

support my family? That is the area where I think, if anything, we need to increase the amount of job training for people, to help them get off of welfare.

I think, also, that when we look at the folks on welfare and look across the board, the low-income child is more likely not to succeed than those that come from higher socioeconomic levels. My colleagues on the other side are exactly correct on that. But the question is, Mr. Speaker, the model. Do we have a socialistic model, where the Federal Government does all and costs us extra dollars to get the dollars down because of the bureaucracy and the power and the rules and the regulations; or do we let the States, where we take away all those other costs?

My colleagues will say we at the Federal Government are the only ones that can do that. Mr. Speaker, I think that is intolerable. I think if we want to clean up our education system, we need to give States more responsibility and more power to do what they need to do. Because like I said, there is a lot of sand between San Diego, California, and Maine.

There are a lot of great programs out there, Mr. Speaker, and the States can still run those programs. But when we are getting as little dollars down that we can, down to the State level, I think that there is a lot of room for error and a lot of room that we can improve.

I want to give my conservative colleagues a caution, however, which I am a conservative. But serving on the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, I have been enlightened in some cases by my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, and I see one of them grinning right now. If we try to do this too fast, and we can look at the State of California and the economic situation that I have just talked about. Try and pass a school bond in San Diego County. It is very difficult. Even on a State-wide election or an initiative. Most people check no if we want to increase their taxes or increase their burden. It is very difficult to support that. Try an increase in tax, a gas tax or anything, to pick up that load to the State. People are resistant, Mr. Speaker.

A lot of my conservative friends, and which I consider myself one of, want to chop it off now; want to do totally away with it. If we do that, in my opinion, in my humble opinion, Mr. Speaker, we will damage some of the very programs that we are helping. I say that in the face of only getting 23 cents out of a buck.

But until we have that transition, until we can balance the budget, and it all ties in together, welfare, balanced budget, and education and jobs and revenue. It all ties in. It is called microeconomics. But until we can reduce those interest rates, until we can improve the economy, until we can get more dollars into people's pockets by having a \$500 tax rate per child, that goes back into the pockets of people, until they can see where they are not

both having to kill themselves just to get by to pay their mortgage, which they are paying \$40,000 more for, or they are paying \$4,500 more interest on a loan because of the deficit, then I think we will have trouble shifting that power.

□ 2215

And I think over the next 7 years, we ought to look and do very, very carefully. Are we going to make some mistakes, Mr. Speaker? Yes, we are. But I think the blessings of it are that are going to return that power to the States. We are going to reduce the size of the Federal bureaucracy back here, which is so key to the Democrat Party and their maintenance of power. And that is why they will blast us night after night saying that we are hurting the environment, we are hurting kids, we are hurting seniors and so on. What we are hurting is their power to get re-elected so that they can have the power in River City.

ANNIVERSARY OF FIRST AFRICAN-AMERICAN TO SERVE IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PAYNE] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of pleasure this evening to engage with my colleague from South Carolina and others who may come, a special order dealing with an anniversary tonight of the seating of the United States House of Representatives on December 12 in 1870, 125 years ago, Congressman Rainey, Joseph H. Rainey, was sworn in to the United States House of Representatives. Today being December 12, we celebrate 125 years of that important event.

Let me say that on that day, Representative Rainey broke the color line in the House of Representatives, being the first African-American to be seated. He became a duly elected Member of the 41st Congress. A former State senator from South Carolina, he was born of slave parents. His parents were very successful as a barber and his dad purchased his freedom for him at an early age.

As a young man Joseph Rainey spent all of his free time educating himself. He followed his father as a barber and he continued to increase his education. At an early age he moved to Philadelphia where he met a young lady named Susan, and they were married and he moved back to South Carolina in 1859. Then with the outbreak of the Civil War, Mr. Rainey, Joseph Rainey, was drafted. He had to at that time work in the military.

He worked in an area providing food and serving passengers on a Confederate blockade runner and he worked in the fortification of Charleston, but

he did not feel comfortable being a part of the Confederacy as a freeman and what he was able to do with his wife was to escape on a blockade runner and went to Bermuda. In Bermuda he settled in St. Georges, which is a parish in Bermuda and he set up a barber business there and his wife went into dress-making. Both of them were very, very successful in their business in Bermuda, but as a South Carolinian, Bermuda was fine, business was great, but he yearned to go back to his home State and his hometown.

He started to hear about the fact that after the Civil War there had become opportunities for African-Americans in politics and he became very attracted to the area of politics. He decided to look into some of the opportunities and he became an active member of the South Carolina State Republican Party. He became a member of the State senate there, and in July 1870, they nominated him to fill a vacancy in the House of Representatives created by the resignation of Representative Benjamin Whittemore.

Once in Congress, and there was some time that passed before he was seated, but once in Congress, Representative Rainey was a staunch fighter for the rights of African-Americans. His first speech on the floor of the House was to gain national attention and to support a bill that imposed stiffer penalties against individuals and groups terrorizing African-Americans and white Republicans in former slave States. The speech was delivered on April 1, 1871, in the 42d Congress. The bill that he introduced was designed to enforce the citizenship rights set forth in the 14th Amendment of the Constitution and in the 1866 Civil Rights Act.

The bill, called the KKK Act, made it a Federal crime for two or more persons to conspire through force, intimidation, or threat to keep any person from accepting or discharging a public office, from functioning in court without hindrance, or from voting or otherwise participating in political campaigns under the penalty of a \$500 to \$5,000 fine and 6 months to 6 years in jail.

The KKK Act was enacted into law on April 20 in 1871, but the law did not immediately stop the bloodbath in the Southern States. Representative Rainey continued his work on the KKK Act by speaking in favor of the appropriations of Federal funds for the Federal courts that were set up under this act to enforce the law.

Representative Rainey was in favor of appropriating funds as necessary to carry on the court's persecution, until every man in the Southern States shall know that the government has a strong arm and that everyone shall be made to obey the law.

In the 43d Congress Representative Rainey concentrated on the civil rights measure to afford equal treatment to all in public accommodations, public transportation, hotels, amusement places, and schools. Representative

Rainey's theory was that Federal aid for education was not a regional or racial issue but an issue of national importance.

The debate 125 years ago is similar to the debate that is going on in the House of Representatives today. This proposal that he discussed way back then was heavily discussed near the end of 1873. The saddest fact about this discussion that he talked about of public accommodations is that it was not until 1963, almost 100 years later, that this public accommodations act was finally passed.

