. PETERS—I should suppose you had some devilish design.

Mr. BUTLER—We agree fully. [Laughter.]

Mr. BLAINE, the Speaker (Mr. Wheeler in the chair)—I desire to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts (Butler) whether he denies to me the right to have drawn the resolution?

Mr. BUTLER—I have made no assertion on that subject one way or the other.

Mr. BLAINE—Did not the gentleman distinctly know that I drew it?

Mr. BUTLER—No, sir.

Mr. BLAINE—Did I not take it to the gentleman and read it to him?

Mr. BUTLER—Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAINE—Did I not show him the manuscript?

Mr. BUTLER—Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAINE—In my own hand writing?

Mr. BUTLER—No, sir.

Mr. BLAINE—And at his suggestion I added these words, "And the expenses of this Committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives." [Applause.] The fact that ways and means were wanted to pay the expenses was the only objection he made to it.

Mr. BUTLER—What was the answer the gentleman made? I supposed I may ask that, now the Speaker has come upon the floor.

Mr. BLAINE—The answer was that I immediately wrote the amendment providing for the payment of the expenses of the Committee.

Mr. BUTLER—What was my answer? Was it not that under no circumstances would you serve as Chairman.

Mr. BUTLER—Or have anything to do with the resolution.

Mr. BLAINE—There are 224 members of the House of Representatives. A Committee can be formed without

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MASSACHUSETTS

being on it. His service is not essential to the constitution of the Committee.

Mr. BUTLER—Why did you not find such a Committee then?

Mr. BLAINE—Because I knew very well that if I omitted the appointment of the gentleman it would be heralded throughout the length and breadth of the country by the claquers who have so industriously distributed this letter this morning, that the speaker had packed the Committee, as the gentleman will be would, with weak-kneed Republicans," who would not go into an investigation as vigorously as he would. That was the reason [applause]; so that the Chair laid the responsibility upon the gentleman of declining the appointment.

Mr. BUTLER—I know that was the trick of the Chair.

Mr. BLAINE—O, the "trick!" He knew now what the gentleman meant by the word "trick." I am very glad to know that the "trick" was successful.

Mr. BUTLER—No doubt.

Mr. BLAINE—It is this "trick" which places the gentleman from Massachusetts on his responsibility before the country.

Mr. BUTLER—Exactly.

Mr. BLAINE—Wholly.

Mr. BUTLER—Wholly.

Mr. BLAINE—Now, sir, the gentleman from Massachusetts talks about the coercion by which fifty-eight Republicans were made to vote for the resolution. I do not know what any one of them may have to say, but if there be here to-day a single gentleman who has given to the gentleman from Massachusetts the intimation that he felt coerced—that he was in any way restrained from free action—let him get up now and speak, or "forever after hold his peace."

Mr. BUTLER—Oh, yes.

SPEAKER BLAINE AFTER BUTLER.

Mr. BLAINE—The gentleman from Massachusetts says in his letter: 'Having been appointed against my wishes, expressed both publicly and privately, by the Speaker as Chairman of a Committee to investigate the state of affairs in the South, ordered to-day by Democratic votes against the most earnest protest of more than a two-thirds majority of the Republicans of the House."

Mr. BUTLER—Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAINE—This statement is so bald and groundless that I do not know what reply to make to it. It is made in the face of the fact that on the roll call fifty-eight Republicans voted for the resolution and forty-nine, besides the gentleman from Massachusetts, against it. I deny that the gentleman has the right to speak for any member who voted for it, unless it may be the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Maynard), who voted for it for the purpose probably of moving a reconsideration—a very common and very justifiable and very proper course whenever any gentleman chooses to adopt it. I am not criticising it at all, but if there be any one of the fifty-eight gentlemen who voted for the resolution under coercion, I would like the gentleman from Massachusetts to designate him

Mr. BUTLER—I am not here to detail private conversation.

Mr. BLAINE—Oh, no! but you will distribute throughout the entire country unfounded calumnies purporting to rest upon assertions made in private conversations, which, when called for, cannot be verified.

Mr. BUTLER—Pardon me, sir—I said there was a caucus.

Mr. BLAINE—I hope God will pardon you—but you ought not to ask me to do it. [Laughter.]

Mr. BUTLER—I will ask God, and not you.

