

Jones, Nev.
Lodge,
Martin,
Perkins,

Power,
Fugh,
Roach,
Shoup,

Squire,
Stewart,
Teller,
Turpie,

Walthall,
Wolcott.

NOT VOTING—20.

Aldrich,
Allen,
Allison,
Brice,
Call,

Camden,
Chandler,
Cockrell,
Colquitt,
Dolph,

Gordon,
Gorman,
Hale,
Morgan,
Morrill,

Pettigrew,
Quay,
Sherman,
Voorhees,
Wilson.

So the substitute submitted by Mr. VANCE was agreed to.
Mr. MANDERSON. I enter a motion to reconsider the vote by which the substitute was agreed to.

Mr. VANCE. I move to lay that motion on the table.
The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nebraska moves to reconsider the vote by which the substitute was agreed to, and the Senator from North Carolina moves to lay the motion on the table.

Mr. MANDERSON. I ask unanimous consent to say a word. Of course I understand that the motion to lay on the table is not debatable.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Nebraska will proceed.
Mr. MANDERSON. My purpose in changing my vote was that I might put myself in a parliamentary position to enter the motion to reconsider.

Mr. VANCE. I think I shall have to object.
Mr. MANDERSON. I did so simply because of the fact that there seemed to be a dispute as to pairs. That dispute certainly can not be ended now. I think that common fairness to those who have objected to the disposition of the pairs should prompt the Senate to let the vote go over until another day, so that the question as to the pairs can be properly disposed of.

Mr. VANCE. I object to debate, Mr. President.
Mr. MILLS and others. Question.
Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that debate proceeds only by unanimous consent. The Senator from North Carolina interposes an objection.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I move that the Senate do now adjourn.
The VICE-PRESIDENT. Pending the motion of the Senator from North Carolina to lay on the table the motion of the Senator from Nebraska to reconsider, the Senator from Colorado moves that the Senate do now adjourn. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. VANCE. I demand the yeas and nays.
Mr. HARRIS. I ask the Senator from Colorado to withdraw the motion to adjourn in order that I may move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. WOLCOTT. I withdraw the motion for that purpose.
Mr. HARRIS. Then I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Tennessee. [Putting the question.] The Chair is in doubt.

Mr. HARRIS. Then let us have the yeas and nays on the motion to proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The yeas and nays having been ordered and taken, the result was announced—yeas 57, nays 6; as follows:

YEAS—57.

Allen,
Bate,
Berry,
Blackburn,
Butler,
Call,
Cameron,
Carey,
Chandler,
Cockrell,
Coke,
Cullom,
Daniel,
Davis,
Dixon,

Dubois,
Faulkner,
Frye,
Gallinger,
Gibson,
Gray,
Hansbrough,
Harris,
Hawley,
Higgins,
Hill,
Hoar,
Hunton,
Irby,
Jones, Ark.

Jones, Nev.
Kyle,
Lindsay,
Lodge,
McMillan,
McPherson,
Manderson,
Martin,
Mills,
Mitchell, Oregon
Peffer,
Perkins,
Platt,
Proctor,
Pugh,

Roach,
Shoup,
Smith,
Squire,
Stewart,
Stockbridge,
Teller,
Turpie,
Vest,
Vilas,
Walthall,
Wolcott.

NAYS—6.

Caffery,
Mitchell, Wis.

Palmer,
Pasco,

Vance,
Washburn.

NOT VOTING—22.

Aldrich,
Allison,
Brice,
Camden,
Colquitt,
Dolph,

George,
Gordon,
Gorman,
Hale,
Morgan,
Morrill,

Murphy,
Pettigrew,
Power,
Quay,
Ransom,
Sherman,

Voorhees,
White, Cal.
White, La.
Wilson.

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 5 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 24, 1893, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, August 23, 1893.

The House met at 10 o'clock a. m.

The SPEAKER. The Chaplain is absent this morning, the reason being, as the Chair assumes, that he did not know of the change in the hour of meeting. The Clerk will read the Journal.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following letter from the Clerk of the House, which was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Elections:

CLERK'S OFFICE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., August 7, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to lay before the House of Representatives a list of contests for seats in the House of Representatives for the Fifty-third Congress of the United States, notices of which have been filed in the office of the Clerk of the House, and also to transmit therewith all original testimony, papers, and documents relating thereto, as follows, to wit:

STATE OF ALABAMA.

Fifth district—Martin W. Whatley *vs.* James E. Cobb, three packages.

STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

Third district—Warren B. English *vs.* Samuel G. Hilborn, two packages.

STATE OF GEORGIA.

Tenth district—Thomas E. Watson *vs.* James C. C. Black, two packages.

STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Eighth district—Lewis Steward *vs.* Robert A. Childs, two packages.

STATE OF KANSAS.

Second district—H. L. Moore *vs.* Edward H. Funston, five packages.

STATE OF MISSOURI.

Eleventh district—John J. O'Neill *vs.* Charles F. Joy, two packages.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Fifth district—A. H. A. Williams *vs.* Thomas Settle, two packages.

STATE OF TENNESSEE.

Eighth district—P. H. Thrasher *vs.* B. A. Enloe, three packages.

STATE OF VIRGINIA.

Fourth district—J. T. Goode *vs.* J. F. Epes, three packages.

The Clerk has also received a notice of contest from F. D. Koonce *vs.* B. F. Grady, Third Congressional district of North Carolina, but said notice has been unaccompanied by any testimony, and consequently the original notice is laid before the House for such action as it may deem proper to take.

The Clerk has also received notice of contest and answer thereto in the case of Frank Baltzell *vs.* J. F. Stallings, Second Congressional district of Alabama, but it was unaccompanied by testimony; all of which papers are laid before the House for its action thereon.

In compliance with the act approved March 2, 1887, entitled "An act relating to contested elections," such portions of the testimony in the above cases as the parties in interest agreed upon, or as seemed proper to the Clerk, after giving the requisite notices, have been printed and indexed, together with the notices of contest and the answers thereto, and such portions of the testimony as were not printed with all the original papers have been sealed up and are ready to be laid before the Committee on Elections.

Two copies of the printed testimony in each case have been mailed to the contestant, and the same number to the contestee. The law in reference to the briefs of both the contestee and contestant in each case has been complied with as far as possible upon the receipt by the Clerk of said briefs. Owing to delays in this matter, over which the Clerk has no control, all of said briefs have not yet been returned to him by the parties to these contests; but so far as the briefs have been furnished to the Clerk they are also ready to be laid before the Committee on Elections upon the order of the House.

Very respectfully,

JAMES KERR,

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PAYMENT OF CLERKS TO MEMBERS.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House a letter from the Clerk of the House, explaining the insufficiency of the contingent fund for the payment of clerks to members; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

EXCUSED FROM COMMITTEE SERVICE.

The SPEAKER also laid before the House the request of Mr. BOUTELLE to be relieved from service on the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries; which, without objection, was granted.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

A message from the President, by Mr. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had approved and signed joint resolutions of the following titles:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 1) making available appropriations for the payment of session employés of the House and Senate during the first session of the Fifty-third Congress;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 2) for the appropriate commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol of the United States, September 18, 1793; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 3) making immediately available the appropriations for mileage of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. PEARSON, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled the bill (S. 50) in aid of the California Midwinter International Exposition; when the Speaker signed the same.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. COX. I ask unanimous consent for the introduction of a bill, that it may be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency under a similar order to that made yesterday, on the bill introduced by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON].

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill.

Mr. PAYNE. I demand the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The demand for the regular order is equivalent to an objection.

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. CHARLES W. STONE. Mr. Speaker, the condition in which we are placed to-day is, in my judgment, too serious and the issues involved too grave to justify an appeal to passion, prejudice, or partisan feeling, or to be controlled by the varying interpretations which may be put upon the Democratic platform, which has played so large a part in the discussion of this question. What party platforms may have said, or what parties may have done in the past, is a matter of minor importance, in the anomalous and unprecedented condition in which we find ourselves. What may have been entirely wise and proper in an emergency in 1890 may be unwise and injurious in another emergency in 1893. Conditions change; new occasions teach new duties. Time makes ancient good uncouth. The matter of importance to us now is present duty more than past history.

The drowning man, as he buffets the waves, is much more concerned to know how he can get out than to investigate how he happened to fall in, and the spectators on the bank do not need to quarrel as to who shall reach to him a helping and a saving hand. The important thing is to save the man, not who shall do it. Hence, however, much we may be inclined to deprecate or even resent that policy of the dominant party which has denied to this side of the House the least voice or possible agency in molding the pending legislation, that fact should not prevent our giving to it that fair, unprejudiced consideration and action which its merits and the startling and serious emergency confronting us both require.

What is the proposition before us? Why, simply to stop the compulsory monthly purchase, on a falling market, of tons of silver bullion, for which we have no earthly use, and the giving thereof of notes which investors seem to doubt our ultimate ability or disposition to pay in the standard money of the civilized world. Why should we continue to accumulate this bullion? What use can be made of it? Let me answer in the words of my valued friend from Missouri, the distinguished champion of the free-coinage cause, whose language always possesses the merit of candor and courageous, straightforward earnestness. He said on this floor on the 22d day of March, 1892:

The law of the last Congress, July 14, 1890, provided for the purchase of silver at its market rate, measured in gold, and for the use of bullion for what purpose? As mere dead capital in the Treasury, which might as well be at the bottom of the Potomac.

Why now insist on continuing this senseless proceeding? If it were iron or steel, the nation might some time have some use for it in the construction of its Navy or the armament of its forts or vessels. If it were coal, it might sometime be consumed in the operations of the Government on land or sea, but silver can not be consumed or used except for the single purpose of adding to the three hundred and fifty million of idle dollars now clogging the Treasury vaults, and which can not be forced into circulation.

The real purpose of the act, to sustain and enhance the price of silver bullion by furnishing a large and certain purchaser, has not been attained, and if attainable such purpose can not be defended. As well may you ask the Government to bull the market for wheat, cotton, coal, oil, copper, or iron, by making enormous and unnecessary purchases of those articles.

But, sir, more than that, out of this purchase has arisen, in the process of time, positive and serious danger. The purchases under the Sherman law are entirely paid for in Treasury notes, payable by their terms in coin, and by fair inference and the interpretation of the Government, in such kind of coin as the holder thereof may desire. They have been issued to the amount of \$148,286,348, and have gone into our circulation, and the volume is increasing from month to month. They have materially swollen the amount of our paper currency; they represent a practical reserve of silver in the nation's Treasury; they call

attention to the increasing preponderance of silver in our currency, and now we are told in rotund tones, and with all the graces of polished oratory, by the gentleman from New York and others, that distrust pervades financial circles and reaches the nations of Europe, and that as a result money is withdrawn from the channels of trade and hoarded in banks and vaults.

Why this distrust? Is it senseless and baseless, the mere whim and impulse of a panic-stricken public? The gentlemen have not told us. In eloquent tones they have pictured the existing condition of affairs and implored us to repeal the Sherman law. Why? How is this condition traceable to that law? The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] tells us that an alarm like a cry of fire in a crowded hall has been sounded, and the whole nation is panic-stricken. Who gave this alarm, which my friend terms a false alarm, and what was its character? Who precipitated this panic? The gentleman says it was "the same forces which have always opposed any legislation favorable to silver." Let us see.

On the 12th of April, 1892, from his seat in the Senate, Senator STEWART of Nevada, the great apostle of free coinage, uttered the following words:

It is manifest that gold can not be obtained to redeem the Treasury notes issued and to be issued under the act of 1890 under existing law. There is no possibility of accumulating gold for that purpose, or for the purpose of sustaining the other denominations of paper and silver, above mentioned, in circulation. Silver must be coined and used for the redemption of paper or the Government must repudiate its obligations.

And again on the 2d day of June, 1892, replying to Senator SHERMAN, he uses the following language:

He tells us that free coinage will bring us to a silver standard just as he predicted the Bland act would do. Now, our present law will do worse than that. The present law on the statute book, which he approves to-day (he may not approve it to-morrow) will do worse than that. It will inevitably bring us to a paper standard or the market-value standard of silver, because it is going to be utterly impossible—there is no use in our deceiving ourselves upon this subject—to maintain gold payments under existing laws.

These are not the words of a Wall street alarmist. They are not the utterances of quaking capital. They come not from any of the gentleman's baneful forces which have always opposed silver. They are not even the timid utterances of the raw recruit in the silver ranks. They come from the general of those forces; from the grim veteran of many a hard-fought battle.

Such expressions from a Senator of the United States of long service, an acknowledged student of financial questions, and the spokesman and representative of a large element in our population, could not escape the attention of the investors in our securities at home or abroad. They would naturally produce uneasiness if not apprehension.

Then comes the widespread newspaper report, whether well founded or not I do not assume to say, but going out to the public, that the Secretary of the Treasury in the early summer, when the gold reserve dropped to a hundred million dollars, contemplated silver payments of Treasury notes, and it seemed to give substance to the people's apprehensions and fulfillment to the Senator's prophecy that we were drifting to a silver basis.

This is followed up by the President of the United States, who makes formal and official public announcement of the impending danger in his message, as follows:

Between the 1st day of July, 1890, and the 15th day of July, 1893, the gold coin and bullion in our Treasury decreased more than \$132,000,000, while during the same period the silver coin and bullion in the Treasury increased more than \$147,000,000. Unless Government bonds are to be constantly issued and sold to replenish our exhausted gold, only to be again exhausted, it is apparent that the operation of the silver-purchase law now in force leads in the direction of the entire substitution of silver for the gold in the Government Treasury, and that this must be followed by the payment of all Government obligations in depreciated silver.

Whatever may have been the situation before this authoritative proclamation of danger, coming from the head of the Government and going through all business circles and to all financial centers, distrust and apprehension are now unavoidable.

Said a distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, when a financial crisis was threatened, on being asked if he was not alarmed? "No, it would never do for the Secretary of the Treasury to get scared when everybody else is," and there was solid wisdom in the utterance. Would that the President of the United States had realized it.

If, instead of the timid, halting, and irresolute policy of this Administration, ending in the loud proclamation of the serious danger of the payment of all Government obligations in a depreciated currency, there had come from the Administration at all times and upon all occasions, from the inaugural utterances forward, the uniform, unhesitating, and bold expression of a determination that the integrity of every dollar of our currency should be maintained by the exercise to the utmost limit of every power of the Executive, express or implied, the distrust and danger aroused by injudicious utterances of leading silver advocates and by the character of our currency, would have been largely allayed.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not believe that the condition of our currency was the primary or principal cause of our financial distress or business prostration. I agree with my friend from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] that the underlying cause of our business paralysis, first operating and continuing to operate, was and is the threatening attitude of the Democratic party toward the productive industries of this great nation, and this, with blinded judgment and partisan temerity, the President emphasizes in his message. In other words, the President alike threatens capital already invested and alarms capital seeking investment, and nothing but business paralysis can result. In short, the nation is suffering from an attack of Democratic statesmanship.

This fact does not, however, diminish the obligation of every patriot, rising above the limits of party feeling, the pride of personal opinion, and the irresponsibility of lack of power, to cooperate in every measure which by any possibility may bring returning prosperity to our suffering country.

The Sherman law, whether originally so or not, is now undoubtedly a factor in this business depression. Let us repeal it. Let us take the President's panacea. If it cures the disease, and returning prosperity follows, we shall all rejoice. If it does not, the fact will be made clearly and indisputably evident that the trouble is deeper than the Sherman law, and rests in the threatening attitude of the Democratic party toward the protection of American labor and American enterprise.

But the President's remedy is not the only one proposed. Our free-silver friends say, "Oh, yes; the ship of state is foundering in a rough and troubled sea and steering straight for the breakers, but you shall not use the pumps or change her course unless you let us load her down with the world's stock of silver, produced and to be produced. That will give her steadiness of motion and help to reach the unruffled sea of plenty and prosperity."

I do not concede the fairness of this position. I have no faith in such seamanship.

Their views, however, are urged with earnestness and undoubted sincerity, and are entitled to candid consideration. What are they? What do they propose? Simply, that the owner of silver bullion, no matter who he is, American, Englishman, or Egyptian—no matter where it was produced, whether in the United States, Mexico, or Australia—may deposit at any mint of the United States 412½ grains of standard silver, costing him to-day and purchasable anywhere for less than 60 cents, and have it coined into a dollar for his benefit and without cost to him. This 60-cent dollar the Government agrees to receive and forces all its citizens to take for 100 cents.

Whatever may be the underlying principle of this legislation, its practical operation, so long as the Government can sustain this dollar at par, is to give through the agency of the stamp and credit of the nation a substantial bounty of over 40 cents on the dollar, at present prices, to every holder of silver bullion—a species of class legislation that is entirely indefensible.

On the other hand, if the silver dollar can not be maintained at par, then the laborer's wages, the price of the farmer's crops, and every debt and obligation not by its terms specifically payable in gold, will be paid in a debased and depreciated silver currency. Gold will disappear from our circulation, and we shall reach an exclusively silver basis. Silver and gold can not both be circulated one moment after the Government ceases to be able to sustain their full and free interchangeability, dollar for dollar.

I do not propose to discuss these propositions, which have been often stated and fully elaborated during this debate and on other occasions, but rather to consider briefly some of the reasons advanced for adopting a system which must produce such results.

Why, it is claimed as a constitutional right, and the expression "gold and silver, the money of the Constitution," is rolled as a precious morsel under the tongue of every silver advocate; and in the very able, lengthy, and elaborate report from the Committee on Coinage, made by the distinguished gentleman from Missouri in the last Congress, a prominent heading in capital letters is in these words: "Free coinage required by the Constitution."

What justification is there for this? Is it provided anywhere in the Constitution that gold and silver shall be coined without limit and without cost? No sir, there is not one word to justify that assertion. Why, sir, neither gold nor silver is mentioned anywhere in the Constitution except in the tenth section of the first article, and then only in prohibiting the individual States from making anything else a legal tender. Is there anything in this prohibition from which an inference can be drawn of an obligation on the General Government, and an obligation different from the prohibition?

In the same section and paragraph the States are prohibited from impairing the obligation of contracts or granting titles of

nobility. Can any inference be drawn from such prohibition of an obligation on the General Government to do the things prohibited to the States? The inference at most would be one of power only, and not of obligation, and would be only coextensive with the prohibition, namely, to make gold and silver a legal tender, and that has been done and the silver dollar is to-day as full and complete a legal tender as the gold dollar. Nowhere else in the Constitution are either gold or silver mentioned, and the claim of constitutional recognition of the silver dollar is the thinnest and flimsiest pretense. It may be proper to coin it, but it is not a constitutional requirement.

But, it is argued, a great wrong was committed and a serious outrage consummated in 1873, when the silver dollar was demonetized. Men talk flippantly and furious, and even threateningly, of the demonetization of the silver dollar, and yet it is not demonetized, and has not been for the last hundred years, except for a brief time between 1874 and 1878. It is full legal tender and possesses all the money qualities and uses it ever did. Its coinage has simply been limited. In other words, the Government has assumed to decide for itself, instead of leaving it to the cupidity of the bullion producer to determine, how many of these silver dollars the people need and can safely use in the convenient transaction of their business and the conduct of their exchanges; and if any profit is to be made from its coinage that it shall be for the benefit of the whole people, instead of the few silver owners and speculators.

Finding over 350,000,000 idle dollars in the Treasury which can not be forced into circulation, and finding that by the continuous operation of natural forces the intrinsic value of the silver dollar has been reduced nearly one-half and that serious danger of depreciation is believed to exist, it determined to stop the coinage until the conditions change, but the legal-tender or money qualities of the dollar are in no wise impaired.

But, gentlemen reply, we are not talking simply of existing dollars, but of silver in general, and that was discredited in this country and in the eyes of the world in 1873, and they did not discover it for years afterwards. Why, the discredit of silver in this country came in 1853, and gentlemen apparently have not discovered it yet. It was then that the right of free coinage was denied to the greater part of your silver used for coinage. It was then that the full legal-tender quality was taken from all your silver coins in actual circulation. It was then that, by order of a Democratic President, the Government refused to take even your standard silver dollars in payment of impost duties due to the Government; and this refusal continued for twenty years.

Talk about the wrong of the act of 1873, which simply dropped from your coinage the silver dollar, which was not in circulation and which had been discredited for twenty years by the refusal of the Government to receive it in payment of debts! The blow at silver was struck in 1853, when you debased your halves, quarters, and dimes, closed your mints to their free coinage, and took away their legal-tender quality. How is the right to have silver coined into a dollar any more sacred than into two halves? What is the difference in principle? The question is certainly not one of degree, for up to 1853 we had coined over \$51,000,000 in halves and only \$2,500,000 in dollars. Why, we had coined 50 per cent more in value and fifteen times in number of the insignificant dimes than of the grand old "dollar of the daddies," which only the daddies of very modern times ever saw.

Why not be frank about these things? Why not give us the facts? Why not tell us that by the order of Thomas Jefferson the mints were closed to the coinage of the silver dollars in 1805 and for thirty years thereafter not a single silver dollar was coined?

Do you forget that the entire coinage of silver dollars, in the whole eighty years prior to 1873, only amounted to a little over \$3,000,000, and that we have coined since then over \$400,000,000, an average every year of nearly three times the entire aggregate coinage of the first eighty years, and that even last year we coined more standard silver dollars than in the whole eighty years before 1873?

The act of 1873 was passed in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, thrice repeated in his annual reports, commencing in 1870. It was considered with more than ordinary attention in both Houses, its discussion filling 144 columns of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and was carefully examined by committees of both Houses and by a conference committee. It was pending for over two years, and printed thirteen times by order of Congress, and it can not be impugned now because some members can be found to say that they did not know what was in it. They had abundant opportunity to know, but the fact is that the dropping or retaining of the silver dollar seemed a matter of little importance then, as we were on a paper basis, and no silver was in circulation.

Let me quote from Secretary Manning's report, made in 1886:

The act of 1873 has been denounced and praised for demonetizing silver, which it did not do. It retired no silver from circulation; it caused no coin to be sold as bullion; it withdrew the full legal-tender quality from no silver coin. * * * The arguments that anything really injurious to silver was done by the act of 1873 are arguments offered only by those who are not quite familiar with the subject.

From the report of Secretary Windom, in 1889:

As a matter of fact, the act of 1873 had little or no effect on the price of silver. The United States was at that time on a paper basis. The entire number of silver dollars coined in this country from the organization of the mints in 1792 was only 88,045,838, but they had not been in circulation for over twenty-five years.

But we are told that, by reason of some mysterious sympathy between all other commodities and silver, prices from 1873 forward, of everything except gold, have gone down continuously and regularly as the price of silver has fallen, and that adversity and distress have followed in the wake of these falling prices, and all for the lack of the vitalizing current of silver in our national currency. Gentlemen would have us understand that prices were lower in 1878 than in 1872, as the value of silver was less, and yet we poured into the currency twenty-two millions silver dollars in 1878 against one million in 1872; that prices were lower in 1879 than in 1878, and yet we added twenty-seven millions of coined dollars to our currency in 1879.

We are told that prices continued to fall from year to year, but our additions to the currency of coined silver dollars increased just as regularly, until in 1890 we coined over \$38,000,000.

Gentlemen tell us that prices were falling and the market weak for want of silver sustenance, and yet we were administering the coined silver dollars in allopathic and progressively increasing doses of thirty-odd millions a year, and the more silver we coined the lower prices went. Yet in the face of this indisputable fact, and of the fact that the greatest depression in prices occurred during that period when we were coining most silver dollars and coining them fastest, the only prescription which gentlemen offer for better prices is more silver coinage.

But is it a fact that prices of all articles except gold have fallen regularly as silver has fallen? It may be true that an ounce of silver will buy as much wheat to-day as it would twenty years ago; as much cotton, as much corn. An ounce of silver is worth a little over one-half what it was twenty years ago, and the same may be true of a bushel of wheat. The area of production has been largely increased, the methods of cultivation vastly improved, and the cost of transportation to market greatly lessened, and the same may be substantially true of silver, but I will not stop to discuss causes. Will gentlemen who urge this argument say that a day's labor—the basis of all values—is worth only half what it was twenty years ago?

Have wages fallen as silver has fallen? Can the laboring man buy no more wheat or flour for his day's work now than twenty years ago? No more cotton cloth or clothing? Why, sir, wages have not fallen as silver has fallen; and if you show the millions of wage-earners of this nation that silver has dragged down with itself the price of the food he eats and the clothes he wears, and has left his wages untouched, will he regard that system as an unalloyed evil? And if other influences have operated to affect the price of labor, and they have, is it not also possible that other causes may have operated to affect the prices of other articles, as, for instance, of sugar, of iron, or of oil? This question of prices, however, is too intricate and too remotely connected with the question here for further discussion in the brief time allowed.

But, sir, my friend, the eloquent gentleman from Pennsylvania, asserts, and to be logical he must so maintain, that from 1873 on to this time we have been constantly sinking deeper and deeper in the slough of national disaster and distress, but no proof of this assertion is offered and none can be found. On the contrary, the concurring testimony of all observers, as well as the proof of census statistics, will sustain the assertion I now make, that there has been no period in the history of this or any other nation, from the beginning of recorded time, of such marvelous growth and general prosperity as in this country between the years 1880 and 1890.

Other causes operated to produce this result, and I will not discuss them, but I want to emphasize the fact that we were prosperous to a wonderful degree, and that in all this time the lack of free coinage did not operate to stay this progress.

Gentlemen picture to us France as to-day the utopian home of peace and plenty, and attribute that condition to her financial system. Will they be kind enough to tell us in what essential particular that system differs from our own?

She uses both gold and silver as currency. So do we, except that we use a smaller proportion of silver than France, and are increasing that element of our currency and she is not. Her standard coins of both gold and silver are unlimited legal tender, and so are ours. Her minor coins are of limited legal tender, as

are ours. Her mints are closed, and have been for years, to the coinage of silver on private account, and so are ours. There is no essential difference in the financial systems of the two nations. We have in our currency more silver than gold, while France has more gold than silver. We have to-day \$664,573,320 of silver to \$603,723,903 of gold, while France has \$700,000,000 of silver and \$900,000,000 of gold.

Will any one be kind enough to tell me what there is in this comparative composition of the currency of the two countries on which to base an argument for the unlimited use of silver? But, they say, France maintained the free coinage of silver for seventy years. Granted; but she abandoned it fifteen years ago because she could no longer maintain it. While she continued it she was in the exceptional position of having England and Portugal on a gold basis on the one side, and Germany and the rest of continental Europe on a silver basis on the other side. Between the rivalry and the counteracting forces of the two systems, and with the relative production of silver and gold not out of proportion, an equilibrium was easily maintainable. No nation to-day stands in that position, and neither France nor any other nation can now, alone, open her mints to the unlimited coinage of silver and continue on any other than an exclusively silver basis.

But, we are told that the silver dollar will buy 100 cents worth of any commodity, and hence is an honest dollar; that an inert piece of silver bullion, worth yesterday but 57 cents, by the potency of the Government stamp is worth to-day 100 cents. Yes, and the piece of paper worth yesterday one one-hundredth of a cent, by the potency of the same stamp is worth to-day a dollar. The process of transformation is essentially the same, by which has been infused the element of the nation's faith and guaranty, but because the piece of paper is now worth a dollar, dare you open the Government's printing presses to anyone who will bring paper 3 inches wide and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long?

Why not, if the mints are to be opened to anyone bringing 412 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver? The difference is not one of principle, but simply of degree, and where will you draw the line? If you make a dollar out of 57 cents worth of silver, why not out of 50, 40, 20 or 10? Why waste 57 cents worth of material when one one-hundredth of a cent's worth will do as well? The safety in each case is the limit of the issue, and that limit must always be within the limits of the nation's credit and of its ability to meet all its obligations and guaranties.

Issue paper money without limit, and it will have only the value of the paper on which it is printed. Coin silver without limit, and it will have only the value of the bullion of which it is composed.

I agree with you that the silver dollar is worth 100 cents to-day, for the same reason that the greenback is, viz, because the Government will give you 100 cents for it, and while the Government does that everybody else will, and when the Government ceases to do that nobody else will; and the Government must inevitably cease to do it when you remove the limit to its coinage and leave it to be flooded with the accumulated silver of the world for coinage into money at a profit of 40 per cent to the owner.

I want every silver dollar worth 100 cents, now and always, and I want that hundred cents made up of silver, and not 56 cents' worth of silver and 44 cents of argument, for argument is cheap; and it would be no consolation to the people when the dollar of unlimited coinage declined to its bullion value, that eminent gentlemen had argued long and earnestly and eloquently that it never could so decline.

We may declaim about what ought to be, may theorize about what would have been, may speculate as to what will be or would be, but must not shut our eyes to the controlling facts of actual and potential present existence. We have got more silver in our currency to-day than gold, and more proportionately than any other civilized nation of the world. Their mints are all closed to silver, and they have long since stopped such additions to their currency. We have not.

The value of silver has diminished about one-half, while its production has much more than doubled in the last twenty years, and is now nearly twenty-four times that of gold, and its relative value has dropped to one twenty-eighth that of gold.

The strongest and richest nations of Europe, after a persistent struggle, have given up the attempt to sustain free coinage as hopeless. The greatest silver using and absorbing nation of the world has abandoned that basis, and the nightmare of the competition of India and the delusive puzzle of selling for gold and buying for silver is eliminated from the situation.

In the face of these facts, and of the warning of careful students of financial laws and observers of financial movements in this country and all over the world, dare we attempt alone the task from which other nations have recoiled? Dare we place the obstacle of another national failure in the only way that leads to the full restorator of silver, viz, by international cooperation?

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the fullest possible use of silver as money, consistent with the certain maintenance of its value in the hands of the people. They must, however, be protected from all danger of loss and depreciation, and this can only be done by confining its coinage within the limits of the nation's ability to redeem it on demand at 100 cents on the dollar, or by putting into the coined dollar 100 cents worth of silver at its market value.

That a measure can not be drawn that, while enlarging the uses of silver, shall do it on safe lines and with due precaution against depreciation and loss in the hands of the people, or its being made an instrument of injury to one class for the benefit of another, no man can safely assert. And opposition to this bill, which contains no such safeguards, and which, under the order adopted by the majority of this House, we are powerless to amend or change, does not imply opposition to any measure which does contain such safeguards, if presented.

I desire, in conclusion, to call attention to the fact that this pending bill is radically different from the laws existing prior to 1873, for it does not contemplate putting into actual circulation a single additional dollar of silver. It practically provides for the unlimited issue of paper money, based on and secured by the deposit of silver worth to-day in the markets of the world only 56 or 57 per cent of the face value of the paper issued, and this percentage may any day be further reduced.

Is this a safe and rational business proposition? Will this tend to restore confidence? Will it tend to diminish the distrust of our ability to meet all our paper on demand in the standard money of the world?

Mr. Speaker, we have been told again and again that we stand at the parting of two roads, and must determine which we will travel; that the one leads by free silver to the bright and blossoming fields of prosperity and plenty; that the other, by gold monometallism, leads to narrow streets and the stifling atmosphere of general want and misery. Gentlemen do not read the inscriptions on the guideboard aright. The one leads surely to an exclusively silver basis, with its constant fluctuations of values, by which the poor and honest and simple-minded always suffer and the shrewd, crafty, and rich always are benefited.

The beautiful view that rises up along that route is but the unsubstantial, enticing, and delusive mirage which covers and obscures the tempestuous sea of a silver basis with its high waves, deep depressions, and stormy winds. The other road leads to the rough, rugged, barren, and forbidding mountain height, which stands as a barrier in the way of industrial development and true progress, and up and over its sharp crags and dangerous heights only the strongest and the boldest can climb, while the weak and timid languish and starve at its base.

But, gentlemen, there is a middle road which you have failed to mention, which leads along the level plain between the mountains and the sea, through green pastures and beside still waters, where all may walk and none need faint. It is built on the safe and solid middle ground of a judicious union of gold and silver, and it is molded by the intelligence, honesty, and faith of a great nation. It leads by fruitful farms and peaceful homes; by teeming mines and humming mills; through busy marts of trade and commerce, and to the safe grounds of national honesty and prosperity; and that is the road for this nation to travel.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in accordance with what I believe to be the earnest wishes of the majority of my constituents, as well as with my own conviction of what is right, I intend to vote for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase clause in the so-called Sherman bill and against the substitute or series of substitutes therefor offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

Perhaps, having made this statement, it were better that I should refrain from any further claim on the attention of the House at this time; and it was my intention at the beginning of this debate not to say even this much, but to let the record of my vote on the too-long deferred roll-call alone express my convictions and the desire of my district on the pending measures.

But, sir, in view of some statements that have been made during the discussion, I should like to briefly express some thoughts that have occurred to me while listening to the eloquent speeches delivered on these all-important subjects.

It has seemed to me, sir, as if the people of the United States are presenting at this moment for the consideration of mankind two simultaneously panoramic views of the present condition of their country; the description of which by future historians as cotemporaneous photographs of the same subject must tax to the utmost the credulity of their readers.

The one is an exhibition of strength more than gigantic; of wisdom almost Godlike; of plenty beyond the power of even prodigality to consume; of wealth immeasurable, and of genius but little less than that of a creator.

The other presents the same subject with the weakness of infancy, lacking power to reach the hand for the acceptance of

proffered necessary life-giving sustenance; lacking even the comprehension necessary to loosen its hold and let fall the burden which it is conscious is dragging it to destruction; afflicted with poverty so pinching and so debasing that it cries aloud from hunger and flaunts unashamed its nakedness in the public places; while its perception of cause and effect is so rudimentary that it stands helplessly bewailing the agony produced by wounds its own folly continues to inflict.

At the head of the grandest system of land-locked seas on earth, within the borders of the central city of the future American Republic—that city herself one of the prodigies of the age—we behold, outrivaling in realistic splendor the brightest creations of fancy's fairy dreams, a vision from the contemplation of which no American citizen worthy the name can retire without feelings of increased love and admiration for his country.

In that materialized fairy land, the White City of the Lake, where are collected from all times and nations the choicest gems of the product of human genius, the most signal triumphs of mind over matter, specimens from all lands and waters of the bountiful offerings of mother earth for the maintenance of her children, from her mines, her forests, her soil and her seas, there, where man's progress is traced from a plane hardly above the level of the brute to his present elevation but "little lower than that of the angels," where is shown how the means of existence have increased, from the scanty need that nature unassisted gives, to the bounteous plenty that is more than the ample reward she returns as the wages of toil—there the citizens of our country have shown, in friendly competition with all other peoples, that their favored land is, in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, as to whatever contributes to the material comforts and to the elevation of humanity, incontestably first, let what nation may be second.

Now, sir, for another exhibition of the condition of the same country at the same time.

Within the walls of this Capitol, from every portion of the nation, within whose broad borders at this time, thank heaven, is neither plague, pestilence, nor other unusual providential affliction, more than sixty-five millions of people assemble through their representatives and daily, before God and man, bewail, "in all the matchless eloquence of woe," their unhappy condition, their almost unbearable miseries—miseries all the more poignant and galling in that they are admittedly unnecessary, even self-inflicted, and removable at will.

Professing fear lest they die of starvation in the granaries their own labor have filled with food to the bursting, or perish with cold on the steps of the storehouses their own looms, spindles, and strong arms have filled to overcrowding with fuel and fabric.

And all this suffering, present and impending, caused by lack of intelligence to secure a measure that shall justly and properly divide the united products of their various labors.

Surely, Mr. Speaker, these are most contradictory exhibits of coexisting conditions, and it will be scarcely credible, in future years, that they faithfully depict concurrent conditions of the same people. Certainly, the proud notes of exultation with which we are in one place celebrating our wonderful triumphs and progress should be stilled until we prove ourselves equal to the solution of what should be among the simplest of all questions in domestic economy, or at least until we shall have found a remedy for the present deplorable situation to which our own folly and stupidity have led and are leading us.

The President of the United States in his message conveying to Congress his reasons for convening this extraordinary session, after a most clear and vivid description of the financial situation, and after offering advice as to the proper remedy, called to our attention the proverb that "He gives twice who gives quickly." And, Mr. Speaker, if ever there was a time in the history of the country when that proverb was trite and applicable, when the nation's hopes were centered on her representatives, when she begged for action prompt and immediate, it was on the day when the message containing that admonition was delivered at the opening of the present session.

Perhaps, sir, as those versed in parliamentary procedure assert, we are moving with commendable celerity, or as fast at least as is consistent with careful and considerate legislation, and with due regard for all the vast interests involved. That may be the fact, sir; but there is no doubt whatever of another fact, which is that the country's hopes have been cruelly deferred and disappointed, that untold misery has accrued, and unknown millions' worth of the people's substance has vanished through this alleged necessary procrastination.

Mr. Speaker, should these remarks of mine delay, even for an instant, action on the questions now before us, I should have remained silent; but the House having appointed the hour for recording its decision, which may be neither hastened nor hindered, I desire to indicate some of the reasons why I shall vote

as I stated in the beginning of these remarks. First, because the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman act of 1890 has proved a disappointment even to its authors. It is admitted on all sides to be a failure in securing what it was designed to accomplish, that is, to maintain the price of silver; it is therefore impotent for good, productive only of evil.

In the second place, I am satisfied that the passage of the bill offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] will help to restore public confidence in the financial policy of the Government, and, notwithstanding all that has been said in derision of "confidence" during this debate by the gentlemen who hold the opposite view on the pending measure, there is nothing that is of more importance, either to the individual or to the Government.

Sir, but for confidence in the ability of the State to maintain order, chaos and anarchy would speedily ensue. But for confidence among neighbors, society would speedily disintegrate; but for confidence within the family circle domestic bliss would be an unknown quantity; but for self-confidence how long could we individually maintain successfully the battle for existence? From a financial standpoint we have an example to-day of the value of confidence. The city of Boston, as we learn from the newspapers, finds no difficulty in floating, at or above par, its 4 per cent bonds at this time when money is in demand on time loans at 10 to 12 per cent in the money markets of the United States. This shows, sir, the value, even from the low plane of a dollars-and-cents point of view, of the much-derided "confidence." Yes, that which we understand by confidence is the most potent factor in the advancement of the human family that the world possesses. Again, I shall vote for the repeal bill for the reason that I am opposed to a contraction of the currency. I am not a monometallist. If I thought the effect of repeal would be to drive silver and silver certificates out of circulation, with my present information I would oppose it.

But I am firmly of the opinion, that so soon as we terminate our present most unwise financial course of exchanging our gold for silver, and with our declared purpose to maintain silver coin at a parity with gold, we shall be able to keep in circulation from six hundred millions to eight hundred millions of silver and silver certificates at the present ratio. France is able to keep, relatively to population, even a much larger sum than the greater of these, at par, with a lower ratio than ours; and I see no valid reason why we, with a rapidly increasing population, and with a probability of continued development, should not be able to maintain, at least, as large a silver circulation as she.

Now, if we adopt gold as a standard, for, except by international agreement, it is generally conceded that we can not have two standards, we shall have in this country the use of both gold and silver, and we shall be, as we ought to be, financially on a par with the most advanced commercial nations; while if we attempt the free coinage of both metals only the cheaper will remain in circulation, the dearer will go to a premium; half the money of the country will disappear; the very condition which our free coinage friends are striving to avert will be brought about by their success; and universal bankruptcy will ensue. Assertions have been made here with much vehemence and patriotic fervor that we should manage our finances in our own way and without reference to, or rather to show our independence in opposition to well-ascertained laws and principles of finance as illustrated by the experiences of other peoples.

But, sir, in my humble opinion we shall just as effectually, and much more advantageously to ourselves, manifest our complete freedom from foreign domination by showing that we have learned from the experiences of others, by avoiding their errors, and by following, wherever practicable, along the lines that lead them to success. To refuse to avail ourselves of the experiences which the nations of Europe have proved to be beneficial, simply because we dislike to follow where Europe leads, were unworthy a youth in his teens, much less a nation well along in its second century.

Mr. Speaker, our people desire to have, deserve to have, and can have, if they will, the best of everything, including currency. I believe we shall eventually return in some way to a free bi-metallic basis and a currency based thereon, and I believe the speediest way to produce that desirable result is for the United States to adopt the single gold standard and let the effect be felt, as it will be very quickly, by those nations which have been swift to avail themselves of our mistakes in the past. In fact, I believe in that way alone lies the path to an international agreement as to a standard of value.

And here let me say, Mr. Speaker, that as necessity is the mother of invention and of evolution, I believe there will be evolved from this, or from one of the regularly recurring monetary stringencies, some practicable idea of a system of exchanges, or of a measure of values, which will practicably eliminate both of the so-called precious metals as necessary elements of currency—of course, this only by international agreement.

Finally, I shall vote for unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman bill, because my constituents undoubtedly desire me to do so in their interests, and in that of the whole country, including, as we believe, even the silver States themselves. This alone, sir, would be sufficient warrant for my action, for I am here only to express the desires and obey the wishes, so far as in my power lies, of those by whose favor I am permitted to speak within this Hall. [Applause.]

And here, Mr. Speaker, let me say a final word in answer to some bitter things that have been said of us on this side of the question during this debate by gentlemen whose reasoning has not led them to the same conclusions at which we have arrived. I believe, sir, that of all times this is the occasion when we should, if possible, avoid anything like recriminations and appeals to passions, whether of classes or of sections. It seems to me that the man who at this trying hour appeals to the baser passions and seeks to arouse animosities between our people of different occupations gives good ground for questioning the sincerity of his devotion to the supreme welfare of his country.

For this reason I have listened to some of the brilliant speeches delivered here during this debate with delight, surprise, and regret. Delight at their charming and fascinating eloquence, surprise that their able authors should manifest such apparently willfully contracted views and sympathies, and regret that American legislators of deservedly high reputation for learning and ability should at this time and on this occasion season their speeches with bitter sectionalism and spice them with blistering class vituperation.

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor to represent a district whose interests and industries are as varied, I venture to say, as any other district represented on this floor. Among its quarter million people every species of industry or occupation of which our climate profitably permits has its following, and among them are many bankers and brokers, even those having offices in Wall street, and millionaires, and multimillionaires (but I believe not so many of these latter as a few months since), and I know that I reflect faithfully the wishes of the great majority of my constituents, regardless of conditions or of occupations, when I say that what they desire is that we pass this bill, pass it quickly, go home and stay there until the time arrives for the regular session. Now, from many of the speeches delivered here it would be inferred that we from and near New York are the special representatives and champions of Wall street. But I can say for myself that were the suffrages of these gentlemen to decide an election I certainly should not be allowed to speak in this Chamber.

I am permitted to appear here, sir, by favor of the farmers alongside some of whose fathers I labored in the fields in my childhood days, by the suffrages of the laborers and mechanics of my district with many of whom I have been a fellow toiler, whose confidence I enjoy and hope to merit as long as I live. These constituents of mine, Mr. Speaker, and their interests are as dear to me as can possibly be those of any other member of this body, whether he comes from Pennsylvania or from Kansas, from Georgia or from Nebraska. Their home is my home; their interests are my interests; their destiny is my destiny. I may say in the words of old, "Their God is my God." But I am proud to pay a deserved tribute to their intelligence and their patriotism by saying that the entrance to their favor lies not through denunciation of their fellow citizens of any honest calling or occupation.

But this is no hour, Mr. Speaker, in which to hurl stinging epithets or indulge in recrimination. Let us, from whatever section we come, heed only the voice of public opinion, calling aloud to us to give the country the relief it needs, and to give it quickly. Let us, as was so generously said on the 4th of March last by the distinguished leader on the Republican side of this Chamber, "place patriotism above partisanship," and whether we were sent here as Democrats, Republicans, or Populists, accept equal responsibility for the present deplorable situation, join hands to repair the present and avert impending disaster to our common country, and show that we regard the whole of it as of greater importance than any part; all its people more than any portion; and so, by drawing an irremovable veil over the condition of the United States as now reflected at this Capitol, cause the dark picture to become only as the memory of the reflection of a lowering but transitory cloud, and transmit for the contemplation of future ages our country as now portrayed in the Magic City by Inland Sea. [Loud applause.]

Mr. COVERT. Mr. Speaker, this debate which has been participated in so earnestly and so eloquently, is rapidly drawing toward its close. I desire to congratulate the House and the country upon the character of this discussion. It has disclosed a depth and extent of research, a close and logical reasoning, and a fairness and completeness of presentation on both sides rarely reached in the discussions of any lawmaking body on earth. It has been in the fullest sense an educational debate, and as

such has been carefully watched and followed in every section of the land. While this discussion has been eminently fair in every material respect, yet gentlemen have on occasion indulged in references to the people of my own State which might call for reply did we who have been assailed believe in the sincerity of those who have indulged in these references.

No imagination, unless abnormally vivid, could in the face of established facts conceive the existence of "a gold combination" in the State of New York, powerful enough to reach its ends through any possible system of legislative action. Almost all of my colleagues who have spoken on this question, have been at great pains to explain the character and methods of our people who favor the repeal of the existing purchasing clause. My colleague [Mr. COOMBS] has spoken of the matchless generosity exhibited by New York toward other communities and States in seasons of misfortune and distress. My other colleague [Mr. WARNER] explained at length in presenting the memorial of the Chamber of Commerce, that that body was constituted not alone of bankers, but of business men generally.

My other colleague [Mr. HENDRIX] did not "boast" of his bank presidency, as stated by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LANE], but rather apologized for it. He intimated that he had nothing but his salary to his credit; that he was born and brought up in Missouri; and that, therefore, even though he was now a New York bank president, he was "only a little one." [Laughter.] I submit that New York has no need to be even semiapologetic in any explanation that may be given of the attitude of her people on this question.

The people of that sovereign State have in the strongest and most forceful way declared their sentiments upon all questions affecting the rights of the many as against the demands and encroachments of the few.

Upon the statute books of the Empire State stands the recorded voice of her people upon the vital question of the preservation of their interests as against corporate aggression and the excessive demands of a money power. Years ago her Legislature by formal enactment lessened the legal rate of interest on loans and advances of every character. In no one State of this Union can money be secured at so low a rate for any legitimate business or industrial enterprise.

Mr. Speaker, your own State of Georgia knows this. Alabama knows it. Florida knows it. Scarcely a Southern State whose business and industrial interests have prospered since the war but is glad to make acknowledgment of this fact. Capital for the development of mines, the building of railroads, and the furthering of internal improvements has gone to the Southland for all these desirable and beneficent purposes. Do not, I beg you, Mr. Speaker, misunderstand the spirit in which this is said. The obligation was not upon one side alone. Our business men have been glad to make these investments—as glad, perhaps, as the people of the South were to receive them. To-day the bond of union, the community of interest between the people of the New South and the people of the Empire State of New York is closer and stronger than that which exists between the South and any other one State in the whole Union. [Applause.]

What else has New York done in the interests of the many as against the few? The tax laws of New York have been characterized as drawn and enacted for the protection of poor and even delinquent taxpayers rather than for the fair protection of prosperous property owners. The drift of legislation in the State of New York during all the late years has been in the direction of the restriction of the powers of corporations and the suppression of all manner of syndicates and trusts.

Our State laws even follow the wealthy property owner beyond the grave, and compel his estate to pay a percentage of its value in the way of succession and inheritance taxes into the public treasury for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Speaker, what State of all this grand sisterhood can point to stronger and more uniform laws against the encroachment of capital and its undue aggregation, and in the direct interests of what gentlemen on this floor sometimes refer to as the "plain, common people?"

The terms "leeches," "vampires," and "Wall street bandits" have no application to a body of people who have placed upon the statute books of their State laws of the nature of those to which I have made but brief and general reference.

Coming up from every section of the Empire State, from the body of the people who have made instance upon the enactment of these measures—from merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, wage-earners, from Montauk to the Lakes—is the demand, peremptory and emphatic, for the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing enactment.

This enactment as it stands is more and very much more than a "cowardly makeshift." It is absolutely wrong as matter of principle. It has been demonstrated by the saddest experience that it is disastrous as matter of policy.

During the debate on the free-coinage bill in the last Congress, from my place on this floor, I argued for the immediate and absolute repeal of this measure; and I do not purpose to repeat now the reasons advanced at that time in favor of its unconditional repeal.

That this measure, which has been tried in the balances and found to be so grievously wanting, should be repealed upon some proper basis, has grown to be the sentiment, the almost common sentiment, of thoughtful minds in every section of this land.

Why do the people of New York who have framed the laws I have mentioned, laws strengthening the hand of labor and the cause of the "common people"—why do they demand the unconditional repeal of this enactment?

Frequent reference has been made during this discussion to the "debtor class" of our people. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HALL] has devoted the greater part of his speech to a defense of this body as against the creditor class of the community, and has argued that unconditional repeal would weigh heavily against their interests.

Mr. Speaker, I do not like the term "the debtor class," as applied to the great bulk of the people of this Republic. If I am employed to try a law suit or to examine a legal question for a client, and am to receive my pay when the work is done, from the very moment that work is completed my client is my debtor, though his possessions are ten times more than mine. The man who sells a ton of coal or a barrel of flour on credit to a customer, though the latter be a modern Croesus, holds him as his debtor until the obligation is discharged.

The great bulk of the people of this land are wage-earners, getting their pay at the end of the week or the month, as the case may be.

Until the end of the week or of the month, until the stipulated pay day, though the one may live in a palace and the other in a hovel, the employer is the debtor, the employé the creditor.

I submit, sir, that the legislation we frame shall be in the interest not alone of the debtor class, as that term is applied by many gentlemen on this floor, but that it shall have a wider, broader scope, and shall be in the interest of the wage-earners, for this class, happily, makes up by far the greater number of the people of this Republic.

These wage-earners, and large numbers of them are wage-savers, are entitled to the very best and soundest money in existence anywhere as the fruit of their labors. It should be the aim of Federal legislation to secure for them this kind of money and absolutely nothing short of it. [Applause.]

And now, Mr. Speaker, can there be any definite assurance of safety in this regard, if any one of the pending amendments shall be adopted as a condition of the repeal of the existing law? Suppose that any one of the various and varying propositions seeking to establish a ratio of value between gold and silver upon the basis of 1 to 16 or 1 to 20, shall be adopted, can there be any definite assurance that the great bulk of our people who are wage-earners, and those among them who are wage-savers, will be protected in their right to receive the best kind of money that can be paid to them?

The financial history of the world has shown us that the value of silver has been gradually but surely decreasing. Time was when 1 ounce of gold would buy only 8 or 9 ounces of silver. To-day, in the markets of the world, it requires about 25 ounces of silver to obtain 1 ounce of gold. And this condition has not been brought about alone by legislative action. The opening and development of extensive silver mines, and the labor-saving processes by which the cost of production has been lessened, have been most potential agencies in bringing about this result.

What assurance can any man give, expert though he may be in all questions of finance, that the variance in value between the two metals may not be still further increased in the immediate future?

Will legislation sustain the value of silver? Why, it was imagined that the very act which we are now called upon to repeal would at once send up the price of silver and sustain its increased value.

Here was the Government of the United States a regular purchaser of the metal to the extent of 4,500,000 ounces each month. These conditions have been in operation for the past three years, and yet the value of silver as compared with gold stands to-day at about 25 to 1 in the markets of the world.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the State of New York, and I, as one of their representatives here, believe in the coinage of silver.

I believe in the declaration made in this regard in the last Democratic platform. I believe there can be no uncertainty in the construction to be given to that declaration. If there was any doubt or any ambiguity about it, that doubt or uncertainty was removed, and the platform was revised and corrected when the

same men who adopted it made Grover Cleveland their nominee for the Presidency. Early in 1892 he had hazarded his chances for the nomination by a bold, manly, and courageous declaration of his position on the financial question. His views, clearly and emphatically stated, were known and understood by all men. His views then, are his conclusions now. The people who were his advocates then should be his strongest and staunchest supporters at this juncture, when legislation is invoked in affirmance of these conclusions.

Neither the President nor any considerable number of the American people stand to-day opposed to the coinage of silver. The American people as a whole have an affection that can not be alienated for the metal that has served them so faithfully and so well. If, by international agreement, or by any other plan that can be devised, we can safely continue the free coinage of silver the whole people will say, "Let the work go on." It is the money to which we have for long years been accustomed, and we have for it all the affection we entertain for an old friend and faithful servitor.

But we must face conditions as they are, and not as we might wish them to be. Silver has become like an old and faithful servitor who has fallen unfortunately into unsteady habits. It has been abandoned for this reason by many of its former friends among the nations of the earth, and its usefulness has been largely diminished. The duty on our part is to reform it, if we can, and to restore its former usefulness if this restoration can be accomplished. Heroic measures are invoked in extreme cases, and in the existing emergency nothing, in my judgment, will accomplish the desired reform except a resort to the "gold cure." [Laughter and applause.]

I believe fully, Mr. Speaker, in the maintenance of the independence of this Republic in all material ways. I believe in its being, so far as possible, self-sustaining, just as I believe in its being in all ways self-respecting. And yet no man can doubt that we would lose in power and prosperity if through the use of a debased currency our credit as a nation should in any way be impaired. The American people are not to be persuaded to a wrong course through any cry of subserviency to the practices of European powers. They believe in the widest and freest trade with the nations of the earth by the honest and honorable methods which, being best alike in principle and in policy, will best subserve the interests of the whole people.

Reference has very ingeniously been made to the fact that Great Britain having, so far back as 1816, adopted the single gold standard as her measure of value, thereafter for years carried on trade with foreign nations using a double or even a single silver standard without friction or embarrassment.

I have no doubt that there was perfect freedom from either, so far as Great Britain, with her single standard, was concerned. Statistics have not been given, but that Great Britain profited by the transactions thus conducted may very readily be assumed when we know that the most potential of the civilized nations abroad with whom she thus traded, one after the other abolished all other systems and adopted the single gold standard as the only measure of value.

Every pound of English money, every French franc, every German mark which comes to this country adds to the wealth of the nation. Every foreign investment here brings us into closer contact and communion with our sister nations across the seas. Every investment of foreign money here, every business transaction with foreign nations, is in the direction of the casting away of the sword, and the invocation of the gentler mediation of the pen in the adjustment of all international complications.

We have heard very much during this discussion as to the dangers and difficulties which would follow a contraction of the currency; and this, in the face of the known fact that over 90 per cent of the entire business of the country is conducted upon a credit system. Whatever evils might follow currency contraction, I insist they would be but slight in comparison with those which would come to us from loss of national credit, as a resultant of a debased currency.

One of the most able and distinguished of the advocates of free coinage, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. STEWART], has said that the credit of the world is based on standard money, and the same statement is repeated by those who stand with him for free coinage.

It is with nations as with individuals. Credit is a complex quantity, constituted of various elements. Knowledge of the abstract honesty of the debtor and the desire to repay the creditor, faith in the debtor's integrity, these are elements entering into the composition of what the world calls "credit." Senator STEWART himself gives denial to his own theory that credit is based on money alone by a sketch of his own life as found in the Congressional Directory. I read only a line or two from page 72:

He attended Lyons Union School and Farmington Academy. Was teacher of Mathematics in the former school while yet a pupil. With the little

money thus earned, and the assistance of James C. Smith, one of the judges of the supreme court of New York, he entered Yale College.

This bright and brainy young man had not money enough, "standard" or otherwise, to enter college, but he had what was better—he had credit—which secured him what he most desired—a liberal education; and the distinguished Senator makes manly and grateful acknowledgment of the fact even after more than forty years of time.

As with individuals, so with nations. The same elements enter into the formation of what individuals and nations alike call credit—the preservation of which is and always should be the primal obligation resting upon this Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I have said that the debate upon the pending measure has been close and logical, and eminently educational in its character. It has had its other distinguishing features, which have given it more than ordinary interest. Heroism is by no means confined to the tented field, where devoted patriots have bared their breasts to receive the shock of battle.

There have been exhibitions of the highest order of heroism on the floor of this House during discussion and attempted legislation on this silver question. I remember, and those who served here during the last Congress will readily recall the intense excitement which prevailed while the consideration of the free-coinage bill was under discussion—excitement which reached its climax when the final vote was taken. There was a district in the State of West Virginia where the sentiment at the time was strongly in favor of free coinage.

The member who represented that district had given careful and studious consideration to the proposition, and could not conscientiously bring himself to its support. He had attained a high, a very high, measure of distinction in national politics, and an adverse vote might mean for him political destruction, swift and absolute and certain. With all of his political future thus in possible jeopardy, firm and loyal to his convictions of duty as a member of the American Congress, the cause of free coinage received a negative vote when response was made to the name of WILLIAM L. WILSON of West Virginia. [Applause.] That he has since been returned to this Congress is to the infinite credit of his home district, and it is to the credit of my friend from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], and a number of other gentlemen on this floor, that they have, in a brave and manly way, during this discussion, announced that while they favored free-silver coinage in the last Congress they stand opposed to it as conditions present themselves to-day. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, with all the American affection for silver as currency, there is yet a deeper American feeling for abstract honesty in governmental and business affairs. The people of this country are honest people. They will never consent to coin silver upon any other basis than that of its actual, commercial, and intrinsic value.

They will make insistence that all metal money, be it gold or be it silver, shall be worth as much when uncoined as it is when coined. The American people have a proper national pride as well as a proper national honesty. They will make insistence that every dollar, whether of gold or silver, coined in this country, and having upon it the stamp of the American Government, shall be received, without demur and without suspicion, at its full face value, in whatever country across the seas an American citizen may make a tender of an American dollar. [Loud applause.]

Meanwhile, with the conditions which confront us—conditions, in my judgment, based rather upon existing fears than existing facts—it seems to me, sir, that we have but one duty to perform. One of the most philosophical of modern writers has said that the most useful and important of all legislation in the world's history has been legislation in repeal of existing obnoxious law. The prompt and unconditional repeal of the silver-purchasing enactment will add another illustration to the truth of this statement. [Applause.] Let us leave for further and more deliberate consideration affirmative legislation for the strengthening and building up of silver as currency.

I repeat, in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that the first, the greatest, the most imperative duty on our part as a self-respecting people, is to preserve at all hazards our national credit at home and abroad, and to maintain now and for all time our national honor unspotted and unstained. [Applause.]

Mr. FITCH. Mr. Speaker, this has been an exhaustive debate. I have no desire to add to the tables of figures which made the RECORD for the last week look like an old arithmetic, or to the passages of poetry which have made it resemble a Fourth Reader. The Old and the New Testament, and the works of Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott, of Goldsmith, Whittier, Pope, Dickens, and Mark Twain have all been quoted, and as it seems to me quite as fully as is necessary in the discussion of a financial measure. All the text-books in the library of the House have been cited with approval by gentlemen on both sides

of the debate, and the most opposite views sustained by each of them.

It is true that the lines—

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay—

which are always read several times with great effect in these debates, have been quoted but twice in this discussion. [Laughter.] But to make up for this accidental omission my friend, Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas, who is soon to be the leader of the gentlemen who are too wise and too patriotic to follow Grover Cleveland, John G. Carlisle, and WM. L. WILSON, embroidered his most instructive essay with quotations from Wendell Phillips, and the Prophet Nehemiah; from Froude, the English historian, and from the New York World; and from Francis A. Walker, John Locke, Hume, Fichte, John Stuart Mill, Ricardo, J. R. McCullough, Sir Archibald Alison, Mr. Gladstone, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, and Mr. HARTER of Ohio. [Laughter.]

I regret very much to notice, Mr. Speaker, that most of these persons so honored were Englishmen, and that my friend from Kansas seemed to consider them safe and sufficient authorities on finance. [Laughter.] I trust that the time will soon come when the gentleman from Kansas will cease to look to England for inspiration, and as a true American to disregard the teachings of the prime minister of England and the works of Sir Archibald Alison, and find such support as he needs for his theories from the financial authorities at Topeka and Medicine Lodge. [Laughter.]

What I do desire to consider are the reasons which are given by Democrats on this floor why the earnest recommendation of the Democratic President, who has just been elected, should not be carried out by the Democratic majority in this House. There seem to be three of these reasons. The first of them is the wording of the Democratic platform. It is admitted on all hands that the platform demanded just what the President has recommended; but it is argued with great seriousness that as the platform contains some other provisions, these must also be carried into effect, or else it is impossible for us to act at all.

I am frank to say, Mr. Speaker, that in such an emergency as this, an emergency unforeseen at the time when the platform was made, and for the occurrence of which it did not provide, that the wording of a platform would never frighten me out of giving relief to the hundred of thousands of people who are unexpectedly drifting toward bankruptcy or are deprived of the chance to labor. As between the demands of a political platform and the united demands of the workingmen and the business people, who are in sore distress and serious danger in my district, if I had to make the choice I should let the platform go. [Applause.]

Knowing, as most of us do, a little of how party platforms are made and why, I decline altogether to believe that any of them are of inspired origin, or that they can lay down for us any line of conduct or rule of legislation to which there can in no case be any exception. [Applause.] A platform, for instance, which declared that we desired to be at peace with all the world would not prevent me from voting, in a sudden foreign war, the money for guns to be aimed at the defenses of Liverpool or for men to hold the forts at Sandy Hook. And I sincerely doubt very much whether any foreign war could injure our industries or cripple our commerce any more than this state of affairs, to which the President has earnestly called our attention.

But, aside from all this, it seems to me that the real platform on which the Democracy carried all of the doubtful States, including the decisive State of New York, in the late election was the character and record of Grover Cleveland. [Applause.] What did the people who elected him know of his character? They knew that he had, in as marked degree as any man who was ever in public life, the rarest and finest of political virtues—I mean the virtue of political courage and consistency. They knew he would stand or fall by his convictions. He lost the Presidency once because of this trait of character. Because of this trait of character the people gave back to him in 1892 the splendid gift which he had lost in 1888 because on account of his fidelity to principle. [Applause.]

What did the people who elected him know of his record on this subject? They knew that from the beginning, in public and private life, whenever he had the opportunity to do so, he had steadfastly pointed out the dangers which have now come upon us, and earnestly advised against the further purchase of silver bullion and its enforced coinage by law. [Applause.]

I read what Grover Cleveland said before he took the Presidential office; when he wrote that famous letter from Albany on February 24, 1885. After reciting the conditions in regard to the coinage of silver, he said:

These being the facts of our present condition, our danger, and our duty to avert that danger, would seem to be plain. I hope that you concur with me, and with the great majority of our fellow-citizens, in deeming it most

desirable at the present juncture to maintain and continue in use the mass of our gold coin as well as the mass of silver already coined. This is possible by a present suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver.

Such a financial crisis as these events would certainly precipitate, were it now to follow upon so long a period of commercial depression, would involve the people of every city and every State in the Union in a prolonged and disastrous trouble. The revival of business enterprise and prosperity, so ardently desired and apparently so near, would be hopelessly postponed. Gold would be withdrawn to its hoarding places, and an unprecedented contraction in the actual volume of our currency would speedily take place. Saddest of all, in every workshop, mill, factory, store, and on every railroad and farm the wages of labor, already depressed, would suffer still further depression by a scaling down of the purchasing power of every so-called dollar paid into the hand of toil. From these impending calamities it is surely a most patriotic and grateful duty of the representatives of the people to deliver them.

In his first annual message he said:

Nothing more important than the present condition of our currency and coinage can claim your attention.

Those who do not fear any disastrous consequences arising from the continued compulsory coinage of silver as now directed by law, and who suppose that the addition to the currency of the country intended as its result will be a public benefit, are reminded that history demonstrates that the point is easily reached in the attempt to float at the same time two sorts of money of different excellence, when the better will cease to be in general circulation.

There is certainly not enough silver now in circulation to cause uneasiness, and the whole amount coined and now on hand might, after a time, be absorbed by the people without apprehension; but it is the ceaseless stream that threatens to overflow the land which causes fear and uncertainty.

The so-called debtor class, for whose benefit the continued compulsory coinage of silver is insisted upon, are not dishonest because they are in debt; and they should not be suspected of a desire to jeopardize the financial safety of the country in order that they may cancel their present debts by paying the same in depreciated dollars. Nor should it be forgotten that it is not the rich nor the money-lender alone that must submit to such a readjustment enforced by the Government and their debtors.

The pittance of the widow and the orphan and the income of helpless beneficiaries of all kinds would be disastrously reduced. The depositors in savings banks and in other institutions which hold in trust the savings of the poor, when their little accumulations are scaled down to meet the new order of things, would, in their distress, painfully realize the delusion of the promise made to them that plentiful money would improve their condition.

That disaster has not already overtaken us furnishes no proof that danger does not wait upon a continuation of the present silver coinage. We have been saved by the most careful management and unusual expedients, by a combination of fortunate conditions, and by a confident expectation that the course of the Government in regard to silver coinage would be speedily changed by the action of Congress.

Prosperity hesitates upon the threshold because of the dangers and uncertainties surrounding this question. Capital timidly shrinks from trade, and investors are unwilling to take the chance of the questionable shape in which their money will be returned to them, while enterprise halts at a risk against which care and sagacious management do not protect.

I recommend the suspension of the compulsory coinage of silver dollars, directed by the law passed in February, 1873.

I ask your special attention to this language.

Again, in his third annual message he said:

I have seen no reason to change the views expressed in my last annual message on the subject of this compulsory coinage; and I again urge its suspension on all the grounds contained in my former recommendation, reinforced by the significant increase of our gold exportations during the last year, as appears by the comparative statement herewith presented, and for the further reasons that the more this currency is distributed among the people the greater becomes our duty to protect it from disaster; that we now have abundance for all our needs; and that there seems but little propriety in building vaults to store such currency when the only pretense for its coinage is the necessity of its use by the people as a circulating medium.

The following letter was addressed to the Reform Club, February 10, 1891:

E. ELLERY ANDERSON, *Chairman*:

DEAR SIR: I have this afternoon received your note inviting me to attend to-morrow evening the meeting called for the purpose of voicing the opposition of the business men of our city to the "free coinage of silver in the United States."

I shall not be able to attend and address the meeting as you request, but I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on this subject. It surely can not be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest peril would be invited by the adoption of the scheme, embraced in the measure now pending in Congress, for the unlimited coinage of silver at our mints.

If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of this currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, these conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster if, in the present situation, we enter upon the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage.

Yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

They knew all these things before the election.

Gentlemen, you may argue about the platform as learnedly and as long as you please, the fact remains that you did not vote in the dark. There is nobody in this country, intelligent enough to know anything about politics, who does not know that your pretense of having been deceived is absurd; who does not know that Mr. Cleveland has long predicted the state of affairs which he described in his message, and that the vast majority of the people who voted for him did so because they knew what his views were and knew that he would never be afraid to reiterate them and to act on them if the emergency came.

In connection with your claims that the Democratic party was committed at the Chicago convention to free coinage of silver, look at the official record of the convention. When Mr. Patterson, of Colorado, failed to get his resolution for free coinage embodied in the party platform, the question was decided. When he offered the same resolution in the convention and it was beaten the decision was affirmed on appeal. You can find in the action of that convention no excuse for your refusal to sustain the President in the measure of relief which he recommends, and which the interests of the country so earnestly demand. [Applause.]

The second argument which gentlemen make use of as a reason why this proper and necessary request of the Democratic President can not have their support seems to consist generally in a long account of various alleged crimes against silver perpetrated by Democrats and Republicans alike, and the allegation of a conspiracy in England by which the votes of all the Democrats and Republicans in favor of the Wilson bill are controlled. This is alleged to be a conspiracy in which we are all engaged, which is directed against our own countrymen, the object of which is the financial ruin of a large portion of our own country. With the historical part of this discussion it seems to me we have little concern.

What Mr. SHERMAN ought or ought not to have done twenty year ago, or what the Democratic or Republican party did or omitted to do ten years ago, is not the question. The question is, What shall we do now and here? [Applause.] The conspiracy argument has two defects. In the first place it is not believable; in the next place it is not original. We on the Democratic side, in the manufacturing States, have heard it all before a great many times. [Laughter.]

Whenever we proposed to change a line in a tariff bill in the interest of our people, as it seemed to us, we were promptly charged by some of our friends, the Republicans, with being in a conspiracy in the interest of England against the country in which we lived and the business interests with which we were identified. I do not know whether this old scarecrow has been used much in the States of Missouri or Nebraska. But we in New York have seen it very often, and it ceases to have any terrors for us. Our people know, for instance, that England has about as many adherents in Harlem as has China.

Besides this, I desire to say to my friends, who urged the conspiracy issue, that they do not do it half as well or half as strongly as it can be done. If you can enlist our friend Porter, late of the Census, now of the New York Press, and two or three other editorial writers of the Republican party, you will be able to improve vastly on the "British gold" arguments which we have had in this debate. [Laughter.] There is a fullness of detail, a particularity of statement, and a deep enthusiasm in their allegations against us which you have not yet reached. [Laughter.] They have had experience in three Presidential and six Congressional campaigns.

It is true that they have not had much success with this argument, but that is, perhaps, no reason why you should not unite with them in trying it on us once more. Of course, if you have the imagination necessary to believe in it, argument on the question will be useless. Anybody who will believe, for instance, that all the Democrats and all the Republicans in Congress from the State of New York could be induced to vote together against what they thought to be the true interests of the whole of their country would believe anything that even Mr. Thomas Watson, late of the House of Representatives, might charge against us. "*Gegen Dummheit Kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens.*" [Applause.]