Mr. Speaker, in May 1874, when Representative Rainey was a member of the Indian Affairs Committee, he presided over the debate in the House on a proposal to improve conditions on the Indian reservations. Another first in the life of Representative Rainey was that he was the first African-American to ever preside over the House of Representatives. Representative Rainey was defeated in his reelection bid to the 46th Congress after a bitter fight in the House of Representatives with his Democratic opponent from the previous election.

Representative Rainey and his family remained in Washington for a few years before moving back to South Carolina, where he died at the early age of 55. In the obituary the Charleston News and Courier, not a friend to Representative Rainey when he served in active public life, termed him, next to Robert Elliot, the most intelligent of South Carolina Reconstruction delegation politicians, and they thought that if he had been less honest, they say he probably would have attained even greater distinction. So I think that says a lot about a man who stuck to his convictions and in his death was finally given the credit that he should have gotten in life.

Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to bring to the attention of my colleagues and the American people some of the great work of the first African-American to serve in the House of Representatives, the Honorable Joseph Hayne Rainey of South Carolina, leader in the fight for rights of all Americans and minorities in this country.

At this time, I would like to yield time as he may consume to the gentleman from South Carolina, from the Sixth District of South Carolina, Representative JIM CLYBURN.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey for yielding to me to participate in this special order, and I thank him for organizing this special order this evening.

As the gentleman has mentioned, it is my great honor and privilege to serve in this body from the State of South Carolina, and to be here tonight to celebrate the 125th anniversary of Joseph Hayne Rainey's swearing in as a Member of this body is a great honor for me.

As was mentioned, Mr. Rainey was born in Georgetown, SC, though he made the bulk of his political life, at least it started in Charleston, where he

moved to work as a barber and there entered political life.

Now, much has been said about Mr. Rainey's early life, but let me say just a little bit about him that has not been said thus far.

When Mr. Rainey took the position, of course he was elected to the State senate in 1870. And, of course, later that same year, he opted to fill an unexpired term in the Congress; and of course, when he came here, he came to represent what was then the First Congressional District, including Charleston and Georgetown, all the way up to Florence. The First District at that time was much like what is now the Sixth Congressional District that I am proud to represent.

Now, Mr. Rainey served for a little over 8 years. During this period, he served longer than any of the other, up until that time, people of color in the House of Representatives. Having been elected in 1870, he staying until around 1879.

Now it is kind of interesting when we look at Mr. Rainey's service. He was, of course, the first of eight African-Americans to serve during this period from 1870 to 1897. The last in that period was George Washington Murray. And when George Washington Murray left in 1897, no other person of color represented the State of South Carolina in this body until January, 1993, when it was my privilege to take the oath some 95 years later.

In 1993, the people of Georgetown honored Mr. Rainey by naming a park in the city for him and erecting in that park a bust of Mr. Rainey. And it was my pleasure to go to Georgetown and to be the keynoter for that occasion, and I am proud of the people of Georgetown for paying that honor, some 123 years after Mr. Rainey took the oath of office.

□ 2230

And, of course, we are here tonight on the 125th anniversary to add to the honor.

If we were to look at Mr. Rainey's service, we have to look to the future, I would hope, We know a bit from 1870 to now, 1995, 125 years, there was not continuous service. As I stated earlier, Mr. George Washington Murray left in 1897 and, of course, he was the last from South Carolina until I came along. Of course, in 1901, George White of North Carolina left and then no one of color served in this body until the 1920's, when there was a representative, Mr. De Priest, if my memory serves me well, elected from the State of Illinois.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I mention the State of Illinois here tonight because I think it helps to make my point. As we talk a little bit about the future, I used to teach history in the public schools of Charleston. I still love to read history. I would like to play interesting games with myself, as I go through history. I want to share with my brethren here this evening and other brothers and sisters who may be watching a lit-

tle bit of what I feel about what went on during the time Mr. Rainey was elected and served and what has gone on today. There is some interesting similarities.

If we are to take note of recent developments, we know that just last week, the U.S. Supreme Court listened to argument over questions involving congressional districts and whether or not the drawing of congressional districts for the 1992 elections was unconstitutional or, I guess to put it in the positive, whether or not these congressional districts were constitutional. Of course, that hearing last week was precipitated by a decision a year ago by the Supreme Court concerning a case coming out of North Carolina, commonly referred to as Shaw versus Reno, at which time the Court said that the districts drawn in North Carolina were dissolved. It was kind of interesting that for the first time in the history of the country the Court decided that the esthetics of a congressional district would bring into question the constitutionality of those districts.

Until that time, no one had ever worried about what shape a district had. We had always left it up to the States to determine how all this was done. Of course, by constitutional edict, by the court's edict, we have said that political considerations could be taken into account, incumbency could be taken into account, communities of interest, all these things could be taken into account. But all of a sudden, of course, I do not think the court has ever spoken to this, but we all know that in many communities around the country, even religion has been sued in order to determine how lines have been drawn.

The interesting thing about all of this is that, and I would hope that a bit of guidance could be gotten from the Court on this, because if you look at what was going on in 1870, I want to, I do not like to deal with numbers too much. Most people who are lovers of history do not like to deal with numbers. We tend to try to deal with facts and ideas.

But in 1870, at the time Mr. Rainey was elected from South Carolina, there were 415,814 blacks living in South Carolina. Only 289,667 whites lived in South Carolina in 1870 at the time Mr. Rainey was elected.

There is something very interesting about all of this. When the elections for the general assembly were over that year, as I just said, it was in this year that Mr. Rainey was also elected to the State senate. Serving the State senate at that time you only had 31 State senators. Twenty-one of them were white and only 10 were black. Now, not only was the population almost better than 3 to 2 black to white, the registered voters were 3 to 2 black to white. Yet those majority black people elected two-thirds of the senate to be white.

Now, of course, in the lower body, the House of Representatives, it was reversed. There were 72 blacks serving in the House elected in 1870 and 48 whites.

Now, the reason I point this out is because those people, the majority of the general assembly being people of color, decided that they did not want, for whatever reason, to run roughshod over the rights of their white counterparts and so they put in place a system of voting designed to protect the rights of their fellow South Carolinians who happened to have been white. They used a system called cumulative voting.

That system was put in place and it stayed in place from 1870 until 1879. They got rid of cumulative voting in 1879, after the State officials prevailed upon then the President of the United States, Rutherford B. Hayes, to take the Federal troops out of the South and then, according to one writer, who I cannot recall the name of at the moment, but I remember this phrase very well in my study of history, one writer said, Rutherford B. Hayes took the Federal troops out of the South and then left the quote Negro up to the creative devices of white South Carolinians, creative devices.