Mr. BLAINE—I am glad the gentleman will.

BUTLER GOING BACK ON HIS ALLY.

Mr. BUTLER—I have no favors to ask of the devil; and let me say that the caucus agreed upon a definite mode of action.

Mr. BLAINE—The caucus! Now, let me say here and now that the chairman of that caucus, sitting on my right, cordially detests legislation *sans peur et sans reproche*—the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Blair)—states, as a man of honor as he is, that he was bound to say officially from the chair that it was not considered and could not be considered binding upon gentlemen. And more than that. Talk about tricks! Why, the very infamy of political trickery never surpassed a device so foolish and so wicked as to bring together a caucus and attempt to pledge them to the support of measures which might violate not only the political principles but the religious faith of men—to the support of a bill drawn by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler), which violated the conscientious scruples of men; and yet, forsooth, he comes in here and declares that whatever a caucus may determine upon, however hastily, you must support it, however wrongfully. Why, even in the worst days of the Democracy, when the gentleman himself was in the front rank of the worst wing of it, when was it ever attempted to say that a majority of a party caucus could bind men upon measures that involved questions of Constitutional law, of personal honor, or religious scruples? The gentleman asked what would have been done—he asked my colleague, Mr Peters, what would have been done in the case of members of a party voting against the caucus nominee for Speaker. I understand that was a threat at myself. Caucus nominations of officers have always been held as binding. But just here let me say that if a minority did not vote against the decision of the caucus that nominated me for Speaker, in my judgment it would be the fault of the gentleman from Massachusetts. [Applause.] If the requisite number could have been found to have gone over to

THE DESPISED NAZARENES

on the opposite side, that gentleman would have led them as gallantly as he did the forces in the Charleston Convention. [Renewed applause and laughter.]

Mr. BUTLER—Mr. Speaker——

Mr. BLAINE—I have the floor. I do not very often ask it.

Mr. BUTLER—Let not your conscience accuse you!

Mr. BLAINE—Mr. Speaker, in old times it was the ordinary duty of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to take part in the debate. The custom has fallen into disuse. For one, I am very glad that it has. For one, I approve of the conclusion that forbids it. The Speaker could, with consistent fidelity to his own party, be the impartial administrator of the rules of the House, and a consistent participator in the discussions, if members would take from him that appearance of impartiality which is so important to maintain in the rulings of the Chair. But at the same time I despise and denounce the insolence of the gentleman from Massachusetts when he attempts to say that the Representative from the Third District of the State of Maine has no right to frame a resolution; has no right to seek that, under the rules, that resolution shall be adopted; has no right to ask the judgment of the House upon that resolution. Why, even the insolence of that gentleman himself has not reached that sublime height before. [Applause.] And that is

THE EXTENT OF MY OFFENDING,

that I wrote a resolution; that I took it to various gentlemen on this side of the House; that I said to the gentlemen on the other side of the House, "This is a resolution on which you cannot afford to filibuster. It is a resolution demanding a fair, impartial investigation, and, under the rules, I desire that this resolution may be offered, and my colleague (Mr. Peters) will offer it;" and then the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) telegraphs, he knows to how many papers throughout the whole United States, for doubtless his letter will be found in *extenso* wherever he could get it inserted in this morning's journals, that this was "a legislative trick."

Mr. BUTLER—And I repeat it now.

Mr. BLAINE—There are certain repetitions which do not amount to slander, and the gentleman may repeat everything in that connection, as his colleague Dawes very well says, "except the truth."

Mr. BUTLER (in his seat)—I did not hear my colleague say that.

Speaker BLAINE—The gentleman from Massachusetts uses this language in his remarkable letter: "because the very resolution which authorized the Committee was also designed, and was used for purposes, in the interests of the Democratic party, that such Committee cannot report, under the rules of the House, in the face of the Democratic opposition, and by their permission, in more than a year from this time, the usual power not being inserted in it to report at any time." The gentleman from Massachusetts is a very astute lawyer; but it has fallen under my observation that he is