The third argument which is given as a reason why repeal can not be voted seems to be that it will be unpopular in the districts which gentlemen represent, and that a vote for it will result in the defeat for reelection of some of those from the South and West who, but for this, would be willing to sustain the President. This is an argument which everybody can understand and appreciate. There is, of course, nothing so valuable as a seat in Congress, and there is no instinct higher than that of self-preservation. [Laughter.]

There are, however, several things to be said even about this argument. In the first place, it is sometimes the unexpected that happens. We all remember distinctly with what certainty my distinguished friend, Mr. Pierce, of Tennessee, predicted the defeat of his colleague, Judge PATTERSON, of that State, when the latter manfully voted against free coinage in the last Congress because he thought that the right course. Somehow it happened that the prophet was mistaken, and he is practicing law, with great success, I hope, in Tennessee, while Judge PATTERSON, after a triumphant reelection, is here with us. [Applause.]

In the next place, the success of this argument depends something on how this strange and eventful situation may operate to affect the people in your own district. It is easy, and it may be

popular, sometimes to denounce New York; but the list of the securities in which our money is invested is substantially a list of all your cities and towns. You can not injure the great business interests of this country without injuring yourselves any more than these interests can help themselves without helping you. The misery and disaster which this legislation, which you refuse to repeal, is causing in our homes and workshops will inevitably reach to your farms and plantations. When that time comes you may find that the phantom popularity which you have sought has, after all, evaded you. Why not join with us in sustaining our own President? [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, when the President of the United States, in the exercise of a constitutional right, recently called together the representatives of the people, he assigned as a reason for his action the existence of an extraordinary and alarming business situation, not to be accounted for by natural conditions. That situation he charged to the existence of unwise legislation on the money question.

Almost every gentleman who has taken part in this discussion has announced his disagreement with the President as to the cause of the present deplorable condition of things. In my judgment the want of confidence that underlies the present depression is due in large measure to the declared hostility of the party now in possession of all branches of the Government to that great economic system by whose agency the country during the last quarter of a century has marched to unexampled prosperity.

There is, however, to some extent, a popular impression indorsing the President's views, and the remedy for fancied, as for real evils, is a removal of the supposed cause. And whether the President be right or not, his summons brings us face to face with the necessity of legislating with respect to the immediate future financial policy of the United States, and places upon our shoulders the grave responsibility of determining what that policy shall be.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, it was to have been expected that every reasonable facility would be afforded for debate, and the largest liberty accorded for suggestion, to the end that whatever should be finally determined upon might be the ripe fruit of the mature judgment of all the representatives of the people, and not the preconceived scheme of any one man or set of men.

Unfortunately, however, the majority party in this House did not adopt this view. Separated by an impassable gulf of opinion, as the two sections of that party are upon the main question, they were agreed on this: that no suggestion should be allowed from this side of the Chamber, no opportunity offered for amendment; no chance given to vote, save and except upon certain alternative schemes formulated by them in advance of deliberation and debate. If the country can be saved only in such way that the Republican party shall be entitled to some share of credit in its salvation, the Democratic programme seems to be that it would be preferable to let the country go to ruin.

The majority of Republicans, however, careless in the face of danger of the personnel of their leadership, are found to-day, and will be found when this vote is taken, where the Republican party always has been found in the presence of national peril, following along the pathway that leads to national safety and national honor. [Applause on the Republican side.]

What, now, Mr. Speaker, are the questions to the deliberation and discussion and decision of which the arbitrary action of the majority limits us? They are these: Shall we inaugurate the policy of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at some legally defined but not commercially accurate ratio, or shall we return to the policy of the Bland-Allison act and monthly emit a limited number of fiat silver dollars; or, lastly, shall we unconditionally repeal the purchase clause of the so-called Sherman act, approved July 14, 1890?

Now, I assume in the first place that almost every one, except the free silver men, who are really monometallists, is desirous of seeing both gold and silver the standard money of the commercial nations of the world; that almost all are in favor, in other words, of international bimetalism. But as we can not now at this time have that, it is material to be borne in mind in this discussion that we are here not to legislate internationally; we are here to legislate simply for the United States of America. And it is material to be borne in mind also that our existing monetary system does not conform to the monetary system of any other commercial nation at the present time.

The year 1873, when silver was demonetized, marked a revolution in monetary history. In the results of that revolution all the commercial nations of Europe acquiesce. We alone dissent. Except in silver standard countries, ours are the only mints that are open to the coinage of silver.

Now, whether it was wise to demonetize silver, how silver was demonetized, whether surreptitiously or openly, are questions which have no pertinence in this discussion except for the pur-

poses of declamation. "It is a condition, and not a theory, that confronts us." The question is, can the United States, single-handed and alone, remonetize silver under existing conditions?

And this brings me naturally to the first question, Shall we repeal the purchase clause of the Sherman act? Now, what is that act, and what have been its results? By its terms the United States Treasury is made a storehouse for silver purchased at the rate of 4,500,000 ounces per month, at its market price, and paid for in legal-tender Treasury notes, there being a provision in the act that these notes shall be payable in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

But by the terms of this same act the important declaration is made that it is the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals, gold and silver, on a parity with each other at the existing legal ratio, or at some other ratio to be defined by law.

As the President of the United States says in substance, this second clause is really a control of the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, so that these Treasury notes are practically payable in gold. The consequence is that the gold obligations of the Government are being increased each month to the extent of the value of 4,500,000 ounces of silver.

In other words, we are paying each month gold for silver. This act has been in operation since the 13th day of August, 1890, thirty days after its passage.

Mr. WALKER. It was passed on the 14th of July.

Mr. DALZELL. The act was passed on the 14th of July, and went into operation on the 13th of August. And what has been the result? I have here a statement from the Treasury Department showing the amounts of gold and silver coin and certificates, United States notes and national bank notes in circulation August 1, 1893. How many of our obligations are payable in gold? These: first, gold certificates, amounting to \$87,704,739; second, Treasury notes under act of July 14, 1890, amounting to \$148,286,348; third, United States notes, amounting to \$346,681,016; in other words, there is now payable in gold by the United States \$582,672,103. These are our gold obligations, and how much gold have we to pay them with? Only \$100,000,000 in gold.

Why, my friends, if you put aside the immense resources and the credit of the American people, the national Treasury is today, according to legal definition, bankrupt. Such being the state of our accounts, what does it mean to continue this policy? It means simply to widen the breach between our liabilities and our assets, and the time must ultimately come when our gold reserve, in proportion to the burden it has to bear, will be simply an insignificant bagatelle. Do we want to continue that policy indefinitely? Do we want to continue to buy 54,000,000 ounces of silver each year without limit as to time, and pay for them in gold?

How long do you suppose that even the imperial resources of our magnificent domain, the energy and enterprise, the honesty of purpose of the American people, will persuade the world of our ultimate solvency measured in the world's standard of value—gold? It is not the monthly addition for a few months of silver purchases under the act of 1890 that has shaken confidence; so far as the money question has anything to do with the existing depression its influence is derived from the dreary prospect of the indefinite continuance of such violation of the laws of sound finance.

We were told when the Sherman law passed that the effect of it would be to put up the price of silver. We were told that silver and gold would approach each other towards the legally defined ratio of 16 to 1. What has been the result? I have here from the Treasury Department, Bureau of the Mint, under date August 1—this present month—a statement of the highest, lowest, and average price of silver bullion, and value of a fine ounce, bullion value of a United States silver dollar, and so on.

I find that in 1878 the value of the fine ounce, based on an average price of exchange, was \$1.11; and I find, coming on down the list, that in the month of July of this present year the value of the same quantity of silver was 72 cents.

The schedule showing fall in values is as follows:

1878-'79	\$1.11616	1884-'85	\$1.09223	1890-'91	\$1.04780
1879-'80	1.14397	1885-'86	1.03295	1891-'92	.93723
1880-'81	1.13508	1886-'87	.98148	1892-'93	.84263
1881-'82	1.13817	1887-'88	.95617	July	.72037
1882-'83	1.11912	1888-'89	.93510		
1883-'84	1.11529	1889-'90	.96839		

In the meantime, while the price of silver has been going down from day to day and from month to month and week to week, the production of silver has been increasing until this precious metal is every day getting to be less and less precious.

I have also, here, issued by the Treasury Department, a schedule showing the production of gold and silver in the world, and I find that whereas in 1873 silver was produced to the extent of

\$81,800,000, it was produced in the year 1892 to the extent of \$196,605,000. The schedule showing the increase in production is as follows:

1873	\$81,800,000	1881	\$102,000,000	1889	\$162,159,000
1874	71,500,000	1882	111,800,000	1890	172,235,000
1875	80,500,000	1883	115,300,000	1891	188,733,000
1876	87,600,000	1884	105,500,000	1892	196,605,000
1877	81,000,000	1885	118,500,000		
1878	95,000,000	1886	120,600,000		5,104,961,000
1879	95,600,000	1887	124,231,000		
1880	96,700,000	1888	140,703,000		

The production of silver has quadrupled within the last three decades; it has more than doubled within the last two.

When this bill was under discussion, gentlemen advocating the free coinage of silver talked to us glibly about the double standard; how, under the double standard, silver went up and gold came down, until they got exactly together. They read to us, and gentlemen on the floor now read to us, from books, quoting axioms and illustrations and experiences that have no relation to the experience of the present time, nor any conformity to existing conditions. They read to us axioms founded upon the experience of the world prior to 1873, when it was in the practice of bimetallism. I put against their theories, their axioms, and their maxims our own actual experience, and quote to them the maxim, the homely maxim, that "example is better than precept."

Now, how much has this experiment with silver cost us? I have a letter from the Acting Director of the Mint, Mr. Preston, in which he says:

The amount of silver purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, aggregated 161,821,000 fine ounces, at a cost of \$150,639,000.

The value of the same at to-day's market price, 73 cents and a fraction, would be \$118,714,000. In other words, we have lost by this experiment, or rather paid for this experiment, the sum of \$31,955,000. Who pays that money?

Who but the people of the United States, including the poor people, whose self-vaunted champions on this floor threaten us with war if we do not break down the dikes and welcome to our mints the disastrous flood of European silver. Think of it—adding what the Bland act cost us, it amounts to \$2 apiece, and more, as a tax upon every man, woman, and child within all our broad domain. This is the price that we pay for our experience with limited free coinage of silver. "If these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?"

But this policy which we have been pursuing is dangerous in another direction. It is dangerous in the possibilities that it offers for the contraction instead of the expansion of our currency. Pour good money and bad money together into the channels of trade, and the bad money will drive out the good, in pursuance of a law as inexorable as the law of gravitation.

What is good money? Henri Cernuschi, one of the ablest and most distinguished of bimetalists says:

That only is good money that will stand the test of fire, and which is worth as much as bullion when melted as it had been worth in the coin itself.

Take a gold dollar, for example, and subject it to the furnace, destroy every vestige of the Government stamp, and the bullion left is worth just 100 cents. Take a silver dollar and subject it to the furnace and destroy every vestige of the Government stamp, and the bullion left is worth 56 cents or thereabouts today. In this latter case you have destroyed the Government's promise to pay the other 44 cents.

Mr. BROSIUS. We "trust in God" for that.

Mr. DALZELL. Yes, as my colleague from Pennsylvania suggests, we "trust in God" for that.

Mr. BROSIUS (handing Mr. DALZELL a silver dollar). The legend on that dollar, "In God we trust," is supposed to sanctify the theft.

Mr. DALZELL. Now, if the proposition that I laid down a moment ago, that bad money will drive out good, be true—and it is an admitted axiom in political economy, and is known as Gresham's law, but it is the law of human nature, of selfishness, and of self-defense—if that be the law, then to continue this policy is to bring us to the situation where, as sure as pitiless fate, we shall part company with the leading commercial nations of the world and take our place beside Mexico, China, and Peru.

Let me call attention to a matter that has been referred to many times upon this floor—some of the facts of our own financial history. Because of what was afterwards proved to be an error in fixing the ratio of silver and gold in our original mint act of 1792, gold was undervalued and silver overvalued. Silver then was bad money and gold was good, and from 1805 until 1834 this nation was on a silver basis. Then the ratio was changed from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1. A mistake was then made in the other direction; silver was undervalued and gold was overvalued; gold became bad money and silver good; and from 1834 down to this present time, substantially, we have been on a gold basis.

Two standards, our free-coinage friends say. Impossible! as impossible as two yardsticks, two bushels differing in capacity, two pounds differing in weight. You can not have at the same time two measures of value, one of which is money, like gold, and the other of which is a commodity, like silver. You may have them, it is true, but you can not use both at the same time. One or other will prevail. That is the uniform and universal lesson of all monetary history. One other thing let me say. This silver that we are laying away in our Government storehouse is practically of no use for redemption. In times of panic no man who has a certificate payable in gold will take silver for it, and yet while you are paying out gold in redemption of those certificates you can not sell a single solitary ounce of that silver for the purpose of getting the gold required for the redemption.

I say, Mr. Speaker, that the purchase clause of the Sherman law ought to be repealed. That law has failed to raise the price of silver. It has a tendency to contract rather than expand the currency. It leads the way to an ultimate loss of credit. It is costly, and it violates fundamental principles of sound finance.

Mark you, I hold that they are deserving of credit who passed that law in the first instance, because it then offered to us the lesser of two evils, one of which we were bound to endure. It was passed to meet an emergency. It was passed as a temporary measure, and ought, for that reason, to be now repealed.

But, aside from that, I want to say here that the Sherman law on the statute book, with a Republican Administration in power, pledged by its party platforms, its party history, and its traditions to the cause of sound money, is one thing, and the Sherman law on the statute book, with a Democratic free-coinage Secretary of the Treasury in power, is another thing. Still another thing deplorable, but possible, would be the Sherman law on the statute book with a Democratic free-coinage Secretary in the Treasury Department and a Democratic free-coinage President in the White House.

Mr. BOWERS of California. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. DALZELL. No, my time is too short. I can not yield to anybody.

And, Mr. Speaker, in that possible contingency I very much fear that many Democratic Senators and many Democratic Representatives would reflect only the opinions of the White House.

But, if the Sherman act is bad in principle and in practice, the Bland-Allison act is worse. Under the provisions of that act the Secretary of the Treasury was bound to purchase not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver each month, and coin it into dollars of 412½ grains each of standard silver.

The Bland dollars are fiat dollars. Unlike the act of 1890, the act of 1878 contained no pledge of gold redemption, and for every cent in a Bland dollar in excess of its intrinsic value up to one hundred the holder has nothing but the honesty of purpose and the resources of the American people, and as the value of silver goes down the final draft on the honesty of purpose and the resources of the American people goes up.

And, more than that, the Bland-Allison act was a more expensive act than the Sherman act. In this same letter from which I quoted awhile ago from the Acting Director of the Mint, Mr. Preston, he says:

The amount of silver purchased under the act of February 28, 1878, aggregated 291,292,000 ounces, costing \$318,119,000. The value of the same at today's market price, 73 cents, would be \$213,371,000.

We thus have a loss of \$104,748,000.

But more than that, suppose we had been operating under the Bland-Allison act instead of under the Sherman act since 1890. In that event we would have purchased up to date 368,341,000 ounces of silver at a cost of \$380,000,000; in other words, even the disadvantageous provisions of the Sherman law saved to us the enormous amount of \$61,881,000. So that I conclude that the Sherman act must be repealed; but I conclude also that we can not go back to the provisions of the Bland-Allison act.

But, mark you, unconditional repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman act means simply that we shall cease to pay out gold monthly for four and one-half million ounces of silver. All this that we hear about driving silver from our money system, destroying one-half of the people's money, as some put it, and one-half of the world's money, as others put it, and all that sort of thing is so much rant and fustian. Not a dollar of the existing silver in the currents of the world's trade will be eliminated nor a scintilla of its value affected. No existing American dollar will be less a good dollar according to the gold standard than it was before. Every American dollar, whether gold, silver, or paper, will be the equal of every other American dollar wherever the flag flies.

Now, only one other proposition remains, and that is the proposition for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at some one of several suggested ratios. I shall not stop to discuss ratios for this reason: If you can fix the commercial ratio of that which is

a commodity in the world in relation to gold by law you can fix it at anything you please. If you can not by law fix its real relation because it is a commodity, then it does not make any difference what ratio you put in your law. Now, what is this proposition for free and unlimited coinage of silver? Reduced to terms of plain English it is this: That every man who has 56 cents' worth of standard silver may go the United States mint and have it marked a dollar. "Resolved," it is proposed we shall say, "by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, that 56 is equal to 100; that 1 is equal to 28.52."

But, you say, that is not a fair statement for the reason that gold has gone up instead of silver going down. You rail against the gold dollar as a "dishonest dollar;" and one gentleman here even went to the trouble of bringing in a book to quote from, as an authority to show that gold was not an absolute measure of value. He might have saved himself the trouble. Nobody claims that gold is an absolute stable measure of value. What we do claim and what is true is that it is the most stable measure of value.

Mr. WALKER. And the world has agreed on it.

Mr. DALZELL. And, as the gentleman from Massachusetts suggests, it is the measure of value all over the world. It fixes the value even in silver-standard countries. Now, on what basis do you assume that gold has gone up and that silver remains stationary? Because, you say, there are so many commodities that have fallen in price and silver has fallen in price with them, and, therefore, gold has gone up and silver has not moved. Was there ever a more patent *non sequitur*?

Why, you do not need to imagine a scarcity of gold to account for falling prices. New processes, improved machinery, inventive genius, new facilities for intercommunication—these and not the scarcity of gold are the causes of falling prices. The records of the Patent Office, the roll of the great captains of industry whose genius has wedded usefulness and beauty and cheapness, and made the luxury of the past the convenience of the present, refute your silly claim that gold is the only factor in fixing price.

Raw materials, food products, have fallen in price upon the same principle. New fields have been opened, their soil put under the plow. Civilization has pushed its resistless march into new territory, discovered new secrets of nature, opened new mines to the sunlight, bridged new streams, built highways to the hitherto inaccessible; introduced electricity and steam; annihilated time and space.

Why, sir, the history of our trunk-line railroads furnishes the key to falling prices. Let me show you just for a second. In 1865 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and its lines west of Pittsburg, the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, the Michigan Central, Boston and Albany, the New York, Lake Erie and Western, carried 11,151,701 tons of freight, or to express it in another way, moved of tons 1 mile 1,654,324,000. And how much did each ton cost for carriage? It cost 2.9 cents per mile. In 1885, twenty years afterwards, this same system of railroads moved of tons at the rate of 1 mile 11,331,306,000, at a cost of six-tenths of a cent a mile.

Now, these railway lines carried somewhat less than one-fourth of the tons moved 1 mile in 1885; yet they saved on the difference between cost of carriage in 1885 and the cost of carriage in 1865 \$256,500,000. I might pursue this line of argument, to show the same results, with other roads, but it is not necessary. And yet, in the face of incontrovertible facts like these, you get up ingenious schedules to prove that silver has remained stationary and that gold has gone up.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the characteristic feature of this day is low price of necessaries and high wages. If the low price of necessaries is due to the scarcity of gold, why have not wages gone down also? And how comes it that the poor man's friend on this floor denounces a system under which the poor man gets the necessaries of life for less than they ever cost him before, and gets as a wage more money with which to buy them? [Applause.]

The fall in the price of silver is easily accounted for on the very simplest of economic principles. Increase the supply of any commodity, decrease the demand, and prices go down. Now, since 1873, when silver was demonetized, the production of silver has increased 150 per cent, and the demand has decreased by the amount theretofore called for by the mints of Europe, since that time closed against it like our own, except since 1878.

Mr. WALKER. And the cost of mining is not more than half what it was.

Mr. DALZELL. Yes; there is a difference in the cost of mining.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am not going to stop to go into the question at any length of the scarcity of gold. I will merely state the facts and put the proof in the RECORD. Since 1873, when silver was demonetized, gold production has constantly increased,

and is increasing to-day. The probabilities are that it will continue to increase to a much greater extent in the future. Here are the figures as stated by the Bureau of the Mint of the Treasury Department:

1873.....	\$96,200,000	1880.....	\$106,500,000	1887.....	\$105,775,000
1874.....	90,750,000	1881.....	103,000,000	1888.....	110,197,000
1875.....	97,500,000	1882.....	102,000,000	1889.....	123,489,000
1876.....	103,700,000	1883.....	95,400,000	1890.....	113,150,000
1877.....	114,000,000	1884.....	101,700,000	1891.....	120,519,000
1878.....	119,000,000	1885.....	108,400,000	1892.....	130,817,000
1879.....	109,000,000	1886.....	106,000,000		

In 1887 the Queen of England appointed a royal commission to inquire into the recent changes in the relation of the precious metals to each other. In the same year President Cleveland appointed Edward Atkinson, a distinguished statistician, to inquire as to the feasibility of bimetalism by international agreement. Mr. Atkinson states the results of the investigation of that royal commission as follows. He says:

I find in it abundant evidence sustaining the positions which I have taken, to wit:

1. The mass of gold in existence has been sufficient to enable Germany to adopt the gold standard of legal tender, the United States and Italy to resume specie payment substantially on a gold standard, the Latin Union to cease silver coinage and to maintain their existing stock of legal-tender silver at par in gold, without creating any apparent scarcity of gold and without any special influence in depressing the prices of commodities or services.

2. The reduction in the price of commodities has been no greater than would be warranted by and might have been expected from the improvements in the processes of production and distribution. This reduction, having been accompanied by a general maintenance or rise in the price or rate of wages, has been almost wholly beneficial, temporary hardship to special classes being admitted.

I have said that the probabilities are that the production of gold would increase. Let me read you some information contained in a recent edition of the Washington Post:

OUR GOLD PRODUCT.

The chief risk of dependence on gold as a standard is that the supply may not be sufficient, but the gold fields of South Africa now being developed promise to bring relief in that direction.—*Philadelphia Ledger*.

But what about our own gold fields? Wherever gold has been produced before in years gone by prospecting has been renewed with most encouraging results. New discoveries have been made in Oregon and other Western States that are reputed to be very valuable. Even in Colorado, the very heart of the silver industry, the outlook for gold is brightening daily. Says the Denver Republican of August 14:

"Already there has been a notable increase in the gold output. The gold deposits at the Denver mint in July exceeded by \$90,000 the deposits in any previous month in the history of the mint. It shows that Colorado miners are not completely at the mercy of the men who are endeavoring to strike down silver as a money metal. There are promising gold districts in both Gunnison and Pitkin Counties. Telluride is one of the best gold camps in the Rocky Mountains, and during this summer a large amount of work has been done there in the development of gold claims, which, during the time of active silver mining, were more or less neglected. Gilpin County keeps up its reputation as a gold producer, and the camp on Yankee Hill, near the edge of Clear Creek County, is a very promising place."

The San Francisco Examiner of the 11th instant reports that gold is coming down from the mountains at the rate of \$1,500,000 a month; that "the corner of the hard times" has been turned; that money enough is to be had for saving the bulk of the fruit crop, and that wheat is rushing to market, every cargo shipped yielding \$50,000 to \$100,000 in "English gold" as soon as it is cleared.

There is no cause of alarm because of a probable scarcity of gold for a currency reserve. What the country doesn't produce the Government can easily buy.

Now our friends on the other side say, "discontinue the use of silver; take it out of the world's money, and you necessarily appreciate gold to that extent."

What I have already said refutes the assertion. We have seen that the gold supply has kept pace with the gold demand, and promises to continue to do so in the future. This has been proven by the statistics of gold production, and by the evidence taken before the Royal Commission.

But in addition to this the free coinage argument wholly ignores the function of credit in our modern business life. The volume of money consists not simply of gold and silver and authorized issues of notes, but of credit also. This is an expanding and contracting instrument as the necessities of trade and commerce demand. It serves to conduct from 90 to 95 per cent of the world's business. It has been well said, the progress of civilization is towards diminishing instead of increasing the requirement of large amounts of bullion.

Much stress, Mr. Speaker, has been laid by our friends on the other side on the injustice of making the debtor pay in dearer money than that which he borrowed. If I have proven anything so far I have demonstrated that the only method to prevent such injustice, so far as it can be prevented, is to abide by the most stable of all measures of value, gold. And mark you the injustice to the debtor of paying his debt in dearer money than he borrowed is no greater than the injustice of making the lender take his loan in money which is less valuable than that which he loaned.

That aspect of the question seems not to have presented itself to our friends on the other side at all. They assume that all lenders are rich, millionaires, goldbugs, corporations, and that all the borrowers are poor farmers, and that such being the case it is no harm for the latter to cheat the former. Is there one

rule of honesty for the rich man and another rule of honesty for the poor man?

Why, Mr. Speaker, I have been amused here listening to the self-styled champions of the poor man, advocates of the millionaire mine-owners of the West, denouncing millionaires; in one breath denouncing all moneyed institutions, aggregations of wealth, and corporations—the indices of national prosperity—and in the next demanding a market for the product of the Western mines and for the surplus silver of the world. Why not the same kind of legislation for the steel billets from the mills of Pennsylvania, for the pig iron from the furnaces of Tennessee, or the wheat from the fields of Dakota?

Mr. Speaker, I want to say to my friend who spoke here yesterday, representing what we call the "State" of Nevada, that there is not a silver-producing State in this Union, California excepted, that has as large a population as the county in which I have the honor to live; and all of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, in Nevada do not equal the number of voters in that county.

It seems to me, sir, that this indiscriminate denunciation of wealth, this arraying of the rich against the poor, is nothing more nor less than incipient anarchy. Whence can it lead but to a war of classes and the eventual overthrow of the State? And is not he an incendiary, against whom society has a right to protect itself, who raises the banner of rule or ruin and appeals to the basest passions of mankind?

Sir, the silver men pretending to be bimetalists are monometalists. What they would have is not a double, but a silver instead of a gold standard. This is plainly to be gathered from the speech of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN]. I quote him:

If a single standard were really more desirable than a double standard, we are not free to choose gold and would be compelled to select silver. * * * If bimetalism is impossible, then we must make up our minds to a silver standard.

And then he paints the glories of a silver standard. He says:

A silver standard, too, would make us the trading center of all the silver-using countries of the world, and these countries contain far more than one-half of the world's population. What an impetus would be given to our Western and Southern exports, such as San Francisco, Galveston, New Orleans, Mobile, Savannah, and Charleston.

That is to say, let us cut loose from England and France and Germany—from European civilization—and cast in our lot with India, China, the Straits, Japan, Mexico, and South and Central America.

Truly a suggestion worthy the mind that conceives it to be in the power of legislation to reverse the rules of arithmetic.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have not time to discuss some other subjects that I had intended to discuss in this connection. But I want to say that the moment you declare that 56 cents' worth of silver is equal to a gold dollar, that moment you open your mints to all the silver of the world. You bid it welcome to come, and it will come; and when it comes gold will go, go into silver purchases, go into hiding, go abroad. With what result? With the result to defeat the very purpose for which free and unlimited silver coinage is urged; with the result suddenly and violently to contract instead of increase the circulation. The American dollar will buy in foreign exchange just as much as and no more than the bullion in it is worth. The United States will be on a silver basis.

Two things, I grant you, the free and unlimited coinage of silver will accomplish. First, debtors will be enabled to scale their debts to the extent of from 40 to 50 per cent and cheat their creditors to that extent; and, secondly, you will furnish a market for the silver mines of the West. But these results will be accomplished at the price of justice and to the eternal disgrace of the American name. [Applause.]

Now, sir, I believe in bimetalism, the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the world, and I expect to see that system come in time. I believe that bimetalism is possible, however, only by international agreement, and I am in favor of every honest effort to bring about that agreement. The United States having been on a gold basis substantially for sixty years past, debts have been contracted on that basis, and prices fixed all over the world on that basis. I am opposed to any measure that would either suddenly or gradually put us on a silver basis. I am in favor of any needed measure for the expansion of the currency that will put behind every dollar issued the guaranty that it shall be equal in purchasing and in debt-paying power to every other dollar.

I believe, with the President of the United States, that this is a question which rises above the plane of party politics. Good men will laugh to scorn threats of party outlawry and treat with the contempt that they deserve low appeals in party interest. This question can be settled, but it must be settled by each man in the domain of conscience enlightened by patriotism. The interests at stake involve the financial future of this great people;

they are the interests of country, and country is above all. [Applause.] This is a proposition that will meet with commendation wherever patriotism is regarded as a virtue. But it is especially true with us.

Why, sir; with a pomp and circumstance of peace more glorious even than the pomp and circumstance of war, all nations and peoples and kindreds join to-day to celebrate the discovery of this western continent. In a city whose marvelous growth, wealth, and enterprise outrun the extravagance even of an Oriental imagination, the first fruits of the ripest civilization have been gathered to do honor to the name and rejoice in the achievement of the courageous mariner whose sublime faith carried him across unknown seas to unlock the gateway of the globe's richer half.

In this, the harvest of four hundred years of American history, it is not hard to discern the richest amongst all the golden sheaves. From the treasures of art and science and literature, from the charms of music, from the glories of architecture, from the gathered wealth of genius and labor, with thanksgiving in our hearts, we turn to the colossal Republic, that, founded in self-denial, maintained by struggle, purified by blood, sanctified by the graves of brave men, first and alone in all the annals of time, has demonstrated man's capacity for self-rule and in which under the folds of that flag all men are equally entitled to enjoy the blessings of liberty under law. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. HATCH. Mr. Speaker, no representative of the American people can approach the discussion of the pending measures with a keener sense of appreciation of the responsibilities resting upon him, or can be more profoundly impressed with the far-reaching and grave consequences to follow the determination of the momentous issue involved in this legislation than myself. In my judgment, the results to follow can not be measured by finite man, nor can they be exaggerated by the most sanguine and enthusiastic supporter of either proposition now pending.

I feel that the prosperity of my country and the welfare and happiness of all the people are involved in this proposed legislation.

As I am permitted to see the truth my convictions are deep-seated and unalterably fixed. In the light of my own judgment, aided by twenty years of thoughtful study and business experience, I would be derelict and recreant to every obligation resting upon the Representative of an intelligent and honorable constituency, if I did not declare my convictions frankly, and courageously enforce them by my vote and action.

Involved in this duty is the obligation I owe to the great political organization with which I have been identified almost a lifetime. My personal convictions and the principles of my party as declared in national convention are identical. I am loyally following the last authoritative utterance of the Democratic party, in the Chicago national convention of 1892, on this subject.

This is a case of political history hastily repeating itself.

We had barely achieved a signal victory over the Democratic enemies of tariff reform, after twenty years of entreaty, education, and discipline, until we have on our hands another insurrection on the part of the minority against the plain and honest declaration of the platform on the subject of silver as money. The issue is squarely made and sharply drawn. It is monometallism, which has no part or lot in the Democratic platform, on one hand, or the plain declaration for a constitutional Democratic "coinage of both gold and silver," on the other.

Upon one side or the other each gentleman on this floor must ally himself. He can not escape by legislative subterfuges or homeopathic doses to his conscience. In the light of history and of his own pledges and explanations during the last campaign he will be judged. To the minority now in insurrection against the Democratic platform, I say mark well the lesson of the history I have alluded to.

The defiant minority surely and rapidly disappeared from public life and from the councils of their party, and to-day their voices are no longer heard in the land, and all, all save one, have disappeared even from the memories of their contemporaries. Randall alone lives in Democratic minds and hearts, because of the grandeur of his character, and of his great legislative achievements when in accord with the majority of his party.

It will not be many months or years before this part of our history will be again exemplified by experience, and the places that now know the insurrectionists will know them no more forever.

If there is any one thing that I admire in the members of the Republican party it is their absolute faith and loyalty to their own flag. I never saw a better exemplification of it than we had a few moments ago by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr.

DALZELL] when he won his first round of applause from his Republican brethren by asserting in the most eloquent terms that whenever the nation was in peril the Republican party could always be depended on for such legislation as would insure safety and prosperity to the people.

And the Republican party stands here to-day in almost solid ranks, swollen by a minority from this side of the House, to tear down the law that the Republicans put upon the statute books a little more than two years ago, a law which was passed by a unanimous Republican vote in this House and in the Senate, and signed by a Republican President! Always to be depended on for wise legislation that will bring the nation to safety and prosperity!

And there is not a gentleman on this floor who has spoken, not one who has uttered a single sentiment in regard to the pending legislation, who has not exhausted all his eloquence and his power in denunciation of this Sherman act, a child of Republicanism, fashioned after its own methods and denounced by the great Democratic party of the United States as a makeshift and a fraud; and yet the Republican party can always be depended on to legislate for the safety and the prosperity of the country! [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I shall discuss this question from the standpoint of my own earnest and honest convictions, the result of twenty years of careful study, twenty years of experience; and not only from my standpoint of individual conscience and duty, but involved in it is the duty I owe to that political organization with which my entire life and manhood have been identified.

There is a test by which all of us can determine as to that question. If I am not on the Democratic platform to-day I want to get on it, for I have never been off of it in my life. Its last decisive utterance was in the Democratic platform of 1892, which I will read:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

There is a difference of interpretation as to what that platform means. I do not believe that it is susceptible of more than one earnest and honest construction. I never have believed that it was Janus-faced, or that it was made with the intent to deceive the people of the United States. But we can easily determine what construction the majority of the representatives of the people, elected by Democratic constituencies, place upon that platform.

Let us have a caucus of the members of this House and of the Senate who are Democrats, and let a majority of that caucus determine as to the interpretation to be placed upon that platform, and as to what our action shall be, and let every Democrat in the House pledge his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor to abide by that caucus action, and move such legislation as will carry it out. [Applause.] For one, I am willing to take that pledge here and now.

Mr. REED. Of course you are.

Mr. HATCH. I have no pride of opinion that I will not yield to a majority of my peers. If we were taught in that platform that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act was all that was involved in our duty to our party, say so and I will join you.

No living man in this House or out of it has a more supreme contempt for the Sherman act, from the first word in it to its close, than I have. I denounced it on the floor of this House before it passed. I voted against it. I have never upheld one single one of its provisions from the time it was introduced in this House until this hour.

But here is a united Democratic party, not one single one among us who wants to retain the Sherman law upon the statute book, and the only difference between us at all is as to whether that other language of the Democratic platform shall be carried out at the same time—to give such legislation as will place gold and silver upon a perfect equality as to the coinage of bullion, and not only that, but to place the two metals upon a perfect equality as to the friendliness of the Treasury Department of the United States.

THE PRESENT FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE WORLD AND ESPECIALLY OF THIS COUNTRY.

It is distressing and deplorable beyond expression. It is widespread and universal; it reaches every section, and embraces in

its folds all classes and conditions of men. It has shattered fortunes that were estimated by millions; it has invaded the homes of millionaires and money kings, the offices of bank presidents and railway magnates, the counting-houses of great importing firms and domestic trades-people, the retail dealer, and small distributor of the necessities of life. It has stopped manufactories and paralyzed great enterprises.

In the East it has thrown out of employment thousands of operatives, mechanics, artisans, and skilled workmen in every conceivable industry, and turned from the mines of Pennsylvania an army of men whose sole occupation is suspended, and who must wait, and wait, perhaps for work, possibly for bread. In the Middle and Western States it has entered the peaceful and contented homes of over half our people and turned the contentment of the modest returns for labor which agriculture has produced in the past ten years to one of absolute despair and almost ruin. In the far West it has done its completest work; it has fulfilled its direst mission.

States bankrupted, whole communities idle, multitudes facing the coming winter with apprehension and dread, and men, women, and children already on short or insufficient daily rations of food. Is it any wonder that the entire country is profoundly impressed with the calamitous conditions and imploringly, prayerfully, and excitingly pleading for relief? And to meet such a condition of things, with famine both of money and food, the paralyzation of industries and destruction of credit and confidence, amid the tempest of all this comes the single admonition from the throne of political power—

“Repeal the Sherman act!”

Repeal the miserable makeshift, wipe out the legislative fraud which nobody defends, destroy the only source of an increase of our currency now being executed by the present Administration; administer one more blow to silver coinage, increase the purchasing power of gold, make money scarcer and harder to get, pull the millionaire and the bondholder out of the dilemma brought upon them by their own folly, and in thunder tones say to the multitudes of idle and hungry bread winners throughout the length and breadth of the land, “Let the people be damned.”

I can not better express my own views on the magnitude and importance of the present controversy than by quoting from a recent editorial published in the Toledo Journal:

SILVER AND GOLD.

The great fight for honest money, now being waged at Washington in favor of honest money and rights of the people, is justly attracting attention of the civilized world.

Attempting to introduce a new standard of value; to strike down at once the larger half of the coin of ultimate payment, to double every debt and immeasurably burden the debtor class in the interests of those in power; the battle is the most important waged for centuries. Blinded and deceived by the specious pleas of those who hope to reap large gains by the crime; urged on by men who wish to retain their grasp on the sole coin of general use and recognition, many are joining in worshipping the golden calf, forgetful that to make any single commodity the sole arbiter of fortune places it within the power of a few to combine in hoarding that article, and, by withdrawing it from circulation, to retain their grasp on the throat of enterprise and effort.

None wish money to keep. Its sole use is to measure values in exchange. Those enjoying fixed incomes are not molested, except their position vanishes. But all others suffer incalculable loss from the debasement of the currency. Silver and gold provide a basis for currency which will satisfy the most insistent. Gold alone offers opportunity for scheming and corners. Cut off from its long-time continuous use as a basis for currency, silver has of necessity fallen in value, as would gold were it dethroned from its position. Gold alone serves well the wealthy, but leaves the poor man at the mercy of schemers at any time. It would be impossible to corner silver; gold is at the mercy of the gambler because of its inferior volume.

This latter fact alone supports the demands of the people that bimetallicism be maintained. Shorn of its power, silver, in its downfall, has pulled down many a strong institution; restored to its honorable position by the United States, the nations of the world must follow our footsteps; else every silver-using nation of the globe will turn to us for trade, and without this England would soon follow our line of action. The struggle is a mighty one, and in it the entire world is deeply interested. What the outcome shall be lies in the womb of the future. Nations move by inexorable laws, whose force and direction we little understand. If reason and judgment prevail, we shall presently be out of our troubles; if the anarchy of gold wins we may look for darker times and greater woe and sorrow than we can now imagine.

What has produced, brought about, or contributed to this condition?

This question has been asked and answered one thousand times or more during this discussion, and always satisfactorily to the gentlemen who furnished the answer. I have studied this problem in many of its phases for the past twenty years. Writers, statesmen, legislators, and financiers have written and spoken volumes upon this subject during that time. Their convictions, arguments, and conclusions are multifarious and divergent to the extreme degree.

But they can be divided into two great classes—those who believe in making money scarce and hard to get, and keeping it below such a volume that the favored few, the select, the anointed of the Lord Mammon alone can possess and control it; and the more intelligent, patriotic, and numerous class, who believe that money should be kept at such a volume that all the people, from

the humblest citizen to the wealthiest nabob in the land, could receive its benefits in proportion to his ability to work for it with brain and muscle.

I belong to the latter class. I believe in both gold and silver money without discrimination against either metal, and the parity between them to be maintained by the adoption of such ratio as Congress may agree upon from time to time under the mandate of the Constitution; and as no country on earth within a hundred years has had enough of such coin to meet the requirements of its domestic trade and foreign commerce, I believe in supplementing this inadequate supply by the issue of paper money by the Government, based on such coinage, in volume sufficient to meet all the requirements and demands of our vast internal and domestic trade and ever-increasing and vital foreign commerce, the volume and extent of this currency to be measured by the ability to keep it at an absolute par with our gold and silver coin throughout the Union.

As long as it can be thus maintained it can never reach the maximum. But what a spectacle confronts us to-day! With all our laws and efforts to maintain a circulating medium based on the integrity and unparalleled resources of the Government, the New York City and other bankers of the country are daily issuing an absolutely illegal fiat currency known as “clearing-house certificates,” based alone on such securities as they now possess and which they have found absolutely inadequate and insufficient to maintain their own credit abroad or the confidence of their associates and co-conspirators.

Let me read from a circular letter of a New York banking house, under date of August 18, what they have to say about this wonderful exploit in banking:

The New York city bankers have \$37,380,000 certificates outstanding. Boston has \$11,100,000. Other bankers in the South and West perhaps have enough more out to make fifty millions of bank certificates. Adding these various amounts together, we find a possible increase of about one hundred millions since July 1 to replace the unknown amount of currency and gold drawn out of the banks and hoarded in vaults and other places since May last, “where it resembled the one talent more than the ten talents.”

Currency commands 3 per cent premium, and has sold as high as 5 per cent. Exchange on this city from many Western cities has recently ranged from five to fifty dollars per \$1,000. Many Western people claim the degree of credit desired by Eastern bankers is shown by their willingness to pay depositors. Eastern banks appear to have no sympathy for Western methods in not issuing bank certificates. Many individuals have sold their checks on the street for funds to meet maturing obligations or make needed purchases. Credit seems to have been strained from here to the Pacific coast, and attacked on all sides and benefiting but few.

Fifty dollars on a thousand dollars in exchange on New York! Why, sir, usually in the West New York exchange is at a small premium or at par. I received a few days ago a letter from the cashier of a bank in which I do my business at Hannibal, Mo. He informed me that he could not take New York exchange for anything less than \$1 on the hundred dollars or \$10 on the thousand dollars.

I thought that enormous; but here it appears by this New York circular that there are other cities in the country that have not as much confidence in the New York banking system as the bankers in my own town. In some of these other cities they will not take exchange on New York at less than \$50 on \$1,000.

What have the banks of New York been doing to keep up confidence? Nobody ever lost confidence in the banks of New York until after they entered into that conspiracy in April last to produce a panic in this country—a money famine and a panic. But they lost confidence in each other.

Let me tell my New York friends right now that, in my judgment, the most herculean task ever attempted in any legislative body on the face of God's green earth since the creation of Adam down to the present time will be to restore confidence between the New York bankers. They know each other too well. [Laughter.] And there is such a splendid minority of them that have embellished the pages of New York financial history in the last few years by moving across the line into Canada that I suppose the next step would be to establish confidence between the bankers of New York on this side and those on the other side of the Canadian border.

Mr. Speaker, I offered on yesterday evening to give my distinguished friend from New York [Mr. FELLOWS] part of my time, and I intended if he accepted it to make but one condition, because we all know him to be a splendid lawyer; but I wanted some legal ability to blaze the road along that way so as to point out in a clear manner the use of and the character of what is called “clearing-house certificates.”

I ask the gentleman, or any other gentleman from New York when he gets the floor, to please tell us what a clearing-house certificate is, and how it can be used as money without violating the laws of the United States? Do you pay any tax on it? What is it? The promise to pay of a class of men who will not take even their own promises to each other! And tell me another thing. Why is it every national bank in the city of New York to-day, and for the past thirty days, has been doing busi-

ness in open and notorious violation of the law, absolutely refusing to pay its checks when presented at the counter? Why is that?

The financial object lesson of the world to-day is France, with the largest circulating medium both of gold and silver and paper money in the world, larger in proportion to her population; larger in proportion to her territorial limit; larger in proportion to the amount of business they do than any other nation of the earth; who stood within the last few years at the close of the Franco-German war a shock that would have bankrupted any other nation except the French nation, when it paid that indemnity fund; it never stopped their prosperity a month. They paid it in gold and used the silver that was left, supplemented by paper money, and in a few short years gold came back to the vaults of the banks of France and they have it there to-day. Every nation that has been in trouble financially from that day to this has had to draw upon France if it wanted gold.

□ I have no patience with the argument that has been gone over here and thrashed and thrashed from one day to another and during every hour of our session about a "dishonest dollar." The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] has declared to-day that the silver dollar is only worth 60 cents, and he says there is no test for money except that of fire. Fire! Well, my friends, the Republican party in its financial system has come pretty near firing this whole country. What becomes of the silver or gold certificates and the greenbacks when you talk about fire?

It will not stand the furnace. It can be burned until you can not take the ashes to the Treasury and have it redeemed, and it is good so long as you can keep it out of the furnace; and so long as you can keep it out of the furnace a hundred dollars of it is as good as any hundred dollars in gold ever stamped on the face of the earth. The silver dollar dishonest! Is it true? If so, who made it dishonest? The Republican party dishonored it first. They dishonored it in 1873, when they demonetized it.

But the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS], whom I do not see in his seat, says "they did not demonetize it." No, they simply annihilated it. He says "to demonetize silver would be simply to take away from it its legal-tender quality." He says they did not do that. They simply crushed it, annihilated it, dropped it out of coinage. Why, he says, that is not demonetization; that is not demonetizing it. That would be merely maiming it. They have done worse than that, they have killed it.

From my standpoint I now answer the question, What has produced or largely contributed to the present condition throughout the world? In my judgment, more than any one or all causes combined, it was the tyrannical, unholy, and damnable conspiracy that demonetized silver in 1873. But certain gentlemen say there was no conspiracy in 1873, and that this declaration is "rot." My reply is equally emphatic and unchaste in expression. The gentleman who has read the history of nations for the past twenty-five years and is capable of understanding what he reads, and so characterizes the charge of the wide-spread conspiracy to demonetize silver, is either a knave or an ignoramus.

Against his prejudiced and random, inconsidered statement I place the declaration of the painstaking student, the close and logical historian, the judicial and courteous controversialist, the intrepid and candid representative, John Griffin Carlisle, of Kentucky. Here is what he said on the floor of this House on the 21st day of February, 1878, when he represented an independent, fearless, and honorable Democratic constituency:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever be so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world.

The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half the metallic money of the world.

The flippant denials made here now can not overturn the solemn declarations of such a representative.

It has since been proven by facts and declarations and arguments that embrace volumes of testimony to sustain Mr. Carlisle's then position. But, has the conspiracy been broken? Or have the conspirators against the use of silver as money ceased from their labors? I answer, no. The conspiracy still exists, and the conspirators have increased in numbers and influence.

And if you desire to know the present, direct, and most potential cause of the present panic and money famine, it can be traced directly to the action and declared purposes of the bankers of New York City and other large money centers of the Gov-

ernment. And shrewd, astute, and able as they arrogantly claim to be, their babbling and bullying declarations furnish the most damaging testimony against them.

I will read some extracts from a great New York paper, one which is at the very head of New York journalism—my friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] will not controvert that statement—a paper that claims to have the courage of its own convictions, a paper independent in all things, consistent in but few [laughter], though claiming to be in the main Democratic. I read from the New York Sun of Friday, April 28. After reciting some of the incidents of the enjoyable conference between Secretary Carlisle and the bankers, it says:

As the Secretary outlined the policy of the Government, it was that nothing would be done that in any way would retard or check the determination of the Cleveland Administration concerning the repeal of the Sherman law. The Secretary went over the currency laws of the country, and said that they were in bad shape, and needed revision. He said the revision should start with the Sherman law. There is a determination, also, to show to the miners of silver the evil effects of the Sherman law on their fortunes.

President Cleveland's advisers have told him that the only way to induce the Western and Southwestern Senators and Congressmen to consent to the repeal of the Sherman law, is to demonstrate to their constituents that they are losing money every day that this law is in operation. The missionary work in that direction has been started by a number of the banks in the solid communities of the East. They are daily refusing credits to the South, Southwest and West, fearing the effects of the Sherman law.

The Chicago bankers, it was said, are carrying out the same line of policy. Secretary Carlisle, in his talk with the bank presidents, made his stand very clear. It is to be heroic treatment all the way through on the Sherman law, and possibly by the next session of Congress the silver mine owners and the adherents of silver in the Senate and House will be ready to consent to a repeal of the law.

The bank presidents, replying to Secretary Carlisle, cordially informed him that they would be ready at all times to cooperate with him in the successful administration of the financial policy of the Government. Everybody shook hands, and there was harmony all round.

[Laughter.]

The New York Sun of Saturday, April 29, in its financial column, says:

The conference yesterday between Secretary Carlisle and a number of the bankers of this city was of great value in that it resulted in a definite understanding of the financial policy of the Administration, as indicated in this column last Tuesday. That policy is to interpose no obstacle to the natural operations and logical results of the Sherman law. In a word, the Administration proposes to allow the people to reap the rewards of their own folly.

Was my friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] in the city of Washington on the 1st day of May last?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I was.

Mr. HATCH. I thank the gentleman for giving me that information, because it furnishes a key to the whole situation. The New York Sun, in its Washington letter, published May 1, 1893, says—

Mr. CUMMINGS. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. HATCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUMMINGS. The gentleman's statement is correct, but his assumption is erroneous. [Laughter.]

Mr. HATCH. That remark is simply evoked by the gentleman's modesty. [Laughter.] I will read this statement:

The statement of Mr. Carlisle to the New York bankers makes it clear that while Mr. Cleveland works in Congress, the bankers will be expected to work, not in New York only, but throughout the country, doing their utmost to pinch business everywhere in the expectation of causing a money crisis that will affect Congress powerfully from every quarter. There is an explicitness in these declarations and a boldness in making them that would be astounding were not the country too familiar with Mr. Cleveland and his methods to be astonished by anything from him.

The circulation and importance of this paper warrant the assertion that Mr. Carlisle read these statements. I have watched in vain for any denial or even modification of them. On the contrary, proofs as strong as Holy Writ are accumulating to justify and prove their correctness.

Now, my friends, there is the beginning of this money crisis. It was determined by the New York banks, in aid of the policy of the Secretary of the Treasury to secure repeal of the Sherman act, to create a money panic, to make the shoe pinch down South, and out West, and all over the land; but when they had set the ball in motion they found its velocity such that they could not stop it for a moment, and they have not been able to do so up to this time.

Therefore we are to-day plunged into a money panic the most deplorable that has been seen in the past century. Fortunes that were counted by millions have been partially or wholly wiped out, business is prostrated everywhere, manufactories and great enterprises all over this land have been stopped, small tradespeople have been ruined, the prices of everything that the people have for sale have been almost destroyed because there is no circulating medium in the country with which to buy them. And these gentlemen under these conditions, to "restore confidence," have brought in the little bill proposed by the gentleman from West Virginia simply to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act!

Amidst the ruin of the industries of our people, brought about

by this panic, we in this Hall can not get higher than that. We can not reach above the plane of simply repealing the purchasing clause of a makeshift and a fraud that stands on our statute book. Not a single word is said, in connection with this proposition about any measure for the relief of the general distress; nothing about any measure to enable the people to move the crops which are now languishing in the fields and the barns of the producers because there is no circulating medium. Restore confidence!

Why, my friends, I cut from that great daily, the Post of Washington City, of Sunday morning last, a "bill to restore confidence," drafted by a distinguished satirist of this city, and I pledge myself to-day that if this were offered as a substitute in this House for the Wilson bill I would vote for it in preference; for it would be just as feasible a way for restoring confidence as the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Here is the bill as published in the Post:

A bill to restore confidence and relieve the country of its financial panic.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

SECTION 1. That confidence in the financial condition of all business affairs throughout the domain of the Republic is hereby declared to be fully restored—

[Laughter.]

And all persons are commanded to forthwith conduct their financial and commercial transactions in conformity with this enactment.

SEC. 2. That any person whose business is in any way injured or embarrassed by reason of the neglect or failure on the part of individuals, associations, or corporations to maintain implicit confidence in the responsibility and business integrity of such person, such offending party or parties shall be liable for all damages resulting therefrom by judgment rendered in any of the courts of the United States.

[Laughter.]

SEC. 3. This act is to go into effect immediately.

If you only want confidence restored, why not pass an enactment of that kind? Do you expect to restore confidence simply by lessening the whole volume of the currency, when there is not enough in the city of New York or in any city of the United States to keep up credit among themselves for a day or a week?

My friends, I would not care about the details of this money question just at this time if I did not believe that it is impossible to establish a money system in this country based upon gold alone without destroying the industries of every agricultural class in the United States from the lakes to the Gulf, including the producers of all of our great staples.

I have here a chart, which I have received the permission of its author to use—one of the best and plainest I have ever seen; and, strange to say, the distinguished gentleman who is the author of this chart is a New Yorker. That fact ought to give it weight with the other side. I refer to Jones's Chart and Tables, No. 5, published by George O. Jones, of the State of New York. This chart embraces a table, which I have compared carefully with the one which was laid before my committee during the last Congress by a distinguished gentleman from Louisiana—a table coming from the royal commission of Great Britain, held three or four years ago, showing the prices of silver in the world and the prices of all the great agricultural products imported into England from America, such as cotton, wheat, etc.

[For chart see next page.]

But I want to read a few of the figures from Mr. Jones's chart. Beginning in 1872, before silver was demonetized, the average export price of wheat was \$1.40 per bushel; the average price of silver was \$1.32 per ounce; the average export price for cotton was 18 cents per pound.

Then during President Grant's second term (for as the headlines show these exhibits are made by Presidential terms), from 1873 to 1876, the average export price of wheat was \$1.24 per bushel, while the price of silver was \$1.21 per ounce; cotton, 13½ cents per pound. Under the Administration of Mr. Hayes from 1877 to 1880, the average price of wheat was \$1.19 per bushel; the average price of silver was \$1.12½ per ounce; cotton, 11 cents a pound.

I will not run through the whole of these figures, for I do not want to weary the House; but under Harrison's Administration, from 1889 to 1892, the average price of wheat was 90 cents a bushel; silver, 98 cents per ounce; cotton, 9½ cents per pound. On the 20th of March last the price of silver was 84 cents an ounce; wheat at Chicago on the 20th of March sold for 74½ cents per bushel, on August 1st at 55½ cents per bushel; on August 20th cotton sold for 7½ cents a pound.

From 1872 down to the present hour the average prices of cotton, wheat, and all farm products have kept pace with the price of silver per ounce; I do not refer to the money value of silver, but the price of silver bullion. This has controlled the price of every farm product that has been sent from this country to Europe. This is as demonstrable as any mathematical proposition that ever was submitted.

Now, my friends, we can discuss this question here for a month longer; you can absolutely exhaust it day after day; and you can not drive the average farmer from the knowledge that he has acquired in the last twenty years, that it is silver, not gold, that fixes the value of his commodities. And not only that, but in every emergency that has arisen in the United States, in every panic, you have got to depress the price of his products to induce Europe to take them in sufficient quantities to ease the money market in New York.

My friend from Kentucky here on the right suggests that I ought to tell the price of wheat now, not at New York, but the price in the West. When I left my home, on the 2d of August, I saw farmers, men whom I know, some of them personal friends, my own neighbors, driving up into the city of Hannibal and selling their wheat to our mills at from 30 to 45 cents a bushel, 45 being the highest price paid. We not only had a very short crop, but its quality had been damaged by rust just before harvest, and the mills were grading it down to absolute rejection up to No. 3. But none sold higher than 45 cents. Just think of it now, 35 cents a bushel for wheat to keep up public confidence and restore credit!

My distinguished friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] read the names of some of the exporters of gold the other day, the men who have aided largely in producing this panic, these bankers who held this distinguished conference with the Secretary of the Treasury in New York, and amongst the whole list I can pronounce but one of the names, and do not know that I can get that correctly—Ickelheimer, I believe—and the average farmer in the United States has not money enough, after paying his taxes, to keep his children long enough at school to learn how to pronounce perfectly the names of all of them. Not an American name amongst the whole list.

But how easily this spelling of names and the pronunciation of the names of men is made when we look to the men who have brought the gold back from Europe when we needed it. They are the names of the American farmers, citizens of the United States. It was our wheat and our cotton, our tobacco and meat products that brought back gold in sufficient quantities to retain the balance of trade in our favor once more.

In my judgment the greatest conspiracy that ever existed against silver has culminated in this present crisis. The Treasury Department has done more to dishonor and degrade it than all other causes combined. It has used the power of a great and beloved Government to discredit the money of its own people.

With all these adverse conditions the wonder is not that silver is depreciated in value, but that it has any value whatever. The fact that it passes current to-day throughout the land, that the people still accept, and that its slanderers and oppressors are paying a premium for it, is the greatest tribute ever paid to any circulating medium on earth.

Let me read the last justification of these serious and terrible charges that a conspiracy has existed from the statement of Mr. Carlisle himself, in his reply to a resolution of the Senate which is found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 19, page 246:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., August 17, 1893.

To the President of the Senate:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the following resolution, adopted by the Senate on the 16th instant, viz:

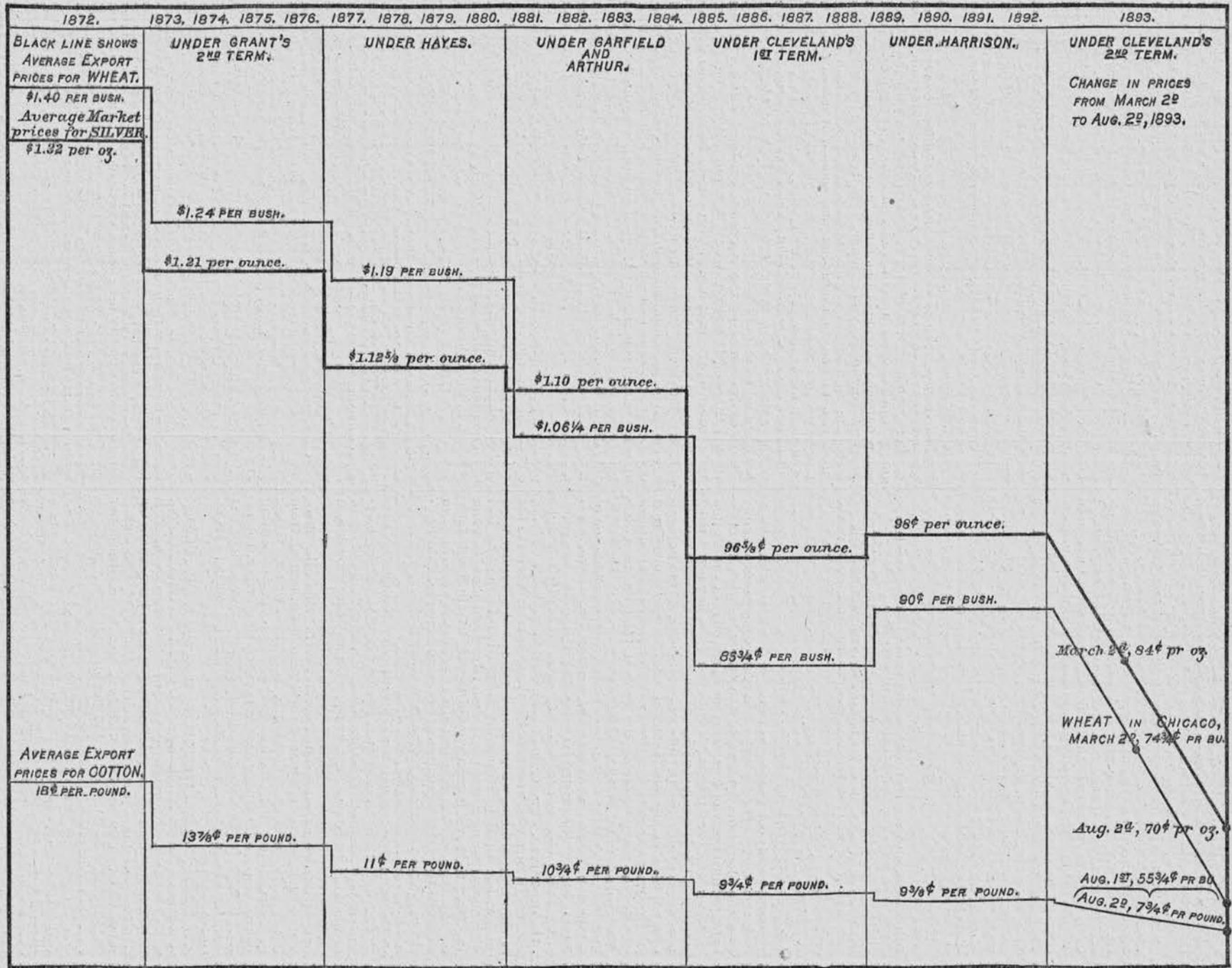
"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, directed to report to the Senate what amount, if any, of the Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, commonly called the Sherman act, have been during the present month redeemed by the Government at the request of the holders thereof in silver dollars, and whether the holders of such notes were advised at the time of such redemption that they could have gold instead of silver, if they so desired.

"The Secretary of the Treasury is also directed to inform the Senate whether gold coin has been presented recently to the Treasury Department or any subtreasury and silver dollars asked in exchange therefor, and, if so, if such exchanges have been made, and whether the Department would or could exchange silver dollars for gold coin, if requested to do so by holders of gold."

In response thereto, I have the honor to say that during the present month Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, amounting to \$714,636, have been redeemed by the Government in silver dollars. While I do not pretend to have knowledge of the degree of information possessed by the holders of the notes so redeemed, I am of the opinion that they were fully advised at the time of such redemption that they could have gold instead of silver, if they so desired. I base this opinion upon the general publicity which has been given to the terms of the act, no less than upon the instructions of this Department to the Treasurer and assistant treasurers of the United States, which have been to the effect that such notes were redeemable in silver dollars at the option of the holders. I am also supported in my belief by the fact that in the circular of this Department, issued to the public for their guidance in their dealings with the Treasury, and containing the regulations which govern the issue, redemption, and exchange of the paper currency and the gold, silver, and minor coins of the United States, there is a paragraph which reads as follows:

"4. Gold coin is issued in redemption of United States notes, in sums not less than \$50, by the assistant treasurers in New York and San Francisco, and in redemption of Treasury notes of 1890, in like sums, by the Treasurer and all the assistant treasurers."

In further response to the resolution, I have to say that recently gold coin has been presented to an office of this Department, and silver dollars asked in exchange therefor, and that the exchange was not made for the reason that all the silver dollars in the Treasury at that time were required under



the provisions of the laws relating to the currency to be held in the Treasury to cover outstanding silver certificates and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890. At present the Department would not and could not exchange silver dollars for gold coin if requested to do so by holders of gold, for the same reason; but if the condition of the funds of the Treasury were such as to afford a margin of the silver dollars in excess of silver certificates and Treasury notes outstanding, such exchanges would be made.

Respectfully, yours,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Just think of it, the Government of the United States so poor that it has not got silver dollars enough to exchange for gold coin at any subtreasury in the United States, and yet this dollar is "debased and degraded," and called a "54-cent dollar." It is the most ridiculous position that any people ever occupied in the history of any country. Here are these New York bankers doing everything to beat it down and debase it for the last twenty years, and yet they have been paying a premium of from 3 to 7 per cent for these despised and debased silver dollars to keep them from going to protest week after week.

Coin the bullion in the Treasury. If the Wilson bill was changed now to a plain mandate on the Secretary of the Treasury to coin that bullion and treat silver with the same friendliness that you do gold, there would not be any question about the parity of the two metals.

But, no, my friends, not a single action will be taken by the present Secretary of the Treasury in the interest of silver. They intend to keep the ban of the Treasury Department on it until, driven almost to death, the people of the United States will rise in their wrath in such numbers as never before under political banners, until they clean out this House and the Senate of every man who is opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. [Applause.]

The Secretary of the Treasury, as we have seen, comes before Congress declaring that he has not got silver dollars to exchange even for gold, and when he was offered gold dollars for silver he could not permit his subordinates to make the exchange, because, he says, we have not got the authority to exchange silver dollars for gold coin. Then, let us give him the authority and issue more silver dollars at once.

But I will tell you what will put a stop to this thing quicker than anything else. Coin your silver bullion in the Treasury at this time, and let the Secretary of the Treasury, the moment he issues that order to the Mint, receive the seigniorage of \$50,000,000 that would accrue to the Government of the United States by virtue of the coinage of the bullion. There would be \$50,000,000 at once. It was pointed out in a letter of the ex-Secretary, Mr. Tracey, from New York, which was published widespread throughout the country a week or ten days ago, a bold, manly, incisive statement of a man just out of the late Cabinet, who knows what he is talking of:

The Administration has ample power to relieve the currency famine in forty-eight hours by exercising authority with which it is clothed by statute. The act of July 14, 1890, known as the Sherman act, directs the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion monthly, and in the third section provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars, until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes here provided for, and any gain of seigniorage arising from said coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

The amount of bullion purchased, but not coined, under the above provision, prior to July, 1891, was about 30,000,000 ounces. At that date President Harrison's Administration suspended the coinage of silver dollars. The accumulated purchase of bullion since that date amounts to 110,000,000 ounces, making a total of 140,000,000 ounces of uncoined silver in the Treasury to-day. Against this silver Treasury notes have been issued to its bullion value, but no standard silver dollars have been coined with which to redeem them. The Secretary of the Treasury is therefore at liberty to direct that all or any portion of these 140,000,000 ounces be coined into silver dollars.

The profits of seigniorage for the coinage of this bullion would make upward of \$50,000,000 if the whole amount was coined. The moment the Secretary of the Treasury decides to coin this bullion, and puts it at the Mint for that purpose, he can treat the gain of seigniorage thereon as already secured. The profit is so much additional cash in the Treasury. To coin the whole amount would, therefore, set free, not only for circulation, but for disbursements, \$50,000,000 of the silver coin now held in the Treasury for the redemption of silver certificates issued against it from time to time, and would set it free immediately, for the coin so held would be replaced by the bullion in process of coinage at the mint.

The coin thus made available could be immediately deposited at national depositories, and being there deposited would at once enter upon the circulation of the country. The present falling off in the receipts of the Government indicate that unless the step is taken of increasing its resources by the profits to be derived from the coinage of the bullion now in the Treasury, it will be under the necessity of selling bonds if it would escape a deficiency of at least \$50,000,000 at the close of the current fiscal year.

I am not attempting to indicate what the present Administration should do, or to express an opinion as to what it may be wise for it to do; I limit myself to suggesting what it may do if it chooses to exercise the powers vested by the statutes in the Secretary of the Treasury.

If the Secretary of the Treasury really desires to break the conspiracy against silver and relieve, to a great extent, the present money famine, let him comply strictly and honestly with the law of 1890 and execute all its provisions in a spirit of fairness and patriotism. I contend that the parity between the two metals has never been broken, in fact, the disparity is only in name, not

in fact. Silver dollars pass current throughout the country as readily and in a thousandfold larger numbers than gold. They have the same purchasing power and the same legal-tender quality. It is as sound and honest a dollar as was ever issued by any country on earth, and our people demand that it shall be maintained.

As to the ratio that shall be adopted by this Congress, I shall vote for 16 to 1. If that fails I shall vote steadily for each succeeding amendment of the substitute offered by my colleague [Mr. BLAND]. I believe that the ratio of 16 to 1 is the fairest and surest of any other proposed, and can be maintained by this Government as perfectly as any departure from it. It is not an "experiment." It has been tried and never found wanting. Our people have grown accustomed to it, and demand it. I quote from a letter of recent date sent to me from Denver, and which I think most admirably and fairly states the position as to ratio, and the dangers and hardships of changing it:

If we change the present legal ratio of silver to gold, which is 16 to 1, and make that ratio more favorable to the purchasing power of British gold, how much more cotton and wheat would our cotton-growers and farmers have to give for 1 ounce of gold? Granted that we had free coinage of silver to-day at 16 to 1, 1 ounce of gold would buy 16 ounces of silver, or \$20.67 worth of wheat or cotton.

At 17 to 1, 1 ounce of gold would buy 17 ounces of silver; and as England buys her wheat and cotton in silver-using countries, notably India, with silver, she is thus enabled to buy one-sixteenth more wheat and cotton with 1 ounce of gold; or, in other words, that \$20.67 in gold buys one-sixteenth more of wheat and cotton.

At the ratio of 18 to 1, England buys two-sixteenths more wheat and cotton with 1 ounce of gold bullion or coin.

At 20 to 1 England buys four-sixteenths, or 25 per cent, more wheat and cotton in India and other silver-using countries with 1 ounce of gold bullion or coin. So that we must produce 25 per cent more wheat and cotton to get the same amount of gold. Although that standard ounce of gold is worth \$20.67, the instant we change or lessen the purchasing power of silver that ounce of gold will buy one-sixteenth more of wheat and cotton for every one part you increase the ratio against silver in silver-using countries. At 20 to 1 England can take 1 ounce of gold and buy 20 ounces of silver. This ounce of gold, in the shape of 20 ounces of silver, taken to a silver-using country, such as India, will buy 4 more ounces of silver's worth of wheat or cotton.

Thus, you see, gold is appreciated in purchasing power 25 per cent, and so we must raise 25 per cent more wheat and cotton to compete for that ounce of gold. Tell this to the wheat and cotton growers. What will they say about ratio? The difference in the ratio of 16 to 1 and 20 to 1 enables England to produce her manufactured goods 25 per cent cheaper at 20 to 1, because her raw material costs her 25 per cent less in India and other silver-using countries, and she can feed her factory hands 25 per cent cheaper. Yet we legislate for England's benefit against the interests of our own producers and manufacturers.