Sounds like dissolved to me. Well, what happened, through threats, intimidation, through things like poll taxes, literacy tests, they were successful in then rendering black South Carolinians almost voteless. So when Mr. Rainey left in, I believe, March of 1879, it started a domino effect and by 1897, some 18 years later, no other person of color was left to serve in the Congress and, of course, the same year, 1901, that George White left the Congress from North Carolina, a Mr. Bolt, I believe his name was, B-O-L-T, I think was his name, from Georgetown, became the last person of color to serve in the South Carolina general assembly. Having then not only put these new systems in place, they also then, in 1896, wrote a new constitution for South Carolina. Of course, with that they put in place systems of voting that made it impossible for people of color to elect their choices to serve in the body.

Now, cumulative voting is a very interesting concept. It was not just used in South Carolina. It was born in South Carolina. South Carolina was the first State to usher this system on the scene. I believe Horace Greeley of New York initiated cumulative voting for the State of New York. At that time it had nothing to do with race. It had to do with Tammany Hall. Republicans could not get elected because the Democrats around the city of New York controlled Tammany Hall and, of course, they had locked everybody else out.

So Mr. Greeley came up with the concept of cumulative voting around 1870. It failed. He came back, I think in 1872, and this time, using a system they called, we would now call it proportional representation, they, which is a form of cumulative voting, it does not

accumulate, but it is a different form of single member districts, it was successful and New York used that system at least in its lower body. It did not use it in the Senate, but they used it in, they did not call it the house of delegates at that time, it was the lower body, the general assembly. That was not the only State. Illinois used cumulative voting.

The interesting thing about Illinois is that Illinois used it because what they found in Illinois was that if you were in the northern part of Illinois, the Democrats controlled. In the southern part of Illinois, the Republicans controlled or vice versa. Do not hold me to which was which. My memory is not that good this evening. But it was divided. In other words, there was never any kind of interaction between the rural part of Illinois and that part of Illinois that was urban and, therefore, you had this polarized voting in the general assembly that had nothing to do with race. So they decided that the best way to approach that was to use the system called cumulative voting. So Illinois put cumulative voting in place in 1870, and it stayed in place until 1979. They did not get rid of cumulative voting in Illinois until 15 years ago.

Now, I am pointing all this out tonight because when Mr. Rainey served in the State Senate of South Carolina, just a few months before coming to this body, he was part of a process that looked for methods beyond winner-take-all elections in order to ensure adequate representation and fairness toward the white South Carolinians. And I tonight believe that it is time for us in this body, in the courts, everywhere else, to begin to look for methods to ensure representation and fairness to the people of color who now represent the minority in these areas. Winner-take-all elections say by their very nature that 49 percent may not ever have their voices heard or their wishes addressed, if you continue on our present course.

So I want to say to you, the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, my good friend from New Jersey, that I am appreciative of the fact that you have allowed me to participate here this evening because I think it is important for us to look at the historical context, not just of Mr. Rainey's election to this body but also what was going on in the country at the time of his election and how magnanimous he and other people of color were.

Before I yield back my time, let me explain what this cumulative voting is all about, because some people seem to think it is something very strange. If I might use what they did in, I think it was Illinois, maybe it was New York, where they used three-member districts. They had legislative districts.

□ 2245

Three members from each legislative district. What you do is that every voter gets three votes. That voter can

give all three of his or her votes to one of the members, or can give one-and-a-half to two, or could give one vote to each of the three members in the district. And what they have found, as they found in Peoria, IL, where they use that today, they found it in Texas today, they found it in New Mexico, where they use it there, that it works. It allows everybody to participate.

I will tell you something else it does: It brings people to the polls, because when people feel they are outnumbered in these single member districts, they do not participate, because they do not think they have any chance to win. But when you go to these other methods, it allows for significant participation on the part of voters.

So, I think, as was said here earlier tonight as a part of some other discussions, that there are some things happening in our country today indicating that voters are polarized, that citizens are polarized, political parties are polarized, and we, the people of good will, ought to begin to look at our history a little bit, and hopefully learn from that history, and maybe we can find from the history some ways to bring our people together, as Mr. Rainey and his cohorts did, on behalf of the protection of white South Carolinians and white Americans throughout New York, Illinois and other States, back in the 1870's and just after Reconstruction.

So I want to thank the gentleman for allowing me to participate.

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much. I certainly appreciate those remarks from the gentleman from South Carolina, bringing out history. We really appreciate the work the gentleman has done on affirmative action and some of the light that the gentleman has brought into that discussion. I certainly know the gentleman will continue the great work that he has been doing.

I just might also mention, since the gentleman used Illinois so much, that there is an interesting thing happening in Illinois as we speak. The polls have not closed nor has the tally been counted, but there is a feeling that Mr. Jesse Lewis Jackson, Jr., may win the election in the special election in Illinois, the State the gentleman has been talking about.

Well, it is very interesting that Mr. Jesse Lewis Jackson, Jr., happened to be born in South Carolina, and he was born about 30 years ago. Thirty years ago was the march in Selma to talk about voting rights and attempting to get the rights of all people to vote. His father, Jesse Lewis Jackson, Sr., Dr. Martin Luther King, Wyatt T. Walker, many of us and myself, marched in that march to try to get voting rights. So I just mention that, that it would be very interesting if the first person to be seated was a person born in South Carolina, 125 years ago to this date; that if Mr. Jesse Jackson, Jr., is elected, native of South Carolina, to be the last person to be seated tomorrow, it

would be very interesting to tie in just an interesting way, and maybe God meant it to be this way; if he is fortunate to win, for the 125 years to be encompassed with the beginning and the end, sort of the alpha and omega here tonight on December 12.

I thank the gentleman very much.

At this time I would like to yield to the gentleman from the great State of New York [Mr. OWENS], from the 12th Congressional District of New York.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey, the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, for convening this special order on Joseph Rainey on the occasion of Joseph Rainey's 125th anniversary upon being elected to the House of Representatives. On December 12, 125 years ago, Mr. Rainey took his seat in this House as the first black to be elected to the House of Representatives. Shortly before that, Mr. Hiram Revels had taken a seat in the Senate, on February 25.

I think it is very important, and I want to thank the gentleman from South Carolina for taking this occasion to give us a brief snapshot of some very important history. It was a lecture that I learned quite a bit from. It was only too short.