EXTREMELY IGNORANT OF THE RULES

of this House. Had the resolution contained these words it would have been tantamount to suspending the rules, and one objection would have prevented it coming in. What does the resolution say? That that Committee shall be appointed with power to report in the December, January, or February meeting of Congress, during the entire month of December, shall be in order at any time the Committee may wish to make a report. Eight and a half months intervene between now and December for the Committee's labors, and they have one full month with the privilege to report at any time, and yet the gentleman says the resolution was purposely so framed as to exclude the Committee from the power to report at all. It was purposely framed to be carried over the gentleman's point of order. I omitted those words, presuming that if the Committee got through their labors at the end of nine months, one whole month at the beginning of the session would be ample in which to make their report. I am admonished by the gentlemen around me of a fact, with which I am myself familiar, that the power to report at any time does not always carry with it the exercise of that power. The gentleman himself has been Chairman during the entire Congress of a Committee empowered to report at any time on this very identical subject, and on the subjects committed to it, and the members of that Committee will say whether the gentleman always exercised his full power under the rules, and whether, if the power to report at any time had been given to that gentleman as Chairman of this Committee, and he had accepted the appointment, he might not have construed it as he has construed it for nearly two years on the Reconstruction Committee—to be the power to report at no time. Now nobody regrets more than I do any occurrence which calls me to take the floor. On questions of propriety I appeal to members on both sides of the House, and they will bear me witness that the circulation of this letter in the morning prints, its distribution throughout the land by telegraph, and the laying it upon my desk, if not intended, was intended to be by the gentleman from Massachusetts not offered boldly, but covertly—I will not use a stronger phrase—

AN INSULT TO THE SPEAKER

of this House. As such I resent it. I denounce the letter in all its essential statements and misstatements, and in all its mean inferences and meaner inuendos. I denounce the letter as groundless, with no foundation, and the gentleman himself, I trust, will live to see the day when he will be ashamed of having written it.

Mr. BUTLER—By the ancient parliamentary law, of which I confess my ignorance, and of which, if full knowledge of it leads to such a speech as we have just listened to, I will be glad to remain in ignorance, none, no one person shall be Speaker of the House, to speak for the House. Does the Speaker now do so? The Speaker has left his place and his gavel for the first time for two Congresses. Was it to speak on any great measure of finance?

Mr. BLAINE—Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that the preceding incumbent of the chair (Mr. Colfax), now Vice-President, left the chair to chastise the insolence of the gentleman.

Mr. BUTLER—I am now upon the floor. During this or the last Congress for the first time has the Speaker left the chair. Was it to speak upon some great measure of finance or revenue, of protection to the loyal people of the South, or of reconstruction? Have we heard his clarion voice in behalf of the great measures of the Republican party? No! Up to this time he has only been speaking to the House

THROUGH A WOODEN GAVEL

beat upon a wooden box. He has now left the chair for the floor. Upon what great and permanent measure? None. Solely to attack a fellow-member, who sat down to write a letter explaining his views of public duty, and was careful to draw his letter so as not in any way to touch the Speaker of the House, but purely and candidly to state the naked facts of his action, without a word of comment or inuendo, if for no other reason, because he was aware of the consequences to a humble member of a quarrel or any unpleasantness with the Speaker of the House. He had been made painfully aware of it in the last Congress and in this, and he avoided that anger. I know the man; and "for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain" I name the Speaker, and that I dare maintain. I felt all that, I knew all that, and therefore I was scrupulous not to use a word in my letter that was unparliamentary or could give just cause of offence. I was aware of the new-fledged hopes of the highest place in the future of the Speaker arising from the quarrel which has been unfortunately forced upon the Republican party at the other end of the Capitol, of which he is wanting to take advantage. I know all that, and therefore I was careful to say no word. I did not say that the Speaker wrote the resolution. I did not know that he did, but I knew he suggested it. I appeal to the Speaker's fairness. No, I can not appeal to that. I will state what I said when he came to my seat yesterday and showed me the resolution and asked me to go for it, and said I should be Chairman of the committee under it. I said,

"I'LL BE DAMNED IF I WILL.

[Great laughter.] I will have nothing to do with it." I am sorry to be obliged to use the word here, and I apologize for it; but when asked to betray my associates with whom I had acted in caucus, it seemed a very good one to meet the exigency. [Laughter.] That was my answer, and when he read the clause containing an appropriation, even with my ignorance of law rules, as he claims, I told him how if it was determined to put the resolution through, it would escape no objection to it to be differently worded. I did this because I believed that he suggested to the gentlemen from New York (Mr. Cox) to make the point of order against the bill of the minority of the House, which proved clear in this, a decided victory for the Speaker's ruling.