Mr. Speaker, as my time is nearly up, I have one lesson to commend to this House. I would like the undivided attention of every Democrat. I may not know exactly what is the matter with the financial system of the country, because I admit I am not the best expert on finance in the world, by any means, and while I have studied this question for years very carefully, I do not pretend to know all about it. But I think I know the House of Representatives well enough to tell the men on this side of the House what we lack.

I can count upon the fingers of my two hands in this House of 356 members the names of those gentlemen who have served with me continuously through seven consecutive terms. By reason of my age and long experience in this House I think I have the right to say a kindly word to my Democratic brethren. I never have forsaken you in my life in any political struggle or in any legislation in which this side of the House was involved, and I am going to give you a lesson that comes in my judgment from a member of one of the grandest bodies of men on the American continent.

Of all the organized bodies of men on the earth to-day I believe that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers stands as high for magnificent character and courage as any men who ever lived—the coolest and the bravest of us all. It is composed of men on whose magnificent nerve and splendid courage and on whose devotion to duty rest the lives and the property of our people every hour of the day and of the night. There is no body of men to-day for whom I have a more profound admiration than I have for that body of men. Here is what one of them said, Mr. Speaker, in a great emergency:

At a recent convention of religious workers among railway men the chairman stated that the proceedings would terminate with prayer by two railway workers, a conductor and an engineer. The conductor led off in an earnest appeal for the Divine blessing, and was followed by the engineer, a man of strong convictions and great determination, and possessed of moral courage to an unusual degree. He is as earnest and active in serving the Lord as formerly he was in the service of Satan, and prayed with great fervency, after this manner:

"We are here, O Lord, to ask thy blessing on this work. The obstacles have been removed. The locomotive is on the track, the water is in the boiler, steam is up, but, O Lord, give us more sand; it is sand we want, sand in going up hill to keep us from slipping; sand in coming down hill to make us hold. What we want is more sand, O Lord!"

[Applause and laughter.]

What we want is more sand. O Lord, give it to the Democratic members of the House of Representatives. [Applause and laughter.] Give us sand enough, O Lord, to hold us on to the

Democratic platform and to our pledges to the people in 1892. [Applause.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, first I desire to thank my colleagues [Messrs. FITCH and COVERT] for their kindness in reserving ten minutes of their time for me.

Sir, I recognize the fact that the people of this country demand action and not talk. I had not intended to trespass upon the indulgence of the House until I heard the arraignment of the New York Democracy by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. STOCKDALE], night before last. Silence is no longer golden. The New York Democracy need no vindication. Their fealty to the party is proverbial. But the Southern Democracy need vindication before the people when they arraign the New York Democracy for their support of Grover Cleveland in this House.

Mr. Speaker, I represent a district in which there are very few banks—fewer, perhaps, than in any other Congressional district in the United States. I represent one of the centers of the teeming and toiling millions of New York. It has in some of its precincts what you find nowhere else on the face of the earth, a population at a ratio of a million to the square mile. No farmer in the land, however poor, lives in the squalor and the misery of some of these men. Over six thousand working men and women are crowded into one block. Some of them have raised the black flag—not the red flag—with the yellow flag in the offing at quarantine. It has been inscribed with the words, "Work or bread."

In standing here and speaking to this House I represent that cry for bread, for work. The only work these people can get is from the manufacturers and merchants of New York City, and they tell them they can not give them work until this purchasing clause of the Sherman law is repealed. President Cleveland, in consonance with the plain letter of the national Democratic platform, has asked for its repeal, and the New York Democracy unanimously sustains him in his request. This is the sole head and front of their offending. [Applause.]

But, sir, I return to the arraignment of the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, born and reared in the Republican State of Pennsylvania, but representing a Mississippi district. Sir, the country is suffering in more senses than one. It seems to be suffering from a fearful surplus of statesmen and from a dearth of politicians. [Applause.] The gentleman from Mississippi went back to the Chicago convention in his assault upon the New York Democracy. I am loth to follow in his footsteps, but justice to the New York Democracy, in my opinion, demands it. He said that two-thirds of the votes from the South were given for the nomination of Grover Cleveland at Chicago. He might have made it four-fifths, and still have been within the limits of truth.

These votes were cast in the face of letters from Grover Cleveland defining unqualifiedly his attitude upon the propositions before the House. [Applause.] I will not quote them. You all recognize them. They were against free coinage.

You men of the South have ears to hear, and eyes to see. You have at least common-school educations. You understand Grover Cleveland's attitude. No man, friend or foe, has ever accused him of being untrue to his convictions. He is as firm here as the rock of Gibraltar. He abates not a jot or a tittle of them. Yet, sir, in the face of a repeated protest of the New York Democracy, over two-thirds of the Southern delegates to the Chicago convention forced Mr. Cleveland's nomination for the Presidency. Missouri voted solidly for him; Arkansas voted solidly for him, and other Southern States in due proportion.

A committee sent from the New York delegation tried in vain to obtain a hearing from the Arkansas delegation, and on that committee, sir, were two delegates who had voted for free silver in the Fifty-first Congress to preserve the South from the horrors of a force bill. [Applause.] Yet they failed to get the poor courtesy of a hearing.

Now, sir, the time for these gentlemen from the South to enter their protest was then, not to-day. [Great applause.] The time for you men from Missouri to say that you would desert the standard of the Democracy unless free coinage was accepted was then, not to-day. [Renewed applause.]

The New York Democracy, sir, bowed humbly to the will of that convention. They loyally accepted its candidate and its platform. They did more. I say to you men of the South here to-day, that it was their vote that gave you the plank for tariff for revenue only. [Applause.] They have never deserted the South in her hours of trial. They stood by her years ago even to the brink of rebellion, and they were among the first to extend the right hand of fellowship after the war. They stood by you in crucial moments in the Fifty-first Congress; but they will not stand by any man in a reasonable attitude toward the Democratic party. Common honor, let alone chivalry, requires that the South shall not desert them after placing them in the situation which they occupy to-day. [Applause.] We are sup-

porting your candidate and your President honestly, loyally, and proudly. We merit praise, not denunciation. [Renewed applause.]

I will except one Southern State from the list, Mr. Speaker—the plucky little Commonwealth of South Carolina. Her delegates at Chicago, apparently awake to the realities of the situation, cast every vote but one against the nomination of Mr. Cleveland. They ought to bow to the will of the convention, as New York has done; but they, unlike the most of the Southern States, have at least the shadow of an excuse for their attitude to-day, if they desire to avail themselves of it. [Applause.] South Carolina in this House to-day occupies the same attitude. All but one of her representatives in this Congress refuse to accept the recommendation of the President's message.

But, sir, the New York Democracy obeyed the mandate of the Chicago convention. They went to the front in line of battle. They led a charge like that of MacDonald at Wagram. They pierced the enemy's center, and the Democrats of the West and South closed in upon the flanks and routed them. Sir, the New York Democracy to-day stands by the pledges that she made at Chicago. She accepted not only the nominee, but the platform, and—

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. BROOKSHIRE in the chair). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BOATNER. I move that the time of the gentleman be extended.

Mr. CUMMINGS. They do not—

Mr. KYLE. I object to the extension of time.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, mark that a distinguished gentleman from Mississippi made this unprovoked attack on the New York Democracy, and a gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. KYLE] objects to any reply.

Mr. TURNER. How much time does the gentleman from New York desire?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Three minutes.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, if I may be recognized I will yield to the gentleman the three minutes he desires. [Cries of "Good!" and applause.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. I heartily thank the gentleman from Georgia. Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to say that New York, in accepting the nominee, accepted the platform. She stands by its letter and its law. She finds no "glittering catchwords" in its construction. She stands by the nominee and platform loyally. What is the platform? Did it declare in favor of the repeal of the Sherman act, with free coinage at 16 to 1 or 17 to 1, or any other ratio? No, sir; a free coinage amendment was lost there by a decisive vote. Then, why is it that gentlemen here who advocate this qualification of the President's recommendation, under a threat of betrayal of the party, are to-day accusing New York Democrats of repudiating the platform?

Mr. BOATNER. Because you would not agree to give us free coinage at any ratio.

Mr. CUMMINGS. The National Democratic Convention refused you, and we humbly bow to the will of the convention. The convention almost unanimously refused to give you free coinage. You yourselves are the repudiators of the work of the convention, and not the New York Democracy. You yourselves are confessedly responsible for the selection of the President of the United States, and you yourselves, in view of his letters before the nomination, ought to have the manliness and the common honesty to stand by the Democracy of New York in carrying out his recommendations. We accepted your choice, and you ought to stand by it. [Loud applause.]

Mr. BOATNER. After you have got off the platform.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Are you on the platform, my friend?

Mr. BOATNER. I think I am.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Can you show where the platform declares for the free coinage of silver at any ratio at all?

Mr. BOATNER. No; because you are all against free coinage, and will not give us free coinage at any ratio.

Mr. CUMMINGS. We stand by the platform, but you are not willing to trust the President you selected in the face of the protest of the New York Democracy. We trust him. You do not. Is this honorable? Sir, I thank the Southern Democracy, who after reading the New York Democracy a lesson, are teaching themselves the lesson they are learning here to-day.

Mr. BOATNER. We will try to give you a better one next time. [Laughter.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. He is a poor doctor who refuses his own medicine. Take it like men. Stand by your party. Never desert your colors. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] had something to say about sand. Save your sand. You need more of it. Follow the example of the engineer, and pray for it. Don't get up here, as we have seen Southern Democrats do, day after day and night after night, coached by guerrillas from Colorado and Populist Jayhawkers from Kansas, arraigning and condemn-

ing the Democratic President of the United States for standing by the people on the platform of the national Democracy in convention assembled. [Loud applause.] Stand by the New York Democracy as the New York Democracy stands by your President and its President and our President, and the black financial cloud will soon roll away and the nation resume the road to prosperity.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, it is quite apparent from remarks which have been delivered on this floor within the last hour that there exists within the Democratic party a serious difference of opinion upon currency questions. That difference of opinion has existed for the last twenty years, and yet during that long period the statesmen of the Democratic party, in view of their great responsibility to the country, have been able to mold these discordant elements into an invincible host, which has in eight out of the ten last elections carried the country, and in November last seized upon all the citadels of political power by an unprecedented majority.

I am one of those, Mr. Speaker, who hope that the genius which has been adequate to this great task may not forsake my party associates in the face of the great emergency which confronts us in this crisis. There is due from each member of this great organization towards every other the toleration which has hitherto characterized the deliberation of our great conventions. In 1892 there met in the city of Chicago delegates representing every shade of Democratic opinion. There was formed the committee on the platforms and resolutions, who undertook to make the treaty on which we should appeal to the country.

The delegate from New York sat side by side with the delegate who represented Colorado. The Democrat from Maine sat side by side with the Democrat who represented Nevada. All these extremes of opinions met together to arrange a common basis on which all Democrats could stand, and upon which Grover Cleveland could be elected President, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] as well as the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] could be elected to the Congress of the United States. Are we inadequate to the high trusts which have been reposed in us by the people of the United States under that platform?

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that an adjustment of this matter can be made which will enable the Democratic party to step up on a still higher plane and to add to the list of its triumphs an achievement unparalleled in the history of American politics. How is that to be done, sir? By the simple lesson of fidelity to our pledges, by keeping faith with the people who have elected us.

Our platform, Mr. Speaker, requires that we should regard the party to which we belong as having denounced the Sherman act as a "cowardly makeshift, fraught with perils to the country." Who is there, whether he stands on the one side or the other of this great question, who does not know that that scheme called the Sherman act was a device to tide over a popular election?

Who does not know that that act makes of silver a mere commodity and converts the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Mint into mere traffickers in transactions which might as well be conducted in corn or wheat or cotton so far as the conversion of the commodity into money is concerned?

And the redemption of the notes issued in payment for the silver purchased was imposed, under another clause of the act and under the practice of the Treasury, on the gold reserve.

I feel sure, sir, that there is no one who occupies a seat on this floor who does not know that that act has not only disappointed its friends but has fulfilled the predictions of its enemies. It is a "subtreasury" scheme. It ought to be stamped out without delay. It ought not to exist longer on our statute books. But, sir, I am constrained to believe that there are other provisions of the platform adopted at Chicago which require fulfillment on our part. Nobody contends that it requires the free coinage of silver on the ratio of 16 to 1, for at that time silver had been depreciated in the market, and its commercial value was only from 74 to 72 cents on the dollar as compared with gold.

That charter of the Democratic faith, on which we all went to our constituents, requires a dollar of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value with every other dollar. Nobody on this floor doubts that that provision was put into the platform in order to allay the fears of those members of the committee, of the convention, and of the Democratic party who thought that the existing ratio was not a sufficient basis on which to conduct the currency of the country. I believe that the special order now pending confines us within too narrow a range of ratios. I believe in a sound currency for laborers and farmers as well as for capitalists. I believe that these silver dollars should be made equal with every dollar in the country, and for that reason I shall vote for the highest ratio proposed in the amendments offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND].

But gentlemen say that that is impracticable, that it is absurd, that it leads to inconveniences and difficulties. Mr. Speaker, there is no way out of this situation which does not present great difficulties. Men can not affright us from doing our duty by the suggestion that this way or that way leads to inconvenience. The first question is, what is right, what is our duty? After that we will inquire what is practicable. Mr. Speaker, the mints of India to-day are coining silver at a ratio of 22 to 1, and is there any reason we, here in the United States, should not recognize the existing conditions and conform to the declarations with which we appealed to the country last year?

It would take time, it would take a great deal of silver to make this change, and the silver dollars would be large. These things are admitted. But after a somewhat careful study of this matter I beg to say that no country in the world ever undertook to recoin its silver as England did under William, or to recoin any of its currency, under conditions so favorable as those which exist to-day in the Treasury of the United States. Nearly all our silver dollars are in the Treasury; and they are represented by certificates which circulate from hand to hand.

What is there to prevent us from making a declaration by statute that each of these certificates shall represent a dollar of the requisite weight and shall, so fast as the business of the mints will permit, be redeemed in the larger and more valuable coin that we propose at this increased ratio? I am one of those who believe that such a declaration would make the present silver dollars and the certificates which represent them circulate side by side at complete parity with the new silver coins which would be authorized under this increase of ratio.

It is said that it will cost over \$80,000,000. According to the arguments of my friends on the side of the single gold standard, that loss has already overtaken the Treasury. And we already have in our Treasury, according to the coinage value of the silver, somewhere about \$50,000,000 of free bullion, which might be coined either into new dollars or added, by recoinage, to outstanding dollars. This would put silver into actual use and consumption, as it were, instead of storing it like cotton, as a menace to the market value of that metal. As to the inconvenient size of such new silver coins, neither gold nor silver coins at the present rate circulate from hand to hand. The people prefer the paper representatives of these coins, for the sake of convenience.

Mr. Speaker, we have assembled here under extraordinary conditions. The pecuniary stringency which has existed for years at the South now infests the North in even a worse form. There is not in all the world at this time a single prosperous community. The sun in his course looks not down upon a single prosperous city or state or nation. Every industry is prostrated. What are the causes which have led to this state of depression? In Chile it is attributed to the bad consequences of a disastrous civil conflict. In Buenos Ayres hard times are supposed to result from undue inflation under certain forms of credit. In Brazil hard times exist on account of the evil consequences of a hasty and ill-considered revolution, followed by extravagance.

In France the pressure of hard times is felt on account of the collapse of that great enterprise, the Panama Canal. In eastern Europe the hard pressure of adversity is felt, along with famine and pestilence. In England there is the vacuum caused by the extraordinary failure of the Baring Brothers. And when we reach our own shores conditions exist which every one admits indicate the greatest distress.

Mr. Speaker, no single one of these causes has brought about these conditions throughout the world and made hard times encompass all mankind like a new plague and pestilence.

It is because all the currents of financial woe, under the inscrutable law of panics, have united their forces, sweeping every shore and engulfing all the people. The mere repeal of the Sherman act, or, on the other hand, the free and unlimited coinage of silver at any ratio, will not, in my opinion, completely and at once obliterate these hard conditions. We can do our part towards the restoration of confidence; but I infer from my study of our situation there is necessary, on the part of the people, and on the part of the bankers, not only a great deal of patience, but a little patriotism. But I believe that the country will slowly emerge from this storm and enter on a new era of prosperity.

Mr. Speaker, I am one of those who believe that for every emergency the genius of our public men will in some way or other be competent. I have no epithets to-day for those who differ with me. I have no denunciations for those who devised this mischief. But, as a citizen, desiring not only the welfare of my party, and its unimpaired adequacy to the great tasks which lie before it, but as a citizen desiring the prosperity of our common country, I ask that we shall meet together in a spirit of concession and forbearance, and, like men, settle these difficulties as become us. [Applause.]

I regretted profoundly to hear my veteran friend from Missouri

[Mr. BLAND], who bears on his front the scars of many a hard campaign, say that in a certain contingency he would come to "the parting of the ways." I would welcome rather the declaration of my other friend from Missouri [Mr. HATCH], who proposes that the Democrats of this country as represented in Congress shall, if need be, meet apart and settle these differences which have existed within our ranks, so that we can not only relieve the country of its present pressure but go forward with a united front to relieve the people of the burdens of unjust taxation, so that it will take less of the unprotected products of this country, and in our scant currency, to buy the protected products whose cost enhanced by statute measures in these hard times the oppression of the poor. [Loud applause.]

Mr. COFFEEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with no great degree of assurance that I arise to address this body, and I should not have ventured at all, perhaps, if I had not observed the uniform courtesy and good humor with which all speakers are received.

And I can say of the gentlemen who have preceded me that some of them have brought to this question great and convincing arguments. Some have brought carefully prepared and elaborate statistics; some have brought wit and invective and anecdote; some have brought brilliant oratory.

I do not know that I shall be able to bring any of these things. I know I shall not be able to bring some of them.

Yet in behalf of an honorable, intelligent, and patriotic constituency in the State of Wyoming, which I have the honor to represent, I wish to talk with you plainly and yet earnestly on this, the greatest of all questions that concern the people of my State at this present time.

Our people, with their varied experiences and practical common sense, are not willing longer to be deceived by such catch words and phrases as "honest money," "sound money," "money of the world," and other boastful terms used constantly by those who favor the confiscation of the property of the debtors through schemes of demonetization and contraction; and they realize, as I do, also, that before this Congress are pending questions fraught with far-reaching consequences and involving no less than the freedom and prosperity of the workers throughout the nation.

The power that controls and establishes the money of a people controls the people themselves.

If we are suffering the agonies of monetary starvation the legislation that will provide a prompt and sufficient money for circulation and investment to add to the too scant and insufficient circulation now existing and acknowledged by all, will be the legislation that will redeem the people and revive their hopes, their industries, and their prosperity.

But a scarcity of debt-paying money can not be cured by taking away and destroying a large portion of the present supply.

We are not, therefore, Mr. Speaker, in favor of the bill of unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman act, as offered by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

This again would complete the demonetization of silver and cut off the supply of full legal-tender Treasury notes that now, even though an inadequate supply, is yet furnishing good money to the people at the rate of nearly \$40,000,000 per year.

Even this scant supply of Treasury notes, with the silver purchased uncoined, is far better than an unconditional repeal that makes no provision whatever for supplying any kind of money to the people in their hour of need.

But on the other hand we are in favor of the substitute offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] which provides for the coinage of all the silver offered at our mints into safe, honest, and reliable dollars; not the highest and dearest dollars, for they are often and always too great in their purchasing power and force down prices and rob the debtors, but into safe and standard dollars of 412½ grains of standard silver.

The following is the full text of the free-coinage and repeal bill for which I shall cast my vote.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all holders of silver bullion to the amount of one hundred dollars or more, of standard weight and fineness, shall be entitled to have the same coined at the Mint of the United States into silver dollars of the weight and fineness provided for in the second section of this act.

SEC. 2. That the silver dollar provided for in this act shall consist of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains of standard silver; said dollars to be a legal tender for all debts, dues, and demands, both public and private.

SEC. 3. That the holder of the silver dollars herein provided for shall be entitled to deposit the same and to receive silver certificates in the manner now provided by law for the standard silver dollars.

SEC. 4. That so much of the act of July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and ninety, entitled, "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes," as requires the monthly purchase of four million five hundred thousand ounces of silver bullion, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

We must not misunderstand the issue nor the elements engaged in this conflict.

The measures before the House clearly bring before us the question of bimetalism or gold monometallism. I favor the use of both gold and silver freely coined into the standard money of our country, as before the enactment of that other Sherman law which in 1873 accomplished the unlooked-for demonetization of silver.

This present attack on silver is by the same forces practically—the gold power—that invaded our halls in the interest of money dealers before, in 1873, although now they come not stealthily as then.

The monarchies and monetary agencies of Europe, as well as their allies in Wall street, are now back of this effort here and trying to fasten upon our people the gold standard and force the prices of all products down still lower, impoverishing our industries and enslaving our people forever if they can do so.

THE TREACHERY OF GOLD.

It is truly said that silver has been the money of the common people in every age and country, and that gold is the money loved and hoarded by the rich.

But in this Republic, where there is to be no distinctions between the rich and the poor, we must have free coinage of both metals on equal terms, and thus have an American system and basis of money broad enough and sure enough within the reach of all. Gold is the money of kings and aristocracies; silver and the double standard is the money of republics.

Monometallism and the centralizing gold standard is the choice weapon of monarchies.

Bimetalism is the money basis of free countries and their protection against the tyrannies of shylocks and toll-gatherers.

And now, an attempt is made boldly in this House to fasten upon this, the greatest of all republics, a monarchical system of money—a centralized, narrow, and contracted money basis, through which a centralized plutocracy or a subtle sort of monarchical power, can manipulate and control the lives, the labors, and the destinies of a subjugated people.

If the famous Hazzard circular had not been sent into this country, as now verified by living testimony to have been done, still by other means it is not difficult to detect the European plutocratic idea of controlling labor, not by owning slaves bodily, as in chattel slavery, but by securing the fruitage of enslaved labor by control of prices and wages through financial measures.

THE HAZZARD CIRCULAR.

I ask to read a printed copy of the contents of that secret and confidential circular sent to bankers in this country in 1862 from Europe.

Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power and chattel slavery destroyed. This, I and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor and carries with it the care of the laborer, while the European plan, led on by England, is capital control of labor, by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling the money. The great debt that capitalists will see to it is made out of the war, must be used as a measure to control the volume of money. To accomplish this, the bonds must be used as a banking basis. We are now waiting to get the Secretary of the Treasury to make this recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the "greenbacks," as it is called, to circulate as money any length of time, for we can not control them. But we can control the bonds, and through them the bank issue.

PLUTOCRACY AGAINST DEMOCRACY.

Be not deceived, gentlemen; the system of money, the gold standard which our opponents urge for the adoption of this Congress, is a monarchical system used in Europe to prop up the thrones and empires and aristocracies against the progressive spirit of the half-subdued democracies of those countries.

So I hold (and I believe I comprehend the situation) that this is another struggle between the plutocracies of the Old World and the democracies of the New. The crisis is imminent, the dangers involve not less than the overthrow of the essential elements of good government. The plutocracy is against the democracy. All America and the financial freedom of our people and of the republics of the world are involved in this present struggle.

They have, unfortunately for our cause, caught us at a disadvantage, as the gold power always seeks to do; chiefly in this, that our own Executive has not yet seen proper to declare for the people against the plutocracy on this question.

But shall we stop by the mount of human freedom wherein shall dwell the hopes of mankind and from whence shall descend the law of justice? And turning away from our onward march toward the industrial and financial emancipation of mankind shall we bow down before the golden calf with the descendants of those same ancient votaries who builded themselves false gods out of the gold stolen from the Egyptians, whom they had despoiled? And who here and now, true to their instincts, with strong and subtle alliances, hope to use this nation also in building their new Empire of Wealth, and by methods of diplomacy and monetary legislation gather in the wealth of the world by enthroning gold and making all other things to bow down before it.

Choose you this day whom you will serve.

If the single gold standard and the money of oppression and the petty idols mounted on this car of Juggernaut, pushed on over the hopes and lives of our own people, shall command your worship, then bow down, bow down.

But we believe there is a power and a virtue greater than your golden idols in the strength and intelligence and patriotic hearts of an un purchasable people.

In regard to the treachery of gold compared to silver, I call attention to the very able characterization on this subject in the speech

of Senator John J. Ingalls on February 15, 1878, which I ask leave to insert in my remarks:

THE TREACHERY OF GOLD.

Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, in a speech in 1878 in the United States Senate, depicted it in graphic language, as follows (Congressional Record, Volume 28, page 1052):

The original American idea was a single standard of silver. Gold was an innovation, and, in my judgment, a grave mistake. * * * If we are to have a monometallic standard, I believe silver to be immeasurably preferable to gold. It is less subject to fluctuation; its production is more steady; its cost more uniform. No enduring fabric of national prosperity can be built on gold. Gold is the money of monarchs; kings covet it; the exchanges of nations are effected by it. Its tendency is to accumulate in vast masses in the commercial centers, and to move from kingdom to kingdom in such volumes as to unsettle values and disturb the finances of the world. It is the instrument of gamblers and speculators, and the idol of the miser and the thief. Being the object of so much adoration, it becomes haughty and sensitive and shrinks at the approach of danger, and whenever it is most needed it always disappears. At the slightest alarm it begins to look for a refuge. It flies from the nation at war to the nation at peace. War makes it a fugitive.

No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty that it does not break. It has no friend whom it does not sooner or later betray. Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the chief agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in the crisis of greater peril it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle is won and peace has been secured gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory. In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the rebels. It was the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier or sailor. It refused the national obligation. It was worth most when our fortunes were lowest. Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were evoked for our destruction. But, as usual when danger has been averted and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy. But silver is the money of the people. It is the money of wages and retail. Its tendency is toward diffusion and dissemination. It enters into the minute concerns of traffic and is exchanged day by day for daily bread. It penetrates the remotest channels of commerce, and its abundance, bulk, and small subdivision prevent its deportation in sufficient amount to disturb or unsettle values. If it retreats at the approach of danger or from the presence of an inferior currency, it still remains at home ready to respond to the first summons for its return.

THE DEMOCRACY AGAINST THE PLUTOCRACY.

In the same speech in 1878 Senator Ingalls foresaw the coming alliance between the creditor classes of New England and the East with the gold power of Europe, and said with boldness:

It is the East against the West and South combined. It is the corn and wheat and beef and cotton of the country against its bonds and its gold; its productive industry against its accumulations. It is the men who own the public debt against those who are to pay it, if it is to be paid at all. If the bonds of this Government are ever paid, they will be paid by the labor of the country, and not by its capital. They are exempt from taxation and bear none of the burdens of society.

The alliance between the West and the South upon all matters affecting their material welfare hereafter is inevitable. Their interests are mutual and identical. With the removal of the causes of political dissension that have so long separated them, they must coalesce, and united they will be invincible. The valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, with their tributaries, form an empire that must have a homogeneous population and a common destiny from the Yellowstone to the Gulf.

These great communities have been alienated by factions that have estranged them only to prey upon them and to maintain political supremacy by their separation. Unfriendly legislation has imposed intolerable burdens upon their energies; invidious discriminations have been made against their products; unjust tariffs have repressed their industries. While vast appropriations have been made to protect the harbors of the Atlantic and to erect beacons upon every headland to warn the mariner with silent admonition from the "merchant-marring rocks," the Mississippi was left choked with its drifting sands till the daring genius of Eads undertook the gigantic labor of compelling the great stream to dredge its own channel to the sea. The opening of this avenue of commerce marks the epoch of the emancipation of the West and South from their bondage to the capital of the East. In asking the passage of this bill they are asking less than they will ever ask again. When I reflect upon the burdens they have borne, the wrongs they have suffered, I am astonished at their moderation.

FUNDAMENTAL MONETARY PRINCIPLES.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I propose to point out some features of the question that are too often left obscure.

You can not use any piece of money for any other general purpose without first destroying its monetary quality. In other words, to use it as a commodity and manufacture it into anything valuable as an article of merchandise, it ceases to be money.

Money is not commodity or merchandise, and should not be so treated; except it might be regarded possibly as a form of stored commodity.

A gold eagle ceases to be money when it is manufactured into a finger ring or into other useful article.

A silver dollar ceases to be a dollar when it is useful as a spoon or a watch chain.

Again, the money of one nation ceases to be money when it is passed over to another without a special law legalizing the coin or money in that other country, which is rarely done.

The importing nation receives the coins of any other as commodity, not as money, and estimate their weight and quality, and hence their value within and for their own nation, as they would the weight and value of wheat, wool, coal, cotton, or any other commodity.

Gold and silver, then, let us understand, when monetized and coined, are in the form and force of money within the nation coining there only, and is entirely a matter of local concern within that nation alone, not for the market place as a commodity, but for use in the market and elsewhere as a measure of values of all other things and for the legal settlement of debt.

But gold and silver, let me state again, whether coined or not,

when exported to any other nation at once cease to be money and at once become property to be bought and sold and valued in the money of the receiving nation as any other commodity.

Hence we affirm that there is no such thing, properly speaking, as money of the world.

No nation has power or authority to coin such money or to enforce it if it were attempted, and no nation has been so foolish as to attempt it.

The advocates of a gold standard who talk sonorously of the "money of the world" are liable therefore to deceive others if they be not themselves deceived by such a term.

PARITY.

Again, the word parity should not be used in reference to the value of things used for different and dissimilar purposes.

The parity between silver and gold used in legal-tender coins, that is, as money, is one thing.

The parity between them used as commodities is another and entirely different thing.

Hence, keeping this distinction clearly in mind when we are talking of the parity between silver and gold in relation to coinage, it must apply to their value as money, not property.

Now, I assert that the only way to secure the parity between the metals for use in legal-tender money is to coin them by law on a fixed ratio, and they can not be otherwise when so coined, than at a parity on that ratio. But by the use of these metals outside of money, that is, as commodity, they are subject to fluctuations as all other commodities, and variations in the demand may cause a variation in the ratio every twenty-four hours.

If, however, it is desired to secure a parity between the money metals as money, and at the same time as commodities, there is only one way possible in which it can be done, and that is by free and unlimited coinage at the mints.

This will do it, and this only, for this reason: There is a universal or boundless demand for money in any great nation like ours, and from this boundless demand the commodity value of silver must and will rise at once to its coinage value at the mints, saving only the trivial expense of transportation to the mints, if all the supply offered is freely coined at a fixed ratio of 16 to 1, as in this country, or 15 to 1, as in Europe.

I trust I have made this sufficiently clear to all.

Free coinage of the two great and reliable money metals at a fixed ratio by law into legal-tender dollars at once brings silver up to the value of that dollar and all other legal-tender dollars without regard to the material of which they are composed.

This, let me repeat again, arises surely from the fact that while the supply is limited to the product of the mines, added to the unimportant item of uncoined silver bullion that may be offered, the demand will be unlimited and universal throughout the nation, as is always the demand for money if the mints are opened freely to coinage of silver.

THE SO-CALLED DECLINE OF SILVER.

All important fluctuations, therefore, in the bullion value of silver, measured in the terms of gold prices since 1873, the time of demonetization, have been caused by limitations on the use of silver for coinage at the mints.

I present extracts from evidence in the report of the Select Committee on the Depreciation of Silver, made to the British Parliament in 1876.

In the testimony before the committee given by Ernest Seyd, who was called as one of the most notable experts on the subject, I quote the following questions and answers:

By Mr. HUBBARD:

Q. The depreciation in the price of silver was an event which was acknowledged throughout the world and not peculiar to the United States?

A. Yes; it is an international matter, it is a question of international value.

Q. Has not silver fallen all over the world?

A. All over the world it has.

Q. Therefore it has fallen in the United States as well as in Germany, France, and England?

A. Quite so.

Q. Why, therefore, do you reproach the United States with wantonly debasing silver? Silver has fallen because it was more abundantly produced, and the demand for it was not equal to the improved supply.

A. That would raise the entire theory of the case, which you are anxious to avoid, i. e., what caused or who started the debasement of silver? The United States have contributed towards the fall in the price of silver; they were the first, at all events, who contributed officially to the fall in the price of silver. The Germans merely demonetized it, but the Americans deliberately adopted a lower price by their mint law. It is for that reason, I think, I am justified in saying they practically were the first to debase its value.

By Mr. FAWCETT:

Q. Using the word debased as applying to the conduct of the United States, although that word usually implies censure, when you say the Government has debased the coinage, you do not mean in this case in the slightest degree to censure the United States, do you?

A. I do mean to censure them.

Q. Why?

A. The question asked is, what was the object of the United States in making this change? There is a legitimate object and there is an object not legitimate, but that is a matter of opinion.

I consider that the United States did wrong in first lowering the price of silver by their mint law.

In the group of very able papers by Ernest Seyd, the French expert, placed before the British commission in their report on the deprecia-

tion of silver, he sums up with the following report, page 9 of appendix:

The true cause of the depreciation in the value of silver is its *demonetization by law and that only.*

England took the initiative in 1816, but as long as Germany maintained silver the equilibrium was maintained. Germany having followed England's course that equilibrium was lost.

An appeal to the natural laws of supply and demand as likely to settle this matter, or as tending to show that the depreciation must be due to an increased natural supply can not be made in this case; for it is the demand which, not by any natural cause, but by *deliberate legislation* has here been forcibly restricted to a very narrow limit. In all questions where the natural law of supply and demand are invoked, that of the demand is as important, if not more so, than that of the supply. Under the force of legislation a matter under direct human control or intelligence, it is the case of the demand which here has precedence. If the demand had not been so influenced by an agency apart from the natural laws of supply and demand and the status quo hitherto existing had not been forcibly changed thereby, it follows—

Firstly. That there would be no surplus stock of silver to dispose of.

Secondly. That the fresh natural supplies of silver would be absorbed, as together with those of gold they have always been absorbed before.

Figuratively speaking if the abolition of the demand for silver for the purposes of legal tender money contributes 50 per cent of the decline in its value, the secondary causes, that of the surplus stocks, contributes another 25 per cent; and that of the fresh supplies yet 12½ per cent to such decline; but the two latter causes would have no *raison d'être* but for the first.

This represents, in my opinion, the true order of the causes of the depreciation of silver, in total independence of all matters of theory or practice involved in the general problem.

It is with a sort of irony of fate that the very man who was employed by the gold power to accomplish the demonetization of silver in America in 1873 should become so strong a witness against the crime of demonetization in 1876.

Restricted coinage and demonetization of silver have broken the old-time parity between gold and silver as articles of commerce.

But the parity between gold dollars and silver dollars in legal-tender coin is not broken, and can not be, for every legal-tender dollar is a dollar, and worth one hundred cents, whether gold or silver—always has been, always will be, while the authority of our Government endures.

NO SIXTY-FIVE CENT DOLLARS.

There are no 65-cent legal-tender dollars. The term is a misnomer and misleading, and I fear often used for the purpose of deceiving.

You can not buy legal-tender silver dollars of any of these gentlemen who seem to be so wrath against silver at 65 cents, nor 75 cents, nor 95 cents, nor any other price below 100 cents on the dollar.

They are even now, in the extreme scarcity of money in circulation, paying a premium, in certified checks on the strongest banks in New York, for silver dollars, that they may obtain what they try to make the people believe nobody wants.

Legal-tender silver dollars, then, as well as legal-tender gold dollars, are always at par and worth, as the law directs, 100 cents on the dollar.

But may not one kind or other of these metallic dollars be worth more than 100 cents on the dollar?

I answer without hesitation—as money, no; as commodity, yes; for the distinction between money value and commodity value must always be kept in mind to avoid confusion.

The value of legal-tender coins as money never goes above or below par. As commodity either one may go above par, but not below par under free coinage.

From this fact arises the statement, which is in part correct, that the dearer metal hides away or is exported, while the cheaper metal stays at home.

The cheaper metal stays at home solely because it is just as good, as sound, as valuable, for money as the other. The dearer metal is more liable to export simply because it is worth more as a commodity abroad than it is at home as money.

MAKE FOREIGNERS PAY THE PROFIT.

If gold is at a premium of 25 per cent it goes abroad because it brings 125 cents worth of property in exchange from the foreign countries for every 100 cents in gold money exported. Here is a profit of 25 per cent on gold exported. I have no objections. Let our people make all the profit they can out of foreign countries on gold or any other commodities.

What I object to is that the gold and bullion dealers seek to make that 25 per cent profit out of our own people multiplied by as many millions as their credits and the credit holders generally hold against us and at the same time making nothing out of the foreigner. They even divide with him the millions they make and gather from us in the operation. Indeed, the foreign money dealers are in the scheme.

By forcing up or appreciating all money in our country to the gold standard, which is their purpose, they have already increased the power of money, even by the admissions of some of their own advocates, 25 per cent, and will appreciate it 25 to 50 per cent more if they shall carry their policy through this Congress and fasten upon us the gold standard.

It is estimated that the creditors in Europe and America hold against our people in various forms of indebtedness \$20,000,000,000.

The rise of 25 per cent in money is a sure and unfailling demand for \$5,000,000,000 more of our property required to pay them than justly belongs to them. This is injustice, this is dishonest, this is

robbery under the form of law, and I shall stand against them and plead with my people in and out of Congress to fight them by every means honorable and creditable to patriots, and when once aroused, as now seems the fair promise they shall be, our country shall never surrender to the unjust tributary demands of the European gold power.

We lift the warning voice and catch up the patriotic words of our fathers and answer them "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute."

The operations and methods by which the money power seek to accomplish, and do too often accomplish their purposes of spoliation and financial robbery, are so subtle and unobserved in their workings that it is not easy for some people to understand. Yet I shall undertake to make one or two points plain and comprehensible.

The chiefest wrongs are not accomplished against the debtor classes by changing the terms or words of the contract, payable in so many dollars, but by changing the power of the contract and changing its effect by changing the standard. It is done by changing the value of money, appreciating the dollar of the contract or greatly increasing its purchasing power.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

If you owe me 1,000 bushels of wheat, payable next year, when the time comes around and you deliver me the wheat I am satisfied, or ought to be, and you are satisfied. I have what equitably belongs to me, and you have what equitably belongs to you, being that which is left after paying me. Perhaps you have another thousand bushels left. But, in the meantime, while the payment of the debt is pending, if I can prevail on Congress to change the standard of measurement, not the name but the power of the bushel, so that a bushel is twice as great, and will contain say 8 pecks instead of 4, as it was when you entered into the contract, is it not clear that when I call on you to deliver the 1,000 bushels of wheat with the measuring capacity appreciated and doubled I will get all your wheat? I will get the 1,000 bushels that belonged to me and the 1,000 bushels that belonged equitably to you, and yet the words "1,000 bushels" in the contract has not been changed. The bushel has been appreciated, its measuring power increased. I have robbed you under the form of law.

Do you think you would be soothed and quieted for the advocates of the appreciated bushel to come and tell you that the new bushel was a sound, safe bushel—the bushel demanded by commerce, the bushel recommended by the great boards of trade, the honest bushel, the bushel of the world?

Do you think I could keep you voting the same old ticket for Congress by telling you the purpose was to make the poor man's bushel of beans and the farmer's bushel of wheat twice as great as it was, so that when his crop was good it would be twice as good?

O, no; you would vote to turn out that set of Congressmen and that administration, and elect one that would preserve the standards of money and measure uniform, and protect the debtors against the robbers of the people.

ROBBERY UNDER FORM OF LAW.

Such is the money question. Such is the scheme to force upon our people the gold standard of payment.

Such is the demand of the gold power and such would be the effect to again demonetize silver, give up the fight for bimetalism and allow the most gigantic step to be taken for the appreciation of the dollar and doubling its power over property that the world has ever seen.

And if the longing hope of the oppressed peoples of all the earth shall behold the accomplishment of such a far-reaching and measureless iniquity in this the greatest parliament of man, it shall work a double iniquity, retard progress for half a century, and cause despair to settle down upon those who seek for liberty and light, and give boldness to those who hope to see free government perish from the face of the earth.

It is too great a calamity to believe possible.

APPRECIATION VS. DEPRECIATION.

As in payment of debts in bushels, so in payment of debts in dollars.

We are beginning to comprehend everywhere among my people this simple axiomatic principle or monetary law.

The appreciation of the dollar insures the depreciation in price of everything the dollar measures.

And since the dollar measures or values or prices all things produced or manufactured or owned by man, to show the bearings of this principle on the interests of all we say, in general terms, that the appreciation of the dollar is the depreciation of all property.

As the purchasing power of money goes up the purchasing power of property goes down.

And the converse of these propositions is also true, although the terms for expressing the converse are not so popular nor so frequently used. Let us not, however, run away from the truth—it is not courageous nor profitable.

The appreciation of property (the rise in prices) is the depreciation of the dollar. This is the unpopular part of it, to talk or even whisper in the presence of the gold advocates about the possibility of benefits to arise to all the holders of property, all labor and wages, all productive industries, by a depreciation of the dollar.

They fear even that the people, if they once realize the probability,

aye, the certainty of the facts that benefits can arise and will arise to the owners and producers of property by holding the dollar down or even bringing it down when it gets too high, then the people might insist, if the ratio is to be changed and gold kept at home for purpose of strengthening the metallic basis for our paper-money circulation, they might insist in taking a little of the commodity out of the gold dollar and making it thereby less valuable for export in relation to its monetary value, and at the same time cut off its too great and increasing purchasing power over wheat and cotton and manufactures and productions generally.

So they, in advocating the gold standard, do constantly rail against silver as "cheap money," "dishonest money," "depreciated money," "sixty-five cent dollars," and so on.

I call attention here to the words of one of the great Senators from Illinois—Logan—regarding cheap money:

Senator John A. Logan, in his great speech of March 17, 1874, discussing the hard times and the panic of 1873, said:

But, sir, that the panic was not due to the character of the currency is proved by the history of the panic itself. * * * No, sir; the panic was not attributable to the character of the currency, but to a money famine, and to nothing else. In the very midst of the panic we saw the leading bankers and business men of New York pressing and urging the President and the Secretary of the Treasury to let loose twenty or twenty-five millions more of the same paper for their relief, the very same men who to-day denounce it as a disgrace to our Government. It was good enough for them when they were in trouble.

He also quotes approvingly from Hon. Isaac Buchanan, of Ontario, Canada, as follows:

It is seen that the question of money and the question of labor are one question, the solution of the one being the solution of the other, plentiful and therefore cheap money being a convertible term for plentiful and well-paid employment.

He then goes on to say:

Why is it that Representatives forget the interests of their own section and stand up here as the advocates of the gold-brokers and money-lenders and sharks, the same class of men whose tables Christ turned over and whom he lashed out of the temple of Jerusalem. * * * Carry out the theory of the contractionists and what must be the inevitable result? Every enterprise and industry must be dwarfed in like proportion.

Speaking of the progressive contraction of the currency then going on, Senator John Sherman, in 1869, said:

The contraction of the currency is a far more distressing thing than Senators suppose. Our own and other nations have gone through that process before. It is not possible to take that voyage without the sorest distress. To every person except a capitalist out of debt, or a salaried officer, or an annuitant, it is a period of loss, danger, lassitude of trade, fall of wages, suspension of enterprise, bankruptcy, and disaster. * * * To attempt this is to impose upon our people by arresting them in the midst of their lawful business, and applying a new standard of value to their property, without any deduction of their debts, or giving them any opportunity to compound with their creditors, or to distribute their losses, and would be an act of folly without example of evil in modern times.

We state this converse proposition again, not to flaunt it as a red rag before the bulls of Bashan and the bears of Wall street, but to assist in familiarizing the people and this Congress with an economic law that is not denied by any competent authority, but clearly set forth by the noted authors and monetary commissions expressly appointed to examine into such questions.

The appreciation of property (indicated by a general rise in prices) marks the depreciation of money—not the unsoundness of money, but the decrease of its purchasing power.

As prices go up, money comes down.

As property appreciates, money depreciates.

VALUE OF MONEY DEPENDS ON VOLUME.

Now we pass to the brief consideration of another economic law and one well understood and generally acknowledged by all competent authorities.

The value of monetary units, as, for instance, the dollar, in relation to prices is dependent not on the material of which they are composed, but on the volume or number in circulation.

To increase the volume of money in circulation diminishes the value or purchasing power of money, depreciates the dollar, if you please.

To diminish or lessen or contract the volume in circulation, on the other hand, increases the purchasing power or appreciates the dollar.

These principles are in perfect accord with what is frequently mentioned as the law of supply and demand.

Increase the supply of any commodity or decrease the demand and prices go lower. Decrease the supply or increase the demand and values go up.

Money is no exception to the rule.

Those whose business is to make the greatest profit possible out of money or credits on hand are interested on the side of scarcity of money and generally favor policies of contraction. To enforce the importance of keeping in view the volume of money in circulation, and above all things the avoidance of a shrinking and declining volume, let me read in your hearing extracts from the very able report of the silver commission, appointed in 1876, for the purpose of investigating questions in regard to the demonetization of silver. And I charge here and now that the advocates of unconditional repeal of the silver purchasing act of 1890 are either wittingly or unwittingly aiding the foreign and domestic extortioners to force again and for ever, if possible, a scheme of demonetization, contraction, and confiscation upon this country.

We read the first paragraph on page 10, and also a paragraph be-

ginning at bottom of page 49, and then a short paragraph on page 38:

The philosophy of the double standard is that a rise in the value of money and a fall in general prices are the greatest evils which can befall the world, and its object is to prevent, as far as possible, the occurrence of these evils.

It takes no precautions against a fall in the value of money, because in the whole history of the human race not a single instance can be pointed out of a fall in the value of either or both of the metals which has not proved a benefaction to mankind; while, on the other hand, during every period and whenever a rise in the value of metallic money has occurred it has been attended by financial, industrial, political, and social disaster.

An increasing value of money and falling prices have been and are more fruitful of human misery than war, pestilence, or famine. They have wrought more injustice than all the bad laws ever enacted. Under the double standard these evils could never occur, except by a rise in the value of both metals, while under the single standard they might be caused by a rise in the value of one of them.

* * * * *

At the Christian era the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to \$1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than \$200,000,000. During this period a most extraordinary and baleful change took place in the condition of the world.

Population dwindled, and commerce, arts, wealth, and freedom all disappeared. The people were reduced by poverty and misery to the most degraded conditions of serfdom and slavery.

The disintegration of society was almost complete. The conditions of life were so hard, that individual selfishness was the only thing consistent with instinct of self-preservation.

All public spirit, all generous emotions, all the noble aspirations of man shriveled and disappeared as the value of money shrunk and as prices fell.

History records no such disastrous transaction as that from the Roman Empire to the dark ages.

* * * * *

In the whole history of the world every great and general fall of prices has been preceded by a decrease in the volume of money. There never has been a decrease in the volume of money, nor has there ever been a stationary volume of money, unless accompanied by a stationary population and commerce, which has not sooner or later resulted in a general fall of prices, and there has never been a recovery therefrom except through a preceding increase in the volume of money.

The findings of this commission are in general accord with evidences appearing in the reports of nearly all the monetary commissions, whether European or international. But the recommendations of creditor nations you may well expect will frequently be different, as their interests lie in the direction of gold appreciation.

FREE COINAGE THE REMEDY.

Then what must be the remedy for existing evils? What the cure for the scarcity of money and its attendant evils? What the relief from the sudden and general fall of prices which so clearly mark the rise of money.

The enemies of our welfare and commercial prosperity in Europe and the enemies of silver on the floor of this House tell us we must repeal the last fragment of law that looks toward a larger use of silver, stop the issue of between three and four millions of legal-tender Treasury notes—good, safe Government money—now furnished the people every month and lower our prices and bow our heads to the yoke of the gold standard and do it immediately by voting for an unconditional repeal.

They acknowledge that our country is crippled and our commercial and financial affairs panic-stricken, but they propose to cure the crippled patient at once by cutting off another one of his arms, and taking the right foot that they have bruised and hobbled for many years and cut it off close to the hips, and then they say he will be sound and perfect and beautiful to behold.

We say let him stand sound and perfect on both feet—gold and silver—and have the right and proper help of both arms, greenbacks and silver certificates, and then he can run toward victory with great assurance in the race for commercial and industrial prosperity. We want no one-sided and one-legged monetary systems here in America.

And we will take no further prescriptions from European sources.

GOLD EXPORT.

Bimetallism best prepares us to maintain our independence among the commercial nations of the world.

If we have the broad and doubly sure foundation of both gold and silver as the basis and standard of our monetary system we are in a position then to meet all probable demands for export of either metal with ease and safety. We are doubly sure that we can maintain a coin basis for ultimate redemption of any reasonable amount of paper circulation. If there is a scramble for gold in the gold-using monarchies of Europe and they will give enough to satisfy our people in other commodities, they can have our gold, a hundred millions of it, or more, enough to double the central stock of England or the entire stock of Austria, and we are safe. We still have silver, which, under free coinage, will answer every purpose. But if we are on a gold standard we, too, must then enter into the general scramble which so appreciates gold again that our prices drop and our debtors are robbed of their property, even if we succeed in outbidding Europe for gold. If, as some argue, our gold will all leave us for a time, still we have a compensating supply of silver, and gold will be at once cheapened throughout Europe and the world and therefore return when specially needed.

RATIO.

I had intended to discuss the question of ratio, but time will not permit further than for me to say that Europe is now maintaining \$1,500,000,000 in silver coin at a parity with gold on a ratio so low as 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. That overvalues silver nearly 100 per cent, yet gold men do not protest. Germany, that was pointed out by one of the advocates of a gold standard, the gent eman from Ohio

[Mr. Harter,] as a sort of Eldorado and model in the workings of her monetary system, maintains over a hundred million dollars in legal-tender silver at a ratio of only 15½ to 1, and over another hundred million dollars in silver-legal tender at a ratio of less than 14 to 1, and yet no one of these gold advocates has urged upon Germany the importance of changing her ratio to 28 to 1, nor have I heard them calling their European friends dishonest or base, or charge them with endeavoring to cheat their creditors or the poor of their lands by palming off \$1,500,000,000 of cheap silver upon them at a ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. It seems that their only attack is on our own country.

Our legal-tender silver is already at a better ratio, that is, more favorable to gold than theirs, for we have coined at the ratio of 16 to 1 for over fifty years. Let us not then foolishly change our ratio. Let us in the matter of ratio take our opponents at their word for one time and await till Europe changes her ratio before we change ours, and crowd more silver into the dollars for the benefit of creditors and creditor nations than was in the old standard dollar promised them when the debts were made and bonds given. I will present in proof of my remarks the recent Treasury Department table of the monetary systems, ratios, and stocks of money in the leading countries of the world.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Pa-per.	Total.
United States.....	Gold and silver.	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	\$604,000,000	\$538,000,000	\$77,000,000	\$615,000,000	\$412,000,000	\$9.01	\$9.18	\$5.15	\$24.34
United Kingdom ..	Gold.	1 to 14.28	1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.17	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	890,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold.	1 to 13.957	1 to 14.38	49,500,000	600,000,000	102,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold.	1 to 13.69	1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary ..	do	1 to 13.69	1 to 14.08	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000	260,000,000	1,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.65	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold	1 to 14.88	1 to 14.88	8,600,000	32,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02	
Russia	Silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver.	1 to 15.1	1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000	1.52	1.36	.....	2.88	
Australia	Gold.	1 to 14.28	1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	25.00	1.75	.....	26.75	
Egypt	do	1 to 15.68	1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	14.29	2.14	.....	16.43	
Mexico	Silver.	1 to 16½	.....	11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91	
Central America ..	do	1 to 15½	.....	3,000,000	.....	500,000	500,000	2,000,000	.....	.17	.67	.84	
South America	do	1 to 15½	.....	35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14	
Japan	Gold and silver.	1 to 16.18	.....	40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90	
India	Silver.	1 to 15	.....	255,000,000	.....	900,000,000	900,000,000	28,000,000	.....	3.53	.11	3.64	
China	do	1 to 15	.....	400,000,000	.....	700,000,000	700,000,000	28,000,000	.....	1.75	.....	1.75	
The Straits .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100,000,000	100,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Canada	Gold.	1 to 14.95	1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56	
Cuba, Haiti, etc.	do	1 to 15½	.....	3,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00	
Total .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,582,605,000	3,489,100,000	533,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000	.....	.....	.....	.....

From this table (the most recent official table published) we can at a glance see—

1. That there is more silver money in the world than there is gold.
2. That the gold standard countries are all in Western Europe or in provinces subject to the rule of England, except West Indies.
3. That they are all under monarchical form of government.
4. That France, whose government is Republican and whose people seem always prosperous, has more silver money of full legal-tender quality than there is of gold in either England or Germany, the leading gold standard countries, and at the same time has more gold also than either of them and a larger per capita circulation of either gold or silver than either of them, and more than double the per capita circulation counting paper money as well.
5. That there is over \$1,500,000,000 in silver in circulation at a ratio of less than 16 to 1 (that is 15½ to 1) in Europe and indeed nearly all the silver in the world is coined on a smaller ratio (that is, a higher valuation for silver) than our old standard ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold.
6. To change our ratio, therefore, to anything above 16 to 1 would be to depreciate silver by mint law lower than any other nation of importance in the world.
7. To again demonetize silver would be to furnish England with cheap silver to trade with silver countries and deprive our own people of their best money.
8. To remonetize silver with free coinage would at once give us the trade advantages with all silver-using countries, embracing over 800,000,000 people, or two-thirds of the trading people of the world.

APPRECIATION OF GOLD.

As to there being serious fluctuations in the market between gold and silver bullion and a great fall in silver and all other property when measured in the highly appreciated gold prices, the facts accord with what bimetalists have taught for years and still teach. Doubling the demand for gold, that ensues by requiring it alone to serve as money of ultimate redemption and take on the additional use of filling the place of demonetized silver, while yet doing duty also in its own place as a money metal, must appreciate gold. On the other hand, cutting off the demand for silver by demonetization or restricted coinage would tend to lower the bullion price of silver. Hence the rise of gold, the fall of silver and the variation of ratio price between them as commodities is thus brought about. If all the conditions were reversed no one need doubt that silver would rise and gold would go down, and the variation would probably be even greater, for silver has always been more stable and constant in relation to property values than gold. Free coinage of both metals on

the old ratios will cure all these evils and keep them substantially free from fluctuations.

SILVER THE RELIABLE STANDARD.

To prove beyond serious question that silver is the more reliable measure of values, and that, measured in gold prices, all other prices on staple products have fallen with silver, keeping almost constant ratio to silver prices, we introduce the following tables giving in parallel columns the American computation on prices and the foreign, prepared by Mr. Sauerbeck, and covering a range of forty-five leading articles of commerce which he also compares with silver. This proves beyond all doubt that gold has appreciated while silver, measured in the prices of commodities, which is the only scientific method of testing the question, has kept a substantially uniform value with all other leading commodities. We conclude, therefore, that silver and not gold is the world's truest measure of the world's values and moving commodities.

Year.	American computation, price of—			European computation—Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers.	
	Silver.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Index number of 45 principal commodities.	Index number of silver.
1872	1.32	1.47	19.3	.....	99.2
1873	1.29	1.31	18.8	.....	97.4
1874	1.27	1.43	15.4	102	95.8
1875	1.24	1.12	15.0	.....	93.3
1876	1.15	1.24	12.9	96	86.7
1877	1.20	1.17	11.8	94	90.2
1878	1.15	1.34	11.1	87	86.4
1879	1.12	1.07	9.9	83	84.2
1880	1.14	1.25	11.5	88	85.9
1881	1.13	1.11	11.4	85	85.0
1882	1.13	1.19	11.4	84	84.9
1883	1.11	1.13	10.8	82	83.1
1884	1.01	1.07	10.5	76	83.3
1885	1.06	.86	10.6	72	79.9
1886 .....	.99	.87	9.9	69	74.6
1887 .....	.97	.89	9.5	68	73.3
1888 .....	.93	.85	9.8	70	70.4
1889 .....	.93	.90	9.9	72	70.2
1890	1.04	.83	10.1	73	78.4
1891 .....	.90	.85	10.0	72	74.1
1892 .....	.86	.80	8.7	68	65.4
1893 .....	.75	.68	7.2	.....	.....

Sir William Houldsworth, deriving his information chiefly from the United States mint authorities, has recently stated in the discussion at the Manchester Chamber of Commerce that from 1687 to 1873, the year of silver demonetization, a period of nearly two hundred years, there was only a variation of 1.8 in the ratio between silver and gold, while in the next nineteen years, under the period of demonetization, 1873 to 1892, there was a variation of 8.1 in the ratio.

ACTION OF COUNCIL OF INDIA.

Now, since the demonetization or limited coinage act forced upon helpless India by England, through the Indian council, we have another violent fall in silver; another violent fall in prices of all other staples, or in other terms, a still further appreciation of gold, and a still further variation in the commercial ratio, and a financial panic and a period of enforced liquidation, as it is mildly termed throughout the civilized world. What can you call a period of liquidation in times of panic but a period of giving up and transferring the property of debtors to creditors at a ruinous sacrifice to the debtors and an enormous gain to the creditors?

While on this subject of the recent action of the British India council in closing hermits and precipitating such great losses upon her subject peoples, how, I wish to ask you, do they excuse themselves for it? Do you not know that their excuse was that they feared the United States might do so also and complete the demonetization of silver by unconditionally repealing the Sherman law? And now you seek to do that similar act in this country, to strike down silver again, and excuse yourselves to your constituency by pointing to what the council of India have done. Does not this look like conspiracy with England? Do you not, gentlemen of the gold standard, fear that you may yet have to meet the scorn and ridicule of your constituency? Why, sir, the very tramps you panic-breeding processes have forced from the paths of happy industries into the public streets and highways, when they once comprehend the legislative sources of their misery and degradation, are liable to turn away from you and your flimsy excuses, and thank God they are not yet so low as to have purposely brought ruin and starvation upon their fellow men.

But I hope yet, in the midst of all discouragements, to see this country rescued from the intolerable grasp of the great conspiracy.

The songs and salvos of my fellow countrymen redeemed—even though sung and sounded above my grave—shall be sweeter to me than any division of spoils that your proposed empire of wealth can give.

BIMETALLISM THE ONLY SAFE BASIS.

On the necessity of bimetalism as the only safe basis of maintaining a proper superstructure of paper currency, I ask leave to insert my remarks on this subject before the World's Fair Congress of Bankers and Financiers in Chicago last June.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: As representative of the State of Wyoming in this world's congress of bankers and financiers, I can bring to you but little of interest regarding the special features of banking in our State.

Wyoming is the youngest of the States, and has accepted nearly all of its features in banking from the older States.

Regarding its resources, much might be said, as they are prospectively very great. In iron, soda, petroleum, and coal our resources are marvellous. In precious metals we are midway between the more largely developed mines of Colorado and Montana, and no one is daring enough to deny but that the resources of Wyoming, when extensively prospected and developed, may be found to contain the same mineral wealth that enriches our bordering States.

But a more interesting and vital question to the people of Wyoming is this: If money of intrinsic value qualities is to be the money of ultimate redemption, if the specie basis of paper money is to be maintained in the future as in the past by the great banking interests of the world, then shall we strengthen or weaken that base, shall we broaden or contract the metallic foundations of the currency of civilization? Shall we eliminate and demonetize one-half of the metallic and specie basis of paper money and then expect the people of our State and country to have the same confidence in the integrity of our national finances as they could if the old standard foundations were maintained?

It is all very well to cry out to the people, "Have more confidence," but if at the same time you seek to take away from them the half, and more abundant and sure half, of their specie basis and intrinsic value foundations of money, how can you expect them to maintain confidence in you or the monetary system you advocate?

Confidence in any system of financial legislation among a free people must have an intelligent basis. The principles of finance must be clear and well grounded in the convictions of the people, and the people of Wyoming are no exception to the rule.

We know in Wyoming that the appreciation of a dollar, our national monetary unit, is the depreciation of every species of our products and property, excepting that little item of gold.

We do not have to guess at this, for money measures the price of all things else, and to appreciate the standard of measure must necessarily depreciate all that is measured.

If you lengthen the yardstick you shorten the number of yards in any piece of cloth measured by it.

Again, to discuss the appreciation and depreciation of gold and silver, he is not yet qualified to discuss the question before such an intelligent body as this who ignores the element of demand and only considers the element of supply.

To demonetize silver and cut off all demand for it as a money metal is at once to seriously derange and lower the price, and then to turn around with the argument that the low price of silver as a commodity, with its chiefest demand cut off, is a reason for cutting off its use, a reason for perpetuating its demonetization, is a folly that would not be indulged in any body of American citizens where self-interest is subjected to reason and fairness.

Again, that European countries have discarded the use of silver in part is no reason why the American Government should do so any more than that a creditor should seek to bind a debtor to a more extensive form of payment is a reason that the debtor should clamor for the same thing.

The true and just relation between creditor and debtor is maintained by keeping a uniform volume, and, therefore, a uniform value of currency in circulation.

Whoever seeks to interfere with this is either ignorant or intentionally seeking to interfere with the equities of the contracts of the world, and, therefore, substituting injustice for justice.

How can this body, then, favor striking down half the money metal of the world, which necessitates, to be consistent, cutting down also one-half the superstructure of paper money resting thereon. And to shorten the money supply of the world one-half if to force an injury upon the industrial interests that is greater than any other calamity that can befall civilization.

To accomplish this by slow gradations may induce mankind to submit to it with less danger of successful resistance, but the aggregate of injustice is the same in the end. But to speak more particularly to Americans and of America.

As a national policy, when we find our resources in silver mining very great, how foolish indeed it must seem for us to enter upon a policy of cutting off silver as a money metal.

In ancient days great armies have been collected and wars carried on to obtain possession and control of mines of the precious metals. And behold here in our country a crusade organized for the exact opposite, a crusade to destroy the value of our own mines. This crusade would not be so dangerous to the American people if it did not interfere with the supply of good legal-tender money, and, therefore, depress prices, discourage industries, and destroy the hopes of prosperity among the people.

The bankers of our country should be slow to place themselves in opposition to the general welfare.

Every great institution in the world's history that has allowed its self interests to carry it forward in direct antagonism with the prosperity and wellbeing of society, has ultimately been overthrown, and it is one of the necessities of mankind's existence that it should be so.

The people must live, and justice must live, too. I warn you, therefore, not only from the standpoint of equity and patriotism, but also from the standpoint of ultimate maintenance of your own self-interest, that you do not too far press the fight against either of the old standard and reliable money metals of the world.

There is an awakening of the people throughout the civilized world to the necessities of a broader basis and fuller volume of legal tender money with which mankind can carry forward the work and obligations of this enlightened age, and feed and clothe itself with both the material and spiritual comforts requisite to its highest existence. Let us not plant ourselves in the way of the world's progress. Let us, on the other hand, show ourselves, too, in the great march of civilization, worthy of both confidence and honor for the bold stand we take for absolute equity between the world's workers and the world's money dealers.

MR. TRACEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the session this evening be extended until half-past 5 o'clock. It is done by agreement between the two sides.

THE SPEAKER *pro tempore* (Mr. BROOKSHIRE in the chair). The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent that the session be extended until half-past 5 o'clock this evening. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

MR. TAYLOR of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, with all proper respect for the opinions of some distinguished Republican leaders in the House and in the Senate, I coincide with my friend from Iowa [Gen. HEPBURN] who so eloquently addressed the House on yesterday, in the belief that the safest position for Republicans to occupy, in this emergency, is to stand on the Republican platform; and I wish to place on record, as briefly as I can, my reasons for this view and the vote I shall give when the voting is reached.

Some of us on this side of the House desired to introduce a bill, or an amendment to the pending bill, looking to the settlement of this question on some middle ground, but we are deprived of the opportunity of offering such a bill, or such an amendment, or any amendment whatever, by the special order under which the subject is being considered, dictated by the Democratic caucus and adopted by the Democratic majority of this House. In other words, the imperial Democracy has commanded us to "eat what is set before us, asking no questions for conscience' sake"—not for its conscience' sake, however, for it has already crucified its conscience on its own platform, and is now holding power under false pretenses. [Applause on the Republican side.]

If the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia, providing for the unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, passes Congress without amendment and is approved by the President, and no legislation follows, I understand that, so far as this Congress is concerned, excepting that which is already coined, which, of course, will not be disturbed, silver will be destroyed as a money metal of the future, and that the unit of value will hereafter be attached to gold. It is true that we are assured that silver is not to be "discredited," and that further legislation is to follow.

If the destruction of silver was not intended, why did not you embody in this repeal bill some provision for its liberal use as money in the future? What reliance can be placed in promises now made by a party whose leaders regard the declarations of the platform on which they were elected as glittering "catchwords of politics?" And this is the remedial legislation insisted upon by the unconditional-repeal advocates, in the interest of a restoration of confidence and a return to better times.

With my friend from Louisiana [Mr. BOATNER] and my friend from Iowa [Gen. HEPBURN], I do not believe that all our ills are traceable to the operation of the Sherman law, for we know that under it, for two years prior to November last, the country prospered as it had never prospered before. Commerce and manufactures marched hand in hand with the thrift and prosperity of the mechanic arts. Labor reaped its reward and the country was happy in the possession of peace and plenty.

To show that this is not a false picture and that another question has played some part in bringing about the crisis which is upon us, I desire to read some Democratic authorities. The first is an admission from the New York Sun, and reads as follows:

Last year, in a season of general prosperity such as never blessed a nation living in the light of civilization, the prevailing industrial system was condemned with an almost revolutionary show of disapproval. All visible facts argued for a popular verdict directly opposite to that deliberately recorded by the immense majority.

The next is from the New York World, and is as follows:

Until the financial question is settled, and in the present condition of business, there must be no tariff agitation. It is vitally important that no new issue should be raised that will increase the apprehension already felt.

The third is from the New York Evening Post, and reads as follows:

We are willing, in the first place, to admit that anticipation of tariff changes may have had its influence in inducing caution among manufacturers. Expectation of such legislation, whether slight or radical, must in a measure operate thus.

Whatever may be the action of Congress in this matter, for one I do not believe that a full and substantial restoration of confidence and return to permanent prosperity can take place until it is known, with certainty, throughout the length and breadth of the land that our industrial system is to be let alone and not disturbed by hostile legislation.

Notwithstanding there is every reason existing for the expansion instead of the contraction of the currency—for we know that as the business and population of a country increase, its volume of currency should be increased in like proportion—it is now proposed to contract the currency by abolishing silver and adopting the single gold standard, thereby making money still dearer, the wages of labor still lower, and the price of every species of property still cheaper, and the ability to pay debts absolutely out of the question.

Mr. Speaker, I am unalterably opposed to the remedy offered by the gentleman from West Virginia. It means the demonetization of silver. I will never vote to demonetize silver. It means the establishment of the single standard. I will never vote to make gold the sole unit of value.

Such a policy, in my judgment, would not only contract the currency, would not only leave the volume of money insufficient to meet the demands of commerce and trade, thereby paralyzing enterprise and crushing the millions who are in debt, but it would annihilate one of the greatest American industries and reduce to starvation rates the wages of labor everywhere.

Mr. Hamilton, who will never be questioned as an authority in this country, in his report in 1791 on the establishment of a mint, declared that:

To annul the use of either gold or silver as money is to abridge the quantity of the circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full circulation with the evils of a scanty circulation.

Arguing in the same report in favor of a double standard, Hamilton drew his conclusions as follows:

On the whole it seems most advisable not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this can not be done effectually without destroying the office and character of one of them as money, and reducing it to the situation of mere merchandise.

He who was nearest the heart of the American people has spoken on this subject.

The weighty words of James G. Blaine are as pertinent to-day as they were the day they were uttered on the floor of the Senate, February 7, 1878. Advocating a bimetallic standard with all the strength and vigor of his great mind, he said:

I believe the struggle now going on in this country, and in other countries, for a single gold standard, would, if successful, produce disaster in the end throughout the commercial world.

The destruction of silver as money and the establishment of gold as the sole unit of value, must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate, and therefore unfair advantage over every other species of property.

In the same great speech Mr. Blaine declared that—

It is impossible to strike silver out of existence as money without results which—

would—

prove distressing to millions, and utterly disastrous to tens of thousands.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the double standard of gold and silver ought to be maintained, because the striking down of silver, as Mr. Blaine has argued, would enormously enhance the value of gold and destroy a world of wealth in our own country. Gold is already enhanced beyond the reach of business and labor—the bulk of it is hid away in vaults—it is the natural inclination of those who have it to hoard it; beside, its volume is not great enough to make it the sole basis of our circulation; there is not a sufficient amount of it in existence, if it were all coined into money, to meet the demands of the commercial world. Above all other people I think the American people can least afford to join in the effort to rob silver of its equality with gold as a money

metal—for America produces at least one-third of the world's supply of silver.

If we have millions of bushels of wheat and millions of pounds of cotton, let us thank God for the rich fields that produced them; if we have millions of bushels of corn and millions of bushels of oats and rye and barley, let us rejoice that we live in a land that yields such abundant harvests; if we have gold mines—let us coin the shining metal to increase our national prosperity and happiness—and if streams of silver flow from inexhaustible fountains in the mountains of America, let us coin it, too, and be thankful that we can supply the world with the silver half of the double standard. [Applause.]