One of the advantages in celebrating an occasion like this, the anniversary of the seating of the first African-American to take a seat in the House of Representatives, is you can review some history and deal with some little known facts that are very seldom related, and you can also make an analysis and apply it to our present day problems. I think our friend from South Carolina [Mr. CLYBURN] has just done a marvelous job of not only adding some significant facts to the little known, but also applied it to the present. I think it is very important that we try to envisage the situation that existed when Joseph Rainey came to take his seat here in this House. I think it is important that young people understand what that must have been like. I think it is important for some of us who are caught in the present grip of a situation where there is a driven home to remake America, the Republican majority here is moving to remake America, and they are focusing on the budget right now and making it appear that the most important thing in the remaking of America is a reduction in the expenditures, a balanced budget, which creates a perfect excuse for cutting a lot of programs which benefit African-Americans, the descendants of slaves, because those descendants of slaves happen to be in a situation where economically they are still the poorest of Americans. There is a direct relationship between slavery, the institution of slavery, some people call it an institution, I call it a criminal industry, the criminal industry of slavery which existed for 232 years.

Let me just repeat that. The criminal industry of slavery existed in America

for 232 years. Suddenly there was emancipation. Thank God for Abraham Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation, which set the stage for the freeing of the slaves, but did not free the slaves. It was the 13th amendment after the surrender of the Southern rebels, the 13th amendment that was enacted by the Congress which freed the slaves across the country.

But the precedent had within set by the Emancipation Proclamation. There was no turning back after Abraham Lincoln made his historic unpopular move in freeing the slaves as a strong President, taking an action that was not approved of by the Congress, that was not approved of by his own cabinet, but it was the right thing to do. It was a shinning moment in American history.

The important thing is to put all those facts together. The 232 years of slavery. We are the descendants of people who were kidnapped and brought here, and for 232 years they were enslaved, 232 years. When Joseph Rainey took his seat, the Civil War had not been over for very long and the slaves had not been free for very long.

It is almost a miracle that you could find anyone among the slaves who could qualify, who could organize, who could go through the political process to the point of going through the State legislature in South Carolina and then coming to the U.S. Congress. It is almost a miracle, because during that 232 years there was a determination to keep the slaves enslaved. There was laws made it a crime to teach a slave to read. Most of the Southern States, had laws, and the Southern States are where most of the slaves were concentrated, had laws which would imprison you, you could be put in prison for teaching someone to read. So the miracle is that you had enough who had learned to read, who had learned something about how to organize, to be able to bring the contingent to Congress that came in during the Reconstruction period. It was a great example of the phenomena that existed from the very first when the slaves were packed into slave ships and brought to the shores of the United States.

They did not come here like other immigrants. Our forefathers did not come here like other immigrants. They were packed into slave ships like sardines. There are disputes about how many came. Very interesting, our friend, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. CLYBURN], was talking, and he indicated one time in South Carolina, if I heard him correctly, there were more slaves than there were slave owners and whites, more descendants people of African descent, than there were whites in South Carolina.

I remember reading some figures in several books where Williamsburg in Virginia at one point had a slave population greater than the white population. Many other States had slave populations that were almost equal or perhaps even greater.

I imagine the people that took the census at those times would not let such a situation exist. There was a conflict, of course. Any Southern State wanted to have representation in Congress, so they had three-fifths of a man and each slave was allowed to stand for, which led to probably more an accurate account or, maybe some inflation of the figures sometimes, but it was to their advantage to count the slaves, because those three-fifths added up to more representation in Congress. But in truth in many cases the blacks outnumbered the whites in some Southern localities and in some Southern States, a fact which is seldom revealed.

The laws that made it a crime to teach a black to read were not the only laws. There were other laws that related to any other kind of process which allowed for the socialization of blacks. There were laws which forbade marriage among slaves. For 232 years most of the enslaved population could not even legally get married. It was not surprising then that there were breakdowns in family structures, that slaves struggled so hard to hold together after emancipation. It is not surprising there is a legacy of problems related to families.

It is not surprising there is a legacy of problems related to economics, just plain money. If you came here as a slave, you did not come with any relatives in the old country who could send you money, any relatives who could make arrangements with relatives already living here to take care of you for a little while. If you did not have relatives, some group, other immigrants who came, they found someone here. We were not immigrants, but the immigrants who came, they found someone here they could relate to. Whether they were relatives or not, if they came from the old country, they helped.

So those people were relatively rich compared to slaves, who were deliberately torn from their tribes and torn from their ethnic backgrounds. Deliberate attempts were made to wipe out their identity, to put them together from different tribes so they did not speak the same language, and deliberately chaos was fomented.

This was the heritage they came with, economically, zero, nothing. For 232 years, since slaves were owned by somebody else, they could not accumulate any wealth.

There are recent studies that have shown that blacks in this country right now, even the middle-class blacks who have jobs and incomes which are comparable to whites with comparable education, the income gap has closed a great deal. We can say that we have made great strides and that equality is just over the horizon in terms of the income earned by middle-class, educated blacks, versus middle-class, educated whites. But there is a great gap in wealth.

A recent book shows that the gap in wealth is due to one important phenomena that exists among all other people, and that is inheritance; that even a small inheritance passed down from one generation to another, it builds up wealth. Most of the homes, which account for a large part of the wealth of new couples, most of the homes bought by new couples who are white are paid for by the down payment, or some large part of the home is paid for by the parents of the couple on one side or the other. They help. They pass on that kind of capital. There are many other examples of capital belongings that are passed on which account for wealth.

But here you have slaves, and we are the descendants of slaves who passed on nothing for 232 years. And then 100 years after that 232 years, the oppression was so great that the ability, the capacity to earn anything to pass down, was almost zero still. So is it surprising that the economic conditions of blacks in America at this very point, with all of the efforts that have been made to try to improve them and to close the gaps, they remain very serious in terms of capital and assets. Even the best off blacks, the middle-class blacks, do not have capital assets.

□ 2300

What does that boil down to? It means that if we streamline and we downsize and we take a job from a middle-class black, in a few months that middle-class black will be in poverty. There are no assets to back them up and to sustain them over a long period of time. So 3 to 6 months can spell disaster for a middle-class black earning a decent salary with a decent education.

The implications of this, I think, are not irrelevant to the discussion of Joseph Rainey. Joseph Rainey happened to be a situation where his father purchased his freedom. And I think it is to the credit of American slavery—there were some features in North American slavery that did not exist in South American slavery.