Mr. COX (Dem., N. Y.)—Mr. Speaker, that is not true.

Mr. BUTLER—I did not say that it was true; I said I believed it at the time. [Laughter.] I believed it for the reason that I saw the Speaker go over there on the Democratic side of the House getting Democrats to agree to support the resolution after he had shown it to me, for he did me the favor to show it to me first. Then I saw him

THE OWNER OF RICH COAL FIELDS,

as he was attempting to get Democrats to agree.

Mr. BLAINE—I was in favor of the repeal of the coal tariff and the gentleman was not.

Mr. BUTLER—I say again—

"For ways that are dark, and tricks that are vain."

I will name the speaker—and that I free to say.

[Laughter.] Now, sir, I say again that when I saw him engaged in that condition of things, and saw the Speaker conducting a caucus against me, I knew very well what was to come; I knew that any point of order I could raise under a resolution so contrived would be unavailing; and saw a resolution he had contrived substituted for the bill of the majority of the Republican party, forced through by his influence on the floor and in the Speaker's desk by aid of Democratic votes. I see gentlemen here both from the North and South who have told me they were put in a very delicate position, and so this resolution to appoint a Republican Committee by the action of the Speaker in league with the opposition was passed. Now, nobody disclaims the responsibility more than this poor more than I do. I felt that it came in this House and undertook to make a statement of the reasons why I could not serve upon a Committee. I should be accused of having brought personal matters into the House of Representatives, and therefore I exercised my right and my duty to address my letter in the public newspapers and in pamphlet form to my Republican associates in explanation of my position. I had a right to do so, and I had hoped that if an only had anything to say in reply to what I had said, instead of forcing upon me a quarrel on this House to the disgrace and disadvantage of the Republican party, they would take the same channel of communication to the public that I had, which was open to them, especially as one of them who had arraigned me

BELONGED TO THE PRESS GANG.

[Laughter.] I replied to my friend from Pennsylvania (Mr. Kelley), using temperate and parliamentary language only.

Mr. KELLEY—I beg leave to interrupt the gentleman for one moment. I spoke not only for myself, but for the great body of Protectionists in this House, who were wronged by the statement of the gentleman, as the vote will show.

Mr. BUTLER—Very well. I only hope that I have done these gentlemen no wrong, because I thought that if they wanted to put before us silt and coals and salt and tea and coffee, and have us all rushing into the souls of our friends at the South, they were exceedingly wrong. I missed those gentlemen from the caucus. I have been told since that, in the case of some of them, it was because they were afraid that the tariff might be interfered with if Congress remained here, and therefore they were anxious to adjourn. But all this abuse of me, and this getting exceedingly wrathy by the Speaker against me, does no harm and will not frighten anybody. It will not hurt anybody. The calling of hard names will do no harm to me here or in the country. If I could have been killed by being

CALLED HARD NAMES

I should have died long ago. [Laughter.] I have withstood the rough side of rougher tongues than the one just wagged at me. I have seen abuse with more ingenuity, but not with more malignity launched at me, and I have survived and shall survive long after the Speaker of this House has filled the Presidential chair, very long. Now, sir, I do not want to continue this painful and disagreeable scene. I admit its disgrace to the House of Representatives. I admit its disgrace to everybody concerned it it, however unwillingly, but I call gentlemen now here to witness, lest it should be said that I commenced this series of hard words here that no unparliamentary word was spoken by me until accused of inconsistency, and every form of vituperation was launched at me. There is one thing more I wish to state. I have been accused of not reporting at any time, as Chairman of the Select Committee on Reconstruction. I did report this bill, as Chairman of the Committee on Reconstruction, and the Speaker of the House, being against it while it was being read at the Clerk's desk, made a ruling which allowed Mr. Wood of New York to introduce a joint resolution for the repeal of the duty on coal, thereby stopping the reading of the bill, which could never come up again—a ruling never before made in this House, and I trust never to be made again.

Mr. BLAINE—Will the gentleman state the rule?

Mr. BUTLER—Yes; a ruling that while a bill was being read anybody might interrupt that reading by a motion to suspend the rules.