Why should we enact law that will impoverish the farmer and stop his plow because he raises more grain than we can use? Why should we enact law that will shut down the furnaces and factories of America because they produce more goods than we can consume? Why should we enact law that will close our silver mines and at a single blow bring poverty to the doors of thousands of our people who but yesterday were contented and happy, and leave them without bread to eat, because we have more silver in America than is compatible with the financial ideas of England and Germany?

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, we should approach this grave question with reverential care, since it involves that which should be most sacred to every public servant—the welfare of the American people.

Sir, this Republic is a grand mosaic work of empires, the last triumph of the genius and wisdom of the ages. Every State of this Union, itself a superb mosaic, was joined to every other State on the straight, smooth lines of one common and harmonious destiny. Every block inlaid in this glorious picture is the embodiment of some American interest. If you destroy one you disturb the relations of each to each, and you destroy the harmony of the whole. If you assume the right to destroy one, you may assume the right to destroy the whole.

Mr. Speaker, I have hitherto voted in the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses for protective laws which have made New England rich. With my distinguished friend from Maine [Mr. REED], who sits near by me here, I have never faltered in my loyalty to the American system of protection; I have always voted for measures, as a representative of the people, which I thought would encourage the development of the untold wealth of my own native State of Tennessee. Whatever may be the course of others, I will never be guilty in the Fifty-third Congress of the inconsistency of aiding in the destruction of Colorado, and Montana, and Nevada, and their sister States and Territories, by the wiping out of their greatest industry and the impoverishment of their people. [Applause.]

I believe that the protection and maintenance of the double standard of the two money metals of the world, which have come down to us from Abraham through forty centuries, with a fair and honest ratio existing between them, will give more business, more wages, more contentment, more happiness, more wealth, and more power to our country than any other legislation that can be enacted.

I believe that the wisest statesmanship is that which protects American labor, American industries; and every American interest. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. How much time have I, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The gentleman has twenty minutes.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in twenty minutes' time I can hope to do little more than briefly to give some of the reasons for my vote as it will be cast on Monday next. We are in extraordinary session. The country is in an extraordinary panic. The President convened the Congress, and, as in duty bound, sent to us his message, in which he gave his reasons for calling us together, and told us, what we all knew, that there was panic and depression abroad in the land.

The disease all recognized, he told us the cause of the disease as he understood it, and stated it to be the purchase of silver under the so-called Sherman act. He gave no uncertain sound, and the remedy that he recommends is the immediate repeal of the purchase clause of that act. If the President has diagnosed the disease properly and advised the proper remedy, then, without respect to that side of the House or this side of the House, patriotism demands that we should apply that remedy. But if he is not correct in his diagnosis and we apply the remedy, not understanding the real cause of the disease, we shall but aggravate it. The President has performed his duty; we are now to perform ours. I do not agree—and I say it with respect and modestly—I do not agree with the President in his diagnosis of the disease.

I do not believe that the purchase of silver under the Sherman act or its coinage under the Bland act is responsible for the pres-

ent depression throughout this country; and, not so believing, I am not ready to help in giving the medicine which the President recommends. I may be mistaken. If so, I honestly mistake.

We are told that this cheap silver money is driving gold out of the country. Is that true? I think not. True, we lost a large amount of gold from the 1st of January last to the 1st of July; but the silver did not drive it out; we paid our debts with it. Great Britain, under depression almost as great as ours (and while ours has lasted but three or four months, hers has lasted for three or four years), needed the money; we were in debt to her; and she said "Pay"; and we did pay. And here is proof, strong as that of Holy Writ, that I am correct in this statement, because while eighty odd millions of gold journeyed to the other side to pay our debts, side by side with it went \$17,000,000 of silver for the same purpose.

Now, did the gold drive the silver out or did the silver drive the gold out, or did they both go to pay the balance that was against us? I need only to ask the question; the answer is obvious.

Again, within the last month nearly \$30,000,000 of gold has returned to the United States from abroad. What brought it back? It came in payment for our exports, largely wheat and provisions.

It is said that good money hides because of the cheap Treasury note issued under the Sherman act. I deny it. You can not find with a search warrant amongst capitalists or laborers anywhere in this country anybody who is afraid that his currency will not be as good as gold, is not as good as gold now. I measure my words when I so speak. Why? Because under the law, the United States is bound to, and does day by day when demanded, give the gold for any currency that we have. There has been but very little of redemption—why? Because, first, the people are satisfied of the honesty of the United States; and, second, they are satisfied of its ability in the premises.

Think a minute. We have a panic the like of which I have no recollection of (and I am on the wrong side of fifty). We have a President (and I speak of him respectfully) that for eight long years in office and out of office has followed the silver currency of the country with as great ferocity as Herod followed the infant Savior when he commanded that all children under two years of age should be put to death in order to make sure of the destruction of the Infant King.

By letter, by message, in season and out of season, before the Chicago convention and after the Chicago convention—all the time he has been against it. He is charged with the execution of the law. We have a Secretary of the Treasury who, whatever he may have done himself, was reported in the public prints throughout the length and breadth of the country as having said that he would redeem Treasury notes under the Sherman act in silver alone. He does redeem them in gold. But that report begat doubt and fear.

Yet in the midst of all these surroundings, without the sale of one dollar of bonds with which to obtain gold to maintain the parity of our money, although there was full power in the premises, with an unfriendly administration, in the height of panic—all this money—\$1,600,000,000, nickel, copper, silver, paper, gold—is all good; and from one ocean to the other you can not find anybody who has any fear with regard to the ability or honesty of the Government in so maintaining this money according to the pledge of the law. [Applause.] I submit that in view of these facts the President's diagnosis of the disease is not correct.

What are we called upon to do? To repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. I wish I had time to talk about that much-abused act. It is not perfect. I have rarely seen any legislation that was perfect. Now, the Democrats are fully in power. I expect to see soon some legislation that is absolutely perfect. [Laughter.] Yet that Sherman act is a good act; it serves a good purpose. Under the Bland act, so much condemned, and the Sherman act, there has gone into the currency of this country since 1885, when Grover Cleveland was first elected, \$300,000,000 of money as good as gold and redeemable in gold and circulating side by side with it.

But, asks somebody, are you in favor of "cheap money?" No; God knows I am not in favor of cheap money. The little record I have made in the Congress of the United States shows that I am not in favor of cheap money. I am not here to abuse people who have money. I frequently wish I had more of it myself. Abuse of that kind is no argument. I am here in view of all the interests of all the people, to "cry aloud and spare not" in favor of good money.

Why, think of it. The total deposits in the banks, according to the last official report, were over \$4,600,000,000; in the saving banks alone the deposits were over \$1,700,000,000, with nearly five million depositors, representing nearly twenty-five million beneficiaries, counting each depositor as representing a family. Think of it! The life insurance companies (stock and mutual)

are under obligation to pay their policy-holders this day over \$3,000,000,000.

Those policy-holders represent 1,000,000 families, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. The assessment life-insurance companies are bound under their agreements to pay their policy-holders nearly \$5,000,000,000 to 5,000,000 of people. These men are to be paid in good money; and in the aggregate the credits and property of the common people of the United States by the side of the credit and the property of the capitalists are as the mountain to the molehill. If there is anybody in God's world who is interested in stable and sound money it is the people who live through the sweat of their face. The people who are in the mine, on the railway, on farm, and in factory produce annually in the United States products to the value of \$12,000,000,000. Oh, no.

I am not here to degrade the currency; but, while that is true, I am not here to obey the command of the extreme people who want gold and gold alone for currency; that means contract on and wrongs the debtor. Nor am I here to obey the command of the extreme people who want silver and silver alone for currency, and only 60 cents' worth in a dollar; that would wrong the creditor. One would bring us to the yellow metal alone for money; the other, in the name of bimetalism, would bring us to the white metal alone for money. I want both metals. My party, in a national platform, pledges me to both metals. Good politics pledge me to both metals. I believe it is entirely practicable to have them.

What would I do in the meantime? I would let the purchase clause of the Sherman act stand until the other side of the House can meet this side of the House calmly and coolly; not under the influence of panic or excitement or prejudice; not without power even to offer an amendment, but with the full power of amendment and debate, and after full consideration enact a provision that would utilize all the silver that may be offered for use as money at its commercial value. In my judgment this can be done by allowing any and all owners of silver bullion to deposit the same in the United States Treasury at the world's market price and receive therefor certificates or Treasury notes redeemable on demand, in sums of \$100 or any multiple thereof, in silver bullion at the market price, or gold coin, at the option of the Government, making the Treasury notes a legal tender for all debts, public or private.

I believe it can be done. But why do you not offer the amendment, says some one. Because, Mr. Speaker, the extreme silver and fiat money men in this House met and shook hands with the extreme gold men on the Democratic side of the House, and adopted the rule under which you are now proceeding, that says I shall not have, as the representative of my people, the poor opportunity of offering a single amendment of any character on this subject. [Applause.] That is the reason. I am powerless. The ship is at sea, and I can not help it. Sixty-five millions of our people are on board ship, and we stand here to-day without power to help man a boat or unfurl a sail.

I listened with much interest to one of Georgia's favorite sons [Mr. TURNER], strong on that side of the House and strong always, a few moments ago, when he proceeded to exhort the Democratic party to come together and unite upon a proposition that would solve the question and be just to all. Oh, how my ear was inclined, watching and waiting for that proposition. But, Mr. Speaker, he hid his proposition under a bushel. If he had proposed it, the House could not consider it under this cast-iron rule, made by the Democratic side of the House, cutting off all amendments. What does wisdom counsel us to do? I will answer in a sentence. There are six hundred millions of gold and about that much silver in this country; we have over 65,000,000 of people; the population is increasing at the rate of 2,000,000 every year; we now have power to sell bonds to maintain all the money at a parity.

Without the sale of one dollar of bonds, I am satisfied that during the Administration of Grover Cleveland under existing law we can go on and have an increase in the currency of nearly \$40,000,000 a year, and that all the money will be as good as gold after four years of the Democracy under President Cleveland. I think the people, having tried a new experiment, will turn back to their first love. [Applause on the Republican side.] In any event I will not help change existing law unless you put something better in its place.

Gentlemen say there is a congestion of the currency. Yes; but the great trouble is a congestion of credits. Nine-tenths and over of the business of this country is done on credit. That credit being destroyed, that much more work is thrown on the currency. Of course, then the currency is scarce and inadequate. But with all that—with this scarcity of currency, with money all good and millions to follow just as good, under the operation of the present Sherman law—it is gravely proposed to stop that increase of the currency by a repeal of the purchasing

clause of that law which puts it in circulation and substitute nothing in its stead. Mr. Speaker, for one, my judgment from every standpoint is against it, and I will vote against it. [Applause.]

But, says somebody, will you vote for free coinage of silver? No; not under existing conditions unless you put a dollars' worth of silver in a silver dollar. And I will tell you why. With the nonuse of silver by the principal commercial nations in the world, and the late action of England with regard to the India mints, I do not believe that the free coinage of silver on the ratio of either 16 to 1 or 20 to 1 will assure us both gold and silver.

My judgment is that such coinage of silver would drive the gold out of the country, and we would have silver in cheap dollars alone for money. In the fullness of time I believe the coinage ratio of gold and silver will be settled by agreement between the principal commercial nations of the world. When that is done, we can safely have free coinage of silver. In the meantime it is our duty to utilize silver at its commercial value for currency. Silver always has been, is now, and in my opinion always will be, one of the money metals. [Applause.]

"Ah! but," says somebody, "we want to repeal this act to strengthen our credit." Strengthen it where? I ask; in Europe or at home? Mr. Speaker, the Government's credit does not need strengthening at home. You can not find any citizen of the United States who does not believe that the credit of the United States is now first class; in Europe the credit of the United States is first class. I put it to you, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen present, when the obligations of your and my Government, standing side by side in London, are worth as much money as is the English consol, that our credit is as good abroad as their credit is at home.

Oh! But says somebody, "They are afraid they are going to be paid in cheap silver. Oh, no; the laws of this country can be read of all men, and the construction given to those laws by both Democrat and Republican administrations, tells everybody everywhere that all the money Uncle Sam has in his hands, and all his obligations, as well as all the circulating medium, is to be gold and that which can look gold in the face and say, 'I am as good as you are.'" [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. WALKER was recognized and yielded five minutes to Mr. CANNON of Illinois.

Mr. CANNON of Illinois. My friend is always very kind to me. I do not know that I can enlighten the House in five minutes much further in addition to what I have already said. There are many things to strengthen my position in my own mind, that, given time and opportunity, it seemed to me I might have urged. But to conclude in that five minutes the matter of which I was talking when the hammer fell. They say, repeal the Sherman law in order that you may strengthen our credit abroad.

I repeat, it is already as good as that of any nation on this earth. "Well," but say some of these gentlemen, "repeal the Sherman law and we will give you something to go in its place." Will you? Is there a man on that side of the House who can say that any proposition touching the utilization of silver as money can be written upon the statute book with the approval of your President, Grover Cleveland? I pause for an answer; if anybody is authorized to speak for him let him answer here and now.

The gentlemen from New York [Mr. WARNER] and from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] both stand pledged to repeal the tax on the circulation of the State banks. The last Democratic national platform pledges such legislation. That would give us old-fashioned Democratic wild-cat money. Mr. Speaker, for myself I am free to say that if I have to choose between silver at the ratio of either 16 to 1 or 20 to 1 of gold on the one hand, or the revival of the wild-cat currency that cursed this country up to 1860 on the other, I will be found for silver every time. [Applause.]

To my Republican friends, in conclusion, I say, to what feast are we invited? To the repeal of this act that we wrote upon the statute book, and that has been beneficent in its operation; and when it is repealed, with a contracting currency and an increasing population, we have full notice that there is to follow fast and furious upon its track the performance of the pledge made by the Democracy, upon which they say they won full power, namely, to strike down the last vestige of protection to American industries and American labor, and place upon the statute books in lieu thereof a tariff that will yield revenue only, but no protection to any American citizen who walks upon our soil and breathes our air.

In full competition with labor abroad, importing that which we heretofore made, with a contracting currency instead of an expanding, safe currency—that is the feast to which we are invited by our Democratic friends. For one I will go hungry before I dine at such a table, for that matter I would go hungry if I dined at such a table. [Applause on Republican side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, my friend from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] has just asked, to what feast are we as Republicans invited? Let me say to him that we have been complaining for many years, and are now complaining, that the feast the Democratic party provides is not a feast fit for our attendance; but if they have now provided a feast fit for our attendance, I am willing to go, and to go joyfully, and propose to go; and they certainly have done so in their proposition to repeal the purchasing clause of the silver act of July 14, 1890.

The great complaint which is made against our monetary system is the lack of currency. That is the burden of the song of my friend [Mr. CANNON] who has just taken his seat. Let me say to this House that it is impossible to have "enough" currency unless the currency is flexible. We have now \$1,100,000,000 of currency of various denominations, ring-streaked and speckled.

We have a financial system that is a disgrace to the United States, as is our currency. Our bank exchanges are about \$400,000,000 a day. Three and a half per cent of these exchanges are made in currency and we are short of currency. Yes! And we would be short of currency, and just as short, and suffer from it still more by the law that governs all finance, if every dollar of this \$400,000,000 a day was transacted in currency.

Were a law passed to-morrow that forbade the use of any check, draft, or bill of exchange, or any personal paper money of any name or nature, except paper money issued either by the Government or by the banks, so that every merchant had to keep in the form of currency in his safe what now he keeps to his credit in a bank and draws upon with his check, and if we had one hundred billions of paper money instead of one billion, we still would be short of currency in times like these, and suffer more, for the lack of currency in such times than we do today. No currency is sufficient, or can be sufficient, that is not elastic.

Why are we short? Because all the currency in circulation, be it more or less, will be used in the normal trade of everyday life. No man now gives a check for \$1,000 who has a thousand dollars in bills in his safe, that he wishes to dispose of, because he does not wish the trouble and risk of keeping it.

REORGANIZE THE BANKING SYSTEM

Therefore our remedy is to reorganize our whole banking system of shreds and patches. Pass the banking bill that your Democratic committee reported to the House at the close of the Fifty-second Congress, reported by that staunch Democrat, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BACON], and your financial ills will be cured. Under that bill the currency of the country, as such, would not cost the people one farthing, and it would give you a leeway of from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000 that might be used in any crisis or when any exceptional demand was made upon it. What makes us short of currency? Is it that the banks lock it up?

We are told on this floor, out of the same mouths that tell us that the banks lock up currency to injure the people, that the banks are paying anywhere from 1 to 3 per cent premium for the use of currency. Who then is locking it up? It is the man who is thrown out of employment by this financial crisis, who, drawing his wages, locks the money up in his pocket. And when you count these cases by the hundreds of thousands, you account for the disappearance of the currency.

The pocket becomes his place of deposit instead of the bank. The moment these men have employment this currency will again flow into the channels of trade. I have no especial objection to the bill of my friend from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON], allowing bonds to be deposited and money to be taken out when the interest on them stops for the time they are allowed to lie in the Treasury. That would be paying interest on the currency taken, but it is an expedient that never would be availed of to any great extent, and I do not think it would be particularly a valuable addition to our banking statutes. But one additional patch to our present patch banking system will do no particular hurt if not positively injurious.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Mr. Speaker, we are called together to legislate in the midst of what threatens to be one of the most serious seasons of liquidation the country has ever seen. I shall not, at this time, stop to consider what has caused it. At another time and on the appropriate theme, I shall have some observations to make upon it. The duty of the hour is so plain that no serious-minded man can fail to see it and bend his utmost effort to the task of relieving the country from its trouble.

That the purchase clause of the silver law of July 14, 1890, is a menace to the best economic conditions of our people and ought to be at once repealed is practically unanimously agreed to by all. None see its uneconomic provisions or are more earnest to wipe them from the statute books than those who framed it. They see them now no more clearly than they did on the day they framed it and secured its passage.

As I said in this House on July 6, 1890, of a similar bill, it was not in itself wise financial legislation. It was pure politics. Not party politics, but wise statesmanship. In the then condition of financial opinion in the country it was one of the wisest pieces of statesmanship ever accomplished to stay impending calamity.

The situation that confronted us was that of one political party voting nearly unanimously for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, with a few of the other party. Not an additional one could then be saved to honest money in the Democratic party, and a majority of the constituents of scores of the Republican Congressman, who had been voting against free coinage, were determined to force their representatives to vote for free coinage against their personal convictions, as too many others had done. They must have some safe delivery from the free-silver majority in their districts, or free-coinage Republicans or free-coinage Democrats would take their places. Had two or three score more of such Congressmen gone home from the Fifty-first Congress to defend their votes for free coinage, instead of defending their votes for the silver act of July 14, 1890, and to condemn the free coinage of silver, the next Congress was about as sure to pass a free coinage of silver bill over a veto, by a two-thirds vote in both Houses, as it was to assemble.

The sensible financial men in the country did not then believe free coinage of silver was imminent. No begging or pleading could induce a single banker or economist to render the slightest assistance to the friends of sound money on the Coinage Committee in the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, while the free coinage of silver men confessed to spending thousands of dollars on a powerful lobby during the whole session. Time to arouse the country was absolutely necessary. That, and more, we safely got in the so-called Sherman bill. That bill gave the silver miner all the advantages he could possibly get from the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and all others all they could justly get from free coinage, while fully maintaining the existing measure of value. It was our deliverance through a truce, with its advantages almost wholly with the sound money side, and fatal to the free coinage of silver. Never was any legislative act more fully justified by the results.

It was framed and passed to repeal the far worse Bland-Allison act of 1878, and to break up and defeat the free-coinage forces of 1890; to be itself destroyed, after having done its work, which is already accomplished. It now stands as the last fortress of error, in which are massed all the forces of unsound financial theories. When its walls are leveled to the ground the enemies of sound money, who were skillfully allured within its walls in 1890, will be dispersed, never again to win another strategic position.

CLAIMS OF FREE COINAGE ADVOCATES NOT BASED ON FACTS.

Never did any party fight its battles on such an array of statements for truth that were utterly without foundation in fact. Never did any party so completely rely upon figments of the mind. Never did the devotees of any cause know so many things that are not so as the advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Nothing that they can conceive of as damaging to the cause of sound money do they fail to assert. They never stop to ask whether they are true or not, or seem to care to prove any of them by sober facts.

The demand for the free coinage of silver is a rebellion against human progress. Progress is possible from savage to barbarous conditions, or from barbarism to civilized man, excepting as man commands more in kind, quantity, and quality of commodities for each day's labor, and this is impossible unless nominal wages rise or prices of products fall, or both.

For centuries man remained stationary. No progress was made in material things, and therefore no progress was possible in intellectual or moral things. It is as impossible for nations to make intellectual and moral progress, excepting through material progress, as it is for a man to get broader views from a greater height while chained on the plains below.

Again, one of the prime conditions of progress is the certainty to man of his having personal possession of and a personal advantage for the things he produces. And the greater personal advantage a man can get from exchanging the things he produces, as well as the more things he can produce, acts and reacts to send him forward to happier conditions.

It is because of the greater volume and better quality of products that a day's work will buy, alike on the farm, in the shop, as well as in the silver mine, the gold mine, coal and iron mines, that this rebellion against the "world's measure of value" was begun and has gained such a momentum. Man has advanced in social well-being since 1860 as 168 of 1891 is to the 100 of 1860, as shown by his average wages. Mature manhood, and more especially the young, just entering on life's work, have in that proportion a brighter future before them than their fathers had. The struggle for free coinage of silver is a struggle to put man

back from a condition represented by the 168 of 1891 to the conditions represented by the 100 of 1860.

We have the highest authority for believing that "he that oppresseth the poor to increase riches, and he that giveth to the rich shall surely come to want;" and the free coinage of silver will do both.

THE QUESTION NOT ONE OF COINING SILVER.

This question is not one of simply coining silver, or of coining gold. Never have so many silver dollars been actually coined in this country, relatively or in number, as in the last fifteen years. It is purely a question of continuing our present measure of value.

For forty years, from 1834 to 1873, there were only 6,591,713 silver dollars coined, an average of 164,793 each year, while we now have more than \$400,000,000, not one of which will be made any the less "full legal-tender money" by repealing the purchase clause of the silver law of July 14, 1890.

It is purely and only a question as to what shall be the "money of account," and what shall be the metal in which banks shall pay to each other the balances due; and whether we will continue to exchange commodities, at the international world's measure of value, or whether we will descend to the monetary condition of Mexico, India, and China. Not a member of either House of Congress can be found who favors an "all gold coinage," but every one of them protests against an "all silver coinage," which is what free silver coinage means. Every member who favors the repeal of the silver-purchase clause of the law of July 14, 1890, favors the use of silver as "full legal-tender money" to the last dollar that can be economically used.

The silver coinage men wholly mistake the nature and work of money. None but misers ever borrow gold or silver money, excepting to immediately exchange it for other commodities they desire, and every other form of money is only an order for products as a deed is an order for the delivery of the farm.

Gold stands in precisely the same relation to trade and commerce that the regulator to an engine does to the steam that moves it. A desire for and the exchange of products, not money, is what moves the world. Importing or exporting gold is never done except as a corrective to bring trade back to its normal and safe condition.

It has no more relation to, and affects trade no more than, the increased radius of the balls of the regulator on the engine has to the work accomplished in the factory by the means of the steam. Coin, excepting that carried in the pockets of the people and doing only the work of currency, and doing it no better or safer than paper money, is purely a regulator. First, products are shipped: secondly, stocks; third, bonds; and lastly and infinitesimally, like medicine to man to correct disease, gold, and only in abnormal conditions. No nation can long ship or receive anything but consumable products.

SILVER WAS NOT SECRETLY DEMONETIZED IN 1873.

The most universal and blood-curdling statement made and reason given for the demand for the free coinage of silver is, that in 1873 silver was demonetized secretly and fraudulently. Not only is this without the shadow of foundation in fact, but the very opposite is true, as has been shown a thousand times. Never has there been more pains taken to make the country thoroughly familiar with an act than in the rearranging and codifying the coinage laws, which were completed in 1873 and passed unanimously. It was then thoroughly understood that gold and silver only was to continue to be our measure of value metal, as it surely has been since 1834. Silver dollars were then at 3.22 per cent premium and had been for forty years.

I ask to have read from the Clerk's desk an extract from the speech of the Hon. JOHN P. JONES of Nevada, made in the Senate April 1, 1874. Senator JONES was then, as now, as much interested in silver as any man in the United States.

The Clerk read as follows:

Does this Congress mean now to leave entirely out of view and discard forever a standard of value? Did any country ever accumulate wealth, achieve greatness, or attain a high civilization without such a standard? And what but gold can be that standard? What other thing on earth possesses the requisite qualities? Gold is the articulation of commerce. It is the most potent agent of civilization. It is gold that has lifted the nations from barbarism. So exact a measure is it of human effort that when it is exclusively used as a money it teaches the very habit of honesty. It neither deals in nor tolerates false pretenses. It can not lie. It keeps its promises to rich and poor alike.

Mr. WALKER. I will read an extract from a speech of Hon. WILLIAM M. STEWART, of Nevada, made in the Senate February 11, 1874. Senator STEWART was then, and is now, as much interested in silver as any man in this country.

I want the standard gold, and no paper money not redeemable in gold; no paper money the value of which is not ascertained; no paper money that will organize a gold board to speculate in it.

Also, on February 20, 1874, he said:

By this process we shall come to a specie basis, and when the laboring man receives a dollar it will have the purchasing power of a dollar, and he will

not be called upon to do what is impossible for him or the producing classes to do, figure upon the exchanges, figure upon the fluctuations, figure upon the gambling in New York; but he will know what his money is worth. Everybody knows what a dollar in gold is worth.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Will my friend allow me to make an inquiry of him?

Mr. WALKER. Certainly.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. I understand you to say that the coinage act of 1873, in the revised code, they had passed the law. Is it not the fact that the act of 1873 never passed into the codified laws of the country at all until 1874; and that it then passed in the House and Senate without discussion?

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, that bill passed with the unanimous consent of the House and Senate, and was subsequently referred to repeatedly upon this floor and in the Senate as establishing a gold measure of value, without objection from any man in either body, having passed unanimously, and not only passed unanimously, but received unanimous assent. It was explained time and again, not on the day of its passage precisely, because it was as thoroughly understood at that time as nine-tenths of the legislation of Congress without discussion.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. Without discussion?

Mr. WALKER. Without discussion on that day. I can not yield further.

Mr. HOOKER of Mississippi. That is the fact.

Mr. WALKER. In 1873 these men, and every other man in the country who discussed coinage or finance, excepting the advocates of fiat money, knew that only by reversing the natural laws of the universe could the commercial ratio of value between the two metals be changed or influenced to the smallest degree by law or by coinage.

ERNEST SEYD A BI-METALLIST.

Another reason given for free coinage is, that one Ernest Seyd was brought over from Europe by the "gold bugs of Wall street" with an immense corruption fund which he freely spent in lobbying through Congress the codified coinage laws of 1873. Like every other pretended fact against that law, the very opposite is true. Ernest Seyd was one of the most earnest, honest, self-sacrificing, determined believers in silver as money, and one of the most persistent workers against the action of Germany, France, and the United States on silver that ever appeared in Washington from this or any other country.

I ask to have read a paragraph from a writer on finance concerning Ernest Seyd.

The Clerk read as follows:

Who was Mr. Seyd? Mr. Seyd was an English banker, a man of means and widely known as an author on finance. He was a bimetalist, and the most zealous champion for and the best friend of silver that England has produced in this century. Long before 1873 and until his death, in 1881, he earnestly preached to the European nations the necessity and the advantage of opening their mints to the free coinage of silver. At the Paris International Conference of 1881 the United States was represented by Mr. Everts, Mr. Thurman, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Dana Horton. At the fifth session of that conference Mr. Horton, after commenting on the death of the eminent Swiss financier, Mr. Feer-Herzog, said:

"I can not, however, pass to our discussion without having mentioned another occurrence of a similar nature. I speak of the death of Mr. Ernest Seyd, the monetary writer, whose works are well known to you, and which took place at Paris since the convening of our conference. It was the profound interest which he took in the conference which brought him here, and which, I believe, hastened his death. How intense that interest was may be well understood when we remember that but a very few years have passed since the day when there was no serious opposition to the general adoption of the gold standard, except on the part of Prof. Wolowski, at Paris, and of Ernest Seyd, at London." [See letter of Ernest Seyd, Senate, *Congressional Record*, Aug. 22, 1893.]

WALL STREET CAN NOT CORNER GOLD.

Mr. WALKER. Another reason given is that Wall street corners and controls gold. Here, again, a thing impossible to do is charged, and the exact opposite of the fact. How, I ask, is it possible to corner gold? It is as free to every man, rich or poor, wise or ignorant, if he has a dollar of paper money, as the air we breathe is to anyone who has lungs to breathe it. Corner and control a thing which every man, who owes a debt of any kind, must deliver for the asking, or deliver a greenback that will surely command it? Any man who talks such nonsense does not compliment his own intelligence or those he addresses. Periods of liquidation, attended with more or less of fear, and disorganized business are inevitable in highly civilized countries, and are dreaded by, and do more injury to, the men of Wall street than to any other class in the community. They do not have them in China, or in Korea, or among the Comanche Indians. They are an evil attending highly civilized conditions.

Another reason given on a par with the others is that Wall street makes money scarce and causes panics to enable it to rob the Western and Southern farmer. What a compliment to the great American nation that there are men in Congress to repeat such utter nonsense, and constituents to believe a thing that would seem incredible to the dullest mind! It is patent to every man who will give a moment's serious thought to it that the men of Wall street are more interested in having money plenty and

payments sure and prompt than any other men on the face of the earth. Their destruction is in money stringencies and in panics. To illustrate their extent, and how Wall street suffers by panics, I present a table showing the prices of only thirty-three of the leading securities on the 7th of November last and on the 1st day of the current month, with a computation of the shrinkage of values in that period:

	Shares.	Prices.		Shrinkage.
		Nov. 7, 1892.	Aug. 1, 1893.	
Atchison	1,020,000	39½	13½	\$26,775,000
Bos. and Alb.	250,000	204½	195	4,175,000
Bos. and Maine	187,384	175	133	7,870,068
Ches. and Ohio	601,842	23½	13½	5,717,499
C. B. and Q.	764,070	103½	72	24,138,713
C. M. and St. P.	460,272	81	50½	14,383,512
Chi. and Northern	390,542	116	90½	9,558,846
C. R. I. and Pa.	461,560	83½	55	12,865,985
C. C. C. and St. L.	280,000	64½	30½	9,530,000
Den. and Rio. G.	380,000	16½	9½	2,680,000
Illinois Central	500,000	103½	84	7,082,500
Lake Shore	494,665	134	106½	12,480,291
Louis. and Nash.	528,000	70	52½	9,353,142
Mich. Central	187,382	110	75	6,558,370
Missouri Pacific	474,365	61½	18½	20,397,695
N. Y. Central	1,000,000	111	97½	13,250,000
Erie	774,275	27½	10	13,085,890
N. Y. and N. E.	198,000	45	18	5,347,430
Northern Pacific	490,000	18½	7	5,512,500
Old Colony	137,676	178½	172½	826,056
Oregon S. Line	262,448	23	7	4,633,556
Reading	798,500	58½	12½	36,231,937
Pullman	360,000	198½	135	22,500,000
Union Pacific	608,685	40½	18½	13,619,226
Wisconsin Central	120,000	16½	6½	12,000,000
General Electric	300,672	115½	40½	22,550,400
Ch. Junction	65,000	108	54	3,510,000
Bell	175,000	207½	173	6,037,500
Sugar	350,000	111½	65½	16,000,000
Sugar Preferred	350,000	103½	70	11,681,250
Calumet and Hecla	100,000	283	245	3,800,000
Western Union	948,198	98	73½	23,374,374
Southern Pacific	651,353	36½	17	12,538,876
Total, 33 stocks				400,408,616

Here we have in only thirty-three Wall street properties, out of many hundreds, a shrinkage, on the basis of market quotations, of more than \$400,000,000 to persons included in the term "Wall street," in these few months of liquidation.

How much have the farmers lost, or will lose, against these millions upon millions already lost in Wall street, and many more millions that it will surely lose before the present crisis ends?

Who does not remember the liquidation attending the long agony of redemption of 1873 to 1878. Scarcely a man in Wall street survived the shock. These disturbances in financial circles trouble the farmer less than any other citizen. He reposes under his own vine and figtree on the mountain side and in the valleys, watching the pomp of gaudy wealth and the show and vanity of the thousands passing by him to the mountain top. He also sees its return, dusty, worn, sick, poor, and in rags, cursing the day it was born, bequeathing nothing to the children in its train, while the farmers average to leave more property, a better training for life, and a promise of higher position for their children, than any other American citizens.

THE WORLD'S MEASURE OF VALUE.

Their next reason for the free coinage of silver is of like character with the others, and is that there is no "par of exchange" between countries; that there is no "world's price level" for the commodities of commerce; that there is no "world's, or international, measure of value," therefore this country can as well make silver bullion the measure of value as gold bullion; that the use of gold by other nations is a "notion," and our notions are as good for us to act on as their notions are for them. These wild assertions dispute every fact of the relation of money to the internal and external commerce of every country on the face of the earth. Again, the facts are the exact opposite of what the advocates of free coinage say is true.

A grain of gold is now the "par of exchange" of every country in its internal commerce and between all countries of the world, and has been, without a single exception, for a hundred years. Never in the history of the world has any coin of any nation been regarded. Everywhere it has been the single grain of gold. For eighty years the "money of account" in exchange has been the aggregate of 113 grains of pure gold, called a "pound," to insure the full weight of 113 grains, which is coined in England as the "sovereign."

Not the slightest attention was ever paid in a single instance in the world's history, or is now paid, to the coinage of England or any other country, excepting as it is a guaranty of the weight

and fineness of the piece of gold offered. England is as helpless to influence values of metals by coinage laws as the weakest potentate in the South Sea Islands. Take the four richest, most prosperous, and powerful nations to illustrate this statement:

The five-dollar gold coin of the United States contains 116.09985 grains of gold; the sovereign of England contains 113.0016 grains of gold; the 20-mark piece of Germany contains 110.6268 grains of gold; the 25-franc piece of France contains 112.006 grains of gold.

Not one of these pieces passes in its own country or anywhere else in buying commodities for the slightest percentage over its bullion value, and never has since the world began. Take a French 25-franc piece or an English sovereign or an American five-dollar gold piece into any shop in Brussels, or the smallest hamlet in Germany, and they will give you the difference in its bullion value over the German 20-mark piece in change.

Take the 25-franc piece, the 20-mark piece, or the sovereign into any store in this country to pay the price of \$5, and the difference in gold bullion value between either and the \$5 American gold coin will be demanded and paid as a matter of course. Every dollar of silver that is current here, or in any country not a "monometallic silver country," is current as paper money, is current because, like paper money, it can be exchanged for a gold dollar, and for that reason only.

INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE ON A GOLD BASIS FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

Again it is said there is not gold enough to do the business, as "measure of value money," of the world. Here again they draw upon their imaginations for their facts. How do they know there is not enough? Every dollar's worth of the international commerce of the world is now done on a gold bullion measure of value, and has been so done for a hundred years.

What reason has any man to think that prescribing by law that existing customs and habits shall be legal will cause men to change their desire or doings—desires which are embedded in them by a hundred years of universal custom?

If there is any one thing, in finance, more certain than any other, it is that if every nation should make gold the "money of account," by making it the "measure of value," at 1 of gold to 28 of silver, the present price, and stop the free coinage of silver, stop issuing silver certificates, and then every government should thereafter buy and coin every silver piece, of any denomination it could induce its people to use, as all European governments and the United States are now doing, while it would require some slight adjustment in national holdings of gold, it would not increase the world's demand for gold coin or increase or diminish the prices of a single commodity in any country by the smallest fraction.

Neither would it diminish the legitimate demand for or use of silver coin. We know such action would at once add to the available gold coin an immense sum from the hoards now secretly held in every "silver measure of value" country probably hundreds of millions, and many times more, than the added demand for it. It would have the same effect of immensely increasing the quantity of money in those countries, and from gold hoards that resumption of specie payments had in this country, when hundreds of millions of gold coin that had been held as merchandise for years went immediately upon resumption into the channels of trade as money.

THE INCREASE IN THE COMMERCIAL EFFICIENCY OF GOLD.

What are the facts? First, we know the commercial efficiency of each dollar in gold increases a hundred-fold faster than commerce increases, by means of the railway, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone, and still more, by the improved commercial methods of 1893. We know that \$1,000 to-day is as efficient as \$10,000,000 would be by the methods of sixty years ago, and the amount of gold coin alone, as coin is now used, is many times larger in amount proportioned to the commerce of to-day, measured by its efficiency, than four times the total silver and gold coinage of the world was to the methods of commerce of 1860.

We say we know this, because we believe that what has been, without a single exception for a hundred years, will continue to be. The fiat-money men, and those who advocate the free coinage of silver, assert that by the breath of their nostrils they can instantly change opinions and habits that have been ingrained by universal custom of a hundred years and reaching back to the beginning of time—customs that are imbedded in the natural laws of the universe.

1. Every international exchange of a hundred years has been made in gold.

2. In not a single case in that time has the coin of any country been regarded. The gold coinage of every country has been valued and figured by the 113 grains in the English pound, and accepted in payment in exact proportion to the grains of pure gold in each. Silver coins have been accepted in payment by the value of the grains of pure silver in each at its gold bullion price in

London. Coin carried in the pockets is never counted; only visible coin is available for commerce.

As to quantity of gold: France maintains a gold standard of accounts and measure of value on visible gold, \$264,000,000; Germany with only \$206,000,000; England has of visible gold only \$125,000,000; while the United States has of visible gold \$337,000,000.

Only foreign commerce tests the "measure of value coin" strength of the financial system of any country. England's foreign trade is \$25 to each \$1 in visible gold. Our foreign trade is only \$2.20 to each dollar of visible gold in this country. The utmost limit to which the whole power of the United States Government has been able to force the actual use of gold and silver coin, in our internal commerce, is six millions a day, with a daily exchange of \$400,000,000, while we have a total of over eight hundred millions of visible coin. We now have more than double the coined dollars we can possibly economically use, and the free coinage of silver men are frantically calling for more. We are not a nation of barbarians, restricted to metal money, and the utmost power of the advocates of free silver coinage can not force us into barbaric monetary conditions.

The tide has turned, never again to overwhelm the sound sense of the country.

THE EXPERIMENT HAS TWICE BEEN TRIED IN THIS COUNTRY.

But, says the free silver coinage advocate, we have never tried it, and therefore we can not tell what the effect would be. This again is wholly untrue, and there is no other country that has not tried it in some form. France tried it from 1873 to 1876 as efficiently and as determinedly as any experiment was ever tried by any nation, and was compelled to abandon it when silver was at only 10 per cent discount, while now it is at 28 to 1 of gold, a discount of 43 per cent.

This country tried this identical experiment twice, once with silver and once with gold, once from 1793 to 1834, by overvaluing silver, not at 43 per cent difference, but at only 3.22 per cent, and every gold dollar disappeared for the whole forty years. Again we tried it by overvaluing gold, not 43 per cent, but only 3.125 per cent, and every silver dollar disappeared up to 1873, at which time silver dollars were 3.22 per cent premium in gold, and we have had only a gold measure of value for sixty years.

To-day every dollar's worth of goods imported into a silver-standard country from Europe costs the people of the silver country 75 per cent more than they cost citizens of this country. What will your people say to you, free-trader advocates of free coinage, when you tell them you have taken the duty off European goods to make them cheap, and have voted for free coinage of silver to make them dear by adding 75 per cent to their free-trade cost? They will surely find that the \$10 they receive at the end of the week will buy less than \$6 now buys. That is what they surely will find, unless every habit, every custom of merchants and traders, and every element of the known law of internal and international trade abrogates itself at your command.

PRODUCTS NOT A SAFE "MEASURE OF VALUE."

But the free-coinage advocate comes back again with the statement that while the prices of products, reckoned in grains of gold, have gone down, if reckoned in grains of silver, prices have not depreciated, adding, further, that products are the true measure of value, and because products will command nearly the same number of grains of silver they would thirty years ago, when the market price of silver was 15½ to 1 of gold, they are justified in demanding that every farmer, every wage-worker, every savings-bank depositor, every member of a benevolent order, every holder of a life-insurance policy, and every creditor of every name and nature, shall be compelled by law to take 16 grains of silver for every grain of gold they actually gave or its equivalent into the custody of some man or institution of their little capital or labor savings when silver has gone down from 15½ to 1 of gold to 28 to 1 of gold. This is exactly what free coinage of silver means if there is the slightest hint of the future in the past.

We know that large as are the holdings of the Vanderbilts and the Jay Goulds in railway bonds, their holdings are mostly in stocks. We know, also, that nearly all bonds of all kinds are held in trust funds, savings banks, etc., largely for widows and orphans, or by old people to support their declining years. These silver-standard men propose to oppress millions of the poor, in their small savings, by changing their value, by changing the law under which every dollar of this money was loaned, and making the returning, to them, the value of more than \$57 for every \$100 of value they surrendered to their trustees impossible. The other \$43 they propose to give to the Jay Goulds, the Vanderbilts, to rich corporations of all kinds, to the United States Government, State governments, county, city, and town governments, and to men rich enough to own farms, corner lots, stores—the richer men in the country. If such action is not both "op-

pressing the poor to increase riches and giving to the rich," then language has no meaning.

To substitute silver at 28 to 1 of gold in the United States, when every payment is now made and every existing obligation was contracted for a given number of grains of gold or its equivalent, seems to me as base as it would be for Mexico to substitute gold at 1 to 16 of silver in payment of every obligation in Mexico, or India and China, where every obligation was entered into with the full knowledge of the creditors that payment was to be made to them in a specified number of grains of silver, as payments are agreed to be made in this country in a specified number of grains of gold or its equivalent. This would no more surely disorganize the whole economic condition in Mexico or India than the free coinage of silver here at 16 to 1 would bring chaos into every business interest in this country.

But this claim for silver and products not only does violence to every equity of the situation, but, like all their other assertions, is contrary to the fact.

Products are not the true or safe measure of value. Products were only suggested by any economist as such because, for centuries, there was no improvement in methods of utilizing human labor, either in the shop or in agriculture, and products were the economic expression and equal of economic man, as expressed in a day's work. Now, it is clearly seen that a day's work of the average worker is the true measure of value. Man has assumed his true place in economics, as in nature, as the most valuable created thing, and if this is true of man in nature, it surely must be true in economics, for true economics are but the records of natural law.

GOLD AND SILVER AS MEASURE OF VALUE METALS.

All economists agree that 1860 is the dividing line of the century. In 1860 the same average day's work that commanded 100 in gold, now commands 168 in gold. The relative decrease in the use of gold in commerce before mentioned and the increased efficiency of more modern chemical and mechanical appliances, has so cheapened gold that where an average day's labor commanded 23.22 grains of gold in 1860 now, in the shop, in the factory, in the gold mine, the silver mine, coal, and every other mine, the same day's work will command 39.15 grains of gold. Not only is this true of the United States but the same percentage of increase in gold wages holds in every leading country in the world.

The wages men get to-day, being 68.6 per cent more in gold measure than they received in 1860 in every leading nation, clearly shows that gold has depreciated 40.69 per cent, measured by the labor of man. A day's work in 1860 commanding 359.91 grains of silver, the increase in wages, in grains of silver, at 25 to 1, would be 618.18 more than in 1860. This clearly shows that silver has depreciated 63.23 per cent, measured by the labor of man. If gold has not depreciated, then silver has not depreciated. Admitting the one, candor compels you to admit the other.

Gold has averaged to fall steadily and absolutely without fluctuation, 1.22 per cent each year on its price of thirty years ago, while silver has constantly fluctuated and averaged to fall in the same time 2 per cent, all of which, however, is since 1873. Since 1873 silver has averaged to fall 3.15 per cent each year, fluctuating in price like the waves of the sea. Within three years silver has been 82 per cent higher than it is to-day. Such a decline takes it out of the realm of a "measure of value metal," but its fluctuation is tenfold more damaging than its decline. This fall in silver could not possibly come from any affirmative action of this country, for we did not use a silver dollar in trade from 1834 to 1878. During that whole forty years we had simply continued on in the even tenor of our way.

The increased income, from the labor of the farmer, when figured in gold, as shown by the income he derives from a day's work on the farm, shows very nearly the same proportional increase, in income, to the farmer, as to the wage-worker. Prices in a year of panic, like the present, furnish no basis for comparison, and the whole period of inflation, and its influence after, must be passed over. Taking 1891 for comparison, precisely the same leading farm products taken together, wheat, corn, oats, cotton, barley, hemp, rye, tobacco, and meats, selling at the farm, that sold for 100, in 1860, sold for 98.4 in 1891.

THE EFFECT OF MODERN MACHINERY ON PRICES.

While some of the modern farm machinery was invented before 1860, none of it came into common use until after that date. It is conceded that, taking all these farm products together, a day's labor plus modern machinery will produce double what it would produce in 1860. Of course meats are represented in grain. If labor on the farm represented 100 in 1860, labor would represent in 1891 one-half, or 50; wear and tear of machinery, 5; total, 55. Price, 98.4. Gain over 1860 is 43.4. Cost, 55. Shows a gain in income to the farmer of 64 per cent for each day's labor done.

Why should not farm products, in the production of which machinery has made each day's labor twice as efficient as formerly, producing 2 bushels or pounds where it produced 1 before, go down in gold price as well as the products of the shop and the factory? The labor cost in farm products, because of machinery, is reduced one-half.

Take set screws, one-half inch diameter, 2 inches long, for illustration. They cost \$4.40 per hundred in 1870; they now cost \$1.20. A few years ago these same set screws were made in a lathe, and cost \$20 per hundred. Take nuts that were formerly made in blacksmith's shops, and are now made by ingeniously constructed machines. It would cost to make the 2-inch square nut \$10 per 100 pounds; made by machinery they sell for \$2.90. One-inch square nuts made by hand would cost \$20 per 100 pounds; they now sell for \$3.70 a hundred pounds. One-half-inch square nuts, hand made, would cost \$50 per 100 pounds; machine made, they now sell for \$8.50 per 100 pounds. It is as irrational to attempt to prove that silver has not gone down, but gold has risen by these things as by farm products.

It is plain there is no valid reason why farm products should be taken as the real measure of value, rather than the products of the factory, since machinery has increased and made cheaper and as variable the labor cost of farm products, as the average of most other products.

Do the advocates of free coinage claim that the act of 1873 caused the price of the farmer's plow to go down from \$6.50 in 1873 to \$2.75 in 1890, or gold to go up at that rate; the two-horse plow from \$13 in 1873 to \$8 in 1890; mowing-machines from \$90 to \$50; a reaper from \$120 to \$75; shovels from \$20.50 per dozen in 1873 to \$9.50 in 1890; and so on through the whole list of farmers' supplies? Will they tell us how it is that these prices went down fully 50 per cent on the average, every cent of which price represented labor; and the men who produced them from the ore out of the ground, and trees out of the forest, to the completed article, received the same or increased wages from those of 1873, if it was not by the use of improved machinery and improved methods, and not by the appreciation of gold? The depreciation of silver had no more to do with it than with the eclipse of the moon.

No man, living or dead, has ever shown that this country, or any class in this country, has ever suffered a farthing by our using a "gold measure of value" rather than a "silver measure of value." No; man is the primary measure of all economic values by the unit of the average day's work expressed in gold, and gold is the "money of all account" and exponent of all economic values.

There seems to be no fallacy in economics that free-silver coinage men do not seize upon. They insist that the more money a nation coins the richer it is, with Mexico before their eyes, that has coined more money, proportionately, than England, France, Germany, and the United States combined.

THE VALUATION OF THE NEWER STATES TO THE OLDER.

It is also boldly proclaimed on this floor, and especially from the newer States of the West, that this contest for the free coinage of silver is a contest between the debtor and the creditor classes; as though the accumulation of property was robbery and the permitting of a neighbor to use one's property was a crime, and every facility and encouragement was to be furnished the borrower to rob the lender. Such statements only serve to reveal the enormity of the injustice proposed in the free coinage of silver. Look at some of these States. Many of them had no existence, even, in 1860. They have been filled up with some of the best blood and brawn of the older States and of foreign countries. Most of their people went into them with only their bare hands. Had they not been assisted by the earnings of the wage-workers of the older States in loans their wealth, even after paying every debt, would not now be one-quarter what it is.

Capital was what they needed and what the people of the older States furnished them. Their citizens are too honorable to rob their benefactors of half that was loaned them, under the guise of honestly paying that debt in silver which has depreciated nearly one-half. Every one of these debts was contracted in values of gold standard measure. The United States census shows that the total wealth of New York State has increased less than two and three-fifths times since 1860. That of Kansas has increased more than fifteen-fold, and that of Nebraska twenty-fivefold. The wealth of Massachusetts has increased threefold in thirty years; that of Washington forty-six fold, and that of the Dakotas has increased fifty-eight fold in only twenty years, and is now \$170,000,000.

I believe every advantage should be conceded by the strong to the weak, by the wise to the ignorant, and by the creditor to the debtor, that can be justly given, and that fiscal law should be so framed as to favor the weaker party; but to go beyond this, as is now proposed in silver coinage, corrupts right and justice and poisons the springs of all right action at their very fountain-

head. It is sure to bring him who suggests such things and him who acts upon them down in a common ruin.

Finally, the free-coinage men most untruthfully charge the defenders of the existing measure of value with being determined to force an "all-gold coinage," with being determined to prevent the use of silver as money. They ought to know that the adoption of the free coinage of silver law would surely and at once throw gold out of circulation and make this a silver monometallic country, and they ought to know that the repeal of the purchase clause of the act of July 14, 1890, would not make us a "monometallic gold country." We would still have a larger proportion of full legal-tender silver dollars in circulation than France or Germany think safe to bimetallicism.

HONESTY TRUE ECONOMY.

The defenders of the existing standard of value and the integrity of all existing money and all existing contracts are determined to provide for the people, through the Government, every silver dollar they wish to use. They are equally determined, if possible, to prevent the confiscation of nearly half the savings of the plain people of the country, and nearly half the daily pay of the wage-earner and half the pay of every man in the country with a fixed salary. Exact justice is true economy for each one of us as it is for our country and for each section of our country. [Loud applause.]

Mr. MAGUIRE. Mr. Speaker, this extra session of Congress has been called upon the theory that the industrial and commercial depression prevailing in this country has been caused by the silver-purchase provision of the so-called Sherman act of 1890, and that good times can be restored by the repeal of that provision.

I have carefully read and reread the President's message on that subject, and I have patiently listened to all of the arguments thus far presented by the advocates of unconditional repeal, without finding anything in them to justify a belief that the act in question has materially contributed to produce the deplorable condition in trade and industry now unquestionably existing.

It is undoubtedly our duty to discover, if possible, the cause of the widespread ruin which has overtaken our commercial and industrial interests, and if we find that such cause has its root in Federal laws we should promptly repeal or modify those disaster-breeding laws. But it is equally our duty to legislate intelligently, and to fully measure, before acting, the necessity for our action, and the consequences which will flow from it. Impatience cries out again and again, "Let us stop talking and do something. Let us act! act! act!"

We should remember that safe action is infinitely better than hasty action; that there are times when "doing something" is infinitely worse than the delay necessary to secure the best possible information. A stranger in a powder magazine should not be told to "do something" until the danger of doing particular things has been very thoroughly impressed upon his mind. We are in a veritable powder magazine, and in the darkness that enshrouds us hasty action may cause an explosion which will be extremely disastrous.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] compares Uncle Sam's disorder to a case of alcoholism. I do not know why he selected that simile unless it was to justify his proposed "gold cure." Assuming his diagnosis to be correct we should be careful in applying the remedy not to use fulminate of gold instead of bichloride of gold. [Laughter.] Their effects, I am told, are quite dissimilar. To my mind Uncle Sam in his present situation might better be compared to a man suffering the excruciating pains of a severe toothache rushing to his dentist and eagerly demanding that the offending tooth should be hastily pulled, without giving the dentist time to examine the tooth charged with the mischief. Such hasty dentistry has very often resulted in the pulling of the wrong tooth, leaving the patient in a very much worse condition than he would have been in if the dentist had rationally declined to "do something" in the matter until he had satisfied himself what should be done.

The danger of action by half-informed doctors in the present case is that we may pull the wrong tooth, and leave Uncle Sam in a worse condition than that in which we found him. We are not only asked to legislate hastily on the *ipse dixit* of men who display little better knowledge of the situation than our own, but we are asked to legislate in such a manner as to violate the platform pledges on which we were elected less than one year ago.

THE PARTY PLATFORMS.

The last national Democratic platform contained two distinct pledges on the question of finance. First, to repeal the silver-purchase provision of the Sherman act. Second, to establish the coinage of gold and silver upon equal terms, without discrimination against either.

The President's message recommends the immediate execution

of the first of these pledges, and clearly intimates that no legislation for the extension of silver coinage will thereafter be favorably considered by him unless an impossible international agreement shall be reached. We are therefore forced to the alternative of coupling such legislation as we are pledged to adopt for the extension of silver coinage with the act of repeal or to abandon the fulfillment of our second promise.

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] admits the obligation of the platform, but from the pedestal of a higher law, discovered by his inward light, declares that he will not hold himself bound by "the glittering catchwords of political conventions."

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] when called upon to reconcile his gold-standard position with the bimetallic promise of the Chicago platform, upon which it was then supposed that he had been elected to Congress, declared that he had refused to run for Congress on the money plank of the Chicago platform, and had made for himself a single-standard platform upon which he was elected. This was his complete justification, but it only increases the embarrassment of those who ran for Congress on the Chicago platform, and now attempt for the first time to stand on the Harter platform.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. COOMBS] acknowledges the obligation of the Chicago platform, but justifies his departure from it on the ground that the interests of his country, according to his judgment, require him to break the promise.

The President in his message tells us, too, that the proposition to repeal the silver-purchase act "rises above the plane of party politics." If, by that expression, the President means that this question ought not to be settled according to the grand and eternal principles of equity among men, upon which the Democratic party was founded, and the promotion of which is her only justification for existence, he has certainly underestimated the grandeur and universality of those principles. [Applause.]

But I assume that by his suggestion he meant only to admonish our Republican brethren to abandon their bushwhacking for small political advantages (exemplified in the speech of the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON] on Wednesday last) in face of the national calamity which made this extra session of Congress necessary.

Some gentlemen on the other side of the House have, upon this floor, questioned the good faith of that suggestion in the President's message; but we should all be quite willing to credit the President with sincerity in that declaration, because we have had frequent occasion to realize that, with him, all public functions rise above party considerations. [Laughter.]

The Republican national platform contained a pledge substantially identical with the second pledge, on the question of finance, in the Democratic national platform. But the Republicans represented in the national convention saw no occasion to declare in favor of repealing the silver-purchase act, so that the Republicans here stand pledged to the second promise of the Democrats only, but not to the first. They may, therefore, be expected to vote in favor of the extension of silver coinage, but not for the Democratic proposition to repeal the silver-purchase act.

THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE.

Is the silver-purchase act the cause, or the principal cause, or a materially contributing cause of the present industrial depression and financial crisis? What would be the effect of its unconditional repeal? Before deciding that it is our duty to our country to violate a solemn pledge made to our constituents in order to secure our election, we ought to determine to the satisfaction of our minds and consciences that the silver-purchase act is at least a materially contributing cause of the present crisis, and that its unconditional repeal would be of substantial benefit to the country. The effect of repealing the act in question without making provision for the extension of silver coinage has been very ably discussed by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], and by other eloquent and logical speakers on this floor. I shall, therefore, devote but little time to that phase of the general question, and will proceed as speedily as possible to a discussion of the causes which have led to the present crisis, and to consider the relation of the silver-purchase act to those great primary causes.

EFFECTS OF CONTRACTION AND INFLATION OF CURRENCY.

It is laid down by political economists, as a well authenticated if not an absolutely established principle that the *media* of exchange required for the business of a given country bears a certain proportion to the entire value of the exchanges of such country, and that the volume of the *media* of exchange will always bear the same proportion in value to the entire value of such exchanges. According to this principle, if the value of *media* of exchange required for business purposes be one-fiftieth of the value of all exchanges within a given period, that proportion will be maintained, whether the volume of the *media* be

increased or diminished; that is to say, if the volume of the *media* be doubled, the purchasing power of the whole volume is not thereby increased, and the purchasing power of each unit of the *media* is diminished one-half. If, on the other hand, the volume of the *media* be contracted one-half, the purchasing power of the whole volume is not thereby diminished. It bears the same proportion to the value of the exchanges which the double volume of *media* did before, but the purchasing power of each unit would thereby be doubled.

The simile suggested by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] when he compared the silver advocates to a wasteful farmer employing four plows, with horses and equipments complete for each, to do the work of one plow, fairly illustrates this rule. Let us assume that the plowing of a certain quantity of land is worth \$100, and that one plow is sufficient for the work. Clearly, it will not be worth any more to have the same ground plowed by four plows, and if four plows be used they will be worth just the value of the service, and no more.

Multiplying the investment in plows does not increase the value of the service which they perform. So, if one horse instead of two should be employed to plow the same ground, the value of the service would not be diminished by lessening the number of horses engaged in doing the work. From this principle the rule is deduced that an inflation of the currency of the country diminishes the market value of each unit of such currency, while a contraction of the currency correspondingly increases the value of each unit with reference to the average price of all other commodities. Contraction of the currency in which debts are to be paid correspondingly increases the burden of such debts and enriches the creditor at the expense of the debtor, while an inflation of the currency has the opposite effect upon debtors and creditors.

For these reasons the creditor classes have always, and everywhere, been on the alert to bring about contractions of the currency in order that the value of their credits might be increased, while the debtor classes have always manifested the same interest in bringing about inflations of the currency in order that the burden of their debts might be made less oppressive. No government should ever legislate with a view to accomplishing the purposes of either the debtor or the creditor class. But if the interest of either class is to be made the care of the Government, the debtors are entitled to first consideration.

The debtor classes are, as a rule, the producing classes, whose debts have been contracted for the purpose of enabling them to carry on their productive enterprises while the creditor classes; as such, are nonproducers, entitled to the return of what they have loaned, with its accretion of interest, but nothing more. To award them anything more, either directly or as an indirect result of legislation, such as that now contemplated, is an outrageous and indefensible robbery of the debtor. The unmistakable effect of the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase act is to practically limit the metallic coinage of this country to gold, because the powerful interests which favor the contraction of our currency will always be able negatively to prevent legislation, while they might be wholly unable to bring about affirmative legislation favoring their own interests upon the same subject.

I do not question the sincerity of the advocates of a single gold standard. A scarcity of money will tend to their enrichment, and the human mind is so constituted that it generally conceives the public interests to be in harmony with its personal interests.

THE SCARCITY THEORY.

To the hoarders of gold and the monopolists of the sources of gold production any law which will create a scarcity of money will tend to make them rich, and they are therefore easily persuaded that what will serve their interests must be the best thing for all citizens. This is the theory upon which the tariff legislation of this country has been conducted for thirty years.

The timber-land monopolist saw in a scarcity of timber his own enrichment. The coal-land monopolist saw in a scarcity of coal the same advantage to himself. So they combined with the monopolists of other resources to create, by tariff barriers, a scarcity of all of the commodities in which they were interested. They saw in those laws their own aggrandizement, and failing to see the general impoverishment of the rest of the people through their operation, they did not hesitate to use their powerful influences to maintain the barriers which created the scarcity, and actually convinced a majority of the people of this country, for nearly thirty years, that a scarcity of the articles required by the people for general consumption was a better thing for those people than an abundance of such articles.

The effect of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act will be to contract the circulating medium of this country about \$40,000,000 per annum and enrich the creditor classes and goldmine owners at the expense of the debtor classes of our country, leaving the country afterwards with a circulating medium confessedly insufficient for its business necessities.

The volume of the private indebtedness of our people is about \$17,000,000,000, while our national, State, and municipal debts bring the grand total considerably above \$20,000,000,000. On all of these debts the people are obliged to pay interest, amounting to more than \$1,000,000,000 per annum, while their net savings amount to only \$2,000,000,000 per annum.

This enormous indebtedness, increasing in volume and in proportion to population year by year, in spite of all efforts of industry and frugality to reduce it, is to be affected by our legislation. We should pause before voting to increase its burden.

SILVER-PURCHASE ACT WRONG.

I do not justify either the principle or the purpose of the silver-purchase act. It was an attempt to create an artificial market for the product of silver mines, and was intended to give profit to a class of producers in our country at the expense of the masses of the people. It has involved the contemplated expense to the people without bringing the advantages to the silver-mine owners which its promoters expected. But it has increased the circulating medium of the country to the extent of about \$150,000,000 beyond what it would have been if the act had not been passed. And it will continue to provide us with a greater volume of the circulating medium than will be afforded in case of its repeal.

It is not a good law, but it is better than the contraction of our currency to gold coinage. But, say the advocates of unconditional repeal, gold is the standard coin of the first-class nations of the earth, and we can not rank with them unless we use gold coin as our medium of exchange, and have gold coin with which to pay our trade balances. The laws of trade recognize no such difficulty. It is not necessary for us to use gold as our coin in order to trade with England any more than it is necessary to use cowrie shells as coin in our country in order to trade with the tribes of Central Africa. If our coin were silver only, the laws of trade would instantly fix its price relation to gold in the market, and we could buy gold with which to pay our trade balances to England just as readily and just as easily as we could buy cowrie shells with which to pay our trade balances to the tribes of Africa.

THE BEST SYSTEM OF FINANCE.

Indeed it has long appeared to me that in the matter of finance, as in most matters relating to production and exchange, the world is governed too much; that governments in attempting to fix the values of commodities, whether they be gold or silver, or wheat or potatoes, always create more confusion and inconvenience than their efforts were intended to avoid. The establishment of *media* of exchange is purely a commercial function, and should be left to the jurisdiction of the flexible and unerring laws of trade. If commerce selects gold and silver as the most convenient commodities to serve as *media* of exchange, the only function of the Government, with respect to such *media*, should be to freely coin the pieces of either metal, placing upon each coin a stamp indicating its weight and fineness, leaving the laws of trade to determine when and where and in what proportions and at what ratios the metals should be used in exchange.

The Government should have no money but its own Treasury notes, issued to the extent of its annual requirement for revenue, receivable in payment of its taxes of all forms, and made legal tender in the course of business, on an equality with the kind of money in which such taxes are levied. This would do away with all the struggles for business advantages to debtors and creditors and mine owners, by the alternate contraction and inflation of currency through acts of Congress. It would do away with the periodical appeals on the part of business this year to contract the currency in order to strengthen securities and establish confidence in the stability of our money; next year to inflate the currency, in order to afford a sufficient circulating medium to meet the requirement of commerce. It would leave the regulation of all those matters to the wiser and more certain laws of trade, which arise naturally out of the business relations and transactions of men, and do not depend for their correctness upon the information or the prejudices or the fears of arbitrary legislators.

CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION.

For temporary relief in the present crisis, the plan of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JOHNSON] to issue Treasury notes to the par value of all United States bonds deposited by any and all holders of such bonds is the best that has been suggested.

The advocates of a single gold standard have made a desperate attempt to convince the people that the prevailing hard times are due to the disposition manifested on the part of our Government to favor an extension of silver coinage, and to the fear that the displacement of gold in our National Treasury by silver bullion, under the provisions of the silver-purchase act, will naturally and necessarily force our Government to a largely extended coinage of silver, and thus enable the debtors of this country to

pay their obligations in a depreciated silver currency. But the evidences of history and of contemporaneous events are all against that claim. They show as conclusively as human evidence can show that our present industrial and commercial condition is not due to any legislation in this or any other country subsequent to the year 1837.

They further show that our deplorable industrial condition, with all its symptoms of crisis and panic, is very like the periodically recurring industrial depressions of the last sixty years. They show that the social upas tree, whose bitter fruit is now spreading ruin and desolation throughout our fair land, had its root and origin in laws or conditions which have existed in this country for at least sixty years. Our industrial depressions may be increasing in intensity, but they are not all changing in kind.

This is the seventh industrial depression through which we have passed in this country within sixty years, and each of these depressions has extended to all of the leading civilized nations of the earth. They have become a feature of modern civilization, and recur at intervals of from eight to ten years, with almost the regularity of changes in the moon's phases. They produce greater havoc and misery than the periodical wars and pestilences of the earlier civilization. They were unknown in the earlier stages of our civilization, and they are growing more frequent and more severe with the development of all that is considered good and glorious and useful in this era of unexampled progress. In earlier ages they had no hard times, except when crops failed, resulting in famine, or when wars or pestilences interrupted the industries of the people.

But industrial depressions come upon us now when nature smiles, when our harvests are most prolific, when we are at peace with the world, in the enjoyment of general good health, and when every natural condition seems radiant with the promise of prosperity and plenty. Suddenly thriving industrial and commercial enterprises become unprofitable. The capitalists who conduct them find that when their rents and wages have been paid out of their production they are not getting interest upon the capital which they have invested. They call a halt. They economize. They demand that labor shall share the loss which they are suffering. A conflict between capital and labor ensues, with its incidents of strikes, boycotts, and lockouts, unhappily sometimes attended with bloodshed and destruction of property. Compromises are from time to time reached, which are in turn broken as new conditions offer advantages to either of the contending parties.

The waste of the conflict takes away whatever return might otherwise come to business. Production is checked in that quarter and the producing laborers are thrown out of employment. The purchasing power of the laborers thrown out of employment is destroyed. Their demand for other commodities is checked by the destruction of their purchasing power, and the production of such other commodities is likewise checked. These effects of the great primary cause speedily communicate their influence through the whole network of the world's productive agencies, diminishing profit by checking demand for productive effort. With the cessation of production in one quarter or in one line comes a corresponding suspension of demand for commodities of other kinds. The merchant can not sell his wares because his customers have lost their purchasing power. He can not collect the obligations due him for the same reason, and he can not pay his debts to the wholesale merchant because he can not collect his dues from his customers.

The wholesalers have arranged for commercial credit on a basis perfectly safe so long as sales continue and payments are made within the periods of ordinary trade credit, but wholly unsafe when collections from retail merchants fail. The wholesaler is pressed for the payment of his obligations. He in turn presses the retail merchant. The retail merchant presses his customers, but his customers are out of employment, not only unable to make further purchases according to their necessities, but unable to pay their comparatively small debts for past purchases.

Universal stagnation ensues. Merchants and manufacturers continue nominally to carry on business, although profits are gone. They pay rent out of their capital for the sole purpose of saving their locations, which have become an important part of their business. The glimmering taper of hope allures them even to the vortex of general bankruptcy. Financiers become alarmed for the safety of their investments and for the sufficiency of securities. They insist upon the sacrifice of securities for the satisfaction of their claims. The millions of small depositors in savings banks are forced to draw upon their bank savings to meet their obligations and to pay the expense of living, which in good times are paid out of their daily wages.

Those who do not need their deposits for such immediate use begin to feel that the risk of the bank's stability is too great for the interest which the deposits yield. They attempt to with-

draw their deposits, panic seizes upon the minds of depositors generally, and run after run is precipitated upon such banks, which, having the bulk of the deposits loaned upon securities on which they can not immediately realize, are forced to the wall. Their suspension of payment increases the panic and adds to the general distrust. Credit, upon which nine-tenths of our business is done in good times, is entirely withdrawn.

Every firm, corporation, and individual is employed in gathering and hoarding such money as can be obtained to meet the exigencies of his or its own business, for in the best of times our industrial and commercial systems are honeycombed with debt, and a capital of \$10,000 floats a credit of at least \$30,000. This enormous contraction of the instrument of exchange is fatal to what remains of business. The business of the whole country finally collapses under the strain. Then a new adjustment of rent, interest, and wages is made, and the wheels of industry and commerce revolve again, bringing the blessings of prosperity and peace. This is the history of every industrial depression, and the present depression is not in any respect exceptional.

Russell Sage, a distinguished financier, is reported as saying that this depression is exceptional because it has "touched bottom," as he expresses it. But every industrial depression of which I speak has "touched bottom;" that is to say, it has ultimately reached the land-owning class and has compelled that class to largely reduce its ground rent in order to give business a chance to pick up again. That is "touching bottom." Then by some process, as mysterious to the general observer as the beginning of the depression, times improve, business gets better, credit grows stronger, and an era of prosperity ensues which gives promise of perpetuity. For four or five years it continues to rise, then it is changed again, and the history of the former depression, through the course of another three or four years, repeats itself with marvelous exactness.

It is idle to attribute these depressions to local or temporary causes. Their cause must be as general as its results. A cause affecting this country alone will not explain an industrial depression existing at the same time in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and in all of the English colonies that girdle the world. Neither is it reasonable to attribute one of these depressions to a cause which manifestly did not contribute to any of the other precisely similar depressions occurring before it. During the past fifty-six years there were six of these industrial depressions in the United States, extending with equal virulence to Great Britain, including her colonies, to France, to Germany, and to Belgium.