One of the things about North American slavery versus South American slavery was that in South America, the pattern of slavery for a long time was that slaves were brought over in large numbers and they were worked until they were worked to death. There was no attempt made to try to group slaves together and breed slaves and have offspring from the slaves, et cetera.

The pressure in North America, always there was a pressure, very early, this improvement of slavery so that the numbers that would come in were slowed down. And, finally, there were laws against more slaves coming in. And, finally, a law was passed which made slavery illegal and freed the slaves. There was a law to limit the number coming in. So the slave masters, the slave owners, the slave business in America did breed slaves. It found value in keeping the slaves alive. And in a sort of perverse way, that was a benefit.

Another benefit was, because of the pressure, the moral pressure, there were large numbers of slave owners who began to allow their slaves to purchase their freedom. It was a way to earn some extra income, I guess, in many cases. But for whatever reason, the purchase of the freedom by slaves even in South Carolina was a possibility. And the father of Joseph Rainey purchased his freedom, became a barber. Rainey became a barber. He had some sense of free enterprise.

Rainey was forced into the Confederate war machine later and he escaped. And, of course, I think we have related the story already of how he went to the West Indies and then came back after the war was over.

But the implications are what concern me most. I just want to close by trying to picture, again, and hoping that young people, both black and white, will try to picture a situation where slaves suddenly are able to move into politics. Slaves are begrudgingly admitted to the House of Representatives.

And this House of Representatives, which has always prided itself on being quite civil, was pretty mean and pretty nasty to the first black Congressman who came here. I just want to read from a book, which I will commend to those who are interested. Being a librarian, I cannot help but pass on some knowledge of where one can get some more knowledge. This is book called "Black Americans in Congress, 1870 to 1989." And the book is printed by the Government Printing Office, because it is a product of the Office of the Historian of the U.S. House of Representatives, and it was put together when Lindy Boggs was the chairman of the Bicentennial for Congress.

So this is a very good sketch of all the black Congressman from 1870 to 1989. And the introduction of this is by RON DELLUMS, who was at that time, when the book came out, the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. I want to read one or two paragraphs of this.

"The 19th Century black Congressmen, who unanimously adhered to the Republican party"—that is one of the ironies of history, is that all of the Congressmen who came here, Senators and Congressmen, were Republicans, because Abraham Lincoln was a Republican. It was the Republicans who freed the slaves. How history has changed.

The 19th Century black Congressmen, who unanimously adhered to the Republican party, which had championed the rights of freed men, often found the struggle for political equality continued after their election. Many of them faced contested elections and spent a good deal of their time defending the legitimacy of their claim to a House seat. Others found it difficult to speak on the floor or were subject to the hostility of various colleagues on the floor.

I think our colleague, Mr. CLYBURN, noted before that there were all kinds of tricks employed to get rid of the black Congressmen, and they finally succeeded in getting rid of all of them

for a long period of time. But every step of the way there were tricks employed, even in States where there was an overwhelming number of blacks, there were still more whites in many of the State legislatures and political offices than there were blacks, and there was still a situation where Mr. Rainey found himself challenged in election after election when he came here, due to the trickery and the various ways of denying representation.

I will not accuse the Supreme Court of trickery, but sometimes attitudes and postures, leanings, ideological bents, whatever we want to call them, can be just as poisonous as the kind of trickery that kept the number of black Congressmen very low and created misery for those who were here.

The Supreme Court, all of a sudden, as was pointed out by my colleague, Mr. CLYBURN, all of a sudden the Supreme Court has become interested in the aesthetics and the shape of congressional districts. Now, for years, since the beginning of the Republic, the aesthetics have been bad, because always incumbents and people in power, parties in power, drew the lines to get the best benefits for themselves.

So if we look over history, and we have some booklets that have the shapes of congressional districts over history, the worst shaped districts do not exist right now. There have been some far worse ones that have existed. The voting rights area districts that are being challenged now, those that happen to have black congresspersons or persons of African descent elected from them, they are not the worst that exist now. There are much worse, much more oddly shaped districts.

Suddenly the aesthetics have become a problem and we have a Supreme Court ruling that when we have these odd-shaped, strange-shaped districts, then something probably is wrong and we have a right to challenge them. And certainly if race is involved, that becomes a major factor.

We have a problem in this second period of reconstruction, when blacks finally began to get numbers in Congress which are consummate and comparable to the numbers of the population. We have officially, I think, about 13 percent of the population. Probably more, but about 13 percent. But we do not have 13 percent representation in Congress, but we are moving in that direction. We have 10. We are moving toward 10 percent. And as we move in that direction, we have these new challenges and this concern for aesthetics. It is a new kind of trickery.

I will close with the fact that the participation level in history by blacks must be raised. We must look back more carefully and more intensely at our history. Not just blacks but all Americans.

I think a great statement was made today by the Prime Minister of Israel about the greatness of America. We are a great country. There are many great attributes, and the greatness of America flowered in the 20th century. It was

not the 19th century, as we came out of slavery, I assure you, but the 20th century.

We have a lot to be proud of, but we should look back on some of the history which is not so glorious and use the lessons of that history to take care of some of the problems that keep manifesting themselves in the mean-spiritedness that is exhibited in the budget debate and in the coming set of diversions that will take place as we move toward the election of 1996.

I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. I want to thank the gentleman very much for those remarks. Very instructive. And let me just say, as we conclude, that as the first African-American to serve in the Congress from the great State of New Jersey, we have to take a look at history, too, in the North.

As the gentleman knows, the North was the great divide and fought against the Confederacy. But in my State of New Jersey slavery was outlawed in 1804, but the law stated that a female at the age of 21 may become free and a male at the age of 25. Well, at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation in New Jersey, there were still slaves and there were still slaves in New Jersey until after the Civil War because there were children.

It went on to say that a child born of a slave, of course, was a slave. So, therefore, before a person would get to be 21 or 25, their child was a slave; and, therefore, they continued to have slavery in New Jersey, although the underground railroad came through New Jersey. As a matter of fact, Harriet Tubman retired in New Jersey and took the little pension that she got to help other people who were more impoverished, even though she was practically penniless.

In our State of New Jersey the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments were defeated. The 13th amendment was defeated. The 14th amendment was passed, but then it was overturned by the legislature that just ruled out the entire legislature. The party that passed it was the Republican Party. The Democrats came in and won the election by virtue of the fact that New Jersey did not want to have that ratified. And the 15th amendment also failed to be passed.