Mr. BLAINE—The gentleman certainly does not want a correct statement. The very principle of suspending the rules allow it to be done while no gentleman is occupying the floor.

Mr. BUTLER—A gentleman by the name of "The Clerk," after the bill was reported by a Committee of this House, was occupying the floor by reading the bill at least three times, and the best kind of occupancy of the floor, too, for the House had a right to hear what the bill was before he was taken from the floor. I do not care whether I am right or wrong upon this ruling. I admit my

IGNORANCE OF PARLIAMENTARY LAW,

and I thank God I know no more about it than I do, because I see how it affects a man's mind who has made it a study. [Laughter.] But I do think, if the speaker had been half as anxious for the passage of this bill to protect the people of the South, as he was for some land grant measures passed from the Speaker's table at the last session, it would have become a law long ere this.

Mr. BLAINE—Will the gentleman specify what——

Mr. BUTLER—Oh, plenty much all of them.

Mr. BLAINE—I do not think it worth while to say anything more than that is simply and only a gratuitous calumny.

Mr. MAYNARD (Rep., Tenn.) supposed that among Republicans there was no diversity of opinion that something must be done to meet the investigation proposed by the Select Committee. They not only had facts already to justify, but to demand additional legislation. Loyal men were continually outraged and murdered in his own State. He was unwilling to put himself on the record as opposed to the investigation into the condition of things. He trusted that the investigation would be made. As a member of the Committee, he would, to the best of his ability, discharge his duty.

Mr. SHELLABARGER (Rep., Ohio) said the Speaker thought proper by his course, so wisely administered to the satisfaction of the country, to place him on the select committee of thirteen constituted yesterday. The country had before it

A SPECTACLE

which never before in a time of peace has been seen in a civilized country. Murder stalks through one part of our Republic, and the hideous fact is incontrovertible. As he was going out of Paris, he saw the people rushing up every street and boulevard. Thousands were in intense agony. He marvelled at want it meant. He ascertained that it was that a Frenchman had been foully murdered. The spectacle startled the entire people, and throughout France and the continent it was said a family in France had been secretly murdered, and no portion of the empire was quiet until the murderer was discovered and punished.

Mr. BROOKS (Rep., Mass.) said if discussion was to go on he had no objection, but if no reply is to be allowed to allegations, he must object, and would insist upon proceeding only in order.

Mr. SHELLABARGER expressed the hope that an opportunity would be given for debate to continue a few days. He would give all the liberty desired.

Mr. KELLEY (Rep., Pa.) was willing to let general debate run for days if necessary.

Mr. COX (Dem., N. Y.) thought the matter ought now to be arranged in order to a close understanding.

Mr. FARNSWORTH (Rep., Ill.) trusted there would be no discussion further than was confined to the question of excusing members.

Mr. MORGAN (Dem., Ohio) insisted on the regular order.

Mr. SHELLABARGER resumed, saying the Southern country was in disorder, and in incipient—he was going to use the hateful word—insurrection or rebellion. He voted for the resolution, because the gentleman from Massachusetts had stated, "Wherever or whenever the Committee would go there would be sunshine and peace, and we should be compelled so to report." If the present Committee would save one American life and stop one butchery, God knew he would vote for the resolution

UNTIL THE CRACK OF DOOM.

As members of the Republican party, let them stand up to duty at their posts. There was nothing to prevent them from passing a bill for the protection of loyal men.

Mr. BUTLER asked whether the gentleman did not see that they could not have legislation, because some gentlemen who voted for the resolution voted to adjourn on Monday next.

Mr. SHELLABARGER replied that was no reason why they should vote to adjourn instead of passing a particular law to-morrow or to-day. In conclusion, he asked, on account of matters personal to himself, to be excused from serving on the Committee.

Mr. COX said he understood the gentleman to favor Mr. Butler's bill, and after that the taking of testimony.

Mr. SHILLABARGER said that inconsistency seemed to be attributed to him. He replied that the country knew enough now to warrant legislation. Let the examination proceed, and when the report shall be made next December, they could adjust their legislation.