A brief history of all of these depressions will be found in a volume entitled "Industrial Depressions," published by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, our National Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in 1866. The first of these depressions reached its climax in 1837; the second about the year 1847; the third about the year 1857; the fourth in 1866; the fifth commenced in 1873 and continued to 1879, reaching its climax about the year 1877; the sixth reached its climax about the year 1884. All of these depressions swept over all of the countries which I have named. The present depression likewise prevails in all of these countries. It commenced in the latter part of 1889, and has, we may reasonably hope, reached its climax at this time.

Indeed, while we have been discussing this bill the telegraphic columns of our daily papers show that industrial, commercial, and banking institutions all over our country are resuming business operations. The Washington Post of this morning contains the following editorial notice of the manifest change for the better in our situation:

Yesterday's dispatches from all parts of the country show a most gratifying change in the commercial tide. The number of business failures was comparatively small, and the number of resurrections among the banks and manufacturing establishments was so large as to warrant the belief that the worst has been experienced and that the country is gradually but surely making its way out of the wilderness.

Let this fact never be forgotten in future discussions of the effects of our legislation.

It has been stated by gentlemen on both sides of this discussion that the present industrial depression did not commence until after the passage of the Sherman act in 1890; the advocates of unconditional repeal claiming that the relation of the passage of the act to the depression, being prior in time, is some evidence that the prior act was the cause of the subsequent depression, following so soon after its passage. The silver advocates point to the fact that the crisis did not come on for more than two years after the passage of the Sherman act. In truth, the industrial depression through which we are passing had commenced and was perceptibly advanced before the passage of the Sherman act, although the financial crisis was not reached until the summer of 1892.

In the discussion of the bill for which that act was a substitute, Senator JONES of Nevada reviewed the commercial and in-

dustrial situation existing at that time, and, in summing up his review, said:

Instead of finding, as we should find, happiness and contentment broadcast throughout this great domain, there are heard from all directions, even in this Republic, resounding cries of distress and dissatisfaction. Every trade and occupation exhibits symptoms of uneasiness and distress. The farmer, the artisan, the merchant—all share in the general complaint that times are hard, that business is dull; the farmer is in debt, and is not realizing on the products of his labor the wherewithal to meet fully his deferred or his current obligations. The artisan when at work finds himself compelled to share his earnings with some relative or friend who is out of employment. The merchant who buys his goods on time finds little profit in sales and difficulty in making his payments.

There was no denial of Senator JONES' statement concerning the conditions existing at that time. We were then entering the depression of which the crisis is the natural and inevitable culmination; but the crisis was not reached for two years after the passage of the Sherman act, and it is doubtful if the silver-purchase clause of that act hastened in the least the crisis which was inevitably coming.

The silver-purchase act has not created any distrust in the integrity of this nation. It did not cause any doubt to arise anywhere concerning the soundness of any money which this nation has put forth. It has not discredited any of our Government obligations.

The distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. VORHEES], the acknowledged leader of the repeal forces in the Senate, said in the course of his great argument yesterday:

Sir, no candid observer of existing public facts can believe that this attempted panic and business distress has been inspired by any real fear or genuine want of confidence in the credit of the Government or in the soundness and stability of its various kinds of currency. It is true that among the ugly assets of a former administration which came over on the 4th of last March were an empty Treasury and the record of a billion-dollar Congress in its expenditures, but despite so heavy a handicap the public credit of the United States has not faltered for a single moment, nor has the faith of the civilized world been lessened by the breadth of a hair in American honor and American resources in this year of 1893, and in the custody of the Administration now in power.

The national credit of the American Republic, tried by every test which can be applied, is better and stronger to-day than the credit of any other government on the globe. Her bonds, her promissory notes to pay her debts, as they may be called, bearing a low rate of interest, stand at a premium in the money markets of the whole earth, and even the cold, cowardly instinct of hoarded, inactive, interest-hunting capital, in its cautious search for permanent investments, seizes upon them with swift greed wherever they can be found. The safety of the security appears somewhat even the usurer's highly seasoned appetite for richer profits.

Not only do the traffickers in money and the permanent investors of capital hunger and thirst after all the Government bonds now in existence, but their chief complaint against the present Administration is that the President and his able Secretary of the Treasury have refused their demand to issue at least three hundred millions more. This additional block of national indebtedness, increasing in a time of profound peace the interest-eating burdens of American labor, would be hailed with the keenest delight and swept with miserly enjoyment and avidity into unpatriotic vaults by the very parties who have most loudly and continuously declared ever since the present Administration came into power that the credit of the Government was in deadly peril and its Treasury practically bankrupt.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the whole argument in this House in favor of unconditional repeal has proceeded upon the theory that the silver-purchase act has destroyed our national credit.

The securities which have been depreciated are private securities, and they have fallen because the financial soundness of the institutions behind them has been doubted. The industrial depression would have caused all this, as similar depressions have frequently heretofore caused financial crises. I do not say that the crisis was not in any way accelerated by the Sherman act; but I do say that, with or without the Sherman act, it was inevitable. A much more important factor in intensifying the depression and hastening the crisis was "the culminating atrocity of class legislation" known as the McKinley tariff law, for the prompt repeal of which the people put the Democratic party in power.

I quite agree with our Republican friends, that it is the duty of the Democratic party to get through with this question of finance at the earliest possible moment, not for the purpose of adjourning and going home, but in order that we may proceed to the more important work of tariff reform with all possible dispatch. Our great manufacturing interests expect the Democratic party to give them free raw material and free fuel for the prosecution of their industries, and other great interests are largely concerned in knowing the exact basis upon which their investments shall hereafter be made. We should not willingly consent to any delay in the fulfillment of our pledges on the tariff question, but neither the tariff nor the silver-purchase act, nor both of them, can be said to account for the prevailing industrial depression.

The McKinley tariff came into effect shortly after this depression began, but it did not cause the depression. We had similar depressions under the low tariffs of 1847 and 1857, and under the high tariffs of 1866, 1877, and 1884. At most, the McKinley act has intensified the present depression. The cause of these depressions must be immediately associated with the primary factors in the production and distribution of wealth, and it must

pervade the whole system of wealth distribution throughout the civilized world.

SPECULATIVE GROUND RENT THE PRIMARY AND UNIVERSAL CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

Philosophers, faithful in the pursuit of truth and daring to follow her wherever she may lead, have traced to their primary and universal cause these periodical calamities which blast the happiness and desolate the homes of half the people of the civilized world once in every decade. That cause is the constantly recurring pressure of ground rent, as a factor in the distribution of wealth, against the profits of capital and the wages of labor.

The factors of all production are land, labor, and capital; land being the passive factor, freely provided, with all of its potential elements, by the Creator. Labor and capital are the active factors, contributed by human energy.

The factors of distribution are landlords, laborers, and capitalists, and their shares are called rent, wages, and interest.

It is manifestly of the utmost importance that the distribution of the wealth produced among these factors should be equitable.

If the distribution be inequitable it will certainly discourage the productive effort of the factor which receives less than its share.

For example: If labor should insist upon taking the entire product in wages, landlords and capitalists would not assist it in production, because it would cease to be profitable to them.

If capitalists should insist upon taking the whole product, landlords and laborers would not assist in production because it would cease to be profitable to them.

If landlords should insist upon taking the whole product as rent, laborers and capitalists would not further assist in production, because it would be unprofitable to them. And, as labor and capital are the only active factors in wealth production, productive effort would thus be brought to an absolute standstill.

These, of course, are extreme suppositions, but they bring strongly into view the universal rule that whatever tends to make wealth production unprofitable to any of the active factors in such production, tends to check and finally to stop productive effort on the part of that factor.

Laborers will work as long as they can get for their labor the standard wages fixed by competition, although they know full well that such wages are greatly less than their equitable share.

Capitalists will invest in productive enterprise and will continue such enterprise just as long as it yields, with ordinary security, the standard interest fixed by competition among capitalists.

Ground rent is the margin which production in any locality yields above the standard wages and standard interest necessary to induce laborers and capitalists to carry on the productive enterprise. When production yields no such margin there should be no ground rent. This law of rent, as accepted by all political economists, is thus stated by Ricardo, the illustrious economist by whom it was formulated:

The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use.

This law is universal and applies to the locations or sites of stores and factories on which wealth is produced, as well as to rural lands from which wealth is produced.

If ground rent at any time rises above the margin of production, it is manifest that it must do so by eating into the standard wages of labor, or the standard interest (sometimes called profit) of capital, or into both wages and interest.

It is a matter of common observation that rent always advances in good times; that it keeps advancing while times are improving, and that it is always very high when times begin to get hard.

Ground rent is a tide that rises with prosperity and as high as prosperity, absorbing its fruits, without in any way contributing to their production, and it finally strangles the productive forces upon which it feeds. It takes such a large share of the wealth produced by labor and capital that it makes production unprofitable to the factors—labor and capital—which produce all wealth.

Labor and capital struggle with each other in vain attempts to shift the burden of excessive rent. The land monopolist who exacts the rent tribute is so strongly entrenched that neither labor nor capital thinks of trying to beat down the speculative rent tide which is strangling them both. Soon the wasteful struggle between capital and labor ceases by the abandonment of production. In the midst of conditions which ought to make production uncommonly profitable, excessive toll in the form of ground rent has made it absolutely unprofitable. The laborer, willing to work, is forced to stand aside with his arms folded in unwilling idleness, consuming the small savings of his short period of prosperity, and trembling for the fate of his once happy family when his little store shall be exhausted.

The capitalist, with his investment idle, paying the exorbitant rent out of his wasting capital in order to save his location,

stands half hoping, half despairing, waiting for the uncertain issue of bankruptcy or a return of good times.

The prior prosperity has brought the same pressure home to every other commercial and industrial enterprise in the civilized world. The checking of production at one point reacts upon the wages and profits of industry and commerce at all other points.

This destruction of the purchasing power of producers of one commodity lessens demand for other commodities, and consequently lessens the profits of their production; while the speculative rent, or toll, for the privilege of producing remains undiminished.

Production, by reason of this unnatural pressure of speculative or excessive rent, gradually becomes unprofitable everywhere. Stagnation ensues, and labor and capital, in utter helplessness, await the inevitable hour of their universal bankruptcy—the hour when landlordism, having absorbed their substance, driven thousands to suicide, hundreds of thousands to pauperism, and ruined and dismembered untold numbers of families whom God had blessed with love and happiness, finally reduces ground rent to the economic line and thus gives another breathing spell to the wealth-producing classes.

The moment that rent is reduced to the economic line business of every useful kind becomes profitable again, because every industry can, at all times, afford to pay, as rent, the margin of its production, while no business on earth can afford to pay more than that margin.

I have now given you, in general outline, the history and the philosophy of our industrial depressions. There is no mystery about them. They have been accurately prophesied upon scientific principles. They have been watched and studied in their courses. They have all disclosed the same symptoms, and have all produced the same results.

Their first outward symptoms are conflicts between capital and labor (natural allies in production), and they all end in financial panic—the natural and reasonable outcome of the prospective or present general bankruptcy of the debtor classes.

Amid the desolating depression of the last three years, rents have been collected at the rates prevailing during the prosperous year 1889. Every merchant and producer in the land (except the insignificantly small number of land owners among them) has been paying more than the margin of his production in ground rent.

Gentlemen upon this floor have called attention to the splendid and inexhaustible natural resources of this country as an unquestionable guaranty of permanent prosperity to our people.

Our natural resources are indeed ample. They are sufficient, in the present state of the arts of wealth production, to support in uninterrupted comfort a thousand million of people. Yet, with a population of less than 70,000,000, we are half the time suffering the horrible privations that are supposed to result only from overpopulation.

Gentlemen forget that our splendid and inexhaustible natural resources are all monopolized, and that nine-tenths of our people are obliged to pay tribute to less than half of the other tenth for the privilege of living in this country.

The small percentage of land monopolists, who own this country, exercise an absolute despotism over the masses of the people of this country and fix the conditions upon which they shall live. [Loud applause.]

The census of 1890 shows approximately that the land of this great country is owned by about 10 per cent of our people. That about three-fourths of that 10 per cent own no land but their homes, upon which there is an aggregate mortgage indebtedness of \$6,000,000,000. The present crisis will bring about the foreclosure of thousands of these mortgages, and will largely reduce percentage of land owners in this country.

This is a terrible showing for our new country "of inexhaustible resources." It speaks ill indeed of our land system, which, intended to secure an independent home to every American citizen, has really reduced us to a nation of landlords and tenants.

We have placed our entire industrial and commercial systems under the absolute dominion of an irresponsible landlord class, who are legally clothed with powers over them more absolute and destructive than the powers of any political rulers in the civilized world.

We speak of our country, and we deplore the decline of patriotism among her citizens, but we forget that love of country has its root and its strength in the deeper sentiment—love of home. Love of home is graven on the heart of man. It is the mother of patriotism and the handmaid of courage.

We forget that our country consists of the splendid natural resources within her borders, and that those resources are absolutely owned by a few monopolists. The owners of those resources are in fact the owners of our country, and to the rest of

the people it is a mere boarding house to which, fortunately, home sentiments are still attached.

Not the silver-purchase act, not even the still worse Republican tariff, but land monopoly, is the curse and canker of modern civilization.

To cure and prevent industrial depressions it must be stricken down. Its robbery of labor must be stopped. The constant policy of this country—the only policy which can long maintain her free institutions—must henceforth be to secure to all of her citizens independent homes.

The land of this country belongs of natural right to the people of this country, and the Creator's will is their inalienable title.

God did not make the land for landlords. He made it for His people, and the greatest and truest function of this Government is to preserve that natural heritage to the people.

REMEDY FOR INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

Not in legislation for the contraction or inflation of our currency, but in legislation to prevent and destroy land monopoly, lies the cure of industrial depressions and the salvation of our free institutions.

In the term "land monopoly" I include the rights of way of railroad and telegraph lines. These, like all other really great monopolies, are special privileges in land.

It would be irrelevant to the present discussion to treat at length of any remedy for the deplorable calamities, in the form of industrial depressions, which periodically fill our land with distress, other than the one now before the House.

It is enough at this juncture to show that the silver-purchase act is not the cause of, and that its repeal will not even tend to cure, our country's present malady.

Briefly stated, the true remedies for the evils arising from the present unjust distribution of wealth are these:

First. Take for public use, by the forms of taxation, all of the unearned increment which attaches to land as a result of the presence, industry, and virtues of the general population of every community leaving to landlords only such values as result from their own improvements upon the land.

Second. Nationalize all railroads, telegraph lines, and such other necessary public conveniences as in their nature must become monopolies if left to private control.

The adoption of my first proposition would absolutely do away with the monopoly of land, by taking away the only incentive to its monopoly. That incentive is the right of the landowner to appropriate to his own use the ever-increasing value which is given to land by the growth, industry, intelligence, inventiveness, and virtues of the whole people.

That increment of value produced by the whole people and attaching to the natural, God-given earth, which is their inalienable heritage, belongs to the whole people, who have produced it, and who continue, year by year, to produce it by the same sacred natural right of property which gives everything of value to him whose labor produces it, and without whose labor it would not have existed at all.

There is no such thing as an accrued rental value attaching to land. Next year's rental value will be entirely produced by next year's people.

If the people should disappear, or should lapse into idleness, rental values would disappear with them, or would shrink in exact proportion to their cessation of industry.

Landlordism is a mere privilege of collecting toll from the producers of wealth. It has never contributed the value of a farthing to the wealth of the world, yet it has caused nine-tenths of the miseries of the laboring classes ever since it was substituted for the grosser forms of extortion and robbery which preceded it.

The time has come, in the order of social evolution, when this system must pass away.

Then, and never until then, can we satisfactorily "vindicate the ways of God to men."

Then will repentance come to those who blasphemously attribute to the will and design of a just and merciful and bountiful Creator the human miseries that flow from unjust special privileges, created and supported by human laws, as well-meaning gentlemen have done in this debate.

The change may not come at once. It may not come in time to prevent another industrial depression. But it is coming, and the morning of the twentieth century will bring to us an era of justice and liberty, and peace, and permanent prosperity, such as the world has never known.

In that era mere privilege shall cease to collect toll from the producers of wealth, and service alone shall command a distributive share in the wealth produced by labor.

In speaking of the nationalization of railroads, I do not wish to be understood as advocating the operation of the rolling stock of railroads by the Government.

The monopoly lies in the roadbeds and rights of way. They should be owned and controlled by the Government, and private capitalists should be allowed, under Government regulations, to freely compete with each other in the transportation of passengers and freight.

This would secure at once the greatest possible competition in the railroad carrying trade and the least possible governmental interference with the proper functions of private business.

The telegraph monopoly seems to have no solution but in making it a public function, as a part and parcel of our postal system.

But, enough of this digression from the proper subject of our present discussion.

I believe I have satisfactorily shown that the silver-purchase provision of the Sherman act, unsound as it is in principle, is not a materially contributing cause of the present crisis, and that the mere repeal of that provision, without other legislation looking to the extended coinage of silver, would result in more harm than good.

I am not satisfied that the free coinage of silver at any fixed ratio can be so maintained by this country alone as to secure the general use of both gold and silver coins at a parity. But I prefer such an experiment to the legislative elimination of silver from our currency.

I am opposed to any change from the present ratio in the coinage of gold and silver, because such a change would involve infinite confusion and great expense.

I shall, therefore, vote:

First. For the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], providing for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

Second. That amendment failing, I will vote for the extended coinage of silver according to the terms of the "Bland-Allison act" of 1878.

Third. If both of these propositions fail, I will, as a choice between evils, vote against the unconditional repeal of the silver-purchase act.

I have no idea that we shall be able to do anything at this session of Congress to relieve the existing depression.

Laws wiser and more universal than ours will cause a reaction to better times, as the same laws brought the reactions after the crises of 1837, 1847, 1857, 1876 and 1884.

This reaction will come regardless of what we may do or fail to do.

Some day it will be the province of this Congress, and of our State Legislatures, to remove the primary cause of these periodical scourges of our country and of our civilization.

In that day the triumph and the vindication of Democratic principles, of the principles of Thomas Jefferson and his illustrious disciples, will be complete, and equal rights and natural justice will be irrevocably established among men. [Applause.]

Mr. BROOKSHIRE. Mr. Speaker, the subject of our inquiry is worthy of the best thought and the fullest investigation by the representatives of the people. It is fair to say that upon one side in this debate are arrayed those who argue that the Government should, at least for a time, perhaps forever, refuse to use any more silver as a basis and foundation for its circulating medium, and upon the other side are arrayed those who contend that much silver should be used from time to time for the purpose of making money for the people. Upon one side are those who believe that our monetary system should rest upon a gold foundation alone. Upon the other are those who believe it should rest upon a foundation of both gold and silver, upon a bimetallic base.

Speaking for myself, I desire to say that in this contest, as in the past, I have taken a stand with those who are friendly to silver; and in doing so, I feel that I will faithfully represent the preference of a very large majority of my constituents and fellow-citizens. Shall we strike down and demonetize silver and further enhance in all the world the value of gold coin, and thus increase the burdens of our indebtedness, both public and private? To use the language of Alexander Hamilton—

Let us compare the benefits of a full, with the evils of a scanty circulation.

The two countries on the continent of Europe where the masses of the people are said to be best housed, best fed, and best clothed, are France and Holland. The circulation of France is \$40.56 to each person, and Holland nearly \$29. The Treasury statement, bearing date of the 16th of this month, which gives the amount of money in circulation to each person in the twenty-six leading nations of the world, shows that those two countries have the fullest volume of money in the world. Not only are the people of the countries named the most prosperous

on the continent, and have the largest circulating medium, but they have more wealth to each person:

WEALTH IN EUROPE.	
France to each person	£218
Germany to each person	140
Russia to each person	53
Austria to each person	95
Italy to each person	82
Spain to each person	93
Portugal to each person	86
Belgium to each person	145
Holland to each person	240
Denmark to each person	198
Sweden to each person	152
Greece to each person	107

If all the wealth of France and Holland were divided equally among their people, each person would have about \$1,000. No other nationalities in all Europe, according to statistics, can make such a favorable showing.

When we strike down silver as a commodity out of which to make money, we have taken a step toward the destruction of one-half of the money of the world; and right here let me ask what do we mean by a standard of value? I understand a standard of value to be a common measure of commodities.

The two commodities which the nations of the world have generally used through all the period of civilization to measure the value of other commodities, are silver and gold. When these commodities have been coined into money, they are given a new use. The value of a thing depends upon its use; the value of any commodity is increased by being put to additional and more important uses. Thus silver and gold, when coined take on an additional value, which can only be measured by the strength and the power of the government which coins them into money, and the confidence which the people have in their government. I believe the way to use silver for monetary purposes is to coin it into money, and thus raise it above the plane of a mere commodity.

This is the principal reason why I voted against the bill of July 14, 1890, commonly called the Sherman bill. I believed then, as I believe now, that the principle of that bill was bad and vicious. It empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase four and one-half millions ounces of silver bullion each month and stack it up in the Treasury vaults, and to issue to the market value thereof Treasury notes. Believing that this so-called Sherman bill was both wrong in practice and in theory, and would ultimately prove injurious to the cause of bimetallicism, I voted against its passage on the 12th day of July, 1890.

But again returning to my thread of argument, I want to say that the great majority of the people whom I have the honor to represent do not have fixed salaries, do not have bonds or money in large amounts to be enhanced in value by a contraction of the circulation. The majority of them are engaged in the production of those commodities such as are produced at the coal mines, on the farms, and in the shops and manufactories.

Sirs, what is the effect of destroying one of the commodities out of which coined money is made? Is it not to increase and enhance the price of the other commodity, gold? Let us illustrate this proposition by its apparent effect upon the commodities produced in the mines and on the farms of our country. Four of the principal commodities which are produced in my district are coal, corn, wheat, and pork. Suppose farmer A should sell farmer B 100 bushels of wheat worth \$50, and 100 bushels of corn worth \$40, and 100 pounds of pork worth \$10.

What would constitute the most perfect standard of value with which to pay for these commodities? The same quantity and quality of these commodities? Mr. B says to A, "Ten years from now, if you do not desire money, I will pay you for these commodities in 100 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of corn, and 100 pounds of pork of the same quality." When the ten years have rolled around B comes to A and says, "I am ready to pay you for the wheat, corn, and pork." A says, "I would prefer the money; my taxes are due." "Very well," says B, "here are \$50." A says, "At the time I sold you these commodities they would have brought \$100;" but B says, "Do you not know that silver is no longer used in the world as a commodity out of which to make money? Silver money is no longer used; all nations of the world are using and demanding gold. It has been placed upon the auction block, and all the nations of the earth are bidding for it. Gold coin has greatly enhanced in value; in fact its purchasing power has doubled, and now it only takes half as much money to pay debts as it did ten years ago." Sirs, you say this is an overdrawn illustration; but might it not occur in the course of human events if mankind were to set about to accomplish such a result; but of this I will have more to say further on in the course of our remarks. I am simply giving this illustration to show the possible effects of contraction.

Mr. Speaker, the great majority of the people whom I have

the honor to represent are engaged in the production of those agricultural commodities, with many others, to which I have adverted, and any legislation which would reduce the value of those commodities will meet their heartiest and severest disapproval. But the gold monometallist says that we want an honest dollar, and that the only honest dollar is a gold dollar. I am frank to say that I believe the gold dollar is the most cruel, not to say dishonest, dollar the world has ever seen. The increase of the purchasing power of the gold dollar has brought upon the masses of the people of the world more wreck and ruin and debt and loss of homes than can ever be comprehended or described by the genius of man.

The increase in the value of gold has no doubt produced riots, bloodshed, and murder in many periods of the world's history. That is what I believe concerning the so-called honest dollar, and the commodity out of which it is made. If I had my way about it I would send along with every gold dollar coined by our Government a silver dollar to act as a sort of policeman to keep the gold dollar from terrorizing and oppressing the poor; and while I am permitted to occupy a seat in this body I shall never knowingly cast a vote for any proposition which will tend to enhance the price of gold. I think I know where the interests of the masses of my people lie, and I am sure I would be unfaithful to their interests if I should cast their vote in favor of any proposition which would tend to decrease the price of the products of their farms, mines, and shops.

We can but dimly and imperfectly comprehend the gravity and consequences of the destruction of one-half of the money of the world, or of measures which will tend to reduce its volume. Mr. M. L. Muhleman, Acting Assistant Treasurer of the United States at the subtreasury in New York, is credited with saying that on January 1, 1893, there were \$3,900,000,000 of gold in the world, and \$3,900,000,000 of silver. But then, it is argued that volume is not important, provided the circulating medium be sound.

On last Saturday one week ago the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] said:

England at no time since 1844 has had any provision for the increase of her currency; and I go further and say that as long as we keep our currency sound we can never have too little or too much.

Our friend seems to have his heart set upon the financial policy of old England. Why has England had no provisions for the increase of her circulating medium for nearly fifty years? I will let Mr. Gladstone answer this question. Mr. Gladstone, when discussing in the English Parliament a motion relative to the monetary conference at Brussels on March 1, 1893 (as reported in the London Times), said:

The complaint is a complaint of low prices. The desired condition which it (bimetallism) is sought to bring about is a state of rising prices; the means to be adopted are to supply the people who require money for the payment of debts or the purchase of commodities with a currency to which they will have access on easier terms. They are to get that currency cheaper. Very well, the consequence of that will be if that currency is to be obtained cheaper, that any given normal amount will be worth less in that currency than it is in the present currency. * * * I think Mr. Giffen, the highest living authority—though there are many living authorities well acquainted with this subject—estimates that the sum out at call is about six hundred million pounds (\$3,000,000,000), and I want to know what is to be the effect of saying to the owners of that six hundred million pounds, "allow your money to remain where it is, and you will have to take ninety or ninety-five pounds for every one hundred pounds; but before a given date you could get one hundred pounds." * * *

I am almost afraid to estimate the total amount of property which the United Kingdom holds beyond the limits of the United Kingdom. But of this I am well convinced, that it is not to be counted by tens or hundreds of millions. One thousand millions probably would be an extremely low and inadequate estimate. Two thousand million pounds (\$10,000,000,000), or something even more than that is very likely to be nearer the mark. I think under these circumstances it is rather a serious matter to ask this country to consider whether we are going to perform this supreme act of self-sacrifice.

What lessons are to be drawn from the words of Mr. Gladstone: He says that by bimetallism it is sought to bring about a state of rising prices. Are the people of the Mississippi Valley and of the South and the great Northwest interested in rising values? I submit that that is what they are now contending for. He says bimetallism proposes to give the people more money upon easier terms.

Are the people we represent entitled to more money upon easier terms? Then, if the use of silver in making money means cheaper money, the destruction of silver means dearer money, and dearer money means lower prices for the commodities of our mines, shops, and farms. He gives us a reason why money should not be made cheaper, that England is the great crediting nation of the world. He says, in the event of bimetallism, that any given normal amount of the currency which we have to-day will be worth less than now. He says that there are three thousand million dollars on call in England liable to be collected in a day, and that, in the event of bimetallism, the persons to whom this large sum of money is due would demand its payment at once. He says, furthermore, that the people in the nations outside of the United Kingdom owe the people of England ten thousand

million dollars. He closed his remarks by saying, "Shall we perform this supreme act of self-sacrifice?"

Mr. Speaker, the supreme act of self-sacrifice to which the great English statesman refers, is a proposition looking to an enlargement of the circulating medium of the nations of the world. In a word, the old English statesman does propose that English creditors shall receive the largest possible amount of the commodities, and labor of mankind, in payment of debts due them. It is said that bimetallism is impossible without the assistance of England, and I would ask, in all seriousness, Mr. Speaker, what hope can we have of the assistance of England in the light of the condition of her people and the judgment of her public men?

The statisticians of our own country estimate that the people of the United States owe the capitalists abroad from two to four thousand million dollars. If this were all the indebtedness this proposition would not seem so appalling, but when we comprehend that there is an indebtedness existing among the citizens of our own country which amounts to many billions, we begin dimly to understand the probable misfortunes that would attend the adoption of a gold currency. Are the people who live in the vast agricultural empire known as the Mississippi Valley prepared for such a change?

Sirs, I declare to you that in my judgment they are less prepared to-day than at any time in the history of the United States. That part of our common country has substantially seen its development within the last fifty years. Our fathers moved there because they were too poor to live in the East. They went there to procure homes for themselves and their children. They have developed the country with amazing rapidity; ditches, roads, fences, houses and cities have been constructed upon almost every hill and in almost every valley.

The people along the Atlantic seaboard were the first in our country to amass large fortunes; they own the railroads, the stock of the insurance companies, express companies, telegraph companies, which are doing the business for our people. When we insure our property, ship our freight, send our telegrams, express our goods, the money gravitates to the East and to the homes of those who hold the mortgages and bonds and stocks. Thus our people are enormously in debt, and they now feel that there is an insufficient volume of money necessary to the transaction of business. The report of the Comptroller of the Treasury shows that the available assets held by the banks and trust companies exceed \$300 to each person in some of the Eastern States, while there are only \$6 to each person in the State of Arkansas; and this dearth of money generally obtains in the Mississippi Valley.

The consequences which are liable to follow upon the heels of a further contraction of our currency, or a cessation of its legitimate expansion, fill me with the apprehension of great discontent, and the further destruction of values. As long as I am permitted to remain here I shall persistently insist in faithfully representing those who have been kind enough to intrust me with their confidence. This much, Mr. Speaker, I have seen fit to say with reference to the volume of money and the standards of value.

Mr. Speaker, much has been said in this debate about the finances of the Old World, and especial reference has frequently been made to the manner in which silver is used in France. The finances of the French Republic, as well as the finances in the other nationalities of the Old World, are very largely controlled and directed by large banks. To illustrate, the Bank of France is controlled by the Government of France. It became essentially a government institution in 1843, and in 1857 the charter of the bank was extended to 1897. The bank has power to issue bills of credit to the extent of 4,000,000,000 francs. A franc on exchange is equal, I believe, to about 19.3 cents of our money. The bank furnishes a paper circulation now of about 3,488,000,000 francs.

This paper currency amounts, when the bank has issued to its full capacity, about \$21 to each person in the Republic of France. To redeem this paper issue of currency there was held on the 3d of this month in the bank, as a metallic reserve, 1,720,000,000 francs gold, and 1,277,000,000 francs silver. The bank redeems its notes with either gold or silver at its option.

In consequence of the Franco-German war, the notes of the Bank of France were declared to be legal tender in August, 1870. The largest depreciation of the notes of the bank was 2½ per cent, as compared with gold in November, 1871.

There were, as measured by our money, in the Bank of France on the 1st of this month about \$332,000,000 of gold coin and \$247,000,000 of silver coin, and the paper currency of the bank in circulation at that time amounted to about \$671,000,000. Therefore the paper currency not covered by the coin reserve in the bank amounted, in round numbers, to \$92,000,000. So the uncovered paper currency of the Bank of France amounted to a little over \$2 to each person living in the French Republic;

but the whole paper currency of the Bank of France, covered and uncovered, amounted to between seventeen and eighteen dollars to each person in that country.

The circulation of France consists of the paper currency of its bank and such an amount of gold and silver coin as is not absolutely held in the vaults of the Bank of France as a gold and silver reserve. As I have said before, on the 1st of this month such reserve amounted to about \$580,000,000.

France, with her full volume of currency, stands as fair before the world as any other nation, and when any of the nations of the Old World have been involved in trouble within the last few years they have drawn upon France for financial assistance. This tends to illustrate the benefits of a full volume of money as compared with the evils of a scanty circulation. In the Bank of Holland there were recently \$34,000,000 of silver and \$15,000,000 of gold coin. The two banks of the two most prosperous countries in Europe—France and Holland—hold the largest silver reserves of almost any national banks on the continent of Europe.

Mr. Speaker, I can see no reason why the Government of the United States should not so arrange its financial policy and so administer it that every paper dollar issued by the Government could be redeemed in either gold or silver coin at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury. Sirs, in this regard, I think that our Government could imitate with profit the financial management of France, as administered by her national bank.

But that I may not be misunderstood, I desire to say with emphasis that I do not approve of the policy of our Government, or any other, in permitting a bank or banks to control the issue and volume of the circulating medium. The issue of money should be controlled absolutely by the Government itself. Generally speaking I think that all our money should be issued by the Federal Government directly to the people, and that all our money should be made legal tender.

The Bank of France not only exercises the option of redeeming its circulating notes in either gold or silver coin at its pleasure, but it carries the option to the extent of paying silver coin to those persons who are threatening to take the coin abroad, when such a course will best subserve the interests of the financial policy of France. That bank also, out of its gold and silver coin reserve, redeems its notes ordinarily in that coin—gold or silver—of which it has the largest amount. How very different is the policy of our financial management as made manifest by the action of the Secretary of the Treasury.

We now have in the Treasury and in circulation about \$1,100,000,000 of paper currency—six kinds of paper money—consisting of gold certificates, silver certificates, Treasury notes of the act of 1890, currency certificates act of June, 1872, United States notes commonly known as greenbacks, and national-bank notes. We have a sort of mixed paper currency of numerous denominations and divers series. While looking at the face of this paper currency we would take it that at least a part of it was redeemable in silver coin, but under the rulings of the Secretary of the Treasury it is redeemable in gold coin.

Thus, every advantage and option is given to the creditors of our Government instead of being exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury. It has frequently occurred to me that all our paper currency should be of one kind of money, and redeemable by the Secretary of the Treasury at his option in either gold or silver coin, in such a manner as would best subserve the convenience and prudent management of our financial system. It is insisted that we have silver coin enough now. Let me submit this inquiry, for to my mind it comes with great force:

If the French Republic—not over five times as large in area as the State of Ohio, impoverished as it was and tramped into the earth not over twenty-five years ago by the invading armies of Germany, paying as it did an indemnity of \$1,000,000,000 to the German Government—a little nation with two-thirds the population of the United States and only two-thirds the estimated wealth, can carry along on a parity \$700,000,000 of silver, \$800,000,000 in gold, and nearly \$700,000,000 of paper currency, redeemable in either gold or silver coin at the option of the Government, why can not the United States, standing in strength and power the superior of any nation in the world, maintain on a parity with gold a thousand millions of silver, even at the ratio of 16 to 1?

The Franco-German war was begun in the middle of the year 1870, and was fought in 1871. The amount of the indemnity, at the time of payment in 1872 was \$1,000,000,000. France was credited with the value of certain railroads in Alsace and Lorraine. This reduced the amount of the indemnity to be paid to \$998,000,000. Of this amount \$182,000,000 was paid in gold, and \$816,000,000 in silver; and the enterprising, patriotic people of France raised this sum of money by a loan in less than six months from the time the Government appealed to them for help. The fact that the French Government has such high financial stand-

ing among the nations of the earth, in the light of her numerous reverses, certainly makes her financial system worthy of study and high consideration.

I have before me a statement sent out from the Treasury Department which shows that France has in circulation and in her bank \$20.52 in gold per capita and \$17.95 in silver. According to this same statement we have in the banks and in circulation in the United States \$9.01 in gold and \$9.18 in silver per capita. If we had as much coin silver in this country in proportion to our population as France has, we would have now nearly \$1,200,000,000 of silver in our banks and in circulation, instead of about \$600,000,000, as we have. But it is said that we do more business with checks and drafts through the banks than is done in France.

It occurs to me that the masses of our people would be benefited if more of the business were done with money. It is claimed that nineteen dollars in twenty of the business of the United States is done with drafts and checks. During a period like this, when there seems to be a lack of confidence, the business of our country is in a large measure done upon this one dollar in twenty. Therefore, does it not follow that a full and ample volume of money at least tends to prevent a lack of confidence, and to keep the wheels of business going, even in the face of panicky conditions?

Mr. Speaker, it does occur to me, all things considered, that no nation in the world has a population better adapted to the absorption and assimilation of a full and ample volume of money than the United States. In many sections of the country the population is very thin. In fact, in France, there are over one hundred and eighty-seven people to the square mile, while in the United States we have but twenty-one. Therefore, in a country largely agricultural, new and sparsely settled, it would seem that there are great opportunities for the assimilation of a full volume of currency.

Mr. William P. St. John, president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York, in an article upon silver, recently said:

The increase of our population in the brief period of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, exceeds the entire population of Mexico; an increase of population in the United States in ten years of more than 30 per cent of the entire population of France, more than 40 per cent of the population of Italy, nearly 70 per cent of the population of Spain; an increase equal to twice the population of Belgium, three times the population of the Netherlands or European Turkey, four times the population of Switzerland, and six times the entire population of Denmark or of Greece.

Mr. Speaker, the increase in population of the United States from 1880 to 1890 was 12,234,000 people. This is more than twice as many people as there are in the Dominion of Canada, and five times the present population of the State of Indiana.

Nations upon nations are thus being added to our population each decade, and that there should be a gradual and prudent expansion of the volume of our currency there can be no doubt.

Mr. Speaker, what I am contending for is a financial policy which will make every dollar issued by the Government equal in value to every other dollar. I believe in a sound and stable currency, which increases in volume as the population and business interests of the country expand and grow. In the report of the Director of the Mint, which gives us the last information with reference to the world's coinage of silver, I find that of the forty-four leading nations in the world but fourteen coined silver in the year 1891, and that in the year 1891 there were coined in the world 135,000,000 silver dollars, as against \$119,000,000 of gold, as measured in our own money.

In the year 1890 there were coined in the world, as this report shows, \$149,000,000 of gold, and \$151,000,000 of silver. Now, nearly all of this coinage, as I am informed, was in a ratio below 16 to 1. In no instance has there been a coinage of silver anywhere which has any considerable influence upon the monetary system of the world in a ratio exceeding 16 to 1.

In a word, I do not believe that if our mints were thrown open to coinage of the product of the silver mines of the United States at a ratio of 16 to 1 there would be coined at our mints a sufficient amount of silver to increase the volume of silver coin in our Republic to \$1,000,000,000 within the present century. It is scarcely necessary for me to state that the product of our silver mines is only sufficient to provide silver enough to coin fifty or sixty million dollars per year, and I am not impressed with the idea that silver will be brought from abroad in considerable amounts for the purpose of coinage.

Secretary Windom, in his report to the Fifty-first Congress, stated that there is no known accumulation of silver bullion anywhere in the world, and that all the silver coined in Europe is needed and employed there for money purposes. And it is also true, as I have just shown, that more money is being added to the world's volume each year by the coinage of silver than by the coinage of gold.

It has been argued with very great force, especially by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], that silver is being

overvalued under our coinage system and will drive gold out of circulation. It is the duty of the friends of silver to meet every argument advanced by their adversaries in an open field with the weapons of reason. My friend from Tennessee stated that under the coinage act of 1792 silver and gold were coined in the ratio of 15 to 1; that silver was overvalued under the act, and that the cheaper money, silver, drove the dearer money, gold, out of circulation; that is to say, that silver drove gold out of active circulation. He also stated that in 1834 the size of the gold dollar was decreased; that the ratio between silver and gold was then fixed at sixteen to one; that by this act gold was overvalued and became the cheaper money, and in turn drove silver out of circulation.

My friend seems to have overlooked the fact that his argument has its real application to our monetary system as it existed prior to the war, when the whole volume of our Federal money consisted solely of gold and silver. I claim that it has been substantially demonstrated that the rule to which he refers, and to which he called our attention with such a show of learning, is not applicable to the financial system of any country having a large paper currency circulation which is being redeemed in either gold or silver coin at the option of the government. But that my remarks may not be prolonged, I shall now pass to a brief consideration of the effects wrought upon our financial system, due to the late war.

It is now over thirty years since our Government first issued circulating notes with the legal-tender quality. The effect of introducing a paper currency at the beginning of the war was to drive both gold and silver out of circulation. There was so little silver in circulation in 1873 that the demonetization act had no perceptible effect on silver, so far as the general public could observe, and it was not until about the year 1876 that the people began to fully realize that the silver dollar of the fathers had been mercilessly and secretly struck down.

If gold had been demonetized soon after the war stealthfully and quietly as was silver in 1878, it would no doubt have taken the general public a considerable length of time to have fully realized the fact, because gold was not in circulation for a long time during and after the war. No doubt many people believed, during the period when these legal-tender promises to pay seemed to be the basis and foundation of our circulating medium, that the Government would, at no distant time, return to a specie basis for its whole circulation.

During the period when gold and silver were out of circulation the people became so much accustomed to rely upon a currency with no coin behind it that it awakened in the minds of a very large number of our fellow-citizens the belief that a coin reserve was wholly unnecessary to the successful maintenance of our circulating medium. In fact, it gave rise to that idea commonly known as the fiat money idea. Before the war, when the debtor and creditor classes were small, and when the masses of our people were but little in debt, changes with reference to the character and volume of our circulating medium were not attended with such great and far-reaching effects as have attended changes since the war.

In 1860 the whole public debt was but \$65,000,000, and in 1836 it was but \$37,513. It is certainly fair to say that the Government of the United States was but little in debt prior to 1860, and that the Government's creditors were not numerous.

The Government's creditors prior to the war had but little to do, if anything, in shaping its financial policy. The war came, and by the year 1866 the public debt amounted in round numbers to \$2,700,000,000.

By 1866 the national creditors had become a powerful and influential class; they were the first people in our country to discover that our circulating medium and all the Government issues should be made payable in gold. They insisted that the principal and the interest of their bonds should be paid in gold, and it was done; and from that hour there has been a persistent and never-ending night-and-day fight by the wealthy money-lending, mortgage-holding classes of our own and of foreign countries, where our bonds and securities have gone, to have all bills of credit, both public and private, made payable in gold, and thus a most momentous effort has been made to enhance the price of gold coin decrease the volume of our currency, and greatly increase the indebtedness of our people.

Mr. Speaker, I am a bimetalist, and I think nineteen men out of twenty in the district which I have the honor to represent are bimetalists. They are bimetalists because they know that one-half in value of the coin money of the world is silver. Can any man be anything less than a bimetalist when he knows financial history? The gold monometalist cites the fact that England demonetized silver in 1816, Germany in 1871, the United States in 1873, Belgium in 1875, and Austria in 1879. And he also argues that India, the greatest silver-consuming country in the world, has recently discontinued the coinage of silver. He for-

gets the fact that, notwithstanding these acts, which affect the silver coinage of the world, the world goes on, and that more silver is being coined in each succeeding year than gold.

I have just shown that more silver in value was coined in 1890 and 1891 than of gold, and I see from the last report of the Director of the Mint, which I have before me, that the world's gold production for 1892 was \$130,800,000 and the silver production was \$133,000,000, commercial value, and, while I have not the figures for the last calendar year, I take it that it is reasonably sure that more silver was coined the whole world over during that year than there was gold. The average production of the metals, one with the other, for each year of the present century is indicated in the following table:

1801-1820, 4 of silver to 1 of gold.
1821-1840, 2 of silver to 1 of gold.
1841-1860, 2½ of gold to 1 of silver.
1861-1880, 2 of gold to 1 of silver.
1881-1889, ½ more silver than gold.

Therefore, does not all history and all experience teach that the supply of gold in the world is largely insufficient, in fact scarcely half sufficient, to supply the nations of the world with necessary metallic money? It would seem from the last report of the Director of the Mint that of the forty-four leading nations on the globe, twenty-six coined no gold in the year 1891, and in the same year all of the said forty-four nations coined silver except fourteen. Why should the United States cease the coinage of silver, when we produce annually two-fifths or 40 per cent of the silver output of the world? Great Britain, with all of her resources, produces less than a half million dollars' worth of silver bullion each year, as this report shows. We produce annually about \$33,000,000 worth of gold bullion and over \$70,000,000 worth of silver bullion.

The Director of the Mint, in his last report, says:

The estimated stock of our own gold coin, which should exist in the United States on the first of the present year (1893) was \$567,961,000, and of silver \$492,903,000. Of the latter, \$417,876,000 were silver dollars, and \$75,026,000 subsidiary coins.

For the nine years ending in 1891 the annual coinage of gold at our mints amounted to less than \$26,000,000 a year. Mr. Speaker, in the light of the facts which I have detailed, I feel that there is more reason for the coinage of a large amount of silver each year in the United States than in any other country in the world.

I can see no reason why I should not vote for the amendment providing for the coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. And my investigation and research have led me to believe that there is no real occasion for changing the ratio that has existed since 1834. In the light of the coinage laws of other countries, I think we can as well coin silver in the ratio of 16 to 1 as at a higher ratio. In England and in the leading nationalities on the continent of Europe, silver is coined in the ratio of 15½ to 1.

I am unable to discover any good and satisfactory reason why the old ratio, so long established and recognized, should be changed. I have before me the statement recently sent to members of Congress by Secretary Carlisle, in which he estimates that the recoinage at the ratio of 20 to 1 of our present volume of silver money would cost about \$113,000,000. I shall vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] providing for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and shall vote against the amendments which provide for a change of the ratio.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, if the House shall see fit to vote down these several amendments proposing the free coinage of silver at various ratios, I shall vote for the amendment which will be offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] providing for a restoration of the Bland-Allison bill of 1878, which empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion each month, and have the same coined into standard silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1. What I am contending for, and what I hope to see, is the opening of the mints to the coinage of silver, and when they are opened, I think they ought to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; at least, that is my present judgment.

I think the present law ought to be repealed, but it is unnecessary for me to state why I think it ought to be repealed in the light of the able message of the President of the United States to the people. He has pointed out in a more epigrammatic and sensible way the reasons why the Sherman law should be repealed than it is possible for me to give in the brief time now at my disposal. I always believed that that law would prove both wrong in principle and practice, and it has certainly been demonstrated that such is true. While I am very desirous to see it repealed, I would be very glad, indeed, to see some good substitute take its place.

I believed when the Sherman law was passed that it was a menace to the cause of bimetalism, and, as I have before re-

marked, I voted against its passage in July, 1890, and at the same time voted to keep in operation the Bland-Allison bill, passed in 1878, which was repealed by the passage of the Sherman act. My feelings and judgment, Mr. Speaker, at this time, in the light of present conditions, are in a measure expressed in the words of my dear old deceased friend, Senator Joseph E. McDonald, than whom I never know a kinder, a fairer, a more conservative, a more intelligent, a wiser.

Senator Joseph E. McDonald, on the floor of the Senate, February 12, 1878, said:

I do not think that the free-coinage feature of the House bill should be retained or the principle of free-coinage applied to the coinage of the silver dollar until the market value of silver bullion shall equal the money value of the legal-tender coin, and that whatever seigniorage or profit accrues by its coinage should be covered into the Treasury for the benefit of the whole people. Unlimited free-coinage seems to be a popular idea in connection with the remonetization of the silver dollar, but it must be because the operations of the measure are not clearly understood.

I can see no reason why the holder of the bullion should be entitled to receive the profits that would accrue from the difference between the market value of the bullion and the money value of the coin so long as there was any difference, and when the market value of the bullion should equal the money value of the coin have in its power to either stop the coinage of the silver dollar or throw upon the Government the expense of its coinage.

I think also that we should guard, if possible, against the imposition by the holders of foreign silver coin in those countries where silver has been either in whole or in part demonetized. It is very important to us as a people that, while we are laying anew the foundations of our money system, we should make them as secure and stable and as free from fluctuation as possible.

Yet, Mr. President, if a majority of the Senate should differ with me on these questions, I shall vote for the bill as it came from the House, and shall trust to future legislation to adopt such safeguards as may be necessary, believing speedy determination of the question in favor of the principle to be more important than the perfecting of its details.

Senator Beck of Kentucky, who was one of our greatest and best Democrats, in the same debate in which Senator McDonald uttered these words, said:

As long as silver bullion is 6, 8, or 10 per cent below gold, I do not want Congress to so vote as to give any private citizen, or any foreign nation, or any foreign corporation that seigniorage.

Mr. Speaker, here are two great Senators, either of whom was fit to be President of the United States, when speaking upon this subject in 1878, said that the Government ought to have whatever of profit there is from the coinage of silver. In other words, that the Government should have the difference between the market value of the bullion necessary to make a silver dollar and the coined dollar.

In order that we may appreciate the amount of this seigniorage, I will read a letter from the Acting Director of the Mint, which will explain itself, and ask that the same may be inserted in my remarks at this point:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF THE MINT,
Washington, D. C., August —, 1893.

SIR: In answer to your telegram of even date, regarding seigniorage, I have to refer you to "Director's Report, 1890," page 19, a copy of which I forward you to-day.

As will be seen, the seigniorage on the coinage of silver from 1878 to 1890 was \$65,698,057, a yearly average of \$5,474,838.

The seigniorage on \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion bought at the present market price—74 cents per fine ounce—would be, monthly, \$1,494,402, and for the year \$17,932,824, as the following will show:

2,702,702 fine ounces can be bought for	\$2,000,000
2,702,702 fine ounces will coin	3,494,402
Monthly seigniorage	1,494,402
	12
Yearly seigniorage	17,932,824

Very respectfully,

R. E. PRESTON,
Acting Director of the Mint.

HON. E. V. BROOKSHIRE,
House of Representatives.

This profit has been constantly increasing since 1873. The following table gives the average value during each fiscal year (ending June 30) since 1873 of the silver bullion necessary to make a coined silver dollar at the old ratio of 16 to 1. In other words, the following table gives the average bullion value in each fiscal year since 1873, of 371½ grains of fine silver, the amount used in making the coined silver dollar since 1834:

Fiscal years.	Bullion value of silver in dollar, at average price of silver.	Fiscal years.	Bullion value of silver in dollar, at average price of silver.
1873-'74	\$0.98865	1884-'85	\$0.84507
1874-'75	.96777	1885-'86	.79750
1875-'76	.90087	1886-'87	.76029
1876-'77	.92931	1887-'88	.74008
1877-'78	.89116	1888-'89	.72055
1878-'79	.86152	1889-'90	.74932
1879-'80	.88509	1890-'91	.80588
1880-'81	.88067	1891-'92	.72430
1881-'82	.87880	1892-'93	.65063
1882-'83	.86490	July	.59052
1883-'84	.86115	August	.5500

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that a very large number of our fellow-citizens who are friendly to silver, and who are bimetalists, are desirous that the Government shall receive the profit or seigniorage when silver is coined. Now, the free and unlimited coinage of silver is the proposition upon which we have ordinarily voted in this House. It contemplates giving this seigniorage to the producers and owners of the silver bullion. I feel reasonably sure that the sentiment of the country is against this.

There is another reason why some people friendly to bimetalism are not inclined to vote for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. They believe that some limitation ought to be placed upon the amount of silver to be coined at recurring intervals, so that the people and the Government could know in advance what the increase of our circulation would be from time to time. This idea was, no doubt, in the mind of the President when he put these words into his recent message addressed to Congress:

Possibly if the undertaking we have in hand were the maintenance of a specific known quantity of silver at a parity with gold, our ability to do so might be estimated and gauged, and perhaps in view of our unparalleled growth and resources might be favorably passed upon. But when our avowed endeavor is to maintain such parity in regard to an amount of silver increasing at the rate of \$50,000,000 yearly, with no fixed termination to such increase, it can hardly be said that a problem is presented whose solution is free from doubt.

Mr. Speaker, this brings me to a direct discussion of some plan which would tend in a measure to meet these objections. I think of two plans, either of which would secure to the Government the seigniorage. If free and unlimited coinage is desired in the ratio of 16 to 1, and it is desired to secure to the people the seigniorage, why not require the owner of silver bullion presenting the same at the mints for coinage to first pay the seigniorage; that is to say, if he brings to the mint 371½ grains of fine silver, which is the amount that we have been putting in a silver dollar for nearly sixty years, let him pay into the Treasury 45 cents—the seigniorage—and then let him receive a legal-tender paper dollar or a coin dollar.

By this plan we could secure to the Government the profit, and at the same time have the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. But if a still more conservative course is insisted upon, then the Government could fix the amount of silver to be coined each month, as was provided in the Bland-Allison bill. The Government could also require those offering silver at the mints to pay the seigniorage in advance, or it could buy the bullion outright and coin the same, as was done under the Bland-Allison law.

What I am contending for is the opening of the mints to the coinage of silver. I am a bimetalist, and I want to see much of our silver used in making coin money for the people. In a word, Mr. Speaker, I think that the true friends of silver and of bimetalism are not those who insist upon the unattainable, but are rather those who favor legislation which will secure the Government against loss, and send forth to all our people a steady flow of coined silver money, to be used in the remotest ramifications of trade and commerce. I also think it would be a good idea to dispense with the use of paper currency in less denominations than \$10, and let the whole volume of money in denominations less than \$10 be coined silver, silver certificates, and gold.

Mr. Speaker, what I would like to see is a thorough revision and readjustment of our whole financial system. I would be glad to see some vigorous financial reform inaugurated by the present Congress. I know it is a task of great difficulty, and that any changes in our financial system tend to create distrust; but at the same time it does seem to me that some changes are so apparently necessary that the whole country ought to approve of such a revision as would simplify our confused and complex system of finance. And right along with this work of reform we ought to have our mints opened to the coinage of silver; for I am very desirous, indeed, that we have a prudent expansion of our money volume sufficient to meet the business needs of our country. I am a firm believer in that divine declaration which says that "a feast is made for laughter, and wine maketh merry, but money answereth all things."

Mr. BELL of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I had not expected to have an opportunity of addressing this body on the pending question, and would not have done so but for the fact that there are certain points which have been frequently alluded to, but which, I think, have not been amplified and elucidated with that degree of care and detail which their importance justifies, and indeed demands.

The discussion has taken a very wide range, and the speeches of the gentlemen who have addressed us have been both instructive and entertaining; but it has seemed to me that the issues upon which we are to vote have not, at all times, been clearly stated, and perhaps not always thoroughly understood. I shall endeavor to restate the real issues.

In 1873 the use of silver as a standard of values was discontinued in the United States. In 1878, by a law known as the

Bland act, silver was made again a legal tender in payment of debts, and a certain quantity of it was required to be coined monthly. This law was repealed in 1890, and the act known as the Sherman law took its place. If the deplorable state of affairs, which we all recognize to exist, was brought about by this legislation, then, I think, it is the duty of every Congressman and Senator to vote to remove every vestige of it from our statutes, regardless of party platforms and ante-election pledges.

But if, on the other hand, the hard times which are upon us have been postponed by what is known as the silver legislation; and if there is a reasonable ground for believing that a return to prosperity can be brought about by a more extended use of silver as a standard of values, then I take it to be the duty of every Congressman and Senator to assist in restoring it to the position which it formerly occupied in our monetary system. I will consider these propositions in the order in which they are stated.

First, then, let us see what was the cause of our present troubles. For several years prior to the fall of 1890 the whole civilized world was enjoying what appeared to be an unexampled degree of prosperity. Money could be obtained in almost unlimited quantities for all purposes, regardless of the prospects of its being repaid. In our country this caused an unwarranted degree of inflation. Fields which should have remained in the possession of the husbandman were divided into town lots; industrial enterprises of all kinds were capitalized for many times their cost, and at figures at which it was impossible that a reasonable return for the money invested could be realized. Speculation of all kinds was rife in the land; and the man was not only wise, but extremely fortunate, who avoided being drawn into the devastating whirlpool.

If these enterprises, wild and senseless as many of them were, had been conducted on home capital, the result would not have been so disastrous when the bubble burst, for it would only have eventuated in a change of the ownership of that capital. But much, if not most, of the means on which these undertakings were conducted had been directly and indirectly borrowed from the money centers of Europe. As long as the principal was not called in, and as long as the speculators could borrow money with which to pay interest on the principal, all went as merry as a marriage bell; and it seemed as if man had at least solved the problem of making a dollar without earning it.

History repeats itself, and as all previous periods of abnormal inflation have been followed up by a corresponding period of liquidation and depression, so must the one I have been describing. However, bad as was the overinvestment of borrowed capital in unproductive enterprises, still it may be that we would have safely passed the crisis if the same misfortune had not overtaken others upon whom we were compelled to rely for assistance. Unfortunately, the people of all the other civilized nations of the earth had been and were recklessly treading the same paths, utterly oblivious of the fact that the day of reckoning and settlement was near at hand.

In staid and sober England, where they had no inflated currency to act as an unhealthy stimulus, the corporate capital brought into existence in 1889 was £189,000,000, as against £98,000,000 in 1887. The French had put millions into the Panama Canal and similar schemes on which no returns could be realized.

The Germans were straining every nerve to maintain their immense army which yielded no revenue in return.

Just at this time, while credit was expanded far beyond the danger limit, and when the people of the United States were indebted to Europeans in an amount variously estimated at from two to six billion dollars, the failures in the Argentine occurred, and those who had loaned money in that Republic were unable to call in their principal or interest. This caused lenders to lose confidence in the security of their loans elsewhere, and also compelled many who could live on their interest when it was paid to call for the principal of the loans which they had made to others.

The old and well-established banking house of Baring Brothers, which was supposed to be one of the most reliable and safe institutions in existence, was closed. The Bank of England appeared to be on the verge of bankruptcy. Consternation and fright took possession of financiers and business men. Deposits were withdrawn; uncertainty prevailed; debts must be collected; securities must be realized upon, or disaster would become universal.

Under these circumstances, the eyes of the people of Europe were turned upon the young republic. Our creditors demanded payment of their debts; and such are the wonderful resources of our country, and such the wonderful recuperative energies of our people, that we met their demands with a promptness which challenged the admiration and excited the envy of the world. The process of paying our debts and absorbing our securities, which is the principal means of paying them, has been continued

and still continues. But, just as the financial skies were clearing and the dawning of a better day could be seen on the business horizon came the disastrous failures in Australia.

In that single-standard gold country, in six weeks, banks whose capital exceeded the aggregate capital of all the banks in our great metropolis were compelled to suspend, and there was a complete collapse in all business enterprises. This would not have effected us in the least if it had not been that Australia had borrowed money in the markets where we still owed so much. The holders of our securities, who were also creditors of Australia, were compelled to sell whatever they could realize upon; and the return of our securities continued with accelerated speed, and so rapidly that we could not absorb them in a healthy manner.

With securities as with everything else, when the supply exceeds the demand prices depreciate; and hence, there was a great shrinkage in value. This caused some to market their holdings, and compelled others to do so. Overcapitalized enterprises were unable to pay interest on their mortgages and stocks. Insolvent banks failed; some solvent banks suspended; depositors withdrew their deposits, and the banks were consequently unable to extend the usual accommodations to their customers, and the necessary result was stagnation in all kinds of enterprises. This is the history of the financial trouble from which we are now suffering.

My first proposition is, that our silver legislation has not brought about our financial trouble nor contributed to it, and in support of this I wish to submit a few facts and figures. It has not been contended that we have, or have had, too much money. The complaint has been that the trouble was occasioned by the fear of the quality of the money. There are several complete and perfect answers to this assertion. In Australia they have had reverses, in comparison with which we have been, and are, in the enjoyment of unbounded prosperity. Yet, in that country, the gold circulation of full legal-tender quality is \$25 per capita, and the silver circulation only \$1.75 per capita, and all of that of a limited legal-tender quality. Now, I ask, if the fear of our coming to a silver basis has caused all or any of the distrust which prevails in this country, what has been the cause of the trouble in Australia?

Again, in Great Britain they are affected with the same paralysis of trade and the same stagnation in manufacturing industries from which we are suffering. The papers tell us that on last Saturday in Wales alone there were 500,000 unemployed men. The suffering at Manchester and other manufacturing centers in England is said to be without a parallel, and yet it is to these single-standard gold countries we are pointed as the ones upon which we should model our financial system.

But it is said that the evil is not that we have a bad or depreciated money but the fear that it will become so. Then, I ask, when did this fear begin? The laws complained of, as has been stated, were enacted in 1878, and the bill was vetoed by the President, who predicted then, as those who entertain the same views have predicted ever since, that gold would leave the country, and that we would soon be on a silver basis; that our people would not invest, and that foreigners would not loan, where they would be liable to be paid in a depreciated unit of values. By the report of the Director of the Mint, from which I read, I find that in 1879, there was in this country, including what was in the Treasury, \$245,741,837 in gold.

This amount has been augmented since until on the 1st day of July of the present year, it amounted to the sum of \$513,743,623, and this is true, although for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, the exports of gold exceeded the imports by the amount of \$86,000,000, and the balance has been against us since 1890, to the amount of \$196,000,000. The reasons for this I have already explained. We have been paying our debts, absorbing our securities; and, so far as I can see, it would be a good thing for us if nearly all the remaining gold coin was put to the same use. But it may be said that now that the tide has turned, the yellow metal will leave us.

This statement might have frightened some persons a short time ago; but, as I am informed by Mr. Preston, who is the present Director of the Mint, from the 1st to the middle of the present month the importation of gold has amounted to the enormous sum of \$16,500,000; and the daily press informs us that it is still coming. If our silver legislation accounts for the shipment of gold to Europe from 1890 to the 1st day of July, 1893, what accounts for the return of gold after the 1st of August for the same year, while the laws remain unchanged? But we were not only told that gold would leave us, but that silver would come to us.

By the table from which I now read, and which I wish incorporated in the RECORD as part of my remarks, it appears that since 1878 we have exported the enormous sum of \$126,000,000 more of silver than we have imported; while at the same time our importations of gold have exceeded our exportations, and

our importations of gold have exceeded our importations of silver for the same time in the enormous sum of \$221,000,000.

Statement showing the imports and exports of gold and silver into and from the United States by fiscal years from 1878 to 1893, inclusive.

Fiscal years.	Gold.		Silver.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
1878	\$12,976,281	\$9,204,455	\$16,491,099	\$24,535,670
1879	5,624,948	4,587,614	14,671,052	20,409,827
1880	80,758,398	3,639,025	12,275,914	13,503,894
1881	100,031,259	2,565,132	10,544,238	16,841,715
1882	34,577,054	32,587,880	8,095,336	16,829,599
1883	17,734,149	11,600,888	10,755,242	20,219,445
1884	22,831,317	41,081,957	14,594,945	20,051,423
1885	26,091,696	8,477,892	16,550,627	33,753,633
1886	20,742,349	42,952,191	17,850,307	29,511,219
1887	42,910,601	9,701,187	17,290,191	26,296,504
1888	43,934,317	18,376,234	20,514,232	23,146,510
1889	10,372,145	60,033,246	24,682,380	36,716,782
1890	13,097,146	17,350,193	27,524,147	36,069,602
1891	18,516,112	86,462,880	26,278,916	23,533,551
1892	50,162,879	50,305,533	23,794,734	33,800,562
1893	22,069,380	108,663,116	34,292,011	41,100,491
Total	522,831,031	507,589,423	301,145,371	427,320,431

BUREAU OF THE MINT, August 16, 1893.

The net imports of gold from August 1 to August 15, inclusive, was \$16,250,000.

In view of these facts, I think the fear of this country being placed on a silver basis could not have frightened even timid foreigners, who have been informed by our Eastern friends that we are on the eve of repudiation and the brink of ruin. Again, we are told that the amount of gold in this country is so small in comparison with the amount which we might have to redeem with it, that our ability to maintain a parity between gold and silver is questioned.

Let us examine this statement. In 1879 the stock of gold in this country was \$245,741,837, and the money which this gold might be called upon to redeem was \$805,779,704; that is, there were three and one-third times as much money of other kinds as there was of gold. In 1893, although we had in the previous five years exported \$196,000,000 more gold than we had imported, there was in this country, in gold, \$513,743,623; and the money which this might be called upon to redeem was \$1,506,537,470; that is, there was two and nine-tenths times as much money of other kinds as there was of gold. Is it possible that any man, who would have trusted us at any other time, would be afraid of our money now?

Another matter of great importance to be considered in this connection is that our courts have always held that a contract for the payment of gold dollars could be enforced, and that the debtor could be compelled to pay in the coin of his contract. If the European money-lender fears that he might get back a less valuable money than that which he loaned, all he would have to do to make himself secure on this score would be to take his note payable in gold. This has been done in many cases. Most of the industrial stocks and railroad and other bonds are payable in gold; and yet, as if to show the absurdity of the statement that any one fears that our money is not sufficiently stable, the highest priced stocks and bonds on the market are payable in currency.

Having, as I think, by a mere recital of these undisputed and well-authenticated facts and figures demonstrated the correctness of the first proposition laid down, I will proceed to a consideration of the other—that is, that our silver legislation has materially assisted in enabling us to weather the financial storms. As stated before, no one claims that the volume of money is too great. In 1878 we had a circulation of \$766,253,576, or \$15.32 per capita. This amount was made up principally of \$346,881,016 United States notes, which have remained in circulation ever since, and of \$324,514,284 national-bank notes.

At the present time the volume of the national-bank notes has been reduced to \$172,683,850, while the silver and silver certificates have supplied the vacuum occasioned by their retirement, and, together with the increase in gold, has swelled the circulation up to \$24.47 per capita. Does any man suppose that if we had not added to our circulation we could have received and absorbed the immense amount of securities which have been returned to us from Europe, moved our enormous crops, supplied our increased population with the necessary circulating medium, and continued to develop our resources during the past three years?

But it has been said that if we had not inflated our currency with silver more gold would have been shipped to us. My reply to this is, that the table from which I have read shows that each year since the resumption of specie payments, when the international financial balances have been in our favor, the

difference has been paid to us in gold, except for the year 1891, when we imported less than three million dollars more of silver than we exported. But why should we want to import gold? If owing to a scarcity of money in this country which would have prevailed but for the increase of our silver circulation, we had drawn from across the waters more gold, in what way would that have benefited us?

In Europe, as elsewhere, the price of commodities is affected by the volume of the circulating medium, and if we take from those people their money, to that extent we decrease their ability to buy, and thereby lower the price of the surplus products of our industries which must find a market in foreign countries; and would anyone contend that the satisfaction of having a larger amount of gold than we have or need would compensate us for this deplorable result? As it was, instead of being compelled to take their gold, which we did not need, we bought from them things which we did need; thus affording them a market, which in turn enabled them to buy from us. After all, the only commercial need of gold as applied to this country is in the settlement of adverse international balances. Our other forms of currency, which are a full legal tender in all domestic transactions, are more convenient and more acceptable to our people so long as their parity with gold is maintained by the Government. That we have sufficient gold to do this I think I have shown.

The remaining proposition which I desire to discuss is, that silver ought to be restored to its former condition as a money metal and placed on an exact equality at the mints of the country with gold. The justness of this has not been questioned by anyone, and the only point at issue seems to be. Is it practicable; and if so, at what ratio? I shall endeavor to show that it is practicable, and at the present and long-established ratio of 16 to 1. The contention of those who take an opposite view is that if free coinage of silver prevails, silver now in foreign countries would be shipped into the United States, coined into dollars, exchanged for gold, and the gold shipped out of the country, and this process repeated until we would have no gold left. This is a very important matter, and a point that must be carefully examined.

The first thing to be considered is the supply of silver and the use it is being put to. Manifestly, if an article is being used in any other country more advantageously than it could be here, it will remain there. I am informed by the Director of the Mint that outside of the United States there is practically no bullion silver in existence, and very little in the United States besides that which is in her vaults; that nearly all the silver, except that which is owned by this Government, has been used in the arts or coined into money. No considerable part of that which is manufactured into the various articles for which silver is used will be presented at our mints, because it would then only be worth the number of dollars it would make; and hence the owner would have to lose the additional value which the article possesses, owing to the work that had been done upon it. How would it be, then, with the silver in use in other countries as coin?

In this connection I wish to digress long enough to refer to that supremely ridiculous expression which we hear used so much—the 60-cent dollar. Why not refer to the greenback dollar as the 1-mill dollar, as that amount would cover the cost of producing the bill. The truth is, that since the Government maintains the parity between the dollars by redeeming the one in the other, at the option of the holder, a gold dollar is worth just one silver dollar and no more, and the silver dollar is worth just one gold dollar and no less, and the greenback and the bank-note dollar is worth just the same as either.

But it is said that in the foreign markets the silver dollar is worth only about 60 cents, as that is the value of the metal in it. Then, according to the same reasoning, the greenback dollar is worth in a foreign market nothing. The truth is that our silver dollar and our greenback dollar are each worth, in any part of the world, just 100 cents in gold, less the interest on the money while in transit to and from the United States, plus the cost of transportation, and the same thing applies to the money of all other countries.

Mr. BYNUM. Will the gentleman answer a question right there?

Mr. BELL of Texas. I will try to.

Mr. BYNUM. Why is it that the Mexican dollar does not sell for the same amount in London as the United States dollar? It contains 6 cents more silver.

Mr. BELL of Texas. I have just explained that. It is because you can send a silver dollar back here and get a gold dollar for it, and if you send it back all anybody would be out would be the interest on it for two weeks and the cost of getting the silver dollar over here and getting the gold dollar back. So we must remember that while there is in use in the world silver coin to

the enormous amount of \$4,000,000,000, all of it is worth in the countries where it is coined, not its bullion value, but its coin value.