So we have a history. In 1860, New Jersey, Lincoln lost New Jersey. And again in 1864, because New Jersey opposed his policies of the freeing of slaves. And so in 1868 there was a great meeting in Trenton, NJ, where African-Americans came together to talk about the fact that they were still disenfranchised. It was difficult to vote. There was still slavery.

As a matter of fact, New Jersey supplied the South with a great deal of their products, of leather and copper and brass, because New Jersey was a State that invented some ways of tanning leather and shining brass, and so New Jersey was a key State for enterprise in the South.

So I think it is interesting, as the gentleman indicated, that we remember what happened in history. Of course, it was great that in 1868 it was the black vote that created the victory for the President in that election. As a matter of fact, in 1868 the Presidential nominee lost the majority of the white vote, and it was the 70-percent turnout of blacks in the South that could vote for the first time because of the Emancipation Proclamation in the 1868 election that caused a victory.

So I think that as we conclude here, it has been very instructive. I certainly appreciate the comments from both of the gentlemen; that 232 if a number that should continually be talked about, the years of slavery. We need to have another time.

And just talking about wealth, it was the Homestead Act, where people were able to get property, but African-Americans were restricted from participating in the Homestead Act. There were land grants where people were granted land. If they lived on land in the 1860's for over 5 years, the land was given to them.

I have talked to people who today still own property that their great, great, great grandparents got in the Homestead Act. All an individual did, they got on a horse, or they ran on foot and simply put a stake on the land, and whoever got there first owned the land. African-American blacks could not participate in that. It was not that we could not run, it was just that they would not let us run.

So I would like to, once again, thank my colleagues. I think that probably our time has been consumed, and I certainly appreciate the Speaker's indulgence. Let me say that, once again, we appreciate your comments and we should do this again because there is so much to talk about.

In the gentleman's State of New York, there were riots because people in New York did not want to fight in the Civil War. They did not want to possibly be injured or maimed fighting the South.

Mr. FALCOMA. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 125th anniversary of the first African-American elected to the House of Representatives. Joseph Hayne Rainey, was elected to Congress in December 12, 1870, serving four consecutive terms from the First Congressional District of South Carolina. He also was the first black Member of Congress from South Carolina.

From the humbling vocation of his father, a barber, to being drafted by the Confederacy to fortify Charleston, Joseph Hayne Rainey climbed the ranks of the Republican Party, serving as county chairman and as a member of the State executive committee from 1868 to 1876.

While in Congress Joseph Rainey served on the following committees: Freedman's Affairs; Indian Affairs; Invalid Pensions; Selected Enrolled Bills; Select Centennial; and the Celebration of Proposed National Census of 1875.

He was recognized for his gracious and suave manner, never humiliating, always approachable and always in service to his con-

stituents. He demonstrated considerable ability as the expounder of the political aspirations for African-Americans, actively seeking civil rights legislation, including the integration of public schools.

Mr. Speaker, today we pay tribute to Joseph Hayne Rainey, the first elected African-American Representative from South Carolina.

He portrayed the struggle of African-Americans, the struggle to be recognized as people and citizens of the United States. As well as the passage of the 1866 Civil Rights Act, the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to our Constitution, Joseph Rainey provided African-Americans a vision of what can be achieved. He fought hard for both African-Americans and caucasians, for the free and those still in chains, for the literate and illiterate, for man and for woman—believing in equal opportunity and equal access, and that race should not be an issue.

Mr. Speaker, I am in admiration of Joseph Rainey's achievement. He entered the political arena 10 to 20 years removed from the bondage of slavery, and his rise to the Halls of Congress helped lift the struggle of African-Americans to a new plain and acknowledgment.

Joseph Hayne Rainey, born June 21, 1832, died August 1, 1887. Elected to the U.S. House of Representatives 125 years ago, December 12, 1870.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back to my colleague from New Jersey, Congressman PAYNE, and thank him for the opportunity to bear testimony on this special occasion.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, this evening, I join my colleagues in commemorating the 125th anniversary of the swearing-in of an outstanding legislator, leader and African-American hero—Congressman Joseph Hayne Rainey of South Carolina. Participating in this commemoration is a special privilege for me because direct descendants of Congressman Joseph Rainey are constituents of mine in the Third District of Virginia.

Congressman Rainey was the first African-American ever elected to the House of Representatives, who actually served in this body. He was elected during the Reconstruction period, in a special election to fill the unexpired term created by the resignation of an incumbent.

Congressman Rainey was born to slave parents in Georgetown, SC, on June 21, 1832. His father purchased his family's freedom and taught Congressman Rainey the barber's trade. Rainey lived for a time in Philadelphia and it was there that he met and married his wife, Susan. During the Civil War, Rainey was drafted and served passengers on a Confederate blockade runner. In 1862, he and his wife escaped on a blockade runner to Bermuda, where slavery had been abolished in 1834.

In 1866, Congressman Rainey returned with his wife to Georgetown, SC, where he became active in the political life of his community. He joined the South Carolina Republican Party and became a representative to the 1868 South Carolina Constitutional Convention. He was elected to a 4-year term in the State senate. Two months later, he was nominated by his party and elected to the 41st Congress. After serving the partial term in the 41st Congress, he won reelection without opposition in 1872.

Congressman Rainey was an active and vocal proponent for social and economic justice during his tenure in office. He spoke on behalf of the civil rights bill sponsored by Senator Charles Sumner that outlawed racial discrimination in schools, transportation and public accommodations. In addition, he fought to expand educational opportunities by insisting that Federal aid to education be provided to all citizens and not exclude individuals by either race or region. In the congressional debate on the issue of education, Congressman Rainey stated:

I would not have it known that this ignorance is widespread; it is not confined to any one State. This mental midnight, we might justly say, is a national calamity, and not necessarily sectional. We should, therefore, avail power to avert its direful effects. The great remedy, in my judgment, is free schools, established and aided by the government throughout the land.

Another historical moment during Rainey's congressional service occurred in 1874, when he became the first African-American to preside over a House session.

Throughout his tenure in the House, opponents of Congressman Rainey challenged his elections. He faced virulent opposition by whites because he represented the interests of both his African-American and white constituents. Eventually, such opposition took its toll and Rainey was defeated in 1878.