Mr. DAWES said as he had yesterday voted for the resolution, he had been arraigned before the country by one of his own colleagues, as being engaged in a dishonorable legislative trick. According to his colleague, and those who act with him, he alone is awake to the condition of things, and is seeking a remedy. He marvelled at the right his colleague assumed to speak for gentlemen here, and to make his arraignment. He (Dawes) also desired seek out the proper remedy for the evils which have their origin in the years of war and strife, which abundant legislation conferring power. Affairs have been

GROWING WORSE AND WORSE,

until this day and hour, evil confronts us more than ever. The question was, whether lack of administration or legislation had brought the evils upon us, or whether instead of doctoring the patient a change of treatment may not be resorted to with benefit. His colleagues held him up before the country. Was he to be hunted down at home because he differed with his colleague as to the mode of treatment? Was he to be exhibited as a trickster in alliance with his opponent because he did not see his way clear in this, a grave and delicate duty?

Mr. BUTLER inquired then why his colleague did not propose some measure for relief.

Mr. DAWES replied, he wanted a practical measure, not excitement and futility. He repeated, he wanted something to result in peace and harmony in fact.

Mr. BLAIR (Rep., Mich.) said to Mr. Butler had stated in his circular as his objection to the select Committee, first, because it was forced upon the Republicans by the nearly unanimous vote of the Democratic party in the House, aided by some twenty or thirty Republicans only, against the decision of a majority of that party in a duly called caucus of the members of the House. But the record showed that fifty-eight Republicans voted for the resolution. He presided as Chairman of the caucus at which a measure was presented consisting of the bill of the gentleman from Massachusetts and the bill of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Shellabarger). The report was adopted as

THE SENSE OF THE CAUCUS

that the bill should be introduced in the House. The question arose as to how was the vote in the caucus controlled action in the House when the understanding was the members were not bound to support the details of the bill. The bill was never read in caucus. All were at liberty to support any measure which, in their judgment, would reach the object in view in a better manner. There were laws enough, if they were only executed.

Mr. BUCKLEY (Rep., Ala.) asked if that were so, why were not the laws executed?

Mr. BLAIR would be glad if the gentleman would answer the question himself. Something must be done more than the enforcement of the laws. He concluded, he gave the reason why he voted for a Select Committee.

Mr. GARFIELD (Rep., Ohio) was sorry his colleague (Shellabarger) had asked to be excused from serving on the committee. He proceeded to comment on Mr. Butler's letter, which, he said, was aimed, as he believed, was composed of a majority of Secessionists and Know-Nothings, let them keep on it one man who did not come within that category. He objected to the statement. It was not applicable to one of the eight Republicans on the committee. He thought he was extremely fortunate in selecting such men against whom no imputation could be found. He desired to know whether the Executive authorities wanted more legislation to keep the peace?

Mr. COX understood the Republican Senators were for it, and thought the Republicans here ought to call one to refute the question.

Messrs. KELLEY, SHELLABARGER, BURDETT, and BUTLER, were then severally excused at their own requests from serving on the Committee.

Mr. COBURN (Rep., Ind.) said they should apply the strong arm of the law to suppress the outrages. He thought somebody other than himself should help to make the record proposed by the appointment of the Committee.

Mr. BROOKS (Dem., N. Y.) remarked that he did not object to the course of discussion if gentlemen on his side were allowed to participate in it.

Mr. COX said he was explaining why he would not make an efficient member, and the reason why they should legislate now, and not wait for further investigation.

Mr. BROOKS inquired why the gentlemen did not propose to examine

THE KU-KLUX OUTRAGES

everywhere in the Western and Northern States; the murders and outrages in Boston and Lowell as well as in the Southern States.

Mr. COBURN replied that the gentleman knew as well as he did the perpetration of crimes in the South on individuals because they were Union men.

Mr. COX said he had respect for the gentleman, but what was uttered by the gentleman was no excuse for not proceeding to the committee.

Mr. ELDRIDGE (Dem., Wis.) remarked that to excuse the gentleman would not be fair.

Mr. COBURN replied that he was not asking to be excused.

Mr. STEVENSON (Rep., Ohio) said if there was hope for any other action than a bill at the present session, disorganized as the Republican party was by the factious and spite and hates which disgraced it, it was in this Committee. He foresaw that the only hope for a remedy for the loyal people of the South was in the proposed investigation. He, as one to conduct it did not despair of good results. He proposed to

STAND HIS GROUND,

and wanted the gent