Let us then see where the silver which is to flood our country and drive away our gold is to come from. France has silver coin of the value of \$700,000,000. It is on an exact parity with gold; it pays debts, serves as bank reserves, and in every other way is just as valuable as gold; and yet the ratio between gold and silver in France is 15½ to 1, while the ratio in this country is 16 to 1. To express it in a different way: The equivalent of an American dollar in French coin contains 359.91 grains of silver, while the American dollar contains 371.25 grains. Would any one be so silly as to think that French silver coin would come to this country when the owner of it would lose 11 grains on each dollar's worth, regardless of the loss from abrasion; and if it did, and the owner offered to have it recoined in our country, would not some one inform him that by returning it to France it could be utilized in payment of debts or in exchange for gold at a ratio of 15½ to 1, while here he could only exchange it at the ratio of 16 to 1?

Exactly the same thing applies to all the nations of Europe which have any silver; the ratio being in each of them 15½ to 1, while in India, which has nearly one-fourth of the coined silver in the world, the ratio is 15 to 1. This, I think, shows very clearly that we can, without driving gold from our country, maintain the free coinage of silver at the present ratio of 16 to 1, as long as other people have a lower ratio, and there will be plenty of time for us to adopt a higher ratio than we now have when the other nations of the world change their coinage laws.

Mr. Speaker, the benefits which would flow to the people of the United States from the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and the evils which would result from its less extensive use as a money of the country, have been so fully explained by other gentlemen on this floor that it is impossible for me to add anything to what has been so well said. However, I deem it but proper to state that even if our views do not prevail, I do not indulge in the gloomy forebodings so often and so sorrowfully expressed by the gentlemen with whom I am associated on this measure.

It is not recommended by the President, or suggested by any one here, that we should destroy the silver dollar we have, or

take away from it its legal-tender character. Hence, there will be no contraction of our currency. The trouble is, that while our population increases, and our business expands, our circulating medium will remain stationary, except so far as it may be augmented by the importation of gold or the issuance of national-bank notes. I think I have shown that the former method of adding to our supply of the precious metal is not promotive of the substantial welfare of the American people; and my fondest political hope is to see the day when it will not be in the power of any number of our private citizens to increase, diminish, or in any way regulate the volume of the nation's money.

Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. I am no enemy to banks or bankers. I recognize their business as being just as legitimate and fully as honest and honorable as any other secular calling. The idea expressed by so many, that our financial difficulties were brought about by a conspiracy of bankers, I repudiate utterly. I believe that but for the assistance which has been rendered, and which is being rendered, the business public by the bankers, many times at the jeopardy of their private means, the collapse in our land would have been complete. In their good work I bid them Godspeed.

Mr. Speaker, I am not one of those who think that the free coinage of silver will prove a panacea for all, or much of, our ills. I believe it would be the least beneficial of any of the economic measures to which the party of which I am a member is committed; but, because I regard it as a step in the right direction, I shall cast my vote for every proposition which is calculated to promote a return to the system founded by our fathers and under which they lived and prospered.

I am aware that many others wish to explain their views on this absorbing question, and will therefore bring my remarks to a speedy close. In doing so, I desire to express the hope that we may be guided by wisdom, as I am sure we will be prompted by patriotism, in whatever course we may adopt, and that our action will turn back the tide of adversity, revive confidence, restore credit, and cause the country of our pride, like a young giant refreshed by slumber, to shake off her lethargy, and stand proudly up at the head of the nations of the universe. [Applause.]

The table referred to is as follows:

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Pa-per.	To-tal.
United States	Gold and silver	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	\$994,000,000	\$538,000,000	\$77,000,000	\$615,000,000	\$412,000,000	\$9.01	\$9.18	\$0.15	\$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold	1 to 14.28	1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000	650,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold	1 to 13.97	1 to 14.38	43,500,000	600,000,000	108,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,000,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	do.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	do.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	do.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,500,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	do.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	38,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.22	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold	1 to 14.08	1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000	40,000,000	10,000,000	50,000,000	40,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	do.	1 to 13.69	1 to 13.69	4,500,000	25,000,000	60,000,000	10,000,000	70,000,000	280,000,000	1.00	2.35	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	8,000,000	32,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.83
Scandinavian Union	Gold	1 to 14.88	1 to 14.88	11,000,000	250,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	50,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver	1 to 15½	1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000	1.52	1.36	.....	2.88	
Australia	Gold	1 to 14.23	1 to 14.23	100,000,000	100,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	25.00	1.75	.....	26.75	
Egypt	do.	1 to 15.68	1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	14.29	2.14	.....	16.43	
Mexico	Silver	1 to 16½	1 to 16½	11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91
Central America	do.	1 to 15½	1 to 15½	3,000,000	.....	500,000	500,000	500,000	2,000,000	.....	.17	.67	.84
South America	do.	1 to 15½	1 to 15	35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000	25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver	1 to 16.18	1 to 15	40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	55,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver	1 to 15	1 to 15	255,000,000	.....	900,000,000	900,000,000	900,000,000	28,000,000	.....	3.53	.11	3.64
China	do.	1 to 15	1 to 15	400,000,000	.....	700,000,000	700,000,000	700,000,000	.....	.....	1.75	.....	1.75
The Straits	do.	1 to 15	1 to 15	.....	.....	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Canada	Gold	1 to 14.95	1 to 14.95	4,500,000	18,000,000	1,200,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc.	do.	1 to 15½	1 to 15½	2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total					3,582,605,000	3,489,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000				

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Speaker, I desire before commencing my prepared remarks on the subject under consideration to answer a question that was asked by the learned gentleman who preceded me, in which he stated this proposition: Why is a silver dollar an honest dollar? It is because it has the broad seal of the Government of this country that stamps it as honest; and without that seal it would not be an honest dollar. Just here I will relate a little incident that proves what a silver dollar or a certificate that calls for a silver dollar is worth in Germany as compared with the greenback money. I had a friend who, about two months ago, offered a \$5 note in Bremen, Germany, as payment for some

purchases that he had made. It was immediately discovered by the person to whom he offered the note that it called for five silver dollars, and my friend was compelled to take the actual value of the silver as it was in Germany on that particular day.

Mr. HEINER. The bullion value?

Mr. HICKS. The bullion value; and on the same day he offered a five-dollar greenback note in payment for a purchase that he had made, and it was taken at its gold value. That is the difference, I take it, between silver money and the money that we call gold money, if you choose; and it would be foolish and useless for this Government, in the face of all the nations

with whom we deal, to undertake to maintain the parity between gold and silver, unless those nations with whom we do business will agree with us.

Mr. Speaker, the question and the substitute under consideration is in no sense a question that appeals to party spirit or party prejudice, but one which concerns the business interests of the entire country—East, West, North, and South. Whether or not the so-called purchasing of silver has caused the present stagnation of trade and financial distress, reports of which reach us from all parts of the country, is directly chargeable to the Sherman law must necessarily enter more or less into the intelligent discussion of the question, and of this one fact we may rest assured, that no matter how much we may differ as to the causes of the present distress, the most of us agree that at least a part of it is chargeable to the distrust and uneasiness caused by the purchasing of silver in the quantities that are directed by law.

There are none of us but understand that what is called money is that which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community in final discharge of debts and full payment for all commodities, and the most important function which it discharges is that of facilitating exchanges and of affording a ready means of establishing the comparative value of different commodities. Indeed, the idea of general value can not be fixed without the existence of money; and as a medium of exchange and measure of value it acts as a standard in the regulation of contracts. Its three functions are, first, as a medium of exchange; second, as a measure by which the comparative values of exchange can be estimated; third, as the standard by which obligations are determined.

Money must be a fixed and unchangeable measure, and must be so recognized by all countries which exchange commodities or enjoy commercial relations with each other; and any changing of its value, or debasement of it that causes a reduction of its value as a purchasing power, destroys public confidence and causes distrust. If the legal money is debased, he who has services to sell, or is the owner of property, can raise the price to suit the occasion. But legal debts and legal money go side by side. These are well-established principles governing money and its uses upon which we all agree.

By the Constitution of the United States Congress has power to coin money and regulate the value thereof. Hence Congress has full command over all the legal debts of the nation, and any abuse of this power, like the debasing of money, causes distrust. This same power that can debase or enrich the legal tender of the country also has the power to increase or decrease all legal debts. From 1794 to 1873 there was no change in our silver dollar, except in 1837, when the ratio was reduced from 416 grains to 412½ grains. In 1873, silver coinage not being provided for, its legal-tender power was taken away. In 1878 it was restored to its former condition as full legal tender for all debts, except when otherwise stipulated in the contract.

Mr. John A. Grier, of Pennsylvania, in his pamphlet—a little book written a few years ago, entitled "Our Silver Coinage," in which he ably reviews the subject as an advocate of silver—says the demonetization of silver in 1873-'74 was a huge blunder, and in the law restoring silver to its old place in 1878 the law of 1873, wherein gold is recognized as the unit of value, remained unchanged and was not repealed in that particular, therefore the restoring of silver creates a new unit of value; hence he claims that we have two units of value—the gold dollar and the silver dollar. And one of the principal reasons urged for the enactment of the law demonetizing silver by the gentleman who had charge of the measure in 1873-'74 [Mr. Hooper] was that the Government could get gold at that time 3 per cent cheaper than silver, and as we then had heavy coin obligations to meet it was wise to provide for the coinage of gold alone.

This, we must remember, was at a time when our people had nearly forgotten that there was such a thing as gold and silver money, as it was then distinctively an age of paper money. So that from 1793 to 1873 we were under a double standard, and from 1873 to 1878 we were under a single or gold standard, and the law of 1873 distinctly states that the gold dollar shall be the unit of value.

Mr. Grier argues with great clearness and force for the continuance of silver coin as money, and, indeed, the overwhelming sentiment of the entire country is, we believe, to-day for the use of silver as a part of our currency; but by reason of the cheapness of silver the difficulty of maintaining it on a parity with gold presents itself, especially so in our dealings with foreign nations who do business only on a gold basis, and to do this, it is contended, a new ratio must be established, and there must be no compulsion upon the Government to purchase it for the purpose of creating a market for the owners and producers of silver. But even a new ratio with a constantly changing market will not cure the evil so long as we stand, almost alone, among the na-

tions of the world to maintain both gold and silver as money on a parity with each other.

The heaping up of large quantities of bar silver in the vaults of the Treasury can not impress any one as a proper measure, and its enactment into law was one of those peculiar compromises that at times have to be resorted to, to bring extremes together, or to prevent, as was the case at that time, the enactment of what was claimed to be a worse measure.

This part of the law, i. e., the purchasing clause, having caused so much adverse comment and distrust, it is now sought to repeal, first, by those who deem the legislation unwise; second, by those who think it responsible for our money stringency; and third, by those who believe that gold alone should be our standard of money; and those who favor silver legislation have offered as a substitute a measure providing for free and unlimited coinage. Neither of these measures, it is claimed, seek to discard silver as a legal-tender money.

The one law, however, contemplates a stoppage, temporarily, of the coinage of silver, except possibly the coinage of what we have on hand. The others claim in their measure, that is, the free-coinage measure, that those who urge the repeal of the Sherman act are in the wrong, and that our present financial disturbances are not chargeable to this, but to some other cause (which other cause they fall to give us), but contend that a more liberal measure of coinage and treatment of silver is demanded instead of the present law; and this new measure will, they claim, at once restore confidence and cure us of all our present ills.

One gentleman [Mr. GOLDZIER] in his address against the free coinage of silver upon the floor of this House likens the country to a sick patient, and says: "We," meaning the Democratic party, of course, "are the doctors," and as such, and he as one of them, prescribe a remedy. I fear, Mr. Speaker, if the remedy proposed by the gentleman, to wit, the repeal of the Sherman law, depended on the Democratic party, the patient would die before the doctors could agree.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, the Democratic party can not administer the proper medicine to this distressed country, for the reasons, first, they have not properly diagnosed the case; second, they do not have the proper medicine in store; and third, they are hopelessly disagreed as to the remedy needed, and it is against their school of medicine to administer the only remedy that can restore suspended animation to the great body politic of this country that now exists; but, sirs, call in the other school, the old tried and reliable Republican doctors, and in a few days time you will see such a change in the appearance of things that will astonish you. Why, the very presence of the old doctor, the old familiar family physician, will at once act as a stimulant and as a restorer, without applying a remedy. [Applause.]

The question of what is the proper thing to do is now before us for action. Patriotism demands in this crisis its careful consideration and an honest and conscientious vote, for the best interests of the whole country, as we understand it, and each for himself must answer to his constituency if he is in error in his final judgment. The agricultural community and the entire business interests of the country, including the manufacturing interests, and especially the latter, are at a standstill, and individuals and parties are divided as to which is the right thing to do; and there are many of us who believe that if a free-coinage measure would add one cent additional to the value of a bushel of wheat, or any additional value to farming lands, or would in any way relieve the present distress that pervades the entire country, we would cheerfully vote for it, and no one would be more willing to vote for such a measure than myself.

Yet, after careful consideration and a patient and careful as well as considerate hearing of all that has been urged by the gentlemen who have advocated the free coinage of silver, I am free to say that, although open to conviction and anxious to learn and do the right, I have been unable to come to a conclusion that will favor the measure offered by Mr. BLAND; and if the limited coinage that has been tried as an experiment since the enactment of the Sherman law has brought about so much distrust and financial distress as is claimed, by the same process of reasoning we must conclude that free and unlimited coinage would cause greater distrust, greater depression in business, and greater financial distress, with its attendant consequences.

The President of the United States has chosen to say to Congress that the so-called Sherman law is responsible for the present condition of affairs. With this position assumed by the President—and we all accord to him honesty and sincerity of purpose—a great many of the distinguished gentlemen on the floor of the House have taken issue, and in the excellent and learned discussion of the subject as given to the House a few days since by Gen. GROSVENOR, of Ohio, that distinguished gentleman said, in language that was unmistakable and to my mind unanswerable, that the Sherman law had very little to do with the present condition of affairs.

Indeed, it was but a subterfuge and a scapegoat, so to speak, on which those who have the direction of affairs choose to place our present depressed condition, and the real cause of the difficulty was the disposition on the part of the President and his advisers to tamper with the well-known protection policy [applause] that has been the distinguishing feature of the Government of this great country for the past thirty years, and under which it has so wonderfully progressed, and that by the attack that is intended to be made upon this policy, which has done so much to make this the greatest country on the face of the earth, the manufacturing interests of the country have become alarmed, and the fear of their business being ruined and the product of their manufactures being depreciated in value, has compelled them to suspend work and discharge their labor, and the smoke of the stacks that was so welcome during the year 1892, and the music of the spindles and looms, the hum of which meant work for the laborer and means of support to his family and happiness and contentment everywhere, is now heard no more, and instead from all our manufacturing districts comes up the complaint that the wheels of industry have stopped. And in all these idleness reigns supreme.

In the city of Altoona, where I reside, in the month of August, 1892, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company paid to its employes about \$160,000, and in the month of August, 1893, they paid about \$160,000.

A MEMBER. For wages?

Mr. HICKS. For wages. In the month of September, 1892, the same corporation paid out \$498,000, within \$2,000 of half a million; while for the month of September of this year, the estimate they have upon their pay roll is about \$140,000; and in the city of Johnstown the Cambria Iron Company has been compelled to suspend from 7,000 to 10,000 of its employes.

What has caused this depression in business? The President has said it is the Sherman law; but, sir, it is the threat of the Democratic party, and the belief of the business and manufacturing people of the country that they intend to interfere with the protective policy that for so many years has done so much to build up the manufacturing interests of our country, and which protective policy has been fostered by the great Republican party. [Applause.]

And in this connection, Mr. Speaker, I desire to have the Clerk read an extract from the New York Press, which very vividly portrays the condition of the country in 1892 and the condition of the country at its present time.

The Clerk read as follows:

DARE DEMOCRATS DENY IT?

One year ago the prosperity of this nation was at high-water mark. Eighteen hundred and ninety-two was the banner year of American industrial progress. During the twelve months ending at midnight on the 31st day of last December the American people produced more and consumed more than in any year of their history. Our foreign trade broke all records by its magnitude. The volume of our industrial production and our exchange of products among ourselves went far beyond all precedent. We produced a million tons more of pig iron than in 1891, and 2,000,000 tons more than Great Britain. We produced 200,000 tons of steel rails more than in the preceding year. We consumed 59,000,000 pounds more wool than in 1891.

Capital and labor were alike fully and profitably employed. The factory wheels revolved unceasingly. Wages were higher than ever before. Confidence was universal. Credit was freely extended. The integrity of the currency was assured. There were fewer commercial failures than in any year since 1832. The creation of wealth for the nation and competence for the toiler went on apace under the shield of America's second Declaration of Independence, the McKinley law.

Until the Bourbons and the Socialists elected Grover Cleveland there was every prospect that the same conditions would prevail during 1893. The capital of the nation, the executive ability of its leaders of industry, the enterprise of its merchants, and the skill of its trained workers were at the highest point on November 8, when the Democratic party triumphed on a platform that declared war on every American interest.

With the election of Cleveland manufacturers and merchants began to trim their sails in anticipation of the coming storm. With the inauguration of Cleveland the storm burst. Confidence vanished. Credit fled. Capital hid itself. Securities in which a large proportion of the country's wealth was invested rapidly dwindled in value till the loss to the people exceeded \$1,000,000,000. Bank after bank went to the wall. The liabilities of commercial failures for the first six months of the year were more than double those of the corresponding period of 1892. Menaced by revolution, American industries ceased to expand and began to retrograde. Production has fallen and wages have fallen with it. Every plate-glass factory in the country has shut down. The great iron mines of the Northwest have suspended operations. Blast-furnace fires are being banked. Trade balances are against us. Textile mills are everywhere closing, or restricting their product. The prices of wool and wheat have sunk to a ruinous figure. The farmer suffers with the merchant and the manufacturer. Tens of thousands of American workmen who last year were busy and prosperous are idle and facing destitution to-day.

The Press asserts explicitly and directly that the prevailing conditions of disaster have been brought about by the threat of Democratic free trade. It asserts that the loss of the people through the depreciation of securities, the paralysis of credit, and the stagnation of industries would not have taken place had Benjamin Harrison been elected instead of Grover Cleveland. The Press challenges Democratic newspapers to deny this statement. Is there one Democratic organ that dares to assert that the disaster which has come upon the country since March 4 would have occurred if the Republican party had continued to control the Government?

Mr. HICKS. In all that is said by the New York Press, in the article just read and in the discussion of this question by the many distinguished gentlemen on the floor of this House—in

nothing that has been said has an explanation been made that denies the statement asserted therein.

And to those of us who can remember what has frequently been referred to by some gentlemen on the other side as to the good old Democratic days before the war, we beg to remind the gentlemen that about the same condition of affairs existed from 1856 to 1860 under Democratic administration that exists to-day; and the message of President James Buchanan to the Congress assembled in 1856, in describing the condition of the country at that time, used language very similar to that which was used by the present President of the United States in his recent message to this Congress.

Indeed, one of the most flagrant acts of betrayal of public trust by the Democratic party that led to the condition of affairs referred to by President Buchanan was the act of George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, when he in opposition to the interests of his State, and in violation of the pledges of his party, cast his vote as Vice-President of this country, and as the representative of the Democratic party against the tariff of 1842, thereby bringing about its repeal, and the sufferings and distress that culminated from 1856 to 1860 were directly chargeable to the report of that measure.

The student of history who will take the pains to examine will discover that when this country was working under a policy of protection instead of a policy of tariff for revenue only it was in a far more prosperous condition. The Democratic party has always been, at least for the past thirty years, the pessimistic party of this great nation, and, as a Republican, I point with pride to the success and prosperity of the country during the days of Republican administration, and am willing at any time to have its policy contrasted, by any fair-minded person, with the policy of the Democratic party (if it has a policy).

Mr. Speaker, many of us well remember the so-called good old Democratic days of 1856 to 1860, of low wages, scarcity of work, and greater scarcity of money. The old rag-paper currency of State banks, dishonored and worthless, and the distress and suffering then existing, especially in the winter of 1857, was without parallel, before or since, especially in the iron districts of Pennsylvania, excepting, possibly, the present time. The great Cambria Iron Works, of Johnstown, with its army of from 7,000 to 10,000 workers, is almost at a standstill.

The miners of coal and manufacturers of coke on the Alleghenies have nothing to do; the great repair and machine shops of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Altoona are working only about one-third of the time, and instead of the pay roll for the month of August reaching the munificent sum of \$450,000 (almost half a million), as it did in August, 1892, it did not reach half that amount; and it will be far less in September.

Is this the change that was desired and urged by the Democratic party? It is, sir, an additional and most convincing argument against the principles enunciated in their deluding platform. It is at variance with the best interests of, and is directly antagonistic to, the prosperity of the laboring man, as well as the manufacturer. Wheat was then, as now, at a very low price; but with no labor and no means of earning money, little does it matter how cheap are the necessaries of life.

Those good old Democratic days may well be boasted of, except to those who know the sad experience of those days and the misery and destitution then existing; and may God forbid that the working people of Pennsylvania, yea, of the whole country, may ever again see such a winter as the winter of the "good old Democratic days" of the winter of 1857.

Since the election the people have stopped to think, and are examining what was promised them by the Democratic party in order to induce them to make a change, and they have discovered that that party itself, which promised so much for the public good, is hopelessly divided, except in their desire for public office, and that to-day, instead of unanimously working for the best interests of the country, they are upon the floor of this House charging each other with bad faith; and you have the piteous spectacle of the President and the acknowledged leader of his party pointing out one line of policy, while many of its most distinguished leaders in the Senate and on the floor of this House take issue with him and say that if that line of policy is followed as he recommends it will be most ruinous and work far greater injury to the country than any other measure he might possibly suggest.

The fact is, Mr. Speaker, if this Congress would by resolution to-day declare that the protection policy which was fostered by the great Republican party should continue untouched, and would then adjourn without any action whatever upon the Sherman law, confidence would be at once restored, and the busy hum of the hives of industry would be heard again from ocean to ocean, and from North to South, and happiness and contentment would again reign supreme in the homes of our people.

This hopeless division of the Democratic party on the financial question of to-day proves the incapacity of that party to di-

rect the affairs of this great country, and demonstrates the fact that by the promise of too much they have succeeded in getting into power. What has happened since that time and is now pervading the entire country needs no further reference on my part, as it is too well known to even require repetition.

Nations, like individuals, must be honest, and the Democratic party, by reason of its dishonesty as a party and its failure to redeem its promises, has sown the seeds of distrust from which we now suffer.

Its hopeless division already referred to on the financial question proves its inability to keep its pledges and contracts to the people. They were made to be broken, and we say here, Mr. Speaker, without fear of successful contradiction, that another matter which has not yet been referred to by any gentleman on the floor of this House has also tended largely to create distrust in the minds of the people of the ability of the present Administration to properly conduct the business of the country; and that, sir, is the disposition manifested to violate the contracts which have been entered into on the part of the Government with the men who saved this country from eternal ruin.

The country loves its old soldiers and they want their contracts with them honestly observed. I speak, sir, with due regard for what I am about to say when I assert that Mr. Cleveland has not, either by his own personal acts or by the acts of the gentlemen whom he has called into his counsels, in any way proven himself or themselves to be friendly to the Union veterans of the country, and they have shown no disposition, either by word or act, to live up to the contracts of the Government to care for the old soldier and his family when old age and disease should overtake him.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, it is to the disgrace of this great nation that we find a condition of affairs existing such as never before existed in this country, nor has its like existed in any other country. Claims against the Government upon a solemn contract, proven in due form of law, considered by a proper court after careful and patient hearing, and a judgment entered in each case, and the money justly due and owing, partly paid on account of said judgment, have, by the act of one man, been entirely overturned, and judgment reversed without a hearing and without notice, until after the decree of reversal was entered against the plaintiff in the case.

The present Secretary of the Interior has, by the stroke of his pen, decided that the solemn judgment entered by legal and proper authority and in accordance with law, in thousands of pension cases, by his honored predecessors, was entered, as he now declares, without authority of law, and he has reversed decrees for the payment of pensions that were granted in the manner indicated, and pensions have been stopped, and pensioners have been notified by thousands that they must again go through the forms prescribed by law and present again their claims before an unfriendly court, acting as judge and jury, to prove themselves entitled to the small pittance which the Government had already granted them upon cases heard and adjudicated.

Such a wholesale overturning of precedents was never before heard of, and the Union veteran who has had his pension stopped is held up before the community in which he resides as a fraud, impostor, perjurer, and cheat; and he is humiliated before his neighbors, and made to feel as though he has acted an unworthy part in securing for himself that which was his right; and thus in his old age the Government he faithfully served has turned its back upon him and has attempted to disgrace him. This violation of contract upon the part of the present Administration has been felt all over this land, and, in my humble judgment, it has had as much to do with sowing the seeds of distrust as any other act either omitted or committed by the present Administration.

I appeal to the gallant soldiers of the Confederacy who sit upon the other side of this House, and with whom the boys in blue at Appomattox divided rations and broke the bread of eternal fellowship and brotherhood, and as one of that army who wore the blue who helped to make it possible for these soldiers of the Confederacy to occupy the distinguished positions they now hold in the halls of Congress, and the many other places of honor and preferment in the gift of this great and generous people, and in the name of these thousands of men who have been denied this small pittance by the Government, and who have been held up as targets for public condemnation, I ask for fair play and justice.

It has never been in the heart of the Union soldier, and I challenge proof of it, to gloat over the defeat of our Southern brothers; but, trusting to their honor, we have aided so far as we could in restoring to you, my soldier friends on the other side, the right of the ballot; and by the exercise of that right, which grew out of our confidence and generosity, we ask you to see that fair play and honest dealing shall be given to the thousands of now old and infirm men who suffered in saving this country, the bene-

fit of which you reap, which is represented in this most solemn obligation of the Government—the pension roll—that the Secretary of the Interior is now trying to make dishonorable.

In doing this I say it is but reasonable and just, Mr. Speaker, to expect that the gallant men who wore the gray will remember the debt of gratitude which is due the Union veteran—a debt which they in common with every other citizen of the Union, and their prospering section as well as every other section of the country, owes to the old blue soldier, now in the days of the sere and yellow leaf of old age.

As these pensions have been stopped in many homes all over this nation, the grocer has failed to receive his due, and he in turn would fail to meet his obligation, and thus it has extended from hamlet to town and from town to village and from village to county seat and from county seat to the cities and the great centers of trade until every artery of the great financial fabric of the nation has responded to this outrage. This is one of the many causes that have led the people to believe that their interests are not safe in the hands of the men who are now attempting to control the affairs of this great nation.

Mr. Speaker, I desire briefly to refer to another matter that is causing much anxiety and concern to the business interests of the country; that is, sir, the declaration in the platform of the Democratic party favoring the repeal of the tax upon State banks; this is a threat and menace to our present system of national currency, the system now in use by this Government, and which, barring the cheap silver dollar, is pronounced to be the best ever devised by man, and while it may be improved and strengthened, any serious changes made in it must work and cause serious disaster and confusion, and the threat as promulgated by the Democratic party is already bearing evil fruit and has aided to create the present prevailing distrust.

During the protective Administration of President Harrison the business of this country so prospered as to warrant an increase of 26,000 new business concerns. But notwithstanding this unprecedented increase of our mercantile institutions, the failures during the last year of Mr. Harrison's Administration were 335 less than the last year of President Cleveland's first Administration, and the total amount involved in such failures was less by \$9,786,000.

Immediately after the election of President Cleveland in 1892 came the speedy contraction of business already referred to, and preparation was at once made, and sails were taken in by business men and manufacturers to be prepared for unknown impending dangers, and the amounts involved in commercial failures increased over 200 per cent in six months, comparing the first months of 1893 with the first months of 1892. From all parts of this country to-day we hear of idle men, most of whom are anxious and willing and ready to work, and no work to do. In New York but a day or two ago a riot was imminent, and unless something speedily be done the cry will soon come from all quarters of this great nation, "Give us bread."

Says a distinguished authority and writer in the New York Tribune:

Financial distress and ruin must always follow the change from doing business with poor money to good money; hence, no nation should ever adopt a depreciated currency, and in the end the use of a depreciated or debased currency will inevitably result in disaster to any nation that adopts it, and so far as history discloses no nation has ever yet changed from a depreciated currency to a sound one whose people have not suffered.

This was primarily the cause of the panic in 1873, and our friends in the South can well take this picture home with them, and they can cite to you the fearful struggle that they have had to rebuild their beautiful country since the ravages of war and from the effect of their worthless money. Yet notwithstanding this lesson we are face to face with a currency (our silver coinage) that is not what it pretends or claims to be, but is of less real value than a dollar.

This fact causes distrust, which means and is soon followed by disaster. Yet notwithstanding these undeniable facts, which cause us to realize our present condition, we are asked by the gentlemen who are urging the enactment of the measure proposed by Mr. Bland to agree to the free and unlimited coinage of these same debased and dishonest dollars.

Mr. Speaker, if the Sherman act has one good feature above another, it is the limit fixed in its purchasing clause in which the Government is permitted to purchase a certain amount of silver. And, as we have already been informed by the President, this is in a great measure the cause of our present disturbed financial condition. If we do not choose to vote for its repeal, we must vote for the substitute presented by the gentleman from Missouri, which will continue the coinage of these same dollars for anyone who wants them, without stint or limit. And herein a great wrong has been done to the Republicans of this body; we are not permitted to suggest a remedy, but must choose between the two propositions submitted by the Democratic party.

Surely to vote for free coinage at this crisis would be a great mistake, and, if to purchase silver in a limited amount has caused the present distress (and the President says it has) and an almost total stagnation of business, what will be the result, sir, if we, in the face of this condition, declare for free and unlimited coinage? Public confidence has become impaired; distrust reigns supreme; every owner of money places it in his pocket and keeps it there; currency is sold as a commodity at a high rate of premium—and all this is caused, so we are informed by financiers, by this purchasing of silver, and from all parts of this great country comes the demand from farmers, from bankers, and from business men, for the repeal of this law by which they claim they will have relief.

Are the requests and demands of these men of experience and practical knowledge to be treated as unworthy of consideration, and are we to be led by men of no experience and who have no means of knowledge of the real situation except their own theories, and shall we, in disregard of the requests of practical men, do away with one experiment that has proven a failure merely to try another on the same line on a larger scale, and thus by the failure on our part to aid in restoring public confidence place ourselves in a much worse condition than we now are?

What can be urged, Mr. Speaker, and what has been urged by the advocates of free coinage that is better than the law we now have? The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] who has advocated free coinage upon the floor of this House failed to state in what way the enactment of that measure would enhance the value of farm products, or increase the value of a day's labor, or start again in operation a single manufacturing establishment or branch of industry. The same gentleman claims to represent the farmers of Pennsylvania, and in their name demands the continuance of the coinage of these debased and dishonest dollars.

I take issue with the gentleman right here, and assert that if there is one principle above another that the farmers of Pennsylvania are noted for, it is their honesty, integrity, and their belief in a sound currency; and they will authorize no man, here or elsewhere, to urge for them the coinage of a dollar that is intrinsically worth but little more than 50 cents. The farmers of Pennsylvania do not believe in fiat money. "Thou shalt not steal," says the gentleman. Is he not violating his own command when he robs the people by coining dishonest dollars to enrich the owners of silver mines? He further says, in advocacy of free coinage, that when silver goes up in price, wheat follows it, and when it goes down, wheat likewise goes down. Is not the gentleman by his own argument proving that such an unstable article as silver is not a fit standard upon which to measure values?

Therefore, in the absence of facts and in the face of the result of a well-tryed experience, will not the theories of free coinage lead us to greater disaster and more extended financial distress than we are now suffering from? And must we in answer to the petitions and opinions of men of wisdom and experience turn a deaf ear and listen to and act with theorists only? Does not our best judgment dictate the immediate repeal of a law or that part of a law that is supposed to contribute in any way to our present distress, and by this action restore, or at least assist to restore, confidence?

This being done, it would be wisdom for us to then stop and give time for thought and further examination of the subject that is so potent for weal or woe to the country at large. Would it not be best for our friends who are so clamorous for the free coinage of silver to await the result indicated, and for the general good step aside from selfish and personal ends and personal upbuilding?

I respectfully contend, Mr. Speaker, that the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act does not impair the use of nor the value of silver as a money metal. The two great parties of this country alike promise the people that they favor bimetallism. As a Republican, sir, I say without fear of contradiction, that it is to the pride and credit of that great party that they have always adhered to the promises made in their party platforms, and many wise and wholesome laws attest the truth of my statements; and from the birth of the party in 1856 down to the present time it has always stood for a free ballot, fair elections, a protection policy, and an honest currency.

And are we not bound to keep faith and maintain silver on a parity with gold as per present ratio or standard, and doing that which honesty and fair-dealing demands must be done? In the maintenance of this double standard our Populist friends can also fall in line with us, and the only manner in which they and the silver advocates generally are restrained, is in suspending the purchase of the precious metal by the Government.

Patriotism demands that some sacrifice shall be made; and while the great iron, coal, cotton, and other manufacturing industries of the country generally are either stopped or largely affected by this depression, is it more than fair, or is it asking

too much to say to the owners and producers of silver that they too must stand back and give the country time to recover its wonted condition and take breath for a new start; and by thus aiding to restore confidence, the time will soon come when with a proper ratio of a new standard established, and the new order of things that must ensue by a reestablishment and renewal of confidence and business, the coinage of silver can again be resumed in such a manner, aided by the light of experience, as to avert ever again the loss of public confidence by reason of making a depreciated dollar, that in the end causes distrust, disaster, and financial ruin.

No, Mr. Speaker, the thing to be done to-day is to repeal the purchasing clause which compels the Government to buy silver. Whatever the material benefit of repealing may be will be far surpassed by the effect upon the restoration of confidence. The situation is such that something must be done. The stupendous piles of the manufacturing and banking establishments, leaning against and upon each other, depend upon confidence. An avalanche seldom begins suddenly. Here a piece comes away and there another, and between the last fallings of fragments and the stupendous crash there is often but an instant. There is money enough in the country, and it will pour out the moment something is done to restore confidence.

In the present situation the abstract question of bimetallism or monometallism must be postponed. The several conferences of delegates upon that subject have as yet brought forth nothing. Our methods are out of harmony with those that prevail in the world. That we can make silver other than an article of merchandise, circulating at its worth in grains in the market, without the help of other nations, none can suppose. If we could, we could not do it soon enough for the needs of the present situation.

There is but one way, Mr. Speaker, out of this difficulty. The eyes of the entire nation are directed toward these Halls. People have been led to believe, whether rightfully or not, that their present distress is chargeable upon the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver law. As patriots and as representatives of a great people it is our duty to repeal that law; and, as I have before stated, this is not the time to argue bimetallism or monometallism. We have but one plain duty, and that is not done until the purchasing clause of the Sherman silver act is erased from our statute books.

These other questions which must necessarily be considered in connection with the use of silver as money can be postponed, and with a restoration of public confidence these matters can be worked out in the future to the satisfaction of ourselves and to the satisfaction of the people whom we have the honor to represent. [Applause.]

Mr. ALDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am a Democrat, and a bimetallist.

The platform of the Democratic party adopted at its last national convention, declares:

We denounce the republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Mr. Cleveland, in his letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination last year, uses this language:

The people are entitled to sound and honest money, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State—whether gold, silver, or paper—it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action, or by wise and careful laws, that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed both gold and silver can be safely utilized, upon equal terms, in the adjustment of our currency.

On the faith of these declarations the Democratic party has been intrusted with power by the American people. Our party is committed to bimetallism, as well as to the repeal of the Sherman silver law, passed by a Republican Congress over the solid vote of the Democratic members of both the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Democrats in the Fifty-first Congress stood as one man against this measure, and in repealing it we but follow in the footsteps and voice the sentiments of those of our own political faith who were members of that Republican Congress which not only wronged the people by enacting this "cowardly makeshift," but by its lavish and extravagant appropriations and the passage of a McKinley tariff bill increased the burdens of an

oppressed and tax-ridden people, and attempted to add to its unenviable record by placing Federal bayonets around the voting places where freemen are expected to exercise unrestrained and untrammelled the right of franchise.

The Democratic party is not responsible for the Sherman silver law, and we are opposed to it, as we always have been. Even the Republicans themselves, smarting under the sanguinary defeat which but lately overtook them, and in fear of future chastisement for their political transgressions, assert that they are anxious to be rid of their own production, although they differ widely as to the motives which prompted them in fastening upon the country the ridiculous and ruinous policy emanating from their act of 1890 and its attending evils. Mr. SHERMAN, who gave his name to this measure, in his remarks in the Senate on the 8th instant, in excuse of the passage of this act, used the following language:

I do not myself wish to enter into a political debate, but there is one fact I must impress upon my friend from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES], and that is that the passage of the act to which he has referred was caused by the imminent danger of the two Houses of Congress agreeing to the free coinage of silver.

Mr. TELLER, another distinguished Republican Senator, replying to Mr. SHERMAN on the same day, said:

I want to refer to the very subject mentioned by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], who has just taken his seat; that is, to the statement made by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] that the Sherman law was passed to save the country from a free-coinage act. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] was the chairman of the conference committee which framed that act, and on the floor of the Senate, when he made the report, he stated in the most emphatic manner that the House of Representatives had determined in a very positive way that no free-coinage bill could pass that body.

Mr. President, I say here now, with all due deference to the honorable Senator, and trying to keep as closely within the rules of Senatorial decency and courtesy as the circumstances will admit, that that statement is an afterthought. The records will not support it. The matter was brought here in that shape for the reason that it was supposed it would quiet the agitation and would maintain intact in the Northwest the Republican column of States. We were told in plain, unmistakable language that this might be a sop to our people, which would save us and save our political organization in that great section of the country, and that we could get nothing better.

I care not, Mr. Speaker, whether the Sherman silver law was enacted to avoid the passage of an act providing for free coinage silver, as claimed by the Senator from Ohio, or whether it was placed on the statute books as a "sop" to the people of the West and to induce them to vote the Republican ticket, as averred by the Senator from Colorado; but this we do know, as is known of all men, that the Sherman law and other laws enacted by Republican Congresses have carried ruin and disaster to the commercial interests of the country, and brought poverty and distress to our people; and at the door of the Republican party the responsibility and the blame must rest.

I do not understand that any Democratic member of this House favors the continuation of the Sherman act as the law of the land, and I do understand that we all favor its repeal.

The differences which exist among us relate solely to the questions: First, shall there be unconditional repeal of this law, or shall we provide at the same time for further coinage of silver? And, second, if silver is to be continued as one of the money metals, at what ratio shall it be coined?

That a most serious condition of affairs existed in this country was admitted in all quarters; financial depression, uncertainty, and uneasiness prevailed everywhere; ruin and disaster confronted the business interests of the country. The Executive gave heed to the demand which came up from all quarters, and exercised the prerogative vested in him by the Constitution to convene in special session the Congress of the United States "on extraordinary occasions." The representatives of the people have assembled; the eyes of the people are upon them; they are expected to enact such laws as will restore confidence, and to repeal or amend the laws enacted by Republican Congresses, and to which must be attributed the present deplorable condition of affairs existing throughout the country.

We are called upon to meet the situation for which the Democratic party is not responsible, and one which affects the whole people. I trust, Mr. Speaker, that in dealing with it we may be able to rise above party, and that in this hour of emergency we may be more of patriots than partisans, and in a conservative spirit unite in a common effort to relieve our common country of the unfortunate conditions now surrounding us.

The President, in a message bold and fearless, and couched in language characteristic of the man and of his every public utterance and expression, has recommended the repeal of the Sherman silver law—and there the message stops. He does not, as is claimed by many gentlemen, declare in favor of the unconditional repeal of the law in question. Gentlemen infer and argue that he favors unconditional repeal. After a careful reading and study of the President's message, I believe that it is unfair to him to assume that he would veto any measure which might pass

Congress relating to the subject under discussion except such a measure as that introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

In the face of a platform which flatfootedly and unqualifiedly commits his party to the use of both gold and silver as money, and upon which he was elected; in the face of the language employed by him in his letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination, it is far fairer to the President to presume that he is ready to carry out the pledges his party has made to the people, and that he would not interpose the veto power to prevent the people's representatives from placing among the laws of the land a conservative and reasonable measure which would furnish to the country the money necessary in the transaction of the business of the people.

Mr. Speaker, Grover Cleveland is not the man to remain silent upon any public question in respect to which he has formed an opinion. The people of this country admire him most for his devotion to the right as he sees it, his fearlessness in the discharge of duty, and his boldness of expression upon public questions: and I again assert that it is unfair to the President to assume in advance that he would veto an act providing for the free coinage of silver at a safe and reasonable ratio.

But, Mr. Speaker, while I am a Democrat and a partisan, and have as strong a disposition as any other Democrat to support, sustain, and uphold a Democratic Executive, I must say for myself, in all frankness, that I will vote upon this question as I deem to be right, and in accordance with the best interests of the people, as I understand them. I will carry out the pledges my party has made to the country; I will keep faith with the people who have elected me, regardless of future results.

I have before voted for the free coinage of silver; I have in good faith told the people of our district that I favored the use of both metals as money; they have elected me understanding my position upon this question, and I will not now lay myself open to the charge of treachery and deceit, or that I have secured their suffrages by false pretenses. I have seen no cause to change my opinion upon the question at issue, but, on the contrary, the present scarcity of money convinces me more conclusively than ever before that any law which will retard an increase in volume of currency would have a most injurious effect, and to pass it would be bad policy in the extreme.

The bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia will stop the further coinage of silver—the only means now provided by law for an increase of the money of the country; and in my judgment there should be substituted for it some safe and conservative measure to insure to the people an increase in their circulating medium, commensurate with the increase in population and the requirements of increased business, traffic, and trade. It may be that some of us feel embarrassed and hampered in our action here by the rule which has been adopted confining the vote to certain ratios, and to a single other question, but we must meet the situation as it is presented and vote in accordance with our conscientious convictions.

The Wilson bill, so called, provides for the repeal of so much of the act approved July 14, 1890 (the Sherman act), as directs the Secretary of the Treasury "to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchase Treasury notes of the United States," but, curiously enough, leaves intact that portion of the act of July 14, 1890, which declares it to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

In other words, it is proposed to repeal the only law in existence which authorizes the coinage of silver, and leave as a part of the statute, after they have amended it, the provision which commits our Government to the maintenance of both gold and silver on a parity with each other.

Gentlemen demand immediate action upon the bill to repeal the Sherman law and inveigh against delay. Mr. Speaker, this demand loses its force when we remember that this House has already fixed a date when we take a vote upon every amendment and a final vote upon this bill. Gentlemen say they are bimetallists, and yet they notify us that they will vote against every amendment looking towards free coinage of silver. Under the rule adopted we can without delay repeal the Sherman law, and at the same time provide for further and free coinage of silver. Why not, then, provide for repeal and for silver coinage at one and the same time?

It does seem to me that if gentlemen are sincere in the claim that they are bimetallists, they will unite with us in dealing a blow which will both rid the people of an obnoxious and dangerous law and relieve the country by providing for further coinage of silver. Both can be done at one and the same time.

Why not then vote to accomplish both desirable ends? I see no good reason for a different policy.

Mr. Speaker, I will not impugn the motives of any gentleman, but I call the attention of the House and of the country to the fact that the battle against silver has never been an open warfare, and that every attack made upon the white metal, since it was by fraud and collusion demonetized in 1873, has been a covert assault, concealed under a pretense of friendship for its coinage; and we to-day find Representatives upon this floor, who in one breath declare they favor the preservation of both metals on a parity with each other, and in the next they declare themselves in readiness to vote for the repeal of the only statute in force which authorizes the coinage of silver. They are ready to strike down silver and stop its coinage, and at the same time insist that they favor bimetallism. Deplorable indeed is the condition of the money of the Constitution and of the people when it is left to the tender mercies of such uncertain friendship.

The question of free coinage of silver is not a new one for consideration by the people of my State, or of the district which I represent. The question has been discussed before our people in the past and will be discussed and considered in the future. The Democrats of West Virginia have time and again in their State, Congressional, District, and County platforms declared for free coinage, and Democrats have been united upon that question. Our late and lamented Senator Kenna, one of the ablest and most eloquent men our State has ever produced, as far back as May 16, 1879, when he represented upon this floor the people for whom I now speak, in discussing the subject now under consideration expressed himself in the following vigorous and eloquent language:

Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to discuss this particular amendment. I am and have always been in favor of every honest proposition to supply to the people of this vast country the currency which their business and welfare demand. I desire, however, to take advantage of this brief opportunity to state in a general way the reasons which actuate me in giving to the pending bill my hearty support. An epitome of the financial legislation enacted by the Republican party in the last sixteen years presents a singular and a heartless chapter of financial wrong.

In 1862 the bond system was inaugurated. In 1863 the national-bank system was adopted. By the legislation of that period the greenbacks were issued. The public debt, under the burdens of war, grew to over two billions. Of this immense sum three-fourths were represented by 5-20 bonds, payable in currency. In 1869 and 1870 the acts were passed which changed the nature of this immense debt and declared every dollar of it payable in coin. In 1873 silver was demonetized, and thus this debt was made payable in gold alone. In 1875 the resumption act was passed, and the work of destruction has been going on with relentless vigor.

Sir, it is due to the truth of history to say that these measures exempting the bonds from taxation, creating national banks, declaring currency bonds payable in coin, striking down silver and forcing the resumption of specie payments without regard to the consequent forced contraction of the currency, destruction of values, and suffering of the people, were Republican measures, matured and adopted by the Republican party in the face and in spite of the opposition of the Democratic vote in Congress. Thus, in 1866, the country had gold, silver, and greenbacks in which to pay its great debt, though the greenbacks themselves were eventually redeemable.

But the payment of the 5-20 bonds in greenbacks according to the contract would have saved the taxpayers of this country the interest on fifteen hundred millions of their debt, which they are now paying on the bonds issued in funding the five-twenties, and this, sir, without any violation on their part of a contract as binding on the bondholder as on them. It can not be objected that this would have been excessive inflation, for the process could have been regulated by the demands of business. To put at rest this righteous agitation by the people to pay these bonds in currency, as agreed in the start, John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, has announced to the country that the last dollar of that class of bonds has been taken up and destroyed, and another bond, bearing interest, exempt from taxation, and payable in coin, issued in its stead! And all this has been done under pretense of lessening the burden of the people!

The act of 1873 demonetizing silver was in further pursuance of that Republican policy which in effect struck down the means of payment in the hands of the people and enhanced their obligations in the hands of their holders. I do not agree exactly with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Ewing] in the statement that no man could be found who could be shown to be directly or indirectly the author of that act. The record of that period shows that while the act was pending and under consideration the question was asked by Mr. Merriam, of New York, whether it had been submitted to the then Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, a Republican, having the bill in charge, answered that it had been submitted to that Republican official, and he not only approved, but strongly urged its passage. I believe, therefore, and avow here that the striking down of silver was a matured policy of the Republican party to which—the evidences are abundant all around—they stoutly and persistently adhere.

No man can measure the damage to the business, the property, and the labor of this country which this mischievous system inflicted. Why, sir, it may be truly said that the resumption act of 1875 was at the bottom of the financial panic of 1873. Coming events cast their shadows before, and two years in advance is a short period of time for information to reach Wall street of the course of action to be adopted in Washington under the past Republican financial rule. I have briefly run over these prime facts in the history of the financial legislation of the last sixteen years. The veto, which stands in the way of free elections, fair and impartial juries, and the inalienable right of a free people to vote untrammelled by bayonets and by bullets, stands ready to confront this bill. It was exercised to defeat the silver bill of the last Congress.

But these issues can not die. When the Democracy goes to the people demanding free elections, fair juries, the banishment of troops from the polls, and the restoration of an honest financial policy to the masses of this country, the rally will be great and the triumph grand. I am in favor of this bill because it represents one of these great issues; I am in favor of this bill because it restores to the people one of the means for the payment of their obligations, which was accepted as such by the holders of the obligations when they were created; I am in favor of this bill because it allows every holder of silver bullion to present it to the mints to have it coined free and returned to him in coin for general use.

Our product of silver is from thirty to forty millions annually. This bill will therefore put that amount in circulation instead of hoarding it in the vaults. I am in favor of this bill because it will increase the currency of the country, contribute to the relief of its people, and vindicate, at least to some extent, the right of the masses to hold even the bondholder, in his assumed lordly estate, to the sacred obligation of his voluntary contract.

It will not do for gentlemen to tell us that times, conditions, and circumstances have so changed since these eloquent words were uttered by our dead representative that we must reverse our past action and wipe out the record left behind us. The same battle which was fought by Kenna and the other friends of the people with whom he was associated is again upon us, and the same warfare will go on until the people of this country shall have accorded to them what they need and what they desire, what they demand and will have in the end—an honest dollar sufficient in volume to meet their necessities and conditions.

Many of the prominent and leading spirits of the Republic have given expression to their views respecting the demonetization of silver, and the use of silver as a money metal. The great Kentuckian, Hon. John G. Carlisle, then a Representative in this body, in a speech delivered upon this floor as far back as 1878, expressed himself upon this subject in language strong, eloquent, and logical. He said:

I know that the world's stock of the precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age.

The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of the metallic money in the world.

Sir, the conspiracy to which Mr. Carlisle referred is still in existence, and the conspirators have never turned from their original purpose; and the reasons now existing why they should be thwarted are even stronger than they were in 1878.

It is agreed by all candid persons, whether they advocate a single or a double standard, that the gold supply is inadequate and insufficient to furnish to the world a basis for values and for a circulating medium; and yet it is suggested that the only way to secure for our people a double standard is absolutely to wipe out the use of silver in so far as its coinage in our mints is concerned.

As well, Mr. Speaker, can you expect the patient to recover to whom the physician daily administers doses of poison, or the pig in the pen to grow fat if his food is kept from him, as to suppose that silver coinage can be secured by the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. To adopt a single gold standard places the gold of the world on the block to be sold to the highest bidder. When we bid highest we will have the gold until next sale day, when some other country offers more for it, and then it goes to the purchaser and away from us.

The gold then would first be owned by one country and then by another, and would constantly increase in value, driving down continually the prices of all productions and of all commodities, making larger the debts of the debtor class, and increasing the business and purses of the "Shylocks" of the country. It is neither desirable, feasible, nor practicable for a single gold standard to be adopted for the whole world.

We are told that silver can not be maintained at a parity with gold without an agreement among the nations of the earth as to the ratio at which it is to be coined—without an intermonetary conference.

Mr. Speaker, I do not suppose there is an intelligent citizen of the Republic, except such as are the owners of dollars which would be valuable in proportion as the dollars in the world would be scarce, and whose selfish interests would prompt them to oppose an increase of circulation from any source, who would not favor an intermonetary conference; and everyone of our citizens knows that time and again our country has proposed and sought without avail such a conference, and that we now have no assurance that such a conference will ever be held, or if held that it will be prolific of results.

The emergency upon us is one that can not be satisfied with eloquent and theoretical appeals in behalf of intermonetary conferences which may never come. The danger is imminent, and it is our duty to meet the situation as it is presented—now, not next year or at some other uncertain period in the future. The business interests of the country are starving for want of a medium with which to carry on enterprises for the development of the richest land on the face of the earth; our workingmen are in want because they can not find employment for their labor; our agriculturists can not find sale for the products of their farms.

Let us authorize the holders of silver bullion, as we do those who own gold, to coin it into dollars and place them in circulation and relieve the distresses of the people by giving employment and comfort to the unemployed and destitute and a market for the products of the farm and of manufacture.

It will not answer their expectations or necessities, or fulfill the promises we have made, for us to tell the business man whose enterprises are paralyzed because he can not obtain money; the laboring man whose family is in want because he can not secure employment; or the farmer who can not meet his obligations for want of a market for his product, that they must wait for an intermonetary conference, dependent upon the whims of the rulers of the other countries of the globe.

Mr. Speaker, the people have not asked us for stone, but for bread, and they should have it now. The people are not afraid of the Government or of any money—gold, silver, or paper—to which the Government's faith is pledged. The time has not been for a century, and it will never in the future occur, that our people, and those of the whole world, will not rely upon and have faith in any money of any kind which our proud Government may agree to make good for its face value.

Mistakes may be made in providing ratios and securities for money coined, but the faith and credit of the American people will always be regarded and respected. The people have not taken their money out of the banks and have not made banks of their stockings because they feared the stability of the Government or of its money, but because they were afraid of the banks, some of which were so recently engaged in a scheme to force the Government to issue bonds, so that they could speculate in the bonds. I repeat it, the people have not been afraid of the money in circulation, but of the banks; hence the "runs" made upon banks and attending results.

The argument is made that we can not maintain silver at a parity with gold because there has been an increase and overproduction of silver. Mr. Speaker, there has not been an overproduction of silver. The report of the Director of the Mint for 1892 shows that 50,000,000 ounces were produced in the United States in 1889, 54,000,000 in 1890, 58,330,000 in 1891, and in 1892 58,000,000. The same authority says the whole world produced, in 1889, 125,420,000 ounces; in 1890, 133,212,600; in 1891, 144,426,200, and in 1892, 151,051,800. It is estimated that 27 per cent of the silver is used in the arts, which would to that extent reduce the quantum which can be used for the coinage of silver and absorbed in the commerce and the traffic of the world.

The increase in the population, wealth, and trade of the world has been and will continue to be much larger in proportion than the increase in silver production, and it is idle to claim that there has been or will be in the future an overproduction. If, sir, all the silver of the world should be "dumped" into the United States alone, it would not more than meet the increased demand for money incident to increased population, wealth, and business requirements, and would prove a blessing rather than a curse to our population if coined at a reasonable and safe ratio.

Sir, the French Republic, with its 39,000,000 of people, who have but recently paid so heavy a tribute to the German Empire, is able to maintain at a parity with gold \$700,000,000 of silver coin, and yet we are told that proud America, with her boundless area and matchless resources and 65,000,000 of population, will commit a mistake if her lawmakers provide for any increase in our \$600,000,000 of silver coin. There is neither reason nor logic in such contention.

Sir, it is an inexorable rule of finance and reason that the prices of products, whether of the farm or of the workshops, are high or low in proportion as money is scarce or plentiful. The protectionist has undertaken by means of a protective tariff to control the prices of products of manufactories, but the people of this country need more money and it will not do to cut off their supply.

A paper recently prepared by Mr. Preston, Acting Director of the Mint, shows that the gold stock is distributed among the principal countries as follows:

United States, \$904,000,000; Great Britain, \$550,000,000; France, \$300,000,000; Germany, \$200,000,000; Russia, \$250,000,000.

The silver stock of these same countries is given as follows: United States, \$215,000,000; Great Britain, \$100,000,000; France, \$700,000,000; Germany, \$211,000,000; Russia, \$60,000,000.

The per capita circulation of gold is: United States, \$9.01; United Kingdom, \$14.47; France, \$20.52; Germany, \$12.12; and Russia, \$2.21. The per capita of all classes of money is: France, \$40.56; Cuba, \$31.00; Netherlands, \$28.88; Australia, \$26.75; Belgium, \$25.53; United States, \$24.34; United Kingdom, \$18.42; Russia, \$7.16; and Germany, \$18.54.

Thus we see that France has more of gold than any other of these countries; more of silver, and a larger per capita circulation than any other of the countries named; and there are no happier or more prosperous people than the French. These figures, sir, speak in unanswerable argument in favor of increased circulation; in favor of free coinage of silver.

We are told that England controls the money markets of the

world, and that we must needs enlist her concurrence and assistance before we adopt any financial policy; and this claim is made most persistently by gentlemen who but so recently charged those of my political faith with "aping after hateful English ways and English methods," when we insisted that the barriers should be stricken down which have crippled American trade and have driven the American flag from every sea.

Our Republican brethren have even charged us with lacking in the spirit and patriotism which animated our fathers at Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown, when we have dared to point to the commercial prosperity of England, resulting from its lack of restrictions upon trade. They have declared "for America and American institutions" as against the world; but when they come to adopt a financial policy for the American people they cringe before the British lion and on bended knee ask his advice, permission, and concurrence. We invoke the spirit of consistency, that it may find an abiding place in the public acts of our friends in the Republican party, to which it has so long been a stranger.

Sir, the American people are patriotic enough, and strong enough, and can afford to select for themselves a financial policy which the necessities of the hour invite and demand, and can and will maintain and support it, without dictation from any other power on the face of the earth.

We find engaged in the controversy now going on two opposite and extreme elements. On the one side is the "silver king," who is personally and pecuniarily interested in the free coinage of the white metal of his own production, at as low a ratio as possible, whereby the value of his product is increased, and his profits made larger.

On the other side we find arrayed the gentlemen who are designated as "gold bugs"—the men who have money which they know will be increased in value in proportion as money is scarce and hard to procure. They understand as well as we that when dollars are scarce dollars are high, and that when dollars are high they will purchase and pay for more of labor, sweat, and brawn, more of farm products, more of anything, more of everything than when dollars are plentiful and cheap.

Mr. Speaker, there is a middle stand to take, a conservative position to occupy upon this question as well as upon all others. There are other classes whose interests must be considered in all legislation, and these other classes make up the great masses of our population; there is another subject to be considered than the mere question of furnishing to the people a circulation sufficient in volume to meet the requirements of business and trade. We must establish our financial structure upon a fixed, fair, and equitable basis, having in view at all times the rights and best interest of all our citizens.

To the silver producer we say, "We must meet the conditions which are now presented and not those confronting our country twenty years ago, when your silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 was at a parity with gold. Your silver has depreciated in value from unfriendly legislation and increased production, and it is unfair to the people to allow you now to take 60 cents' worth of silver bullion and have a dollar manufactured from it, whereby the Government would give you 40 cents in each dollar, without consideration, at the present value of your silver bullion.

"This would, most certainly, be unfair to the taxpayers of the country, already burdened beyond measure, under a system which taxes the necessities of our people and not their wealth. You must furnish to the Government silver of the value approximately of \$1 for each \$1 coined, if you expect the Government to make dollars out of your product."

To the "money kings" we will say, "We are not here representing your interests exclusively. We will protect you in your rights and property, but we will not by legislation make your hoarded wealth more valuable. We will furnish to the people sufficient money, and will protect them as far as we can against your avarice and unreasonable demands."

The question with me, then, to be considered is, at what ratio should silver be coined? It is claimed that financial legislation is an experiment; a leap in the dark. Be this as it may, we can only now act in accordance with our experience in the past and the best lights before us. When a tax is levied upon subject of taxation, we can estimate very closely the revenue which will be derived, but when we come to enact legislation relating to the finances of the country, we can not find a safe, certain, arbitrary, and defined rule to govern us.

I have given to this subject all the thought and investigation of which I am capable, and have evolved from this study these two principles, to my mind incontrovertible, viz: Our country must have an increased circulation; and, second, there should be in or behind every dollar a dollar of intrinsic value. In 1873, when silver was demonetized, the quantum of silver, ascertained by the ratio of 16 to 1, was on a parity with and equal in value to the gold dollar. Because of intervening and un-

friendly legislation and increased production silver has become greatly depreciated, so that now the bullion value of silver in a silver dollar is estimated to be worth but about 60 cents.

While I favor free coinage of silver, I must take into consideration its reduced value, the surrounding circumstances and conditions. This I have done, with the result that I am led to favor free coinage at a ratio of 20 to 1, which, I believe, in the light of the past experience of the country, will place in or behind every silver dollar a dollar of intrinsic value. If unfriendly legislation has increased its value, legislation friendly and of a permanent nature will increase its value, but can not and will not enhance its value so as to make it feasible, proper, or fair to go back to the ratio of 16 to 1. To this extent, at least, silver and gold have parted company.

It has been stated by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON] that to increase the ratio to 20 to 1 would increase the value of bullion in a silver dollar to 81 cents. Is it not fair to estimate and assume that if we fix and keep the ratio at 20 to 1 that the value of silver in a dollar would increase so that it would be of the value of \$1 in gold? I think it but a fair presumption. I am free to admit that I believe it would be more desirable to have free coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1 than to discontinue entirely the coinage of silver, and I would vote for free coinage of silver at that ratio in preference to a measure to absolutely demonetize silver; but I think it will be admitted that if silver coinage is now preserved it will be at an increased ratio. All indications and circumstances surrounding us point in that direction.

Mr. Speaker, I can not see any good reason why the silver coin now in existence would have to be recoined if there was a change of ratio. The laws of Congress promise for the Government that all silver coin shall be protected and made good, and it is adequate and all-sufficient that the silver now coined has the pledge of the Republic behind it, and that pledge will make it good as it now is held to be and considered good.

Entertaining these views, I will vote for the amendment providing for free coinage at a ratio of 20 to 1; and while I favor an amendment looking to the free coinage of silver, yet I am also opposed to the Sherman law, which I deem to be injurious in its operation to the whole of our people, not excepting the silver producer himself. If all amendments proposed are voted down, and I am driven to vote on the naked question of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, I will vote "aye," because we thereby carry out one of our pledges, and will with discouragement, trust to the future for legislation providing for free coinage of silver. If I can not here and now procure free coinage, I will not therefore vote to preserve as the law of the land a statute infamous in character and operation, and which all parties and classes unite in condemning.

Sir, I am not one of those who believe the Sherman law to be responsible for all the ills which have come upon us. We have among our people what some designate as "lack of confidence," and for this "lack of confidence" the Republican press and politicians are in a large measure responsible.

Sir, the smoke of battle had hardly cleared away from the battle fields of last year's election until the Republican press and politicians, for political purposes, began to prophesy ruin and disaster to the country and her institutions because of Democratic success, and every Republican, high and low, from their defeated and soured candidate for President to the cross-roads politician, united in a common effort to breed uneasiness and distrust among the people, and their continued "calamity howling" has had much to do with creating "lack of confidence" among the people, many of whom have been influenced in their action by these prognostications of evil.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, it should not be forgotten that the balance of trade was against us until quite recently. We bought more than we sold, which sent out of the country more of money than was brought back to us, which naturally reduced the volume of our currency and affected our commercial interests.

We have had a system of tariff taxation which has paralyzed our trade and crippled the industries of the country beyond measure; and last, but not least, let me, in the language of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PATTERSON], used in a speech delivered at Gallatin, Tenn., on July 28, 1891, attribute a part, at least, of the present deplorable condition—

to the demonetization of silver, whereby the owners of accumulated wealth in this country, as well as in England, the greatest of commercial nations, have been enabled to realize at the expense of the people the difference between the value of gold and silver.

While the Sherman law has hastened the end and is in part blamable, the present situation is not the result of one, but of many laws enacted by Republican Congresses, and the natural culmination of a vicious system of taxation and finance. Many things have combined to bring about the present condition of affairs.

It is claimed that all amendments to the "Wilson bill" will be

voted down, and that there will be an unconditional repeal of the Sherman silver law, in so far as this House is concerned. Certain it is, if this result is achieved, it must be accomplished because the proposition for unconditional repeal secures practically the solid affirmative vote of the Republican members of this body; and yet the Republican party has said in its platform last year, viz:

The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetalism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, such restrictions to be determined by contemplation of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be equal at all times.

If the Wilson bill passes this House without amendment, Republican votes will pass it, and the Republican party will again go on record as the friend of the money power and as opposed to such legislation as will benefit the great masses of our people.

Mr. Speaker, let us keep faith with the people; let us sacredly conform to the promises we have made to those who have elected us; let us furnish to the country money sufficient for the transaction of business in this, the hour of the country's need; let us tear down the wall of protection which has crippled our trade and retarded our prosperity, which has made princes or paupers of our people; let us wipe from the statute books the last vestige of every law which stands as a menace against home rule and the right of the people to control their own elections; let us conform to Democratic pledges and platforms; let us fearlessly and speedily do the work for which we have been commissioned, and then will each of us deserve and receive the grateful thanks of those to whom we are responsible for our public acts, and we will have that satisfaction which comes to those who have been responsive to every demand of duty and faithful to every trust.

Mr. DENSON. Mr. Speaker, under the constitutional authority conferred upon the President, he has called Congress together in extraordinary session.

The reasons that moved the President to this act, are set forth in his proclamation, as follows:

Whereas the distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation which prevails all business circles have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufacture, bring distress and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workmen the wage of labor; and

Whereas the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the Executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress.

In the opening of his message the President characterizes the condition now hanging over the country as "an alarming and extraordinary business situation, involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people."

Proceeding, he says:

Numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities that they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.

The President then says:

I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government.

He then states that such legislation is embodied in the law of July 14, 1890, and which is known as the Sherman law.

The message contains the following language:

Suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side.

The President further says that the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces per month of silver was regarded by those interested in silver production "as a certain guaranty of its increase in price," but this has been a failure; and such disappointment "has led to renewed and persistent effort in the direction of free silver coinage."

The President states in his message that the declared policy of the United States "to maintain two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law," so controls the action of the Secretary of the Treasury as to prevent his exercising the discretion nominally vested in him, to redeem said Treasury notes issued under the Sherman law in gold or silver, "if by such action the parity between gold and silver may be disturbed."

Manifestly—

Says the President—

a refusal by the Secretary to pay these Treasury notes in gold, if demanded, would necessarily result in their discredit and depreciation as obligations payable only in silver, and would destroy the parity between the two metals by establishing a discrimination in favor of gold.

I have quoted thus freely from the message, because I dissent from the conclusions of the President that the Sherman law is the source from which springs the financial distress and business paralysis that now seizes the energies and enterprises of all our people. I have given the President's reasons for concluding

the Sherman law is the Pandora box of our depression and stagnation.

Is he borne out by the facts in the case? He demands an unconditional repeal of this law, and finds hope for a settlement and stability in our financial affairs simply in the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. So wedded is he to this idea that he fails to suggest any other remedy or point out any other legislation. His panacea is unconditional repeal of the Sherman law.

The Sherman law undoubtedly declares for bimetallism, and the President so admits in his message, when he states the enactment of the Sherman law, "may be considered a truce after a long struggle between the advocates of free-silver coinage and those intending to be more conservative."

Here were two parties that took part in enacting the Sherman law, the advocates of free coinage, and the bimetallist, that favored the use of silver but opposed a free coinage.

The free-coinage party certainly looked forward to the use of silver as money for final redemption under the Sherman law, and the President states a fact in his message showing it. He says:

Undoubtedly the monthly purchases by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver, enforced under that statute, were regarded by those interested in silver production as a certain guaranty of its increase.

No one knows better than the President that for silver to be deprived of its most valuable and extensive use, to wit, coinage into money, and used as such on a parity with gold in settling all governmental transactions would depress its price more than another single cause. I have made this argument to show that bimetallism was the intent of the Sherman law, and was so considered "as a truce" reaching to that end by both the opposing parties that enacted the law.

I state that any execution of the Sherman law that ignores silver as a fund or money for redemption of the Treasury notes issued under said law for silver bullion, and fails to make an effort to use silver as such, as a palpable and flagrant violation of the letter, spirit, and intent of the law, and a total disregard of the will of the people expressed in the law enacted by their representative.

I will more fully discuss this point in a subsequent part of my speech.

I mention this fact here to show that the bare judgment of the President, that the mere refusal to redeem said silver certificates or Treasury notes in gold when demanded by the holder, is at war with the letter, spirit, and intent of the law itself, and contrary to the effect of the practices of the French Government to-day, that redeems her obligations in silver at her option, regardless of the demand of the holder. There has never been a trial of such redemption by the Harrison or Cleveland Administration.

Congress did not believe the Sherman law would cause distrust, that the financial affairs of the Government would be embarrassed by an execution of the Sherman law.

Can it be said that Congress believed such a result manifest when it enacted such a law? To allege such would be to charge Congress with folly and tampering with the hopes, expectations, and the most potent and vital means of the people's prosperity and happiness, and charge it with being guilty of practicing a fraud and delusion upon the public and arousing hopes and expectations it knew could never be realized.

There has been no change in the financial and commercial affairs of the country, and none in the world, to affect this question since Congress enacted the law up to the minute the President penned his message. To accept the President's conclusions on this matter as true is to make the broad and very apparent implication that when Congress enacted the Sherman law they intended to practice a deceit and fraud upon the people and disappoint them in the belief that the Sherman law would secure to the country silver money and that it could and would be used as money in the redemption of the Government's obligations, and there would be no disturbance in the parity between gold and silver as money.

Everything upon this matter was as apparent to Congress when it legislated, as was apparent to the President when he wrote his message. The payment has never been tried, and there is nothing to support the President's conclusion, save his judgment.

In a subsequent part of this speech I will show the combination between the money power, the national banks, and the Treasury of the United States to destroy silver as money, and defeat the laws of the country and disappoint the people.

In a statement given by Secretary Carlisle to the public press, June 14, 1893, the following appears:

There was coined at the Mint of the United States from 1792, the time when the mint operations commenced, to 1873, when silver was demonetized	\$8, 045, 838
Coined under Bland act, from 1878 to July 14, 1890—date of Sherman law	389, 886, 374
Coined under the Sherman act	29, 408, 461

Total 427, 390, 673

The Secretary's statement also shows that there was in actual circulation of silver money on the 1st June, 1893, \$58,016,019.