Congressman Rainey's service in Congress was noteworthy not only for its historic significance, but for the excellent role model he set, as well, for those of us since privileged to serve in this body. We all owe him a debt of gratitude for his life and the legacy of service he left us.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to commemorate the life and distinguished congressional career of Joseph Hayne Rainey, the first African-American elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. Joseph Hayne Rainey was elected to Congress in 1870 and served until 1879. Among his achievements, the former Representative from South Carolina was eloquently outspoken in favor of legislation to enforce the 14th amendment. He laid the early ground work for the civil rights movement of the 1960's by demanding that African-Americans be admitted to all public places, and he worked to ensure that African-Americans were given all the civil rights that every other American citizen was entitled to.

Congressman Joseph Hayne Rainey was born and raised in South Carolina. His father had bought freedom for the family, and the young Joseph Rainey secured his limited education through private instruction. During the Civil War, when he was drafted by the Confederate authorities to work on forts in Charleston, Joseph Rainey was able to escape to the West Indies. He returned to South Carolina at the end of the war, and instead of exacting revenge against his oppressors, Joseph Rainey strongly supported amnesty and debt relief for ex-Confederates and white planters.

Joseph Rainey's forward-looking vision serves as a model for political office today. We can all learn from his example of courage in the face of adversity. Indeed, Congressman Joseph Hayne Rainey practiced the politics of inclusion, rather than the politics of divide and conquer.

Congressman Rainey served as a Member of Congress during the difficult era of Recon-

struction. His policy was to focus on healing America, by moving the country forward into a new era. Today, the strife and division over race continues. Our work here in Congress and our everyday lives should be devoted to understanding our common goals as a Nation by working together for full citizen participation, progress, and peace. It is with a glad heart that I honor Congressman Rainey's life and career, which exemplified true public service.

Mr. CLAY. I rise in honor of the 125th anniversary of the swearing in of Joseph Hayne Rainey of South Carolina, the first black Member of Congress, into the 41st Congress.

In 1870, Rainey became the first black man actually to be seated in the House. He had been elected to a 4-year term in the State Senate, just 2 months prior to winning the congressional seat, which was being vacated because of the resignation of the incumbent, who had been accused of selling appointments to military academies. Rainey was slated as the Republican nominee and defeated his Democratic opponent in a special election. After serving the partial term in the 41st Congress, he won reelection without opposition in 1872.

Rainey was very active and vocal during his tenure of office. He spoke on behalf of the civil rights bill sponsored by Senator Charles Sumner that made racial discrimination in schools, transportation, and public accommodations illegal. He argued that unless certain protections for blacks were firmly established by Federal Law, there should be no amnesty for former Confederate officials.

Rainey also fought to expand educational opportunities. Insisting that Federal aid to education was not a sectional or racial issue, but one of great national import, he produced data showing that 126,946 school-age children in Illinois did not attend school; 308,213 in Indiana were not attending; 666,394 in Louisiana were not enrolled; and in Arkansas, of the 180,000 total school-age population only 40,000 were in daily attendance. In congressional debate, Rainey said,

I would have it known that this ignorance is widespread; it is not confined to any one State. This mental midnight, we might justly say, is a national calamity, and not necessarily sectional. We should, therefore, avail power to avert its direful effects. The great remedy, in my judgment, is free schools, established and aided by the government throughout the land.

Congressman Rainey was indeed an early advocate for public education, as well as equal opportunity. Thanks to his efforts, and those of other public education advocates, every child in America has access to education. It is now the task of the 104th Congress to make sure that every child has access to a quality education.

I invite our colleagues to join me in celebrating the life of Joseph Hayne Rainey by accepting and meeting this challenge.

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in recognition of the Honorable Joseph Hayne Rainey, the first African-American Member of the U.S. Congress. One hundred and twenty-five years ago today, Mr. Rainey took his place in this great Chamber, beginning what was to become a long and distinguished career in public service.

Through hard work and dedication, Joseph Hayne Rainey rose from a limited educational background in the pre-Civil War South to a po-

sition of prominence in South Carolina's State government. On December 12, 1870, he was sworn in as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served the citizens of South Carolina until his retirement in 1879.

During his time in Congress, Rainey was a forceful advocate in the battle to achieve and uphold the civil rights of all citizens, particularly African-Americans. An eloquent statesman, his speeches in favor of the 14th amendment, the Ku Klux Klan Act, and the Civil Rights Bill helped energize and give credence to the fight to end racial discrimination within all realms of society, including public and private transportation, our Nation's public schools, and the judicial system.

Congressman Rainey's agenda crossed all boundaries of race and region. As a leader in the fight to expand educational opportunities for all citizens, Rainey confronted issues which still occupy the legislative agenda over a century later. His vision of a nation where a child's future was not based upon background or ethnicity, but upon talents and abilities, is his enduring legacy and it remains a dream that we must continually nurture and struggle to achieve.

On this, the anniversary of Joseph Hayne Rainey's swearing-in as the first African-American Member of Congress, I ask my colleagues to join me in paying tribute to this noted trailblazer whose leadership on important societal issues should serve as an inspiration for all Americans.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate the Honorable Joseph Hayne Rainey, the first African-American Member of the U.S. Congress. His is a story of struggle and hope, perseverance, and success.

Congressman Joseph Rainey fulfilled the American Dream. No, his is not a story about instant success or one of rags to riches. Mr. Rainey's story is one of struggle, as he was born a slave in Georgetown, SC. Shortly after his birth, Joseph's father bought the Rainey family out of slavery. Soon, the elder Rainey established a prosperous business as a barber. Joseph followed his father's vocation, married and moved to Charleston, SC.

Drafted by the Confederacy in 1862, Joseph built military fortifications until he and his wife escaped to Bermuda. At the end of the war, Joseph returned to South Carolina, where he became active in the Republican Party. After establishing himself politically, Rainey was elected to Congress in 1870.

He went on to serve consecutive terms in Congress, representing his home district of Georgetown. And, as many of us know, that is no simple task even after 100 plus years of Reconstruction. In my State, I am the first African-American Congressman to represent Florida since 1871, when Josiah Walls was elected to serve in Washington. Mrs. MEEK and Ms. BROWN are the first African-American Congresswomen ever to serve our State.

My friends, this is not a fable of the Reconstruction. This is a story of struggle and liberation, this, is the American Dream.

Although my term in this House occurs 125 years after his, Joseph, and I have much in common. While in Congress, Representative Rainey was a very active proponent of civil rights legislation, including the integration of schools. He delivered effective speeches on the enforcement of the 14th amendment and the Ku Klux Klan Act.