According to the Secretary's statement, there was in the Treasury \$389,324,654 of silver, or it was in the Treasury, or other places of deposit, national banks and subtreasuries, for instance. The people can only get money under our system as it comes through the banks. The cry is, there is no money. All business is depressed; industry is paralyzed; the prices for the products of the farm are so low that farming is unremunerated; "the people are starving, yet the brigands are thriving."

Three hundred and sixty-nine million three hundred and twenty-four thousand six hundred and fifty-four dollars in the public Treasury and under the control of the fiscal agents of the Government, and yet the cry comes up from the laboring-man, the farmer, "Give us this money for our labor, for our products, that we may live and support our wives and little ones, and preserve our homes from the mortgage foreclosure." "No," says the Administration, the national banks, and the money power, "we intend to destroy silver as money, and if we do this we are to starve you, then you must starve."

The Government is in no way embarrassed because of the purchase of silver under the Sherman law; it has a clear balance-sheet on this account. The purchase and coinage of silver under the Sherman law certainly expanded the volume of the people's money, and while the people and country are prostrate because of the want of money it is now proposed to cut off this means of increase and expansion.

In September, 1892, when Grover Cleveland wanted the votes of the sturdy and honest farmers and laborers of the South and West, confiding and trusting in their nature, and patriotic in all their impulses and intentions, he did not believe the Sherman law was any cause for a want of confidence or alarm, and that the coinage and use of silver as money would in any manner jeopardize the financial matters of the Government or of the people. Here is the language of his letter of acceptance:

The people are entitled to sound and honest currency, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State, whether gold, silver, or paper, it should be so regulated and guarded by Governmental action or by wise and careful laws, that no one can be deluded as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our currency.

The representatives of the Democratic masses who assembled in Chicago in 1892 in convention, and nominated Mr. Cleveland as our standard-bearer, did not believe it "was manifest" that to pay out silver in redemption of Government obligations would depreciate silver. That convention adopted as one of the planks in its platform the following:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890, as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal.

We hold to the use of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equality of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

The denunciation of the Sherman law "as a makeshift" was not because the use of silver as a redemption fund would depreciate Government obligations. The cause of its denunciation was that it was a limitation upon the coinage of silver, and inhibited free coinage. This is clearly shown by the remainder of the plank in the platform.

Mr. Carlisle did not believe in 1878 that the use of silver as money on a parity with gold would cause silver obligations to depreciate and the credit of the Government to become involved and of doubtful integrity. Speaking in advocacy of the Bland bill, he said:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry.

According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy, by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world.

The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half of the metallic money of the world.

The farmers, wage-earners, laborers, and plain people of this country entertain no such thoughts upon this matter as the President expresses in his message.

There is no evidence that anywhere in this extensive land there has been a meeting of the farmers, laborers, and workmen of this country called to denounce silver and decay against the Sherman law and demand its unconditional repeal.

No meeting of merchants and manufacturers has been called to condemn the Sherman law and demand that it be expunged from the statute book, save in the larger cities, whose boards of trade and welfare are dominated and directed by the banking interest.

The brain and muscle, the bone and sinew, and the sweat and energy of the farmers, laborers, and producers of this country have in no way, manner, or form expressed any want of confidence, any distrust, or any fear of embarrassment or injury arising to them because of the purchase and coining of silver under the Sherman law.

They demand this silver money; they are anxious for its issue, and their distress and embarrassment arises alone because of its absence. They are willing to sell their toil, their products, and their commodities for this silver money, berated by the banks and the money power.

I desire to state in this place and I desire the country to know it, that it is not the Democratic party of the country that is demanding the repeal of the Sherman law unconditionally and fighting free coinage of silver; the Democratic party is not responsible for this delay in bringing that relief to the suffering thousands of this country, but it is an unholy alliance between the Eastern Democrats, and now and then a lonesome brother from the South and West, with the Republicans in this House to carry out the demands and orders of the national banks and money power of the East.

Baal may succeed for a while, and may scatter ruin, suffering, and starvation throughout the land, but the day of reckoning is near at hand. The outraged and indignant people of the South and West, as well as many in the East, will rectify this evil, more terrible than famine, pestilence, and war, in the language of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The people are the masters of this country yet, and they have not and will not consent to turn it over to the privileged classes, the banks and money power.

The courage and patriotism of their ancestors still courses through their veins and they will call to a terrible account those men who have betrayed the platform and pledges on which they were elected. The people are not defeated or whipped, they have only been misled and deceived; but next November you will hear the results coming from the South; from the golden shores of California and the Pacific slope; from the West; aye, even from the "dark and bloody grounds" of Kentucky, that the masters of this country, the plain, common people have risen up in their power and authority, relegated the deceivers and hypocrites to private life and sent men to this House who will scourge the money-changers from this Hall with scorpion stripes and carry out the will of the people and establish the free coinage of silver and declare it money and place it upon an equality with gold.

Section 3 of the Sherman law is in the following language:

That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

Here is a section of this act, as mandatory as the English language can express any law, any thought, any purpose to convey the intention and desire of any law-making body that ever assembled under the sun. The language is plain, the words unambiguous, and no doubt lurks around the meaning of this simple English sentence.

The words are the language of command no discretion is left, no option allowed; but absolute obedience is demanded and required. The auxiliary "shall" is used—"shall each month coin," until 1st July, 1891, "two millions of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars." And after the 1st day of July, 1891, the act says:

"He shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for."

All lexicographers and grammarians agree that the auxiliary "shall" when used in speaking or writing of a third person, expresses a command or threat. Surely no one will contend that the duty and obligation placed upon the Secretary of the Treasury by said act was to be executed as a means to secure the circulation of said silver bullion as money among the people and in the channels of business. Such circulation had already been provided for by the first section of the act by directing the issue of the Treasury notes in payment for said silver bullion, and by the said law declaring in the second section that such Treasury notes "shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts,

public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract."

To secure and provide the mode by which this silver bullion should be represented, and its value circulated as money in the channels of trade and as a circulating medium among the people, coinage of the silver bullion was not deemed necessary; the Treasury note was improvised as an instrumentality for this purpose. But when the law-making power came to consider the question of the redemption of said Treasury notes, and how and in what coin the same should be redeemed, and what part silver should play in our monetary affairs, commands the Secretary of the Treasury to coin the silver bullion purchased under said act into standard silver dollars, to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes provided for in said act.

To coin the silver bullion into standard dollars is and was an imperative and an absolute command by Congress, and the coinage of said bullion was for only one purpose: the redemption of the Treasury notes issued under said act in payment for said silver bullion; and that the redemption of said Treasury notes in said silver dollars is as imperatively and absolutely commanded by said act as the coinage of the silver bullion is. The coinage of the silver bullion is the principal, and the use of the coinage is the incident. How can anyone, by any process of logic, separate the incident from the principal? It can only be done by a flagrant and palpable violation of the law expressly laid down, and obedience to which is expressly commanded.

Section 5 expressly repeals the Bland-Allison act, which required the monthly purchase and coinage of so much silver bullion into silver dollars.

The records of the Treasury Department and the President's message show that the silver bullion has never been coined as provided for in the Sherman law, and that silver money is not used in the redemption of said Treasury notes issued under said Sherman law.

There can not be any question among any intelligent and honest people at this late day that in construing a statute and interpreting its meaning, the grand, central, and controlling purpose is to arrive at the intention of the lawmakers in enacting the law. The intention of Congress in enacting the Sherman law is the great polar star, around which all other ideas and policies may cluster, but none can overturn, or substitute themselves in the place of such ascertained intent.

Another rule of construction that is of universal application in interpreting the language and ascertaining the meaning and intention of the lawmaker by enacting a law is, that every word, phrase, and sentence must be so construed as to give to each some operation and force in directing the mind in ascertaining the intention of the lawmaker from the language used.

Another rule of equal universality and force is that the meaning of the lawmakers must be made and derived from the whole bill or act, and not from disjointed parts of it; in other words, the whole law, each and every section of it, each and every sentence, each and every clause, and each and every word of it must be taken and considered and construed together to ascertain the meaning and intent of the lawmakers.

Another rule equally as important and equally as forceful is, that the meaning and intent of the lawmaker must be derived from and be generated and grow out of the language used in the act.

It would lead to unsuspected and disastrous results for those executing laws to adopt a policy not authorized by the law, or to exercise a discretion that brings ruin to the people when not clearly authorized by the law and contrary to its avowed policy. It has ever been the idea and principle controlling the people under a free government, with a written constitution and laws, to deny as firmly as possible and to limit as far as practicable all discretion in officers in administering government. Discretion of officials is but the beginning of tyranny and the downfall of free institutions.

The old law that existed prior to the Sherman law, upon the matter of silver coinage, was the Bland-Allison act. This act is expressly repealed by the Sherman law. The Bland act secured the free coinage of silver bullion to a limited amount per month, silver having been demonetized by the act of 1873.

Now it can not be contended successfully that the Sherman law, properly construed, in any manner intended to destroy the coinage of silver or the use of it as money. The Sherman law more than doubled the amount of silver to be coined each month, and made the Treasury notes issued in payment thereof legal tender in the payment of all claims, debts, and dues, both public and private. The Sherman law further required the coinage of the silver bullion so purchased with said Treasury notes to redeem the said notes.

In the construction and execution of this Sherman law, the Harrison Administration adopted the policy of using and paying out gold alone in the redemption of said Treasury notes.

This same policy has been taken up, adopted, and is now the rule of the Cleveland Administration.

The grounds and reasons upon which this policy is based, so far as the public can judge, are not very apparent. The Sherman law declares it to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other."

This is a declaration of bimetalism without any ambiguity, any doubt, or any room for cavil between the advocates of monometallism and bimetalism. Congress, it seems, *ex industria*, intended to leave no doubt about this matter. With strong, terse, and simple words it declares it to be "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

The fact that the law requires the coinage of the silver bullion to redeem the Treasury notes issued for its purchase, and makes a positive appropriation of the silver dollars so coined as a fund to redeem said Treasury notes, conclusively establishes the intention of Congress that both metals should be used as a redemption fund; that they should be actively employed in redeeming the obligations of the Government. Neither one of the two metals should be ignored and left in a passive condition, but both should be employed actively in carrying out the redemption of the Treasury notes.

The verb "maintain" operates upon and predicates action as to two metals, and the words "to maintain" is in the infinitive mode, which mode is always employed to denote action without limitation as to person or number. To maintain the two metals as money, not as bullion, not as a commodity: If gold is used as money and silver is not, then the established policy to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other is evaded, is ignored, broken, and destroyed. If silver was not to be used as money, why command the coinage of the silver bullion into silver dollars to redeem said Treasury notes?

It is plain to my mind from reading the law, and considering the old law and the evil to be remedied by the new law, that the policy of the Government is to maintain the two metals as money on a parity with each other; and when the statute is construed as a whole, giving effect and operation to each word, clause, phrase, and sentence, the policy of bimetalism, pure and simple, is established in the United States.

The trick in the law that the single-standard people have induced the Administration to believe is a controlling authority and limits the operation of the whole law, and is sufficient to overturn the established policy of bimetalism as declared in the Sherman law, is that the law says that the Secretary of the Treasury can redeem said Treasury notes in gold or silver at his discretion.

It is true, the law intended that silver should never be used as redemption money; and can it be maintained that because discretion is given the Treasurer to redeem said notes in gold or silver that such discretion can be used in an arbitrary manner, merely at the independent views and uncontrolled will of the Secretary without attempting the use and employment of the silver dollars provided for a redemption fund in said law.

Whenever discretion is conferred upon a public officer in the performance of a public duty it means a legal and judicial discretion in view of all the facts and circumstances surrounding the matter, and the adoption of such a course of conduct as will carry out the policy of the United States as declared by its laws, as prudence, sagacity, sound and cautious judgment will suggest to one desirous to execute the policy of the United States to protect, secure, and defend the rights and privileges of all the people of all localities, of all labor and industrial pursuits, of all enterprise, and to promote the general welfare.

This discretion was conferred upon the Secretary to maintain bimetalism, as such is the declared policy of the United States, and not to evade or destroy it, and neither to suspend it.

Congress never intended any such execution of the law as now interpreted and administered, until silver should be tried and used at its present ratio and found antagonistic and destructive to the policy of maintaining the two metals on a parity with each other, "upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

If after the use of silver to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other it could not be established and preserved, and the inequality should arise from the use of the silver, then it would be time enough for the Administration to discard silver and the discretion of the Secretary to be exercised.

The Secretary has the same discretion to discard gold if he discovers by the use of the gold it destroys and antagonizes the policy of the United States as to the establishment of bimetalism.

We all know that the maintenance of the two metals on a parity with each other has been destroyed by the practice and policy employed by the Secretary in the use of the gold alone as a redemption fund. Why does not the Secretary execute and ad-

minister the law in good faith to the United States, which means all the people, all interests, all employments, all pursuits, all localities, and all sections, and commence the use of silver in connection with gold as a redemption fund, as France does, and ascertain if this does not secure and maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such rates as may be provided by law?

It is now demonstrated the two metals can not be maintained on a parity by the use of gold alone. Let the Secretary make an honest effort to carry out the policy of the United States by the use of silver in connection with gold, and if after this the policy can not be carried out, then, as the single use of gold and the joint use of gold and silver has failed to preserve the established policy of the United States, let him try silver by itself and see what effect it will have as to maintaining the two metals on a parity with each other.

If after such trial there is a failure to maintain the two metals on a parity, then the policy has failed, so far as the present ratio is concerned, and as the law establishing the policy provides for some other ratio to be fixed by law, and as Congress alone has the power to fix the ratio between the two metals, then the time has arrived and the contingency has occurred when Congress should take the matter into consideration and enact such laws as will meet the public and general interests of all the people and of all sections and localities of our broad and extensive territory.

This is the policy laid down in the Chicago platform, and this is the policy established by the Sherman law. And it is useless for any one to conceive of the idea that a manly and courageous, honest and patriotic member of Congress, and a Democrat faithful to the Chicago platform and the history and teachings of the Democratic party and its policy, will vote for an unconditional repeal of the Sherman law until it has been given a full, fair, and honest trial on the lines indicated, and in the Sherman law itself, and failure is the result, or unless the law proposing to repeal the Sherman law itself provides for free coinage of silver.

It is the policy of the United States, that is of the people of the United States, that is established by the Sherman law and the Chicago platform, and by the election held on the 8th of last November, and not the policy of an administration or of an officer of the Government, it matters not how high, exalted, and powerful he may be in the execution of the laws of the land.

How can the Administration escape from its apparent partial policy in the administration and execution of the Sherman law, when it is manifest to everybody that the sole use of gold as a redemption fund has destroyed the maintenance of the two metals on a parity with each other, depreciated the value of silver and enhanced the value of gold, overthrew the development of the country, the advancement of the people, the prosperity of the laboring and industrial classes, paralyzed the industrial and manufacturing establishments of the country, and buried the hopes and energies of individuals in one devastating ruin and desolation?

Discretion was never conferred upon an official to destroy, but to build up, support, and maintain the policies of the people.

Congress intended that silver should be employed as a redemption fund for said Treasury notes, and that the Secretary should not arbitrarily ignore such provisions of the law providing for the use of silver dollars for such purpose.

What force and operation is given to the third section of the act that absolutely and imperatively commands the coinage of the silver bullion into silver dollars to provide a redemption fund for said notes by the course pursued by the Secretary?

None whatever. Yet the law must be so construed as to give some operation to every word, phrase, clause, and sentence of the act.

These silver dollars, when coined, became a trust fund under said law for the redemption of said Treasury notes, and the Secretary can not use them for any other purpose. They are directly and plainly appropriated for such purpose by Congress. Their money value was already in circulation in the shape of said Treasury notes, which are made a legal tender. The idea that said silver dollars are a trust fund and appropriated by Congress for the redemption of said notes is strengthened by the language of the second section of said act, which provides that the Treasury notes issued under the act shall be redeemed in coin.

And when so redeemed may be reissued, but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any one time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom than held in the Treasury purchased by said notes.

This language conclusively establishes the idea that the amount of silver bullion and silver coin in the Treasury should always be no greater or less than the amount of Treasury notes outstanding.

Is it not a fact, now, and the President's message declares it, and no honest man will deny it, that there is a greater amount of silver bullion and silver dollars now held in the Treasury than there is of Treasury notes outstanding, caused by issuing gold alone in the redemption of said Treasury notes? Does not this language of the law place beyond controversy that it was the intention of Congress that the amount of silver bullion and silver dollars procured under this act and held in the Treasury should never be greater or less, but always equal to and on a parity as to amount with, the outstanding Treasury notes issued under this law?

The employment of the use of gold alone and discarding silver as a redemption fund for said Treasury notes has caused a flagrant and palpable violation of the second section of the Sherman act, and the results of which violation could have been foreseen by the most simple intellect in America.

Surveying the provisions of the law, each and every word, clause, phrase, sentence, and the whole law together, it is manifest that Congress intended silver dollars to be used as a redemption fund for said Treasury notes.

At the arbitrary discretion of the Treasurer? No. But they should be used in the incipency of executing the law, and continued until by such conjoint use of gold and silver it should become manifest that such conjoint use would tend to destroy the parity between the two metals. And when the parity was disturbed, then the Secretary of the Treasury should investigate and consider which metal by its use was disturbing such parity; after such discovery then the facts would have manifested themselves that would authorize and justify the Secretary in the use of his discretion as to which metal should be discarded, and which metal should be used solely as redemption money.

But no such intention grows out of the language of the whole act that Congress clothed the Secretary of the Treasury with an arbitrary discretion to discard silver money as a means to redeem said Treasury notes before an honest effort had been made to carry all the provisions of the law into operation, and silver money had been given a fair, equal, and just trial as a redemption fund for said notes.

Can any man, fair minded and unprejudiced, be convinced that in this free, representative Government of ours, the people's representatives would enact a law regulating their most vital interest, authorizing some of its most vital and important provisions to be ignored and discarded without any effort at executing them, merely upon the bald assumption of some official, whose intelligence, honesty, and patriotism were unknown at the time of enacting the law, that it was unwise to attempt to execute such provisions?

Such an idea is opposed to the very genius of our free institutions, and makes the interests of the people to depend merely upon the arbitrary discretion of an official. It would clothe the official with authority to suspend or nullify the operation of the laws merely at his individual will.

No such power is conferred or established under our constitutional form of Government.

The experience and observation of the country conclusively show that the sole use of gold has destroyed the parity between gold and silver. So far as the law is concerned, it is as much interested and anxious to preserve the unit value of silver, or its equality with the value of gold, as the monometallist is anxious to enhance the value of gold and depress the value of silver.

The statute does not say it is the "policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other," alone as to the value and purchasing power of the two metals without giving each an equal and fair trial under the law; but the phrase in the statute is, "maintain the two metals on a parity with each other," there is no limiting, qualifying, or modifying descriptive attendant upon the word parity. The word must be taken in its broad and comprehensive sense. It means parity in the operation of the law upon both metals—equality in manipulation and use by the officers of the Government.

No embarrassments or suspicions thrown around the one and not around the other—equality before the law in all things. This is the established policy of the United States toward gold and silver declared in the Sherman law, a bimetallic law pure and simple. If this equality before the law, this equality in use, in manipulation and freedom from embarrassments and suspicions that might be produced by law or officers of the Government as regards both metals, tends to and does destroy the parity between the two metals, then the time has arrived, and the circumstances present themselves, and not until then, when the Secretary of the Treasury may use his discretion as to which metal he will use alone as the fund of redeeming these Treasury notes and other obligations of the Government.

To show that the violation of the law was predetermined, and that gold alone should be used and silver discarded as redemption money, regardless of all surrounding circumstances and the

welfare of the masses, the silver bullion has never been coined into silver dollars, as required by the law. The means pointed out—and the President so states in his message by the law—were never provided, and no effort made to do so. Have the Democratic masses been consulted about the continual execution of the Harrison policy by the Cleveland Administration? The Democratic platform, made and promulgated by the representatives of the Democratic masses, declares for bimetallism and a parity between gold and silver, as provided by the Federal Constitution.

These Democratic hosts exalted the present Administration into power on this platform. Will it obey the voice of the people?

A fearful responsibility rests upon it. Let it keep faith with the business interests and masses of the South and West, as well as with the East.

It is not amiss to here state the great body and masses of the Western and Southern people are more thoroughly aroused, and more determined in their action as to their financial matters, than they were as to their course toward the institution of African slavery and secession.

They know and they feel—the very want of their wives and their children and the peril of their homes give them the unerring knowledge—that the laws and administration of the Government is partial and oppressive upon them; that they are denied the aid and blessings of fair, honest, equal, and just government; and that they are burdened with high and heavy taxes to support this miserable and false administration of our laws, and to maintain this travesty upon honest and fair government. They are determined to resist it, and they will change it, or overturn it; so help them, Heaven.

No officer of this Government need take the flattering unction to his soul that he is more powerful than the people, and that they do not understand every act and motive being taken and manifested by every official in the Government in the administration and execution of our laws. No Democrat need be flattered by sycophants and office-seekers that he is greater and more respected than the Democratic party, and anything he may do will meet with approval and obedience from the masses.

The Democratic party has a history and a record to defend and maintain. It is the party of the people, the vindicator of popular rights, and the exemplar of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

Whenever these fundamental principle, guaranteeing freedom and happiness to the people, have not been observed and enforced, when the Democratic party was in power, was because the officials placed in power by the Democratic hosts have proved themselves recreant and unfaithful to the sacred trusts confided to them by a brave, patriotic, and confiding people.

This is the sum total and end of the whole affair; argue and consider it as you may, it is a breach of faith, pure and simple.

The success of the business and enterprise of the people, and the general welfare is more important and nearer their hearts than the splendor and success of any administration of the affairs of the Government.

An Administration is but a means to an end, and that end is the peace, content, and prosperity of all the people of all localities and sections of our great country.

The people support an Administration when such Administration supports the people and cares for and defends their interests. The rights of great financiers, powerful banks, and millionaire gold bugs and money kings must not alone be observed and their interests considered and respected. These great characters should not alone be the advisers around the council board. The views of the laborers, the wage-earners, the farmers, the people from the interior, should be heard and their advice sought, and their interests considered and respected.

An unconditional repeal of the Sherman law would wipe out of existence six hundred millions of the people's money, and nothing is offered to fill its place.

The misery and suffering that is now going on in the land, the bankruptcy and ruin of all industrial and manufacturing enterprises that surrounds us, the wants and necessities of the laborers that come up from all quarters, the desolation in our midst, each and all would be intensified and increased a hundredfold.

I confess that I have no particular respect for the Sherman law. It is truly a "makeshift," but makeshift as it is, it is a formidable bulwark against the destruction of silver coinage, and a redoubt under cover of which the friends of the people can rally and resist to the bitter end the march of imperialism that is seeking to overturn our institutions, and its advocates, the gold kings, banks, usurers, and sycophants following in its majestic train. We will not unconditionally surrender; we will have some consideration adequate to what we are asked to give.

This matter is one of impending trouble to our country, and should be settled, but it will never be settled until it is settled right. The Constitution of our country and the history and ad-

vancement of our people for eighty years suggest the basis of a settlement.

It is claimed, if the knowledge of the fact that gold is behind these Treasury notes was obliterated and banished from the minds of the people, that then they would depreciate.

For the sake of the argument I admit it, and then this conclusively establishes the fact that the Sherman law has nothing to do with our troubled and distressed condition.

We have been using gold since January 1, 1879, alone as our money of redemption, and as gold alone is so used under the Sherman law, how can the expectation of silver being used as a redemption money, have any force whatever in so far as the Sherman law is concerned? The demand for gold is to settle our balances with foreign governments, and the demand is promptly met, and we are informed by the public press that in the next ten days from twenty-five to forty-five millions of gold will return to America from foreign countries, yet the stagnation in business grows worse and the collapse of banks is becoming more frequent and widespread.

All our trouble arises from some internal disorder, disconnected with the use of gold and silver, and without any fear of the country being rid of its gold by the operation of the Sherman law. We are now in the rising tide of an influx of gold, and the Government is in no embarrassment whatever as to gold; the Government seems serene. The message admits that the solvent people and institutions of the country are hoarding their money.

The history of human affairs teaches, whenever there is an inferior and suspected currency in the land, people do not hoard it, but they seek immediate investments of it in property.

But in this instance the people of the South and West are clamoring for this suspected and dishonest silver dollar. They are ready to sell all the fruits of their labor and the product of their farms and any of their property for this dishonest silver dollar, but these Christian and disinterested philanthropic gold advocates say, "Oh, no; you shall not sell your products and your property for this dishonest dollar. We will keep it and hoard it, and if any loss is to occur we will suffer it, not you. We are too paternal, too generous, to let you lose anything on this silver that we consider a dishonest dollar. We are too honest for this."

Here are some of the inconsistencies the gold advocate is bound to admit that meet him on every corner in his tirade against the Sherman law.

But it is said that the continuance of the Sherman law will deplete our Treasury and the country of gold, because of foreign demands for gold.

Such is not the experience of this country prior to 1873, the date of the demonetization of silver; and such is not the experience of the present in France, that in the administration of its fiscal affairs is bimetal. We are informed forty millions of gold will arrive in the United States in the next thirty days. Silver has not been treated fairly and equally with gold since its demonetization in 1873, either by the banks or the Government.

From the outset of the passage of the Bland act in 1878 the national banks in the Middle and New England States have been shy of silver money and have been loth to receive it. They have been unwilling to use large quantities of it or allow large quantities to accumulate on their hands.

There can be no doubt this disposition arises from the banks' close connection with the creditor and money-lending class, to whom the lowering of the standard of the abnormal value of gold by putting silver on a parity with it, is very objectionable.

The banks are great money-lenders themselves, and credit transactions result largely from the banks' business and they deal largely in foreign exchange; hence they desire all money transactions and the business affairs of the country to be placed on a gold basis, and eliminate silver as money from our circulation.

This will make money scarce, create a great demand for gold, enhance its value, and raise the rate of interest, and all this manipulation is done alone for the interest of the banks and money kings to the detriment of the masses.

Shortly after the passage of the Bland act in 1878 the banks of New York, members of the clearing-house, adopted a rule—and the United States subtreasury at New York is a member of the clearing-house—prohibiting the payment of balances between banks at the clearing-house in silver certificates or silver dollars, except for change, say \$5.

It is public history that this conduct on the part of the New York banks and the subtreasury at New York was a fatal strike at silver.

When Congress, in 1882, extended the corporate existence of the national banks, to break up this baneful practice, this debasement of silver, and secure its circulation, a law was enacted that no national bank should be a member of a clearing-house

at which silver certificates were not receivable in payment of balances.

This forced the New York banks to drop the rule, but the enemies of silver could not be downed in this way. They have continued this baneful practice and it remains unaltered, despite the energy and authority of Congress was employed to prevent it, and the national banks, aided by the United States subtreasury at New York, one of the people's institutions, aided the banks in "boycotting" silver, the people's money.

Congress can compel a national bank to receive silver certificates, but can not compel it to offer them in settlement of balances.

The banks and the United subtreasury avoided this law of Congress by entering into a tacit understanding that none of them would tender silver in payment of balances. And thus it stands to-day, silver currency is not allowed to enter into any transactions between the New York banks and the United States subtreasury at New York, and so is the rule in all the controlling money centers of our country.

It is true the banks will receive silver currency on deposit, and will receive it in tender of debts when offered. But they endeavor to hold as little of it as possible, and employ all diligence to get rid of it at once.

They pay it out over their counters upon presentations of checks, and if this does not relieve them of it they get rid of it in another way. Silver dollars and silver certificates are each legal tender in payment of all public dues, custom or import duties included, and when they accumulate in the banks they are gotten rid of by turning them over to importers and custom-house brokers who carry them to the Treasury in payment of custom dues.

And now, under the policy adopted by Secretary Foster under the Harrison Administration, in executing and administering the Sherman law, and accepted and enforced by the Cleveland Administration, the banks, and any person else, can take any obligation of the Government and go to the Treasury and draw gold, although the certificate may declare on its face it is payable in silver dollars, and although the Sherman law declares for bimetalism, and that "the established policy of the United States is to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other."

To further show the wicked results of the practices of the clearing houses to destroy silver, aided by the United States subtreasuries at New York and Boston, it appears from the history of the times that in May, 1885, the reserve of gold in the Treasury declined to \$116,000,000, the lowest point reached since the resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879, until the present time.

The Government paid out all the silver certificates that would stay out and strengthened its gold reserve.

At the subtreasury in Boston silver was paid out in abundance, as there were no such rules there at the clearing house as in New York, that obligated the banks and subtreasury not to offer silver in the payment of balances; and it is thus seen that when there has been a fair chance, and there was no conspiracy to destroy it, it has circulated freely. In the transactions between New York and Boston the balance of payments fell in New York's favor. Under the tacit understanding with the New York banks and our subtreasury there, Boston's silver was unavailable to settle such balances.

Exchange on New York at once went up to a premium, and the Boston banks appealed to the Secretary of the Treasury to cease paying out silver at the Boston subtreasury, which appeal was granted, and the Boston banks at once adopted the New York banks' rule, and refused to tender silver in payment of balances at the clearing house.

The Philadelphia banks have adopted the same rule as New York and Boston. Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Denver banks, as well as other Western banks in the large cities, pass and receive silver certificates in all transactions between each other, as freely as any other currency and money.

From this history of the action of the banks in conjunction with the United States treasuries at New York and Boston, and at all other treasuries, and the policy of the Administration to discard silver as a money for final settlement and retain silver bullion in the Treasury as a debt against the people, is shown a most powerful and conclusive reason why silver does not circulate to any larger amount, and why it has declined in price.

This combination is of itself sufficient to destroy the circulation of any kind of money, even gold itself. One can not fail to discover that it is a combination between the banks and the money power to plunder the people and raid the public treasury of all its silver, that has been the best and most satisfactory money the people ever used.

One can not fail to be impressed with the fact that it requires the combined active and diligent energies of the banks of the great money centers of the Middle and New England States,

reënforced by the Federal Administration itself, to make any assault that can leave an unfavorable impression upon silver; and even then silver, handcuffed by this gigantic combination and irresistible power, still lives, and gives great hope and relief to the people against this unholy and unlawful alliance between the banks and the Administration.

When we compare the value of silver with the price of cotton, corn, wheat, iron, meat, and all the staple articles the production of which employs the largest majority of human skill and human activity, and learn as the value of silver decreases the prices of these staple articles decline in the same ratio almost, it is but logical and natural that one should be forced to the irresistible conclusion that in discarding silver as money the Administration is overturning the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the people, and burying all their enterprises, their energies, their hopes, and their expectations in one terrible vortex of ruin and desolation.

If the free coinage of silver should be restored and be placed on the same plane before the law, and as our Constitution intends, and as the Chicago platform demands, as gold; and the Administration would use, manipulate, and treat it as money as it does gold, and take the subtreasuries of the United States out of the partnership with the money power, the banks, and clearing houses of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia; make the banks and millionaire gold bugs transact their business in a fair, honest, legitimate, and patriotic way, then the past history of our own people for eighty-one years prior to 1873, and the history of the French people past and present, teaches us unerringly that silver would at once be on a parity with gold in all things and would circulate the same as gold.

The banks would aid in using and circulating silver, the subtreasuries would do so, and when a money king or bank should go to a Government subtreasury with silver certificates, Treasury notes, or greenbacks to raid the public Treasury of gold, silver could be paid out, the Treasury would be relieved from the dictation of the gold bugs, and soon the whole business and money power of the country would be coming to the aid of the Government and relief of the people, all our financial matters would be settled, business disturbances would be adjusted, labor would be rewarded, property would be in demand, hope would be revived, energies aroused, contentment and prosperity would spread over the land; and the great mass of the American people would be seen marching on as a band of brothers inspired by one thought, controlled by one sentiment, and directed by one purpose—the grandeur and glory of the American people.

Gold is the money of the king, the basis of imperialism; silver is the money of the people, the source of the thrift of the masses, the harbinger of liberty and happiness. Under these hostile conditions, these combinations of the money kings, national banks, and the United States Treasury itself, the wonder is not that only fifty-odd millions of silver was in circulation on the 1st of June, 1893, but the amazing astonishment is that there was one dollar.

Again, it is known of all intelligent persons that the banks and money interest made a desperate effort last February to have a law enacted to permit the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds to supply the Government with gold. Congress refused to do this, and there can be no reasonable doubt but a combination was then formed between the banks, the money owners, and monometallists, to bring on a panic and depress all business and ascribe it all to silver, and hence secure its destruction as money.

I know of my own knowledge that circular letters were sent South to national and other banks telling them unless the Sherman law was repealed that they could get no more accommodations, and they would be embarrassed in their business, and they must insist upon their representative voting for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. Was ever such diligence and efforts put forth in the history of this country by the New York press to ascertain the position of Congress on the silver question?

This was not undertaken as a mere matter of news, but it was for a purpose. Failing to receive such answer as accorded with their purpose, the panic has intensified until depositors have become frightened, and the panic is recoiling upon the banks, the authors of the panic, and at last they realize, as "they sowed to the winds, they are reaping the whirlwind."

My own judgment is that this distress does not owe its existence to the Sherman law, but to a combination between the money powers and the banks, aided by the Government, to destroy silver as money.

The passage of the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia will not relieve the country unless some legislation immediately takes place to secure free coinage of silver.

We have no assurance such will take place. If such is intended in good faith to be effected, then the passage of the substitute of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] which

positively repeals the Sherman law in so many words, is a much more effective and ready measure to carry out such purpose and obey the Chicago platform than the bill of the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

The President's message has brought distrust to the two-thirds of the Democrats on this floor and who propose to still remain Democrats and carry out the Chicago platform and obey the voice of the people as expressed in the election of the President on the 8th of November last, that there is no purpose on the part of the advocates of the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, and of the President himself, to observe the Chicago platform, or to obey the will of nine millions of the voters of this country, and who elevated him to the Chief Magistracy of this country.

The President has departed from his own letter of acceptance and from the Chicago platform. In this act of infidelity to the Democratic party, and this trampling of the interests of the farmers and laborers of this country under foot, I can not maintain or follow him.

Gold and silver metal since the dawn of civilization, aye, from the time of Abraham, has been the metallic money of all nations.

England, after she had grown rich and powerful on the double standard of both gold and silver, after the white sails of her commerce had penetrated every waterway, and her flag was saluted with respect by every nation on earth, upon every sea and ocean, in every harbor and station, when she became so opulent and powerful that the London Exchange dictated rates to the world, and the maritime and commercial laws of all nations were more or less subservient to British interests, and she had become the creditor of all nations, and where her arguments ceased her battleships and artillery forced irrevocable conclusions—in 1816 this island in the sea, our mother, demonetized silver, pulled the ladder upon which she had mounted to such opulence and power up after her, and declared gold the only metallic basis of issue, the only money that she would respect or receive in final payment.

From the foundation of our Government up to 1873 gold and silver, the double standard, was our basis of issue of paper money, the money we respected and received as money to be paid and received in final settlement and payment of all claims, demands, and debts of all and every character whatever.

In 1873 silver, by act of Congress, was demonetized, was declared not to be any longer metallic money in the United States, and not such money as should be a legal tender in settlement of any claim, debt, or demand.

No one to this day can tell with positive assurance who was the author of such an iniquitous measure. Its author, if living, refuses to honor his bantling; if dead, he has failed to leave any evidences of his paternity.

That demonetization is a bastard, is a crime, is conclusively established, because it is without acknowledged paternity and the father is ashamed of the child.

What public necessity demanded such an act? What condition in our trade and finance required such a revolution in our system? What industrial enterprise, what labor pursuit called for such an upheaval in values and disorganization of our settled modes of business? What crime had the American farmer, the American laborer, aye, the American people, committed as to call forth such a sentence?

Who constituted the author the judge to pronounce such a sentence. That he was a dishonorable man, a character more despicable than the youth who fired the Ephesian temple, and more to be derided and anathematized than Nero, who burned his magnificent capital, is believed by the present generation, and posterity will be convinced of the fact?

If so much benefit is to be derived from the act; if it is a truth in the settlement of financial difficulties; if its results are to redound to the general good and to the benefit of mankind, it is passing strange no man will step forth and claim authorship of the act.

Authorship is denied, paternity is disavowed, and responsibility disowned as cautiously as one shuns the leprosy or avoids the exudation of the upas tree. It seems to me such a want of authorship, such a disavowal of paternity, would cause a fair-minded and unselfish mind to hesitate to accept or attempt to defend the boasted results of good to arise from its existence.

What revolution was going on, that amid the clash of conflicting forces our laws became silent and our Federal Constitution became waste paper, its principles effete, and its plain provisions disregarded, disobeyed, and perjury became a fit instrument to defend the safety of the people?

I am surprised. I am astounded that men professing to be honorable and patriotic will attempt to defend such a confessed infamy, because no one will assume responsibility for its existence.

Prior to the year 1873 silver was a coordinate and equal metal for basic money in the United States. With this double stand-

ard, with this derided metal, silver, as an equal constituent element of our money, American liberty and American freedom were established.

A government was founded that has challenged the admiration of the world, and has presented a prototype for the advocates of liberty, the defenders of free representative government throughout the world, and for all ages. With it we have conquered the savage, cleared up the wilderness, established Christianity, and developed civilization until we are the equal of any people, the pride of nations throughout the world.

With it we purchased Louisiana, we overturned the imperious laws upon the sea of our haughty mother, England. We conquered Mexico and took from her the territory from San Diego and the line of the Rio Grande northward and eastward, embraced in the State of California, the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico.

We made the richest and happiest people, the most moral and religious citizens that the annals of man give any account of.

Thus it performed its duty, a faithful servant of the masses, until its legal death in 1873, and at that minute it was worth a premium in our markets, and has been and remained the equal of gold in all our financial transactions from the foundation of the Government to the date of its legal death. And yet we find men proclaiming themselves great moralists, immaculate patriots, agonizing as it were over the depressed condition of the people, yet attempting to defend the lynching and the unholy and monstrous assassination of the main and most efficient instrumentality of our former prosperity, content, and happiness.

With no feeling of animosity, no disposition to offend any, I can not otherwise regard him who indorses this assassination of silver, this demonetization scheme, as an enemy to the public welfare, a foe to the masses, and an adversary to popular interests, and hostile to the sweat, muscle, and brawn of the land.

All the arguments they use to sustain their cause are one-sided, contracted, and unfair, and are suggested alone by selfishness, greed, and avarice, and inspired by opposition to the agriculturist and wage-earner.

Silver needs no vindication or eulogy from any source, and the execration of the banks and millionaire gold bugs and the extortioners and usurers of the land will not be sufficient to destroy it. The voice of the great majority of the American people stand back of silver, and they will set up and defend the money of the Constitution and will demolish the cohorts of usury and extortion on every alignment and secure to themselves, their children, and their posterity that peace, that content, that happiness, and that success in the struggle of life vouchsafed unto them by the fathers of freedom and independence.

No argument is necessary to support silver as one of the essential metals of final payment, and upon which to erect a paper money. The progress of the ages attest the truth of this statement.

All history demonstrates that when gold and silver are equally and fairly treated by the law, that in the very nature of things, and under the laws of trade and business, a parity between the two metals will take place, and will be maintained and preserved.

The enemies of free coinage of silver are without any political organization. No political party in these United States that is organized with a hope of success, and will submit their claims and doctrines to the masses for their support at the ballot box, will dare engraft in their platform the ideas, arguments, and doctrines of the monometallists.

In the platform of every political party that struggled for success in 1892 there is an absence of every argument of the gold bug and usurer, and no such platform has ever been presented to the American people for their support and adoption.

On the contrary, in every platform of every party in 1892 there was a demand for the restoration of the free coinage of silver.

The Constitution of the United States expresses and declares for the doctrine of bimetallism and demands its enforcement.

The monometallist has no political party in this country, and no constitution upon which to erect his fabric of government.

What argument does the gold-bug employ to destroy silver?

He contends that gold being scarcer than silver, and being the single standard of the commercial world, it is more valuable than silver, has a greater purchasing value, and its monetary mint will always be stable as compared with itself; that stability in the monetary mint is essential to any financial system, and silver being cheaper than gold and more plentiful, the cheaper money will drive out the dearer money, and the country will be forced to a silver standard, and we will have to purchase gold at a great premium in settling our foreign debts, demands, and balances.

The monometallist says that in the use of one metal alone the monetary mint is always stable as compared with itself.

He who owns the gold is always in favor of the gold standard,

because he lends money, and the one standard makes money scarce, and gold being scarcer than silver, it is therefore dearer than silver, and the rate of interest will be higher as the gold is scarcer.

But the usurer, the money lender, the extortioner, are not the only persons engaged in business, and the name Shylock does not include every family and individual of the community.

He who would meet the necessities of humanity, he would fill the demands of a Christian philosophy, he who would play the part of a wise statesman and engage in the business of making laws to direct and control human conduct, to secure human happiness and human prosperity, when employed in creating a financial system and regulating the money question of a people and country, must not circumscribe his vision, bound his intellect, or contract the impulses and inspirations of his heart alone upon the wants, necessities, and demands of the gold bug and money-lender.

The money-lender produces no wealth. Money is not wealth; it is a representative of values and a medium of exchange. The money-lender makes his gain by demanding and collecting interest for the use of his money; this interest is paid in money, and by his process of business he is always employed in concentrating the money of a country under his control and getting it into his possession and ownership.

As scarce money always raises the rate of interest, the money-lender is always the advocate of any system that makes money scarce and interest high. He always favors the gold standard, and will argue with some vigor, little humanity, and less of statesmanship, about the retaining of the stability of the monetary unit as compared with itself. The retention of the monetary unit stable as compared with itself is the argument alone of the gold advocate, the money-lender, as it builds up and sustains his interest as offering greater avenues for the enhancement of the rate of interest.

But we must remember that there are other avenues of business among a people by which they live and produce wealth than the business of money lending, and the interests of all these must be considered as well as those of the usurer.

In addition to the business of lending money, there are three other avenues that men engage in to secure a livelihood and gather wealth.

Profits that are earned by buying and selling, manufacturing, transportation, and commerce generally.

Rents, the money realized upon renting lands, houses, and other property.

Lastly, wages, the reward the laboring man receives for his daily labor, either by the day, the week, the month, or year, and is called in political economy a wage-earner.

These last three are dependent for the successful prosecution of their business upon the supply of money or capital as it is called in this connection, and money being the creature of law, money should be so managed and so distributed as to benefit all. In establishing any financial system, in enacting laws to regulate and control money, the interests of all the persons engaged in these four avenues of gathering and producing wealth should be considered.

Those engaged in the last three avenues of securing wealth are not so much concerned about the stability of the monetary unit as compared with itself, but they are seriously interested in its stability in its relation to everything else that is in its purchasing power. That is, they are interested in having such an amount and volume of money as will secure to each and all of them, regularly and with stability of value, a full and fair reward for all their products, for all their enterprise, and for all their energies.

This can be obtained and secured only when the supply of money is equal to all demands for which money is or can be used.

Contraction of the currency, scarcity of money, the increase of the rate of interest, are each and all antagonistic to the welfare and advancement of all those engaged in the three last-named avenues of producing and gathering wealth, and operate alone in the interest of the money-lender.

Hence, as the free coinage of silver increases the means and basis of expanding the currency, and doubles the volume of money as the means of final settlement of all debts, demands, claims, and balances, and decreases the rate of interest, appreciates values, elevates prices, and arouses the energies and hopes of the people, and incites to enterprise, the people engaged in the three last-named avenues are interested, and to advance their own interests should be firm and aggressive advocates of the double standard, of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, made a legal tender on the same basis as gold.

By restricting the coinage of silver, debts contracted at one time will be enhanced in value when paid in the future, and it will require the production and sale of more of the products of labor to secure the money to liquidate the debt than at the time

the debt was contracted. Hence restricted coinage or demonetization of silver, or contraction of currency, always operates in favor of the creditor and to the detriment of the debtor.

There is not enough gold in the world to meet the demands of trade and to secure to labor the just rewards of its toils. Any demonetizing of silver, a metal that the ages show has held a parity with gold when treated fairly and equally by law as gold is, is a crime against humanity and a violation of every principle of free, equal, and constitutional government.

The monometallist, or single gold-standard advocate, is a destroyer; he offers no remedy to meet the lack of gold, yet insists on the demonetizing of silver which meets the deficiency of gold.

VALUES.

An ideal standard of value is unattainable, the affairs of man are too varied, too complex and resting upon too many contingencies, the products of labor too unequal in quantity and quality, too liable to deterioration for such a standard to be obtained.

Our inability to reach such standard, does not relieve us from the duty to approximate it as near as possible.

The volume of money in circulation among any people is a most potent factor in receiving such an approximate standard.

Money is the representative of value of all the products of labor, of all the enterprises of man, and of all the human energies employed in temporal advancement; then, that the volume of money should always be kept at such an amount as to meet all the requirements of trade, the necessities of business, the demands of labor, and the wants of the people, is but the suggestions of the most ordinary intellect, of common sense, and of common justice.

A change in value is not created alone by the character of the article, or the conditions that surround and affect it, but the change may be caused by conditions affecting the dollar itself.

To illustrate: A bushel of wheat is of a certain grade and in a certain condition to-day and is worth a dollar; it may continue of the same grade and remain in the same condition and the supply and demand remain the same, and to-morrow, next week, next month, or the next year, and at each of the periods named it may be exchanged for more or less money than to-day. In this case the price of the wheat is not at all affected by conditions affecting the wheat, but it is affected alone by conditions affecting the dollar or currency given in exchange for the wheat.

The conditions affecting the dollar may be those of supply and demand.

If the supply of money is limited, contracted, and is scarce, and the demand for it great, then the price of the wheat will fluctuate; it will become less in price as the supply of money is lessened or contracted.

On the other hand, if the grade and condition of the wheat deteriorates and changes, then the price will decline and change, and these result from conditions affecting the wheat.

Or if the grade and condition of the wheat should remain the same, the supply is good. Yet there is no demand in such case; the price of the wheat would be affected by its condition. Another illustration: the volume of currency is normal; that is, it is equal to the necessities of trade and demands of the whole community, property will then reach its fair and intrinsic value.

A farmer contracts a debt, say, by purchasing 40 acres of land for \$200, payable in twelve months. All things being normal, the land is well worth the \$200. In the mean time, before the debt is due, the volume of currency is contracted, the demand for money is great, the supply is small, the monetary unit is changed, prices decline, and values deteriorate and go down 50 per cent; and when the debt is due the land will only bring \$100 because of conditions affecting the money of the country.

To pay off the debt the farmer is compelled to produce one-half more cotton, or if he fails in this, he will have to sell his other 40 acres of land he bought and for which he contracted the debt, and thus he has lost his 80 acres of land, his home, his all, to pay a debt he contracted to pay for 40 acres of land.

The destruction of the farmer in this case is caused alone by no act of his, but by conditions affecting the currency, over which the farmer has no control.

Another illustration, and it exemplifies the condition of many of my constituents:

In the regular and legitimate pursuit of his business a farmer contracts a debt and secures the same by mortgage on his 80 acres of land, embracing his homestead. At the time of contracting the debt the volume of currency is normal; that is, it is sufficient to meet the requirements of trade and the demands, needs, and business of all the people.

Every suggestion of prudence says to him, if money remains as it is, he can reasonably count on getting so much per pound for his cotton, and at such price he can easily pay off the debt but when the debt becomes due, the currency is contracted, there is not enough money to meet the demand, and the farmer will

have to make twice as much cotton to pay the debt as he would have required had the currency remained as it was when he contracted the debt. Not having the cotton, the land and his home is sold, and the farmer loses all.

Thus you see the woes and injury resulting from a contraction of the currency, the creation of law, intended for the benefit of all the people.

But in this case the creditor's wealth is doubled and the debtor is ruined.

No wonder the money-lender desires a scarcity of money, and that the rate of interest should be increased. We hear much talk these days about the dishonesty of law that will allow a debtor to pay his debt in silver at 64 cents on the dollar.

This is considered by the gold-bug money lender as an unanswerable argument against silver and the double standard. But does this Shylock tell you anything about the dishonesty of a law that requires the debtor to pay 130 cents in the dollar to discharge a debt contracted at a hundred cents in the dollar? In other words, to pay \$130 to discharge a \$100 debt. This results under a contraction of the currency and demonetization of silver.

Oh, says the gold advocate, the farmer is not injured by this single standard, this demonetization of silver, because a gold dollar will now purchase almost twice as much as a silver dollar would when you had silver money as a legal tender. Admit it; but Mr. Shylock does not tell you that the farmer has to produce and sell twice as much cotton to get the gold dollar as he formerly did to get the silver dollar. Oh, he says, the silver dollar under the present condition will purchase as much as a gold dollar.

Admit it; but, as all prices are on a gold basis, our money all on the gold basis or standard, the farmer has to produce twice as much cotton to get this silver dollar as he would have to produce to get the silver dollar under the double standard, or the gold and silver standard. Yet, during all this time the farmer's power of production has not increased, but remained the same; in all probability it has decreased. The cotton farmer of the South certainly can not produce any more cotton to-day or since 1873 than he could in 1850, when we had the gold and silver standard. His occupation and mode of production is *sui generis*, unlike that of any other farmer, and unlike that of any other industrial pursuit.

The advance of machinery, causing one to produce as much as four or five before, has not and can not reach the Southern cotton farmer. Cotton can not be chopped out by machinery, and it can not be gathered by machinery. As to these, the same process is now in vogue as was employed fifty years ago. And there can not be any change; it must continue to the end of time as it now is, and must remain to be accomplished by the hand. His soil is impaired in its strength, in its power of production, and he is compelled to go into the markets and purchase each year fertilizers to put on his land. He makes but one crop a year, and by the laws of nature it requires the whole year to make and gather a cotton crop.

Hence all discussion about improvement of machinery and increase of the power of production to affect the decline in prices because of a gold standard, has no application and is of no benefit to the Southern cotton-farmer.

To all this the creditor and the gold-bug throws up his hands and cries out robbery and dishonesty!

Hold on, do not cry thief yet; find out who the thief is; maybe you are the man, and an investigation of the case will place the guilt at your door.

First, you enhanced the volume of your debt and reduced the price of the farmer's cotton by demonetizing silver; and it requires the farmer to produce one and a half times more cotton to pay his debt now than when he contracted it.

Second, The value of the silver is the market or bullion value and not the coin value; the ratio of silver in the dollar is still 16 to 1, an amount greater than any other nation puts in the silver dollar; more than France, that sustains a parity between gold and silver, an equality in value and purchasing and debt-paying power.

Now, if you, American creditor and gold-bug advocate, will restore the free coinage of silver and put it on the same footing and plane before the law and the world as you have placed gold, you will at once realize that there will be a demand for silver; it will enhance in value, its purchasing and debt-paying power will be in all things, at all times, and under all circumstances equal to gold, and the 16 ounces of silver is in truth and in fact equal in value to the 1 ounce of gold.

The history of the ages show this, and in our own country and in our own times, when silver was on the same plane with gold before the law, silver has in every instance and at all times maintained a parity in value and as sound money with gold, and has been oftener at a premium than gold.

FARMERS NOT ALONE INTERESTED IN SILVER.

There seems to be an impression abroad that only the farmers are interested in the silver question, and that the people who dwell in the cities and towns are freed from the depression of demonetizing silver.

It is true the demonetizing scheme has robbed the farmer of untold millions for the British traders and the American goldbugs and national banks, yet he has got used to the process; the robbery can not go any further; it has reached its limit, and the farmer would not care a cent for the machinations of the oppressors if he was not in debt.

If he can get a little money to pay his debts, at a low rate of interest, so as to keep his land and home, the devil can take the gold advocates and national banks if he will have them. The farmer can fall back upon the balmy sun, the generous soil, the refreshing rains, the invigorating winds. These are the gift of God, that Wall street and the devil can not control; and in them lies the peace, independence, and happiness of the farmer.

Debt is his only master, and it should be the anxious and diligent care of all men to so arrange and direct the legislation of the country that he will be relieved of this tyrant at the earliest moment.

The farmer can compromise with the gold advocate more advantageously than any other business or industrial class.

He can say to the money-lenders: "Let me have money enough to get out of debt, and then you can proceed with your unholy and depressing schemes; I am now independent of you."

The finances of all gold-standard countries are in a most unsatisfactory condition, there is unrest and dissatisfaction among the producing and laboring classes. France, sandwiched between England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Spain, all gold-standard countries, maintains her double standard of gold and silver, her industries are all prosperous, and her people are happy and contented.

Now, the merchant and manufacturer are less able to stand the depression in prices, the stagnation in business, and the paralysis of enterprise than the farmer. If one will only look around him he can see storehouses filled with goods; no trade, and the merchant in debt, and bankruptcy threatened. Furnaces are blown out, mills closed down, and foundries stopped, and factories still. No hum of industry, but silence of death reigns throughout the whole space.

What is the cause of all this stagnation and ruin? A want of money, contraction of the currency, demonetization of silver, the gold standard, fall in prices, and all the evils of legislation that oppress the trading and industrial classes for the benefit of the money power.

The cry against silver and its denunciation by the gold advocates that it is of less value than gold is unjust and unfair, when the Government has turned its mighty power against it and degraded it.

The apparent fall in the value of silver, maltreated and debased as it is by the Government, is more a rise in the price of gold.

The increased demand for gold caused by the action of Germany, the Latin Union, the Scandinavian states, by Austro-Hungary and the United States in demonetizing silver, causes a rise in the price of gold and a fall in the price of silver.

The decline of silver has not been the result of natural laws, but alone by the destroying and debasing laws of government.

This fact is clearly established by the fall in the price of silver commencing with the act of 1873, demonetizing silver, and has been four times as great in the twenty years since 1873 as it was for the twenty years prior thereto, although the changes in the relative production of the two metals has been less since 1873 than prior thereto. This is shown by admission in the report of the English gold and silver commission.

Facts, not theories, should control and direct the lawmaker and statesman; the doctrinaire has but little weight and influence when he argues against facts and the experiences of a people.

The decline in prices can not be charged to the agitation of the silver question in the United States, this decline is almost universal throughout the world. While prices have not materially risen in silver-using countries, yet they have remained steady and free from fluctuations, as compared with gold prices in the gold-standard countries.

The fact is notorious that prices have largely fallen in all gold-using countries, and this indicates the fact that the change has taken place more in the value of gold than in the value of silver.

If one will compare the prices for twenty years before 1873, when we had free silver, and it was on a parity with gold before the law, and the prices for twenty years since 1873, the year silver was demonetized, it will be ascertained that prices have been lowered since the demonetization of silver than before. This conclusively establishes the fact that the gold or single standard produces the decline in prices.

It is said the low prices do not injure the wage-earner, because his wages will buy as much or more at the present time than ever before; and the improved machinery and modes of production, increasing his power of production, prevent the decline of prices injuring the wage-earner.

It was at one time thought, and the idea was maintained, that a rise or fall in prices was indifferent to all except the creditor and debtor class.

But this idea is now exploded, for investigation and reason has discovered that a fall in prices so affects men's spirits, their hopes and expectations, so depresses their energies and dwarfs their enterprise, all of which are connected with money, exert a depressing influence over all labor and industrial enterprises, and is exceedingly baneful and harmful, while rising prices stimulate hope, arouse energies, secure confidence, and excite to more active exertion and more plentiful production.

The manufacturer, the active manager of industry, is always in debt. He has to buy labor, material, implements, machinery, etc., and must sell his products on short time, and sales must be full and regular in order to enable him to conduct his business with profit; prices falling, business is stagnant, money being scarce, trade is dull and depressed, the manufacturer can not dispose of his products, can not pay his debts and liabilities, and bankruptcy takes place, and the business goes to the wall and laborers are thrown out of employment.

I have shown that this improved machinery, this increase in the power and capacity of production does not apply to the cotton farmer, and does in no way benefit him.

We must not forget that our population is increasing rapidly, our wealth has doubled rapidly, and our production of commodities to be exchanged for other commodities has multiplied rapidly, and the demand for money increases proportionably, and any contraction of the supply leads to ruinous results.

English and Irish tenants are demanding bimetalism, or both silver and gold coinage. The tenants find that while the rate of their rents is fixed for years in advance, yet it is becoming more difficult each year to pay the same because of the fall of prices of the articles they have to produce to sell to obtain the money with which to pay the rent.

Germany and England are each creditor countries, and they desire to destroy silver, enhance the value of gold, make money scarce, and thus raise the value of interest.

The masses of the people all over the world desire the gold and silver standard, yet the lawmaking power in all countries is to some extent dominated by the money kings and gold advocates, and the people are embarrassed. But the march of financial and industrial freedom has commenced; it is gathering strength as it wends its way, and the deluge will soon come; the money devil must disgorge, and freedom and equality must prevail as the directing spirit in all our laws and in the administration of our Government.

An increase in the quantity of money leads to higher prices, arouses the energies, excites to enterprise, suggests development, and gives hope and confidence to labor and industry. A permanent increase in the coin forming the basis of the machinery of exchange will be followed by an increase in the volume of money, and prices will rise and the rate of interest decline. Restore the free coinage of silver, make it legal tender for all debts and claims, put it on an equality with gold before the law, then the price of silver will advance, all prices will rise and appreciate with the advance of silver.

Take the financial and industrial history of the world and there can not be found an exception to the rule, that low and falling prices and declining values produce stagnation in business and a depression in the energies, enterprise, spirit, and hopes of men.

The root and basis of all our trouble is found in the fact that gold is constantly increasing in value.

The disturbance in Wall street, London, in Germany, and wherever the single gold standard prevails conclusively marks another step in the upward movement of the price of gold and the downward movement of all other values.

Take France, where the double standard prevails, both gold and silver is a legal tender, and both are placed and used by the Government on a parity, and you do not find any such disturbance in business matters and no such discontent among the laboring classes; but the producing classes are all thrifty, and energy and enterprise are making their grandest and mightiest strides.

Is not this conclusive evidence that the cause of such universal depression arises from the appreciation in the value of gold, and is not referable to the agitation of the silver question? The countries that use silver are quiet and progressive; their people are prosperous, happy, and contented.

You hear these gold advocates and money-lenders say that the restoration of the free coinage of silver will benefit the silver-miner at the expense of the people. We have shown it will not.

But can not the same be said about the gold-miner—when you

destroy silver, that he will be benefited at the expense of the people in enhancing the value of his gold? Have I not shown this to be true?

You hear the money-lender and the gold advocates complaining about the profit made by the silver-mine owner, but you never hear him complain about the profit made by the owner of the gold mine.

How transparently inconsistent are the money devils! The gold advocate says that, as the majority of the world use gold, if silver should be restored, then gold will flow out of the United States and we will soon be without gold and on a silver basis and single standard. This did not take place for the eighty years that we had the gold and silver standard prior to 1873. It has not taken place in France, that has a gold and silver standard.

Indeed, the agitation of the silver question does not cause the outflow of gold, because we are on a gold basis.

We produce too much to sell abroad to be embarrassed by the outflow of gold.

A silver dollar is now the equal of the gold dollar in the measure of values.

Let there be free coinage of silver, and let the silver dollar be made a legal tender as gold is, and a general demand will be made for silver by both creditors and debtors. From debtors, because they can always employ it to pay their debts, and from creditors because they can use it in making all their payments of every kind and character.

We will use one illustration to answer all the arguments that free silver will drive gold out of the country by foreign nations demanding payment of all balances of trade in gold and all the balances due us will be paid in silver.

A cotton broker in Liverpool buys a lot of cotton in New York from a cotton broker. Silver is a legal tender in America, and the Englishman proposes to pay for the cotton with silver. Where will the Englishman get the silver? It is not in Europe, and he will have to come to America to purchase it. He will have to buy it with gold, and in America silver is on a par with gold, so he will swap gold dollars for silver dollars, and pay the exchange or cost of transportation of the gold from Liverpool to New York to do it.

Does any sane man believe the Englishman will do this? No; he will pay the gold directly.

Here is a demand for silver, and thus a parity will be kept up with gold even in Europe.

Suppose the balance of trade is against the United States, does it force us to pay in gold? Not at all. We would pay in silver, because the Englishman would have a use for silver in his continued trade with America. Suppose, however, the American should have to pay in gold, then he would have it, as we produce thirty-five millions of gold each year, and now have in our country about five hundred millions in gold. France maintains her double standard; why can not we do it?

It is error to assert that gold is the universal standard of value. Two-thirds of the people of the world use silver as money, and over one-half use silver as the standard of values.

If England demands gold in payment of all balances, and continues her single gold standard, she will have to manufacture on a very small profit and sell at low prices, as the gold standard reduces all values, and this will disorganize and dissatisfy her whole industrial system, and revolution will be inevitable.

Heretofore England has been the largest producing country as well as the richest and most powerful nation on earth, and thus she has been able to dictate her policies to the world and force the world to accept them. But the United States, yet in its pining infancy, is the largest producing and manufacturing country, the richest, most opulent, and most powerful nation on earth; and while she does not propose to dictate the policies to be pursued by other nations, yet she does not propose to allow other nations to prescribe her policies. She does not propose to consult other nations as to what standard or principle her economic interests shall be placed under.

CHANGE OF RATIO.

Many persons advocate an increase of the ratio, and then they accept the double standard.

I am opposed to any change in the ratio. Let it remain as it is, 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold. This is the highest ratio in the world.

A change of the ratio now would be unjust to the farmer, as the products of the farm have declined in price since the appreciation of the value of gold and the fall of silver, and a change would fix the farm products at the present low rate and double the amount of his debt. It would be unfair to change the ratio now, because we are the largest silver-producing people in the world, and we should not, unless for the very best reasons, debase our own product and embarrass our laborers. To change

the ratio now would necessitate a recoinage of all our silver dollars at a loss by shrinkage of \$100,000,000.

If the changes should be made by all nations the loss by shrinkage would be near a billion dollars.

A change of ratio is not necessary. France for seventy years, with only half of our population, has kept both gold and silver substantially at par with a ratio of 15½ to 1, less than our ratio.

A change of ratio can be made either by adding to the silver dollar or by taking from the gold dollar. If you change the ratio by adding to the silver dollar, you increase the debt and embarrass the debtor in favor of the creditor. To change the ratio by lessening the gold dollar would benefit the debtor at the expense of the creditor.

Our Government made a change in the ratio in 1834, by reducing the gold dollar, and the fact that the change now demanded is to increase the ratio of silver indicates that the change of ratio is demanded by the creditor class, and that the Government is more nearly under the control of the money power than it was in the early days of 1834.

The question is asked, Do you want a double standard? I answer, yes.

It is an admitted fact by all men that there is a scarcity of metallic money even under a gold and silver standard. What would be the consequences, then, under a single or gold standard?

Well, every man here sees and feels the consequences. Utter stagnation and paralysis. Can a country have a double standard unless the actual value of the metal is the same in each dollar in the world markets?

I answer, the history of the ages of the commercial world shows that when silver is put on the same plane with gold by law, and the Government treats it in such way, the market value of silver is about equal to gold, and sometimes the coinage value is a premium over gold. It is not so much the stability of the market value of silver as a commodity to sell, or the equality of the two metals as to the monetary unit, that the industrial and producing classes are interested in, as we have before shown in this argument, but it is the relationship between the metals as monetary units and the value of all other commodities, the products of industry and labor, that concerns the business and industrial community.

The money-lender, the usurer, is alone of all the community concerned about the relation of the two metals to each other as monetary units.

This question is propounded by gold advocates and money-lenders. Does not the demand for any commodity, gold or silver, taken in connection with the supply, fix the price? I answer, that ordinarily, all things being equal, it does. But when you decrease the demand, or do away with the use of any commodity by an arbitrary act of law, I do not care what the supply may be, great or little, the price of the commodity will decline.

As to silver money, if the coinage should be restored free and equal with that of gold, and silver made a legal tender, the history of all peoples and the experience of mankind and the experience of the people of these United States for eighty years prior to the demonetizing of silver in 1873 show that the silver will sustain its value as a monetary unit and its value as a medium of exchange on a parity with gold.

Here is, in this reply, an answer to every argument made by the gold-bug and money-lender against the double standard of gold, unlimited coinage of silver, put on a parity with gold before the law.

And the depressed condition of our laboring and producing classes, the stagnation in business, the paralysis of all enterprise, and the decline of prices that has been gradually going on since 1873 show conclusively that the demonetization of silver has been a national calamity, a sin against God, and a cruel and diabolical conspiracy against the industrial freedom and the labor prosperity, as well as the developing and producing advancement of the people of this country.

Another question is asked: Does not the United States purchase more silver and coin it in one year now than was issued by the United States prior to 1873? I answer, yes.

And the rapid increase of her population, almost doubled since 1870, the expansion of her industrial and producing power, the development of her mineral, commercial, and agricultural resources, the building of her railroads, the opening and cleaning out of her highways, the advancement and refinement of her people, the civilization and progress of the age, each and all justify and demand such purchase and call for its continuance until the handcuffs that the gold bugs, national banks, usurers, and money kings have bound and riveted upon the energies and enterprise of the masses are taken off, and a full, open, and untrammelled sweep shall be given to the grand genius and heroic spirit of young America, a lion in the struggle of life, a giant in opportunities and growth, a Croesus in wealth, a Hercules in power, a Christian in religion, and a free man by birth,

possessing and occupying a country that is an asylum for the oppressed of every land.

Another question is asked: Since the United States buys more silver for use as money than ever before, why is not the falling price of silver checked?

The Government buys the silver, but does not use it as money, and this is the very evil we silver men complain of, the Government refusing to use silver as a money of final payment; and this very refusal is the sole cause of the uneasiness and disturbance now going on in this country.

If the Government would use silver as money, restore it to free coinage, and make it a legal tender, the decline in price would stop, and in a short while it would be on a parity with gold.

By what I have stated in this argument I have shown—

First. That since the formation of our Government up to 1873 silver has been a part of the debt-paying money of the people.

Second. I have shown that the act demonetizing silver has robbed the people of more than half of their debt-paying currency.

Third. Demonetization of silver increased the value of gold. Such increase in the value of gold has caused a fall in the prices of all commodities that are the products of human labor and industry and a depreciation in the value of all kinds of property, as well as depressed the value of silver.

I have shown that a restoration of silver to free coinage and made a legal tender on a parity with gold will cure all the evils created by the enhancement of the value of gold.

Fourth. I have shown that low prices create depression among the people, stifle enterprises, and retard the energies and enjoin the development of industrial pursuits.

Fifth. I have shown that the gold or single standard is devised to increase the profits of the usurers, money-lenders, national banks, and millionaire gold sharks in lending money.

Sixth. I have shown that the demonetization of silver is an invention growing out of the partnership between the European monarchies and the millionaire bankers to plunder the people, ob labor of its profits, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

The banks, money-lenders, and gold advocates are squeezing us, frightening the Government, unsettling the finances of the country, alarming the people, stagnating the labor, industry, and business of the country, all to coerce the Government to issue the bonds mentioned, generate a demand for gold, establish a gold basis, all to plunder and rob, to put gain in their pockets.

If the letter of the Sherman law, to say nothing of its spirit, was observed, this depression and distress would at once be relieved, and labor and business would realize the rewards of its toil, and the producers would get a fair price for their cotton, wheat, and other commodities, and all things would be relieved.

Shall silver notes or certificates be redeemed in silver as the Government contracted to do when it issued the note, and let silver be used as a currency for the people, and swell the volume of money, or shall silver purchases be charged as a debt against the Government, and the people taxed to raise gold to pay for it?

The voice of the people was expressed on this matter last November. The present system was inaugurated by Republican administration, and at the last election the people condemned it.

It seems the present Administration has not heard the sentence of condemnation yet. The gold bugs have conquered, and the people are chained to their triumphal car as victims of their avarice and greed and slaves to their will.

If the present Administration will pay out silver in redemption of all these demands, as it has power to do under the law, then all this commotion will be stilled these disturbances settled, business revived, energies aroused, enterprise excited, industry renewed, trade buoyant, producers receiving legitimate profits, and labor requited with the gain of its honest toil.

Under the Sherman law, properly administered and fairly to the people, silver is money and should be treated in the same manner and on a parity with gold. But under the Harrison Administration, and thus far under Cleveland, silver, the money of the people, is no more than a poker chip, it is evidence against the Government for the payment of gold.

If this mode of administration is to continue, the stagnation and paralysis of all business, trade, industry, and labor will be intensified and increased; prices will go lower, gold higher, and the rate of interest increased, and woe and lamentation will be heard throughout all trade and industrial centers. Merchants bankrupted, manufacturers despoiled of all profits, railroads in the hands of the receivers, and country banks in liquidation; and the money kings, usurers, and extortioners will be seen riding in their golden chariots, cracking their whips over the heads of an outraged and indignant people.

Let us be true to ourselves, stop our bickerings, and put

on the whole armor for the great political battle. Let us marshal ourselves in one line, firm and steadfast, in defense of our liberties as freemen. Do our whole duty, be brave, be courageous, and leave the consequences to God.