The Congressman fought to broaden educational opportunities, believing that Federal aid for education was important to all Americans, regardless of race or region. It is this message that he would probably deliver to the majority in Congress today. Mr. Rainey was fiercely loyal to party and to cause.

And so, Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I honor Mr. Joseph Hayne Rainey, the first African-American Member of Congress.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my appreciation to the gentleman from New Jersey, Congressman DONALD PAYNE, for reserving this special order. DON is doing an outstanding job as chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. As a founding member of the CBC, I am particularly pleased to join Congressman PAYNE and others as we pay tribute to an individual who was a political trailblazer, and who left his mark on the Halls of Congress and this Nation.

On December 12, 1870, Joseph Hayne Rainey was sworn as a Member of the 41st Congress. In this context, he became the first African-American to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives. He served in this legislative body until March 3, 1879. We gather today, on the 125th anniversary of his significant swearing-in, to recognize the contributions of Joseph Hayne Rainey.

Mr. Speaker, Joseph Rainey's swearing-in was particularly historic in light of the fact that just 2 years earlier, in 1868, a black American was elected to the House of Representatives, but was denied his seat. On November 3, 1868, John Willis Menard was elected to the House of Representatives from the Second Congressional District of Louisiana. Although his credentials were certified by the Governor of that State, Menard's seat was successfully contested and declared vacant on February 27, 1869. As a consequence, John Willis Menard was never permitted to sit in the Congress to which he had been elected. Prior to his departure from the House of Representatives, John Menard because the first black American to deliver a speech on the floor of the House.

History records that America's first black Senator suffered a similar experience. Hiram Revels was elected to the U.S. Senate on January 20, 1870, to fill the unexpired term of Jefferson Davis. Mr. Revels suffered a bitter debate over his right to be seated in the Senate. He faced baseless charges, including the charge that by virtue of his former condition of slavery, that he had not been a U.S. citizen the required 9 years. On February 25, 1870, almost a year to the day after the refusal of the House of Representatives to seat John Menard, Hiram Revels won his seat in the Senate.

It was in this type of setting that Joseph Hayne Rainey entered the Halls of Congress to represent his South Carolina district. Joseph Rainey was born in Georgetown, SC. His father was a barber who brought the freedom to his family. Rainey began his political career as a member of the executive committee of the Republican Party in that State. In 1870, Joseph Rainey was elected to fill the unexpired term of Congressman B.F. Whittenmore. Thus, he became the first black

American to be elected and serve as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

In the Congress, Joseph Rainey served with distinction as a member of the Freedmen's Affairs Committee, the Select Enrolled Bills Committee, and the Celebration of Proposed National Census of 1875 Committee, just to name a few. History records that Joseph Rainey was a skilled legislator and orator. He made impressive speeches on the House floor in favor of legislation to enforce the 14th amendment and the Civil Rights Act. Joseph Rainey also fought to expand educational opportunities. It was his belief that this was not an issue involving region or color, but an issue of great national importance.

Joseph Hayne Rainey served in the U.S. Congress until his retirement on March 3, 1879. Following his tenure in Congress, he was appointed as a special agent of the Treasury Department for South Carolina. He died in his hometown of Georgetown, SC, in 1886.

Mr. Speaker, as we gather in the House Chamber today, we pay tribute to Joseph Hayne Rainey. He and many others were trailblazers for the generations of black elected officials who have followed in their path. I applaud our good friend, Congressman DONALD PAYNE, for calling this special order to acknowledge the contributions of Joseph Hayne Rainey. It is certainly fitting and appropriate that we do so.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in this tribute to the public service of the Honorable Joseph Rainey of South Carolina, who was sworn in as a Member of the House of Representatives 125 years ago.

I congratulate Congressman DONALD PAYNE, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, for organizing this special order in honor of Congressman Rainey.

Born in slavery in 1832, Congressman Rainey joined the Republican Party at the end of the Civil War, and in 1870 was elected to the South Carolina State senate. That same year, a vacancy in the U.S. House of Representatives presented Joseph Rainey with the opportunity to accept the Republican nomination for the First Congressional District in South Carolina. He defeated Democrat C.W. Dudley, and was sworn in as a Member of this House on December 12, 1870.

Congressman Rainey was reelected in 1872, again in 1874, and in 1876. It was only after the tragic political compromise of 1877, in which the rights of black Americans were sacrificed to political expediency, that Congressman Rainey's political career faded. After Federal troops withdrew from the South, the protection of all voter's rights to vote became impossible. The party of Abraham Lincoln was no longer able to protect Congressman Rainey in the increasingly polarized South that emerged after the reconstruction era ended. Mr. Rainey lost the election of 1878, and was never again to serve in public office.

I am proud to be a member of Mr. Rainey's party, and proud of our heritage of racial justice and political courage. Since Mr. Rainey's service in the Congress, we have made great strides toward our goal of making the House

of Representatives into a house that truly represents the American people.

We were able to make those strides only because of the political and personal courage of our predecessors in public office. When one studies the social conditions of the late 19th century in a small southern city like Washington, DC, one knows that Mr. Rainey must have been a man of great personal courage and strength.

May we here today always strive to live up to his example.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, 125 years ago today one of my predecessors in the First District of South Carolina, the Honorable Joseph Hayne Rainey, was sworn in as the first African-American Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. I am proud to carry on his tradition of service to our area of South Carolina.

Representative Joseph Hayne Rainey was born in Georgetown, SC in 1832. Although having limited education he became a leader in post-Civil War South Carolina. And, in 1867, Representative Rainey became a member of the executive committee of the newly formed Republican Party of South Carolina. He served as a delegate to South Carolina's constitutional convention, and was later elected to the State senate. In 1870 he was elected to fill a vacant seat in the U.S. House of Representatives and served until 1879.

While in the House of Representatives, he impressed many people with his floor speeches on behalf of the enforcement of the 14th amendment and the civil rights bill. He was a fervent believer in equal rights for all citizens.

But this is what anyone could find out, as I did, through reading the brief biographical sketches that exist of Representative Rainey. What particularly struck me was that Representative Rainey was a man of conviction. He is described, in one of these sketches, as a man who stuck to his principles and was known as a courteous debater who defended his position not through arrogance, but through persuasion. In this respect, I seek to emulate him.

I was also impressed by the fact that Representative Rainey after leaving the House served again in South Carolina and then returned to Washington to work in the banking and brokerage business. In this sense, he also represented what I seek to be, a citizen legislator. And I am honored to be able to follow in his footsteps as a representative of the First District of South Carolina.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of my special order today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JONES). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.