Mr. PICKLER. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. PICKLER. To a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. PICKLER. To-morrow, I understand, the House commences consideration of the bill and amendments under the five-minute rule. I desire to inquire whether the debate will be had on the bill and amendments as a whole, or whether the amendments will be taken up for consideration separately?

The SPEAKER. As a whole. When the gentleman gets the floor he can debate any amendment he desires.

Mr. PICKLER. Or all.

The SPEAKER. Or all. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] will perform the duties of the chair at the evening session. The House will now take a recess until 8 o'clock, the evening session to be devoted to debate only on the pending question.

Accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 28 minutes) the House was declared in recess.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House, at 8 o'clock p. m., resumed its session (Mr. RICHARDSON of Tennessee in the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*).

SILVER.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act, approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes."

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, it may be somewhat immodest for me at this time to address the House, but the gravity and the importance of the measure introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia is my apology. I am here to-day to take a humble part in presenting and expressing the wishes of the people of the great empire State of the West. Illinois, with her vast agricultural and commercial wealth, at the center of the Republic, surrounded by every interest common to a free and enlightened people, demands that her representatives may be permitted to give their reasons for the strange unrest and demoralization that now obtains in every branch of business. The Republican platform reads:

The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetallicism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with restrictions, and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of value of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

I now quote from the Democratic platform:

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Mr. Speaker, does the man who claims to be for the pending bill—gold alone—stand by that platform? One gentleman said to-day that his own convictions are his platform, and that he votes as he pleases; that platforms do not bind him.

A contrariety of reasons has been assigned by the gentlemen on this floor for the unhappy condition of the country; but I have not heard any satisfactory explanation of how the purchase of 54,000,000 ounces of silver each year and issuing thereon fifty-four millions of silver certificates, and passing them out to the people to do business with, where they purchase just as much of the necessities of life as gold, can bring on a panic. That is beyond my comprehension. How can this produce a panic? The less money there is in the hands of the people the greater the probability of a panic, seems to be the theory of some men in

this House. The Secretary of the Treasury sent a statement to this House to-day which I will read:

In reply, I have the honor to state:

First. The number of ounces of silver bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, from August 13, 1890, to August 16, 1893, inclusive, was 161,521,000 fine ounces, costing \$150,663,463. The highest price paid was \$1.204, August 20, 1893, and the lowest price \$0.696, July 24, 1893—average price, \$0.92284.

Second. Treasury notes to the amount of \$150,115,985 have been issued to date, August 16, 1893, in payment of the silver bullion, and that amount is still outstanding, the redemptions having been replaced by issues, with the exception of \$714,636, which have been redeemed in standard silver dollars and retired from circulation since August 3, instant.

Third. Up to August 1, 1893, \$49,184,160 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in gold, and since August 3, 1893, \$714,636 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in silver dollars, this being the first redemption of these notes in silver.

Fourth. The number of standard silver dollars coined from bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, to August 16, 1893, has been 36,967,185.

Fifth. The number of ounces of silver owned by the Government, purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, on August 16, 1893, was 133,161,375 fine ounces, costing \$121,217,677.

Very respectfully,

J. G. CARLISLE, *Secretary.*

Hon. CHARLES F. CRISP,
Speaker, House of Representatives.

It will be seen from this statement that more than \$150,000,000 has been placed in the hands of the people by this act known as the Sherman law. Had we established the principle three years ago that we are attempting now to enact on this money question, there would be \$150,000,000 less in the hands of the people.

It was said with considerable vehemence by the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX] that all panics come from the common people. That I believe to be true; that is, from the depositors. The oldest financiers of this country stand in amazement when asked to define the cause of the present panic. No failures of crops; no wars or threatened difficulty in overtrading; no convulsions of nature or of men. How did this panic come about? The philosopher and the soothsayer have retired from the field. No gentleman speaking for the gold standard alone has been kind enough to tell us the real cause of this great panic.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] tells us the remedy is to destroy one-half the money of the country, reduce the circulating medium to the gold standard alone. This is the panacea for all ills. It will bring happiness and prosperity, and will gladden every home. There is not a member upon this floor but who would be glad to see this enchanting picture. Does strong declamation unfold the mystery or enlighten the issue? Who has learned from the advocates of the gold standard the cause of this panic now in our country? Does any man of investigation believe that the one-hundredth part of our present trouble has grown out of the Sherman law? We will agree, however, that the Sherman law is inconsistent with every principle of sound monetary business, and ought to be repealed, and must be rejected.

The great cause of the present financial difficulties seems to be a perfect enigma, so far as the public mind is concerned. Almost every individual and every member upon this floor has a different view of the case. You have yours; I have mine. I hold that the laws of taxation which have been enacted during the last quarter of a century, discriminating against the wealth-producers and in favor of those who have large holdings, and who now have control of the wealth after it has been created, are the men who have brought about the present difficulty, and now hold the reins which are guiding the legislation here in favor of gold alone.

More than \$600,000,000 have passed from the producers of wealth into the hands of the protected few, under the tariff laws, annually, for the past twenty-five years. This wealth thus obtained has been loaned back to the people who are impoverished by these discriminating laws; and now if these men who hold this vast wealth can go into this legislative assembly and secure the passage of a law that would demonetize silver and destroy its use as a commercial medium of exchange, they are thus enabled to double their claims against their debtors, and in the end become the owners, as it were, of the entire wealth over which they hold these mortgages.

Mr. Speaker, I was gratified to-day to hear my colleague on the other side [Mr. CANNON of Illinois] declare in forcible terms that he is in favor of both gold and silver as the true standards of value, and that we should coin these metals as the money of the people.

We are told by many of the ablest men upon this floor that this Government can not maintain a double standard or foster bimetalism unless England or Germany takes the initiative or some other of the foreign nations lead off; and when they have, we may follow. Such a confession of servility is, to my mind, inconsistent with the spirit, the enterprise, and the patriotism of the American people.

The United States stands to-day substantially at the head of all nations: with her 65,000,000 of people, her vast area of productive soil, her wide and deep forests, her inexhaustible mines, and her commercial relations with all the nations of the earth that we should now, to-day, admit our inability to do that which is the best for our people, unless we humbly go before some of the nations of the Old World and ask them to do that which we might do for ourselves—I do not think that the people will be content with this idea, that we are not able to sustain ourselves as a Government, not only in our monetary affairs, but in all the commercial relations with the nations of earth.

We have always been jealous of the patriotism and the sagacity, the foresight and the ability of our fathers, who molded and fashioned the institutions that have blessed this nation for more than a century. They in their wisdom laid as the foundation-stone of our financial system that gold and silver should be the money of the people. Under that system of bimetalism we have prospered and grown from the beginning of this Government to the present time, surviving all the vicissitudes and changes wrought by war and failure of crops and all the contingencies that could come upon a nation growing up successfully under a double standard. We feel to-day that we should not disregard and lay aside all these precedents; that we should take a new departure in the regulation of the finances of the country and destroy one-half the commercial medium of exchange and adopt monometallism, while every man must know that it is impossible to transact the business of the country upon that basis alone.

There is not enough gold in the world for the people to successfully transact the business of the world. There should always be enough money in the country to transfer the products of industry from the producer to the consumer, within the coming and the going of the seasons, without stagnation or waste. It must be admitted that on account of the enormous increase of population and of business transacted throughout the world, that gold is wholly inadequate to serve the purposes of a commercial medium of exchange.

Being the sole standard, and on account of its scarcity, its value is consequently appreciated, causing depreciation in the value of all articles and the impoverishing of a large part of the people, and silver is the only metal that can be called to its aid. There is but one way to give this metal a fixed value that will be recognized throughout the world, and that is for a government as strong and powerful as ours, representing large silver-producing interests, to coin all silver and gold that may be offered at the ratio of 16 to 1. I believe that to be the only remedy. I may be at fault.

There is claimed to be a knowledge on the part of some of the people, especially those people who have large accumulations of money to loan, that silver is being produced so rapidly and so fast that it should be discarded as a money metal. This is an error. It is a very grave mistake for men to fall into innocently. Some of the best mining experts now state that the mines of this country are being rapidly worked out, and as every section of the country has been surveyed, there is very little probability of the quantity of silver being increased. The greater probabilities are that it will commence to decline, as to quantity, in a very short time.

Should we take the production of gold and silver during the past sixty or six hundred years, the relative production has not been far from 13 to 1. In fact, if we are to be guided by the productions of the mines for the past eighty-eight years, it would be found to be wiser to decrease the ratio to 13½ to 1. Here are the figures: The world has mined of gold 7,042 tons, and of silver 95,550 tons in the past eighty-eight years, or just exactly 13½ of silver to 1 of gold.

All the figures that I shall present upon this question are from official reports of the Directors of the United States Mint or from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics. This authority, I apprehend, will not be questioned.

Specie and bullion holdings of leading European banks.

June 1, 1893.

Bank of—	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
England.....	\$130,508,740		\$130,508,740
France.....	342,754,200	\$256,247,000	599,001,200
Germany.....	165,813,750	55,271,250	221,085,000
Austria.....	51,870,600	87,350,000	139,220,000
Spain.....	28,570,300	32,090,000	60,660,000
Holland.....	15,430,000	35,600,000	51,030,000
Belgium.....	13,633,335	6,816,665	20,450,000
Total.....	758,580,025	473,374,915	1,231,954,940

Specie and bullion holdings of leading European banks—Continued.

June 2, 1892.

England	\$129,553,830		\$129,553,830
France	311,674,410	\$258,382,125	570,056,535
Germany	187,143,750	62,381,250	249,525,000
Austria	28,470,000	82,750,000	111,220,000
Spain	37,980,000	23,180,000	61,160,000
Holland	16,025,000	33,135,000	49,160,000
Belgium	13,856,665	6,928,335	20,785,000
Total	724,703,655	466,756,710	1,191,460,365

Germany does not report the silver separately, but is included in the total specie. It is calculated, however, that 25 per cent of the total is silver, and it is put down at that figure.

Specie and bullion holdings of the United States Treasury.

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
June 1, 1893	\$197,662,428	\$487,503,042	\$685,172,470
June 1, 1892	271,563,291	443,891,436	715,454,727

Every reading man knows that a crisis has been forced in our financial matters; that the ratio between the metals has been disturbed. I claim that the whole cause of this difference in the parity of the two metals is the result of preconcerted legislation on the part of England and this country to force gold as the only standard, consequently reducing silver to a commodity and depriving it of its money quality.

All persons who have carefully studied this question from a statistical standpoint know that between the years 1849 and 1861 California alone produced more than six hundred millions in gold, and the United States during the same twelve years produced but \$1,300,000 in silver. Gold was continually at a discount, as compared with silver, at this time, from 3 to 7 per cent. Many of the foremost financiers of the Old World, including the great French advocate, Chevalier, insisted upon demonetizing gold and making silver the only standard.

It is perfectly plain to me, and it seems it should be to the whole world, that it is not prejudice against silver which is making the present trouble. It is a desire upon the part of the money-changers of this country and of England to guard the interests of the money-lenders, so that as lenders they may have advantage over the borrowers. I am, so far as this question is concerned, as much in favor of gold and its free coinage as silver, and that they should be coined upon a perfect equality. I believe in an honest dollar, and I believe that we will be able to so legislate that our coin, both gold and silver, will be recognized as honest.

I do not believe that the gold standard can or will be adopted by this Congress, as it is such a great removal from the lines of legislation that have come down to us from the fathers. But I shall hold that the good sense of the people will maintain the standard of 16 to 1. The Sherman law should be repealed, and bimetalism should take its place, in such form as will meet the demands of business and relieve the country. The Sherman law impoverishes the wealth-producers, and brings misery, degradation, and shame to every home. More than sixty-five millions of dollars, of money metal annually produced by the people of the United States, will be as useless for purposes of money as clay in the pottery under a law of monometallism.

I believe that the only method by which this panic can be checked and placed under control and confidence restored is to stand inflexibly by the law which existed prior to 1873. France fixed her standard ratio between gold and silver more than seventy years ago at 15½ to 1, and she has been able through all panics and convulsions of war and of nature and failures of crops of every kind to sustain both gold and silver standards, and today she is the most prosperous nation of all western Europe. The most independent nation financially of all the countries of earth to-day is France. She has maintained an independent, unyielding, bimetallic position without reference to what other nations may have thought or done.

I believe that the United States should always be in readiness to join the other nations of the world for the purpose of adjusting the metals so that we would be enabled to have a uniform ratio with all the nations with whom we trade. The French people in having a decided policy of their own, and a disposition to maintain it without changing her coinage laws, and standing by them with a determination to maintain them, is worthy of our emulation. The discrimination by the laws of this country against silver as money has closed the silver mines and has wrought as much injury to the gold interests as to silver, and must very soon be felt in the production of gold, as we all know that 45 per cent of the gold produced in the United States is extracted from the silver-mine ores, most gold being found in com-

bination with silver, not separately, as was originally the case in the placer mining of California. This is a danger which the gold advocates ought to consider with some care.

The United States is substantially a bimetallic nation, and is made so by the laws of nature more than any other nation upon earth, and it is very short-sighted to be afraid of producing too much good money. It is a strange condition of affairs that a nation like ours should be averse to the use of silver metal when we are its greatest producers. If the citizens of this country will but take a comprehensive view of this matter and be true to their own interests in both precious metals we will remain what we are to-day, and by natural laws are entitled to be, the wealthiest nation on the face of the earth, and our safety lies only in the direction of an honest maintenance of both metals as money upon an equality. The credit of this Government is always good for any changes or differences in the production if the Government will only take the position and maintain it firmly, as France has done.

The pending bill asks us now to repudiate the traditions of the Democratic party from the foundation of the Government to the present time, to take a new departure, and undertake to establish a new principle upon which the medium of exchange should be made for our people. I hold that this should not be done. There is no demand for such a step. We are treading upon dangerous ground. We are stepping upon the thin crust of a volcano, which is ready to engulf us at any moment. We can not be too careful and steady. To strike down one-half of the money metal of this country is to destroy one-half the property of the people and leave the creditor as the supreme ruler and governor over all the debtors.

We should legislate so that no extreme calamity could come to either, and thus we should pledge the complete and eternal credit of this Government to the maintenance of both gold and silver upon the present basis and let the coinage be entirely free to both. We should, if we look to the highest interests of our country, maintain a bimetallic standard, have gold and silver standards, and separate and distinct gold and silver dollars, each forever exchangeable with the other, and both legal tender for all debts, public and private, in any and all amounts.

The safest and most progressive nations to-day are the bimetallic nations—no better proof of which need be given than to refer to the United States, France, Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, Belgium, and Japan. The single silver standard nations are at least as independent and self-sustaining in their relations to the balance of the world as the single gold standard nations, China, Mexico, Holland, Peru, Ecuador, India, Brazil, Central America, and others, with a silver standard. Germany, though acting at present under a gold standard alone, has a very large minority party earnestly in favor of returning to a bimetallic basis, and if the United States Government takes a firm position in the intended action, there is little doubt that Germany will soon follow our lead. I believe that there is but one course left for the people of the United States, and that is to declare in favor of bimetalism, although other nations may not join us in the near future, or at any time.

A significant fact, showing the enormous loss to this country from our foolish legislation demonetizing silver in 1873, and only partially reinstating it in 1878, and then insulting it again in 1890 with the Sherman law, the practical effect of which has simply been to keep it all the while the football for England, shows the dire results, which can not be misunderstood by the man who thinks. Let us compare the price of wheat, cotton, and silver for twenty years, or since the demonetizing of silver, and leave each person to figure for himself the amount of loss to the United States. These prices show a steady decline for twenty years in the commodities mentioned:

WHEAT.

Year.	Average price.	Year.	Average price.
1872	\$1.47	1887	\$0.89
1878	1.34	1892	.80
1883	1.13	1893	.60

While again the same is shown in cotton as follows:

COTTON.

Year.	Average price.	Year.	Average price.
1872	\$0.198	1887	\$0.095
1878	.111	1892	.072
1883	.108	1893	.064

Then let us note that silver, degraded by law, has been the thermometer, and represents this enormous loss in the same ratio (bullion value):

SILVER.

Year.	Average price per ounce.	Year.	Average price per ounce.
1872	\$1.32	1887	\$0.97
1878	1.15	1892	.86
1883	1.11	1893	.56

Honest money, sound money, is always as honest as the laws creating it. Dishonest legislation in 1873 and later laws make the dishonest dollar.

Soundness of money is the basis of bimetalism. The purchase of metal is a question of trade, not of money. Government ought to let it alone severely, as it ought to let other private business alone. The fundamental proposition with which the free coinage argument begins, is that a rise in the value of money, in comparison with the values of commodities produced and traded in by the people, is a manifest evil. The evil is of such disastrous consequences that every nation should exert its power to prevent the continuous fall in the prices of articles of common production.

By using the two precious metals which the world has habitually used for centuries a double safeguard is provided against progressive decline of prices. When one metal becomes scarce in a country the demand upon the other restores the equilibrium. Neither gold nor silver varies beyond the slight premium charged for exchange when there is free coinage. The money supply is not limited to one metal, and the movements of either from one country to another excite no apprehension, since they foreshadow no abnormal scarcity.

This truth will not be kept in sight if a struggle is made to retain the Sherman act, which is not money legislation at all. When the act is repealed, as it must be sooner or later, those who have tried to keep it in operation will be defeated and their cause with them. The Sherman act is only buying bullion on a gold basis. It is a vicious violation of bimetallic principles, and a disregard of the Democratic theory of governmental powers. The evil consequences of its operation are an illustration of the correctness of bimetalism, and the soundness of the Jeffersonian doctrine.

Had the purchasing power of the silver dollar been maintained on a parity with the gold dollar, the difference in these standards would not have reached the point it has. By our legislation we have surrendered to England the control of the price of silver bullion. It seems to me that the time has fully come when our Government should look after its own interests, based upon our own productions and ability to sustain ourselves as an independent Government and nation and give less attention to the threats and defiant actions of England and Germany. If our dollar is not satisfactory to Europe, the result will be less intercourse in business. We have repeatedly called upon the nations of Europe to join us in adjusting an international standard of money, but without decent recognition.

Shall we stand here from year to year and do nothing to relieve our own people, unless some foreign nation takes the initiative? Such a confession of weakness and imbecility is un-American and undemocratic. This country would soon go into decay under such servile policy, although we have many English allies who call themselves American, to advocate the British policy of the money-holders. What have we to fear if we but stand by the measures of value fixed by the Government which has blessed this nation with prosperity and property for more than a century.

I submit the following table showing the distribution of gold and silver:

GOLD.

France	\$800,000,000
United States	700,000,000
England	650,000,000
Germany	600,000,000
Total	2,750,000,000

All the other combined nations have but \$900,000,000 of gold under their control. Now, observe the distribution of silver coin:

France	\$700,000,000
United States	600,000,000
Germany	200,000,000
England	100,000,000
Total	1,600,000,000

And the balance of the world has the vast sum in silver of \$2,350,000,000.

If you will carefully study these figures you will readily discover that the United States is in a position to sustain bimetalism, and thus have the good will and support of more than two-thirds of all the people of earth. I think we hold the key to the situation, and if we are but firm and true to the standards of both gold and silver, England and Germany will be forced to establish bimetalism or lose the trade of the silver countries. All the nations of the world that have any considerable trade are well supplied with silver, with the exceptions of England and Germany. Silver is almost the only money metal in use in China

and India. It may be said the same is true of Korea, Japan, Cochin China, and throughout the Orient. These countries after long centuries have reached a final conclusion in regard to the silver question, and our best financiers in this country and in western Europe have no hope or anticipation of any change on their part.

We should always remember that the money loaner, in this country and throughout the world, is found in all legislative bodies asking for laws that will make the world's money dearer. It is to his interests to have such legislation, and who can blame the capitalist for his efforts in behalf of his own gain? Every country, too, is expected to look after its own best interests, and I am proud to say that in this country, for more than one hundred years, the Democratic party has been recognized as the friend of the masses, and they have always kept their pledges to the people.

England, powerless to sustain her own existence by her own products, must needs live upon her interest and dividends from the world at large. She wants the world to pay her in the dearest money possible. She wants this country to adopt the dearest money, which would be worth to her hundreds of millions of dollars. Why should she not have her advocates upon this floor? No nation has ever been able to devise such far-reaching schemes of plunder as she. A few years ago she demonetized her own silver, melted it into bullion, and put it upon the market. Germany, supposing that she, too, could make money for her own people by demonetizing her two hundred and fifty-seven millions of silver, placed it in the melting pot, reduced it to bullion, and threw it upon the market. In the fullness of time England brought her power to bear upon India; and without notice or consideration, stops the free coinage of silver there. So you see, step by step, this peculiar method of financing, which might be denominated robbery, is consummated.

We find, now and here, her agents advocating her cause and saying to us, in not the most polite language, "Look at your fifty-cent dollar, a dishonest dollar; the unhappy condition of your country, falling prices, men out of work, mines closed, the fires of your furnaces drawn, and the stagnation of business general throughout the land;" and then, as a remedy, they propose, "Let us establish a gold standard, and march side by side with England, and sustain the English policy of a gold standard."

I have no complaint to make against these insidious encroachments that are sought to be carried out by the capitalists of Europe as well as our own. It is to their interests to make all the money they can, and if we are so stupid and ignorant as to permit them to prey upon our country and surrender our manhood and independence to their domination and suggestion, they are not to blame but we are and the people will hold us responsible, not them.

The British people have never wasted any love upon us since the days of the Revolution, and I presume they never will. However, we are compelled from day to day to buy our bullion fixed by the market of London. I recognize the fact that it is to our interest to hold the most close and intimate commercial relations not only with England, but with all the nations of the earth. Yet I think this is the opportunity of the century for the American nation to assert its dignity and character financially. The English gold advocates in the United States beg for a gold standard, because it is apparent to England that should we maintain or establish the free coinage of silver she would be compelled to trade with us upon a double standard, and that in the redemption of more than one hundred and eighty millions of securities now held by her we would be enabled to pay them in the same money that we pay our own people.

She bought most of her bonds at less than 50 cents on the dollar. She has already received more than 100 cents on the dollar for all of them, and can get a premium to-day. Pass this bill repealing the Sherman law without a substitute for the free coinage of silver and you enhance the price of those bonds more than \$50,000,000. Should we establish bimetalism in this country and maintain it we would be enabled to redeem every outstanding security according to the contract, and be free from the annoyance of the debt.

It seems to me that it is time Congress took thought of our own people and our future, and let England look after her own business. The expression that we must adopt a gold standard because it is the recognized money of the civilized world, means simply that it is the money of England; and if she can, by adverse, unfair, and determined warfare, here and now destroy silver as money, she will have the financial world at her feet. It is equivalent to saying that France and the United States are not civilized because they insist upon coining money in either metal upon a just ratio, and refuse to recognize gold only.

England has, by all the power of legislation and trade, destroyed as far as she can the money value of silver, and now we must surrender our dollar, or fight her for their joint use. The

cheap silver dollar is simply like cheap wheat when the bears have broken the market, and nothing else. We have the ability to force both England and Germany to recognize silver as money if we will adopt a liberal and reasonable ratio. I think we should adhere to the old standard of 16 to 1, as it would take millions to make the change.

Mr. Speaker, with reference to this new departure in finance which we are invited to pursue by the friends of the gold single standard, I know full well that there is not a sufficient amount of gold in the world to supply the countries now demanding a gold standard. I would be pleased to know from whence all this gold is to come? If equalized among the nations of the world, after the gold standard shall have been adopted, this country would have to surrender more than one-half of its money. But our friends of the gold standard are quick to respond, that we could issue bonds and buy gold to maintain our currency and thus supply the people. But would not all other nations issue bonds and enter the market to do the same thing? In that case could we hope to secure all the gold that we must necessarily have without paying a higher price than any other nation? So the necessity of having a sufficient amount of gold in each country makes it a mere article of merchandise to be shifted from one country to another as a mere commodity, in order to have a gold basis.

This new doctrine of a single gold standard, if carried out, will bring into full play among gold countries Zimri Dwiggin's plan of financiering. During the past four months we have been experiencing something of that system of finance.

Austria is now issuing bonds; in the market buying gold in order to establish a gold basis for her Government. As soon as she secures seven hundred millions of gold then she can declare she has established a gold basis. Then the Empire of Russia concludes that she must have a gold basis, and she commences issuing bonds to purchase a sufficient amount of gold for her purposes, but finds that the only gold in the country has been purchased by Austria. Austria, unwilling to sell her gold without a profit, demands eight hundred millions for it, sells it, and it is carried over to the vaults of the Czar. Then Russia announces to the world that she has established a gold standard.

And England, too, concludes that she must establish a gold standard, and commences looking around for gold. She finds that Russia has the only gold to be had, and she issues bonds in order to purchase it for her country. Finding that Russia will not sell her gold without a profit, England is compelled to pay nine hundred millions for the necessary gold for her country. Then England becomes a single gold standard nation. Should we pass this bill, then we, too, must have gold. How shall we obtain it? We are compelled to borrow, to issue our bonds, bearing interest in gold. Then we will be upon a gold basis, but we have had to pay England \$1,000,000,000 for \$700,000,000 of gold. France discovers that she is surrounded by countries that are gold alone and where silver is of no value in commercial exchange, and she must have gold. France issues bonds to the amount of \$100,000,000, comes to this country, buys our gold, and then France is upon a gold basis.

So this new Dwiggin system of establishing a gold basis may be extended to all the nations of earth. Can it be said that Austria, Russia, England, and the United States are upon a gold basis under such a system? They are, according to the modern system of banking and the advocates of the gold standard, alone upon this question. This international contest for gold, in order that all countries may attempt to establish a gold standard, will in time bring about a disturbance in the intercourse and business relations that no good citizen wishes to see. The coined gold and silver—mined and minted throughout the world for circulation—controls all prices and values.

It is no concealed fact that unfriendly legislation against the free coinage of silver has reduced every bushel of wheat, oats, corn, and barley, every ton of hay, every pound of beef and pork, and the price of labor more than 30 per cent throughout the country. It has increased the value of every bond, mortgage, note, and every dollar in money, and it has added 30 per cent to all national, State, county, and municipal indebtedness; and this burden is also laid upon private debts. It has also stopped the mines and forced labor to stand idle at the threshold of the shop and the mine while in need of bread. It has thrown out of employment 2,500,000 laborers, inflicting a direct loss to the wage-earners in this country of \$1,500,000,000 yearly.

Our best financiers estimate the amount that we pay annually as interest to our foreign creditors at the enormous sum of \$240,000,000. This money must and does come from the wealth producers alone. This vast sum has to be raised by those who sustain thirty per cent loss on their products, under a gold standard, and there is no reduction in the amount of interest that has to be paid.

Suppose, by way of illustration, that a man buys ten horses at

\$100 apiece and gives his note to-day for \$1,000, payable in ninety days. Those horses were valued, upon a gold and silver basis of equality as money, at \$100 apiece. This bill becomes a law, striking down silver, which is one-half the measure of value. Then, I ask, how much are those horses worth in the market? They would be worth only one-half what they were before, \$50 each, or \$500. Does this bill liquidate one-half the face of the note? No. It still leaves the note \$1,000. So you see the debtor is compelled to surrender and lose one-half the value of his property, not only his horses, but other pieces of property he may own, and labor as well, while the creditor sustains no loss.

Then this whole question may be summed up in a single statement, that the creditor class, which is less than one million people, shall have 50 per cent advantage in all money transactions over the debtor class of sixty-four million people. Or that they shall have the power under the present scheme of legislation to reduce the money of the people from \$24 per capita to \$12 per capita without reducing the debts one cent.

Mr. Speaker, whenever we are told that silver must be demonetized to prevent the depreciation of the poor man's money we must be on guard against such men, and not allow the trick of 1873 to be repeated. Who gets the money? Surely not the poor man. This pathetic and heartrending solicitude of the millionaire is the old story of the wolf and the lamb. If we adopt the substitute for this bill introduced by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] establishing free coinage the downward tendency of values will stop.

Give us back the coinage law which existed prior to the demonetizing act of 1873, and 98 per cent of the people of the United States will approve the act and enjoy its benefits. The farmer, the laboring man, the mechanic, all the wealth-producers of this nation, will call every man blessed upon this floor who stands by the money of the people. Let us have such an enactment as will be fair to all parties, including the Government and the producers of bullion. I hope no man, nor any class of men, wants this Congress to legislate in his or their special interests. If we intend to be fair, let us take the experience and the precedents of the past. Take the Constitution, that blessed torch which has given light and encouragement upon this question for more than a century, and follow its plain teachings of equity and justice.

And to all those who would strike down the plain requirements of the Constitution, and trample under foot the platform of the party for the sake of gold, I ask them to pause and let us take counsel from the experience and knowledge of some of the best writers upon political economy. Ricardo, one of the most eminent of this class, says that—

Commodities would rise and fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money. I assume it as a fact incontrovertible that such would be the case. The most celebrated writers upon political economy are agreed. The value of money does not wholly depend upon the absolute quantity, but upon the quantity relative to the payments it is to accomplish. And the same effect would follow either of two cases, from increasing the uses of money one-tenth or diminishing its quantity one-tenth, for in either case its value would increase one-tenth.

The world's greatest astronomer, Copernicus, in one of his political works, dedicated to the King of Poland, used these words:

Numberless as are the evils by which kingdoms, principalities, and republics are wont to decline, these four are, in my judgment, the most baleful: civil strife, pestilence, sterility of the soil, and corruption of the coin. But the fourth, which concerns money, is considered by few, and those the most reflective, since it is not by a blow, but little by little, and through secret and obscure approach, that it destroys the state.

John Stuart Mill, in his treatise upon money, says:

That an increase in the quantity of money raises prices and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency, and without it we should have no key to any other.

Again he says:

If the whole money in circulation were doubled, prices would double. If it was only an increase of one-fourth, prices would rise one-fourth. The very same effect would be produced on prices if we suppose the goods (the use for money) diminished instead of the money increased, and the contrary effect if the goods are increased or money diminished. So that the value of money, all other things remaining the same, varies inversely as its quantity, every increasing quantity lowering its value, and every diminution raising in ratio exactly in an equivalent.

Senator Sherman, in his letter to Mr. Groesbeck, of Cincinnati, of July 15, 1878, in the concluding portion of his letter says:

During the monetary conference in Paris, when the silver in our country was excluded from circulation by being undervalued, I was strongly in favor of the single value of gold, and wrote a letter, which you will find in the proceedings of that conference, stating my views. At that time the wisest among us did not anticipate the sudden fall of silver or rise of gold that has occurred. This uncertainty of the relation between the two metals is one of the chief arguments in favor of the monometallic system, but other arguments showing the dangerous effects upon industry by dropping one of the precious metals from the standard of value outweigh in my mind all theoretical objections to the bimetallic system.

Not only Senator SHERMAN, but every member of the commission, entertained the same views, and regarded the demonetization of silver as the cause of depression.

Baron Rothschild, who is regarded by our people as not favorable to silver in any way, used this language in November, 1892:

I need hardly remind you that the stock of silver in the world is estimated at some thousands of millions, and if this conference were to break up without arriving at any definite result, there would be a depreciation in the value of that commodity which would be fearful to contemplate, and out of which a monetary panic would ensue, the far-spreading effect of which it would be impossible to foretell.

I am pleased to quote from ex-Senator Ingalls's speech, delivered some years ago in the United States Senate upon this question. He said:

The assertion of Senator SHERMAN that the single gold standard was an American idea is so singularly incorrect that it seems almost like a premeditated preliminary to the fatal error of 1873. No doubt there must be a money unit which should have a standard value regulated by law. This unit should be established in the precious metal which is least subject to fluctuation, which is most abundant, and has the widest uses. That metal is silver. If we are to have a monometallic standard I believe silver to be immeasurably preferable to gold. It is less subject to fluctuation, its production is more steady, its cost more uniform.

No enduring fabric of national prosperity can be built on gold. Gold is the money of monarchs; kings covet it; the exchanges of nations are effected by it. Its tendency is to accumulate in vast masses in the commercial centers and to move from kingdom to kingdom in such volumes as to unsettle values and disturb the finances of the world. It is the instrument of gamblers and speculators and the idol of the miser and the thief. Being the object of so much adoration, it becomes haughty and sensitive, and shrinks at the approach of danger; and whenever it is most needed it always disappears. At the slightest alarm it begins to look for a refuge. It flies from the nation at war to the nation at peace. War makes it a fugitive. No people in a great emergency ever found a faithful ally in gold. It is the most cowardly and treacherous of all metals. It makes no treaty that it does not break. It has no friends whom it does not sooner or later betray.

Armies and navies are not maintained by gold. In times of panic and calamity, shipwreck and disaster, it becomes the chief agent and minister of ruin. No nation ever fought a great war by the aid of gold. On the contrary, in crises of greatest peril it becomes an enemy more potent than the foe in the field; but when the battle is won and peace has been secured gold reappears and claims the fruits of victory. In our own civil war it is doubtful if the gold of New York and London did not work us greater injury than the powder and lead and iron of the rebels. It is the most invincible enemy of the public credit. Gold paid no soldier nor sailor. It refused the national obligations. It was worth most when our fortunes were lowest. Every defeat gave it increased value. It was in open alliance with our enemies the world over, and all its energies were invoked for our destruction. But as usual, when danger had been averted and the victory secured, gold swaggers to the front and asserts the supremacy.

But silver is the money of the people. It is the money of wages and retail. Its tendency is trade diffusion and dissemination. It enters into the minute concerns of traffic, and is exchanged day by day for daily bread. It penetrates the remotest channels of commerce, and its abundance, bulk, and small subdivision prevent its deportation in sufficient amounts to disturb or unsettle values. If it retires at the approach of danger or from the presence of an inferior currency, it still remains at home, ready to respond to the first summons for its return. During a late visit to a remote portion of Arkansas, I was surprised at the great amount of old silver in circulation, including Mexican and pillar dollars and American halves and quarters coined half a century ago.

Seeking an explanation, I was told by the merchants that upon the withdrawal and retirement of the fractional paper currency these old coins immediately appeared in sufficient quantities to supply all needs of trade, conclusively showing that when silver vanished at the beginning of the legal-tender paper period it had been hoarded among the people and had promptly returned to circulation when its presence was required. I have no doubt that the two hundred and fifty millions of silver would be thus readily absorbed among the people of the United States, forming a vast, permanent, stable accumulation, which would be an enduring basis of prosperity, less liable than any other currency to the mutations and vicissitudes of financial panics and disasters.

Repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, without a proper substitute providing for the coinage and use of silver in its place as money, and what will be the condition of the country? Fifty-four millions of dollars will be taken out of circulation every year. The coinage and use of silver as money will cease. One-half of the basis of our circulation will be stricken down. Shylock will emerge from his hiding place and demand that bonds be issued by the Government to buy gold to sustain our credit. Interest will advance. The debtor and laboring classes will be completely under the control of the money power. Mines will be closed. Labor will be without employment. One-half of the business of the people will be paralyzed.

Capital and labor standing face to face as enemies; the farmer without hope, and the laboring man in distress. Silver, which has been the handmaid and the servant of the toiling masses for centuries, is stricken down as money at the command of cupidity and avarice. The Congress of the United States has been the arena where the venal and vicious have always come to secure by law advantages and control over the wealth produced by the laboring people. These men expect to make money through the tricks of legislation, and not by honest toil.

I think the good sense of this Congress stands ready to defeat all such schemes. I confess my inability to understand this revolutionary departure on the money question. We are told by the monometallists with all the grace of fairness that all they want is to stop the purchase of silver, the issue of silver certificates; stop the coinage of silver as money, make gold the only standard. Then they are in favor of bimetalism. This is a paradox I can not understand.

We now have a panic upon us that these men all predicted, and it has been the result of the laws destroying one-half the

money metal of the country. Mr. Carlisle, the Secretary of the Treasury, said, when discussing this same question in 1878:

I know that the world's stock of the precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it will ever become so. Mankind will be fortunate, indeed, if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my view of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise, from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world, is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age.

The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilence, and famine that ever occurred in the history of the world. The absolute and instantaneous destruction of one-half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and all other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half the metallic money of the world.

Mr. Jefferson, who is recognized as the leading character at the head of the Democratic party, said more than a century ago:

Let us found a government where there shall be no extremely rich men and no abjectly poor ones. Let us found a government upon the intelligence of the people, and the equitable distribution of property. Let us make laws where there shall be no governmental partnership with favored classes. Let us protect all in life, liberty, and property, and then say to every American citizen, with the force God has given you, your brain and brawn and strength, work out your own fortunes under a just government and equal laws.

Mr. Cleveland said, in reply to the notice of his nomination:

The people are entitled to sound and honest currency, abundantly sufficient in volume to supply their business needs. But whatever may be the form of the people's currency, national or State, whether gold, silver, or paper, it should be so regulated and guarded by governmental action or by wise and careful laws that no one can be deceived as to the certainty and stability of its value. Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic value or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our currency.

[By cable to the Herald.]

LONDON, August 8, 1893.

The Post, commenting on President Cleveland's message, says: "America can not well stop at the mere repeal of the Sherman act. The President throws out no suggestion, but some action is certainly necessary. It is probable that the problem which the United States has to solve may lead not to bimetalism, but to more mature and unbiased consideration of the possible uses of silver. As a part of the world's currency the metal can not be demonetized with safety, and if through America some method for its more extended employment were devised the benefits to the world would be of supreme importance."

Cable despatches from Bombay, Calcutta, and other Indian ports agree in stating that the export trade there has almost ceased. Every English industrial center which has had commercial relations with India is feeling the unfavorable effects of the general suspension of orders. The expectation is that in time trade will be adapted to the new conditions; meanwhile the bankers and traders most concerned view fearfully the immediate future.

FRAUGHT WITH UNFORESEEN PERILS.

The most ardent advocates of monometallism and currency reform in India are beginning to discover that the changes if fraught with unforeseen perils. This week, out of 500,000 rupees offered for tender, the Government succeeded in placing only 80,000. This sum was placed, moreover, at 15½d, or one eighth of a penny below the minimum of 16d.

ANOTHER UNWELCOME RESULT.

The fall in the price of opium has been another unwelcome and unexpected result of India's action. The report of the currency committee did not predict any considerable diminution of the rupee value of opium exports, yet this week's opium sales in Calcutta showed not only an immense decrease of the quantity bought, but also a reduction of 17 per cent in price. If the loss of the Indian government's opium revenue become permanent the budget will be seriously disturbed.

[By cable to the Herald.]

LONDON, July 8, 1893.

The developments in the silver market during the last week have intensified the anxiety caused by the action of the Indian government. The committee of bimetalists in Parliament have issued a manifesto, signed by Sir William Houldsworth and Mr. Henry Chaplin, to protest against the closing of India's mints to the free coinage of silver.

In view of the comparative changes in the value of gold and silver growing out of its discovery, and the fluctuations that have occurred since their use has been recognized as money, it seems to me that we should be exceedingly conservative in making any changes at this time. There not being time to call the attention of the House to some of the money acts of the principal governments of the Old World, I shall content myself by restating the fact that England and India to-day are not satisfied and content with the effect that the demonetization of silver in India has had on the business interests of those countries. I will have the Clerk read an extract from "Empire of Finance and Trade," a document published in New York.

Precisely the same contest upon the subject of remonetizing silver is to take place in England that is now taking place or will hereafter be carried on in this country. The thing which produced a change of opinion and disposition to open the question in that country was the act of the Indian Government in refusing free coinage in India. The disastrous consequences of the act have sharpened the minds of English financiers, and brought the Government to a full consideration of the subject again, and before the banking population expected it several very competent members of Parliament began to debate upon the subject, and some of them have found faith in the worship of silver as well as gold.

Mr. Balfour has actually discovered that the world can not get along in its business without silver money, and some other worthy minds are coming to him in this small beginning of what will be the fearful destruction of gold supremacy and the Bank of England in the money affairs of the world

within the present period. Let us suggest, for the purpose of starting the friends of gold in this country, that there will be no cessation of the agitation of the subject in the English Government, in Europe, and all British colonies, until the whole problem is solved, and silver is converted into money, so far as it is not employed in the arts and manufacturing of the nations.

The bare beginning of discussion of this subject in England is the certain assurance that the agitation of the question will pass over all such parts of the world, and bring all nations to their senses upon the subject of metallic money. Those of our friends who are pleased with what they suppose is a prospect of the further demonetization of silver have only to look to the few things spoken by English officials at the present time to find another great nation becoming wholly enraptured by the discussion of such subject, and in a way to presage a whirlwind of change in the money and present opinion of the financiers of that country.

All the pleasure arising from the expectation that our Government will put a stop to further discussion of such question, and settle the fate of silver for the world, is to be put to flight by a few more utterances by British officials in Parliament and elsewhere. The jubilant feeling of gold worshippers of the present moment will be of so short a period, it will be little better than a dream of the sleep.

You may look for your hopes to be blasted, and also for the whole world's discussion of the silver problem, before Congress has been in session a month, and eventually you may look for a complete restoration of silver to money in all parts of the world.

The following recent utterances from England are both relevant and interesting:

The January number of the Forum contains a very able article, entitled "The Crisis in Silver," from the eminent financier, the Hon. Henry Hicks Gibbs, ex-governor of the Bank of England. He speaks strongly in favor of bimetalism, deprecating the attitude of the English Government in defense of her old single standard, which he considers now inadequate for her large wants, industrial as well as commercial, which have been suffering greatly for years, owing to a great extent to this short-sighted policy, and urges the Government most earnestly to take an active interest in favor of the general use of silver at the coming international silver conference.

Lately another distinguished statistician, the Hon. William Lidderdale, also an ex-governor of the Bank of England, was interviewed by the London correspondent of the New York World, and the correspondent cables thus:

His views are encouraging to us, but he nevertheless thinks that America has to face "a very, very serious financial problem." He does not believe that the repeal of the Sherman silver law is all we need. Mr. Lidderdale's opinion is that in view of our rapid increase in commerce and population the output of properly guarded legal tenders has not been sufficient to keep pace with the demands of the country. He does not feel so encouraged, however, about his own country so far as relates to the near future.

As an evidence of the growing popularity of bimetalism in England, it may be said that after this article was written a motion was made in Parliament by Sir Henry Thompson in the interest of bimetalism. Although this was strongly opposed by Mr. Gladstone personally in a long speech, 148 votes out of 377 were cast in its favor, many of them from Mr. Gladstone's own party. A change of 41 votes would have resulted in a victory for bimetalism. Lord Salisbury, Hon. A. L. Balfour, and many other distinguished statesmen favor it. England has been working under the single gold standard for over seventy years, but is now finding it oppressive.

Mr. Speaker, there has been but few periods in the history of our country when more care, consideration, and patriotism was enjoined upon the people's representatives. To radically change and disrupt our whole monetary system, that more than three generations of our people have been taught to revere and defend, is a momentous question and worthy of the highest consideration. No section, no man, no class, or business should be taken as the basis of our action, but the whole country, embracing every interest and every business of our people. Any act short of this is inconsistent with the broad principles upon which our fathers founded our institutions.

Had the candidates of the Democratic party gone before the people in the last campaign and told them that the platform adopted by the national Democratic convention at Chicago meant that silver was to be stricken down as money and the standard of gold alone was to be enacted, how many electoral votes would we have polled? How many States would we have carried? And how many Democratic members would there be on this floor? Mr. Harrison would have had a much larger electoral vote than Mr. Cleveland. Ten States that we carried would have been lost, and the Republican majority upon this floor would be greater than we have to-day. I feel assured in saying that, instead of carrying the great State of Illinois by 25,000 majority, we would have been beaten by more than 50,000. I have great doubts if the State of Texas could have been carried for Mr. Cleveland upon such a construction of the Chicago platform.

Mr. Speaker, had this doctrine of the gold standard alone been made the issue in the West and South upon the lines sought to be carried out by the bill now before this House, the Democratic party could not even have been organized, or have made a fight. I do not believe there is a district in the great State of Illinois, outside of Chicago, which could have been carried upon that issue by the Democratic party.

CONCLUSION.

Every member of the Democratic party who is true to principle should carry out the platform upon which he was elected. The question is: Shall we redeem the pledges that we made to the people, or shall we stultify ourselves? Shall we follow the traditions of the fathers, or shall we launch out into unknown political seas, which have always stranded the men who betrayed the people? I for one shall never do so. I know no creed but the platform of my party. I know no leadership but Jeffersonian Democracy.

We are here to-day in full possession of every branch of the Government. We are here by the virtue of the doctrines that were advocated by us and their ratification by the people. This is no accident. The people will always sustain true Democracy when they are fully advised. The Democratic party, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, imbedded in the Constitution the principle that gold and silver should be the only real measures of value, and the ages fully attest this conclusion. The Democratic party took its stand upon gold and silver at the inception of the Government, and it has marched through the century as its only defender. And it stands here to-day, as Andrew Jackson stood more than fifty years ago, as the defender of the people against the money power.

We are here to-day to do battle for the money of our fathers, not as partisans, but as patriots. From the camp fires of the Revolution come the principles for which we struggle. In this day and hour let us be heroes. Let us vote from influence of reason and right, and not from brutal instincts of prejudice. With our eyes upon the Constitution and with our hearts reaching out to every home that is suffering under the black cloud of monometallism, let us have the courage of honesty and vote for the best interests of all the people. I hold that every vote upon this floor should be the incarnation of correct principles, that it should be the outline of a blessed hope, and that it should bear to struggling humanity the consummation of our promises. [Loud applause.]

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Speaker, after listening to the various speeches on the subject and the arguments advanced on both sides of the measure before the House, and being somewhat green in legislative matters of this kind at this time, I may subject myself to severe criticism when I say I do not think that any member who has yet spoken has taken the same views that I do, at least upon one point, which is, in my judgment, a vital one. Our form of government is the result of the wisdom of all the ages of the past analyzed by the founders of our Constitution, and the best effects derived from the experience of all former governments has been molded into that which we now live under.

There are two principles upon which the whole structure is built. The first is that all men are born free and equal, entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and the second, protective of the first, is that all just powers of government must be derived from the consent of the governed. The last proposition being true, I put it that if this question of the repeal of the Sherman act were to-day submitted to the people of this country there can be no question in the mind of any intelligent person at all conversant with the situation but that the purchasing clause would be at once repealed, by such a sweeping majority (and in this country majorities rule) as would astonish the defenders of private interests on the floor of the House, and satisfy them, beyond doubt, that the act has not the consent of the people. But legal consent is engrafted and embodied in the Constitution of our country.

Now, I will make this proposition to the defenders of the silver interests on the floor of this House: that is, to vote against the repeal of the Sherman act, provided they will furnish me a brief before the vote is taken, that would satisfy even a third-rate justice of the peace, that the Constitution of our country has in a single sentence, line, or word given the power to the Congress of 1890, or to any other Congress, to enact a law such as the Sherman purchasing clause; a law that compels the Secretary of our Treasury to furnish a market for an already debased product, to compel him to coin it into money at a rate from 35 to 40 per cent above its commercial value in the markets of the world, and to force upon the many for the benefit of the few, the mine-owners, that debased coin whereby a robbery, under the pretense of law, is committed upon the people to the extent of the difference between the commercial and the coin value fixed upon the silver by the fiat of the Government. I find no portion of the Constitution that can be in any way construed to give that fearful and dangerous power, though there are some who claim that under the first clause of the eighth section of the Constitution the words "provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States" justifies the act.

It is well, however, to remember that this power, by construction only, was used in such a manner, soon after the adoption of the Constitution, that the implication of power led to many difficulties and to much distrust. The result was that a limitation clause was afterwards adopted in the ninth amendment, which says that "the enumeration of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or to disparage others retained by the people," and in Article X of amendments the powers of the Constitution before adopted were limited and defined as follows:

The powers not granted to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

So clear is it fixed in my mind that the purchasing clause of

the Sherman act is unconstitutional, that I do not believe there is a lawyer in this country to-day of respectable ability who will not agree with me when I say that if this bill was submitted in proper form to the Supreme Court of the United States it would end the debate on the subject in this House at once. That body would declare it utterly unconstitutional, and say that the act did not come properly within the constitutional power of Congress. First, because there is no grant of power in the Constitution to warrant the passage of such an act; second, because it is against the genius and intent of our Constitution, which is rigidly against the grant of special privileges or special immunities to individuals or corporations.

In its inception it was clearly enacted, and meant to be in the interest of a single product, that is, the product of silver, to which it granted special privileges, under the plea of its being necessary to stamp it into coin, when in fact it was utterly unnecessary, and has proved to be dangerous and against the public welfare, as is now shown by the misery, desolation, and want that this unfortunate, unjust, and unholy measure has brought upon our country.

I need go no further for arguments to satisfy my mind that my duty, under my oath, can have but one direction, and that is immediate, unconditional repeal of the act, as that seems now to be a quicker method of disposing of it than by taking it before the Supreme Court in regular form and having it declared null and void. I am at a loss, however, in view of these facts, to see how so many men can entertain the views they appear to hold with reference to the repeal of this law.

I can not for my life see what reason they can give to their own consciences, in view of their sacred obligations when they called God to witness that they would maintain the Constitution; and yet, with this bill clearly unconstitutional, condemned by all, acknowledged to be an excrescence, denounced and denied by its fathers, they refuse upon one pretext or another, private or public, to vote for the repeal of this bill forthwith unless they can force a bargain in favor of a private interest as a condition of their performance of their public duty.

The real and proper object of a Government such as ours is to maintain the peace and to execute justice between its citizens, leaving to each a choice of occupation without favoring one at the expense of another; and what is true of the individual is true of every interest, whether individual or corporate, and wherever the Government obtrudes itself into private enterprise as it has done in furnishing a market for the silver industry, it makes not only a constitutional usurpation, but a fateful mistake, because as in this case it has cramped and dwarfed every other industry in the land to benefit this one.

The province of government is to secure the liberty, the properties, and the possessions of its citizens by wise and wholesome laws, and there can be no civilization where there is not security for life and property; and any law which makes property less secure, unsettles and throws down established values as the Sherman act has done, is not only unconstitutional *per se* and against the spirit of our Government, but is a menace to civilization and an injury to mankind.

The poorest judgment at all familiar with political economy must be satisfied that it is impossible for any Government to maintain and circulate in the same business community two dollars, one worth 100 cents anywhere in the world, and the other worth but 57 cents, yet each purporting to be value for the same amount of product. The proposition is so absurd that I am astonished that any man or set of men with good sense can for a moment entertain it. The most valuable coin will at once disappear from the channels of trade and the base be circulated, and then only at its real or bullion value, as prices will vary to meet the debasement of the coin; for no man will part with a dollar's worth of his product for a 57-cent coin, although the Government fiat had stamped it as worth a dollar, unless the Government says that it will redeem it with \$1 of standard gold on presentation for redemption at the Treasury of the United States. The conclusion arrived at by the best business minds of the country, is that the unlimited flood of cheap and debased coin which free coinage of silver would impose upon the country would prevent the Government from redeeming in gold.

Now, why should we keep this law upon our statute books? I do not believe that there is a silver man in this House who does not feel it to be his duty to repeal it at once, but they argue against repeal while admitting it to be an evil. Why? Simply because they want to force an unholy bargain with those who favor repeal—a bargain that their special interest, silver, and not the public good, may be conserved. What would you think of a burglar who, when caught stealing your silverware, admitted that he was wrong, but, under the threat of a pistol, wanted to make a bargain for his escape from the punishment he deserved by restoring only a part of his plunder.

It seems to me that the silver kings having already plundered

the people, having been caught in the act, the power about to be denied to them to plunder any longer, they are bargaining, as it were, through their mistaken friends, to retain a part of the power which they have so long unjustly held, to keep a portion of their plunder before they will permit justice and right to prevail. This is strong language, and I am sorry that I am obliged, in accordance with my views of duty, to give it utterance.

Now, what is the excuse offered for the conditional retention of this measure? I have admired the speech of my friend from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN]. There is no doubt that it is molded in a cast of eloquence that is rare indeed; but when it comes to argument, and he attempts to make a bargain in favor of bimetalism as a first condition under the plea that there is not gold enough in the world, etc., he lays down a platform which is a mistake of fact. He says that if bimetalism is not adopted we will go to ruin, and that there is not gold enough with which to transact the business of the world.

Let us see whether that is true or not. He forgets that the world has progressed, that bimetalism is not only unsafe but unnecessary under present conditions. Let me put this proposition before you. If silver was a product of Nova Scotia, in which this country and no man on this floor had an interest, I ask him would he still retain the same views that he now holds? I can not believe it.

In the matter of "the insufficiency of gold coin with which to transact the business of the world," the one potential argument set up by the advocates of bimetalism, I now quote from the work of Hon. J. H. WALKER, in his address before the World's Congress Auxiliary at the Columbian Exposition. His facts and his figures taken together with what I have gleaned from other sources are to my mind conclusive as against this theory of insufficient gold with which to transact business.

According to his statement the average daily transactions of banks are about "\$400,000,000."

I believe that to be a correct statement; we have had sufficient money right along to meet the business demand and we have now. We do not propose in the repeal of this bill to have any less, as we stand by the redemption of the silver already coined and also the bullion in the Treasury, and I for one flatly and absolutely refuse to be a party to increasing that amount at the risk of our Government's ability to redeem it with the standard coin of the world. "The loanable fund held by the national banks in this country is shown by the report of the Comptroller of the Currency to be in round numbers \$2,800,000,000. Of this sum \$1,800,000,000 are deposits of customers and the balance belongs exclusively to the banks. The loans and discounts are \$2,200,000,000, and the other \$600,000,000 are held as a reserve."

This means that the banks hold titles, mainly in the notes of their customers, to \$2,200,000,000 of the consumable wealth of the country; that there is now in the hands of the farmers, merchants, and manufacturers title to \$1,800,000,000 of the funds now in banks by way of deposits. As the deposits are \$1,800,000,000, and the daily transactions are \$400,000,000, it is evident that the average time each deposit remains in bank is four and one-half days. This \$1,800,000,000 of deposit capital in the banks can only be made available to the community for use in our daily needs by a proper system of banking; and here let me say, that I have no sympathy—I have nothing but condemnation—for those uncalculated and unintelligent assaults upon the banks of our country at this unfortunate period.

I do not believe in those gold-bug cries or those assaults on the banks. They are simply the stock catchwords of demagogues who appeal and pander to the ignorance, the passions, or the prejudices so likely to be awakened in the hour of distress, to divert the minds of the suffering artisans and laborers of our country from the silver blight, the true cause of our misfortune, to the goblin held up by the silver interest and shaken in their faces by the wild, unreasoning spirit of self-interest and demagoguery.

If we had to-day a sound currency, good money, absolutely redeemable in coin of a standard value all over the world, the distress that surrounds us would disappear like the mists of the morning before the noonday sun, all this sophistry uttered upon this floor to the contrary notwithstanding. Let it be known to the world that we have a sufficient amount of the best reserve coin in the world ready at all times for redemption purposes, and the demand would be only sufficient to meet the daily wants of exchange.

The people would not rush for gold, as they do not want it in the daily business of life. This demand may be made and answered ten or a thousand times in a day, as the case may be, during a given time, in every instance almost immediately to be returned to the bank from which the gold is drawn. But where two coins of different commercial bullion value are legal tender, sure redemption means that it be instantly done in the coin of the highest bullion value, which is hoarded at banks as is the case to-day.

To doubt money is to discredit it, and that portion of our money, silver, which to-day is doubted and discredited, would drive every dollar in gold coin from the country because the drafts made on the banks for gold would never be redeposited, while obligations could be paid with a cheaper money, and we would be obliged perforce to rest all our financial transactions upon a silver basis, which means a debasement that would be death to the financial life of the country and mean poverty to its working people.

As all values depend upon supply and demand and the cost of production, so all values would be regulated upon a silver basis according to the amount of production of silver each year, as the supply or demand of the market required it. As silver fluctuates, so would every value, and no man would want to engage in business, thus depriving labor of its looked-for reward.

In England, the visible gold upon which all her transactions and her foreign exchange rest is \$125,000,000. Every dollar of that represents a foreign commerce of at least \$25, while the gold in our country—the visible gold—is rated at \$337,000,000, with a foreign commerce of only 2½ dollars to each dollar of visible gold.

The actual daily need of coin for the business of our country is not a speculation; the daily bank exchanges are about \$400,000,000, and we know with absolute certainty that only 1½ per cent of those exchanges are made in coin. Now, the efficiency of each \$1,000 in coin to-day, in making the exchanges of the world, has increased a thousand-fold faster than have exchanges of any other country in the world.

This efficiency has increased faster in the last ten years, and is now increasing faster than ever before by the use of railways, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, and, above all, in improved commercial methods and economies. In trade between Boston and Canton or New York and Canton as one instance, the efficiency of each \$1,000 in gold coin has increased thirteen thousand times since 1830, \$1,000 now being the equivalent of \$13,000,000 under the methods and appliances of commerce and exchange in 1830. Then a ship loaded for a six months voyage to Canton took its supercargo to trade for a return cargo, and with him took the coin needed to make up the difference.

The gold is not sent there now; it is simply placed to the credit of the factor until the exchanges are made. Then thirty days were consumed in going from Boston to St. Louis. Now money is transferred in one minute; so that you will see that coin—I speak now of the coin recognized by the business world—is ten thousand times more efficient in trade. One thousand dollars in 1830 in the exchanges of the world is the equivalent of ten millions in 1830. This is a startling proposition, but it is an undisputable fact.

To prove this the returns made by the Comptroller of the national banks in our own country show that each day's transactions is about 1½ per cent of coin and 4½ per cent of bank notes and other currency, and 94 per cent of checks, drafts, bills of exchange, and other tokens of property. The banks of our country, and especially of the metropolis and the clearing-house at New York, deserve not the assaults made upon them, but the lasting gratitude of the country for the honorable manner in which they have stood together and stemmed the tide of financial misfortune, which would have spread to a much greater extent but for them. Had they been what they are represented to be by some of the advocates of a debased currency, financial wreck would have been much greater from one end of this country to the other than it is to-day, such a financial wreck indeed as the world has never yet seen.

Money is in the commerce of the world a token of value, whether in coin or in bullion, but you would not of yourself be able to determine the real value of a bullion token given you in exchange for something that you had produced and offered for sale, and consequently you might give a much greater amount of your product than was fair for a given amount of bullion. Coinage has therefore been fixed as one of the most important functions of government; that is to say, the Government at its Mint assays the gold and silver, purifying them and marking each coin with its fineness and weight, that you may know exactly what you are getting for your produce.

The Government certifies that the coin has a fixed amount of grains of the metal required by law to be put in the particular coin, and it is bad money unless when it is recoined it is worth in bullion what it represents itself through the Government stamp to be in coin. The Government can not in the process of coining the bullion into a money token give it a greater commercial value in the coin than it has in the bullion. If it does, by its own act it debases the coin and is, to all intents and purposes, a forger of false coinage. It does that of itself which false coiners do, and for which it decrees a severe penalty. It cheats the people with a false measure of value, and the Government has no more right to rob the people than a forger has.

The money of circulation should be of such value that no matter what I hold as its representative, whether it be a piece of paper, a piece of leather, or a piece of silver, those who issued it to me, having my money or my property, should, at my demand, return to me what is mine, not 57 cents worth of silver for a dollar, but the value of 100 cents or \$1. It is the fear of the Government's inability

to make this redemption on my demand or the demand of the business world, in view of the immense flood and consequent debasement of silver, that has caused the panic, and those who believe the panic to be unreasonable do not understand the keen intelligence of the business world.

When the Government coins money it does not create gold or silver; it never owned gold or silver; it has no constitutional right to own it for the purpose, and never pretended to own it before the passage of the Bland act in 1878 and a still later one of 1890, since when it exercises an unconstitutional power to purchase for currency purposes. The business interests and intelligence of the country are keen enough to see that the Government is filling up its vaults with an unredeemable or fluctuating metal that is becoming cheaper and cheaper each day. Whenever it coined money before the acts named it coined, not the Government's metal; it coined the metal of John Jones or John Stewart and fixed its stamp of value upon it.

Now, while it had the power to stamp the gold or silver bullion of John Jones or John Stewart and to make it a legal tender if it chose to do so, it had no right and has no power to make even gold a legal tender for more than its actual or real value. It does not, and can not from its very nature, create a value where a value does not exist, or rightly give a fictitious or a greater value to an existing one than it is worth in the markets of the world.

It does none of the things of itself which creates value and out of which values grow. It neither produces nor saves, neither toils nor exchanges; it only expends or destroys what is given to it by society. Like a pauper, it exists by the contributions of the citizens paid into its Treasury by way of taxes. And therefore to attempt to create a value where no value exists, and can not exist, is as vile as it is dangerous and criminal, and is a usurpation.

We who believe in an honest token of value, having within itself the intrinsic merit which makes it exchangeable for its face value of any other commodity of a like value, are told by the adherents of the silver fallacy that with them we have come to the parting of the ways, if we do what under our oaths of duty we are obliged to do by the repeal of this bill. That is to say, a portion of the great Democratic party threatens it with destruction if it attempts to carry out that which it is pledged to do in its platform. And this threat is held over the friends of honest money to compel them for party's sake to bow their heads to the Moloch of silver.

I want to say to those men here and now, that I am a Democrat by nature, training, and instinct, that I believe the Democratic party will live while the Constitution of our country lives notwithstanding those threats; that when the Democratic party dies, as an effective protector of the principles of our Government, the Government will die with it; that the principles of our party are as indestructible as the eternal hills of God, and I would rather see it buried out of the sight and sound of men forever by the forces of nature or revolution rather than that the party should abandon a single one of its principles under the threat of a private interest which seeks to dominate this House and overthrow all principle of right and justice amongst men to serve their own aims and interests.

There are men on the floor of this House to-day, both older and younger than I am, who remember the threats made in the Charleston Convention "that we had then come to the parting of the ways." Do those men remember what that parting meant? Have they forgotten the flaunting of the bloody shirt? Have they forgotten the dreadful sacrifice that their parting of the way brought about? Do they undertake to-day, when the common sense, the intelligence, and the patriotism of the American people has covered the bloody shirt in the oblivion which it deserved, to establish in its place at the parting of the way the bloody bridle of the silver king? If they do persist in that course, it will be history repeating itself, and they will be the first to suffer.

The men who are first to step off the broad platform of the Democratic party and the principles of right and honest government will be the first to fall into the mire and the last to be relieved from the predicament in which they have placed themselves.

There are measures of relief in the direction of an elastic currency which I might present at this time, but I believe it is somewhat irrelevant to the matter upon which we are called to act. I will, however, offer it later on.

The American gold dollar contains 25.8 grains of gold, 900 fine. One ounce, or 480 grains, 1,000 fine—that is, pure—would mint in this coin \$20.68. This coin has a standard value all over the world equivalent to \$4.86⁷⁵/₁₀₀ for the English sovereign, and \$3.86 for the French piece of 20 francs. It is to-day the basis of value of all descriptions of United States notes, by reason of legislative mandate and the ability of the United

States Treasury to draw from its reserve the gold coin which may be required to meet any exchanges or redemption.

The full legal-tender silver dollar contains 412½ grains of silver, 900 fine, sixteen times the quantity contained in the gold dollar, and, with pure silver selling at 70 cents per ounce, has a bullion value of only 54 cents, but a currency value equal to a gold dollar, so long as the Treasury can, by free exchanges, maintain the parity of the two coins. The mint rate between gold and silver is 16 to 1, but the coinage value of an ounce of gold being \$20.68 and the market value of an ounce of silver being 70 cents, the commercial ratio is then over 29 to 1. How can the Government maintain it at a parity; only by a loss of the difference?

The value of a silver dollar and the paper notes which it represents can thus plainly be seen to now depend upon the ability of the Government to maintain a sufficient gold reserve to make all necessary exchanges at the established ratio.

The standard silver dollar has always been a full legal-tender coin, but it has never filled a prominent place in the business transactions of the people. Its bullion value for a long time prior to resumption being greater than the gold dollar, it was coined in but small quantities and was soon exported or consumed in the arts, and in the coinage act of 1873 no provision was made for its use.

This often-named conspiracy or demonetization of silver has been much discussed since then; but at the time the omission attracted very little attention, as the bullion required to make a silver dollar had a market value of about \$1.03. A few years later silver began to decline, and has continued ever since to do so, by reason of its abandonment by leading nations as an unrestricted money metal, and also in consequence of a great increase in its production and a diminution in the expense of obtaining it.

Great efforts have been made to induce the United States to protect the interests of the producers of silver. The free coinage of standard dollars has been vehemently urged, and many times rejected by Congress. The Bland act of 1878 required the Government to purchase silver and to coin not less than two million nor more than four million silver dollars every month. This experimental measure was, even by its authors, admitted to be a failure, having been based on the expectation that the people would readily accept and circulate those coins. "The dollar of their daddies."

But the day for a popular demand for such coin had passed. The use of Government and national-bank notes of uniform appearance, and therefore easily recognized and difficult to counterfeit, of certain redemption and universal acceptance, had become more acceptable to the public than any use of silver except for subsidiary coin for small change, and this feeling applied to gold as well as to silver coin. The new coinage of silver dollars was highly unpopular, and the silver interest hastened to placate the people and preserve the continuance of the coinage and consequent absorption or market for silver, by the creation of certificates based on it, circulating as currency.

In 1890 \$297,556,233 of this sort of currency had been put in circulation. It was useful for the time being as money in the transaction of business, and somewhat obviated the difficulty that seemed to threaten because of the reduction in the amount of national bank notes caused by the redemption of United States bonds which had been issued to secure those issues. But the value of the certificate really rested upon the value of the gold reserve behind it, and not upon the hoarded silver coin which it represented, and which no one wanted to either store or handle.

This coin, which at first was below the mint standard in value, declined more and more each year in bullion value. The redemption of specie payments had been effected with about \$350,000,000 United States legal-tender notes outstanding, for which a gold reserve had been by law provided. It is sufficient now to say that this \$350,000,000 of United States notes, supported by a reserve of \$100,000,000 in gold coin, has had a use the benefit of which it would be hard to deny while the law so rigidly restricted the issue of ordinary bank notes.

A glance at official figures shows some remarkable changes in the volume of United States currency and money as well between 1878 and 1892. The amount in circulation had increased from \$729,132,634 to \$1,601,347,187; the per capita, from \$15.32 to \$24.40. United States notes secured by the \$100,000,000 gold reserve remained at the same figure, \$346,681,016. Of gold, there was, in 1878, only \$25,000,000, circulating in California. In 1892, in Treasury, bank reserves, etc., there were \$664,275,335. The amount of national-bank notes had been reduced to \$172,683,850, a decrease in this kind of circulation of some \$150,000,000, while circulating notes based on silver purchases had been created to the extent of upwards of \$430,000,000.

The growth of this currency issue was regular up to 1890, and at the beginning of President Cleveland's term had reached \$208,538,967, but the free gold in the Treasury was about \$150,

000,000, and having this new Government paper issue to take care of, as well as nearly \$350,000,000 of legal-tender notes, the policy was adopted under Mr. Cleveland's Administration of building up the Government's supply of gold, which was done to the extent of over \$200,000,000. The large surplus then existing permitting this line of action and also great stability in Government credit as a result, although some distrust was felt in consequence of the continued decline of the price of silver, of which there was so large a stock being carried.

Under the Harrison Administration the surplus in the Treasury disappeared, and a large part of the Government's gold reserve was, in consequence of the mad extravagance practiced, necessarily used in the payments of debts, but the purchase of silver kept right on and, indeed, was greatly increased by the act of 1890. In 1888, in addition to an amount of \$120,888,448 of gold, for which there were certificates outstanding, the Treasury held \$203,885,218 (in December) of free gold as a reserve, with only \$308,000,000 legal-tender notes and \$200,759,657 of silver certificates outstanding—about 40 per cent of gold reserve.

July, 1892, the gold reserve had diminished to \$110,444,391 of free gold, with \$309,559,904 legal-tender notes, \$323,693,465 silver certificates, and coin notes (act of 1890) \$93,258,692, a total outstanding of \$734,512,061, while the percentage of gold reserve was only about 15 per cent. A year later, July, 1893, the notes based on silver purchases had increased some \$50,000,000, and the gold reserve declined to \$95,000,000, and doubt and distrust seemed to have taken possession of the public mind, until now we are in the midst of the direful consequences of a discredited and doubtful currency.

In order that a silver dollar should have the same bullion value as a gold dollar it would be necessary that the price of silver be as high in commercial value as \$1.29 per ounce, but this has not been the case since before the passage of the Bland act of 1878, and the decline has been steady in spite of the extraordinary and unconstitutional efforts made to check it, until as low as 70 cents per ounce has been reached. And with recent events in Germany, Austria, and India, tending to a still further depression of silver, the public is becoming aware of the lack of confidence arising from the fact that this Government is carrying so large a part of its bullion reserve in this unstable metal, and therefore the business world doubts its ability to carry out its promise to redeem in gold, and hence the panic.

We have parted with \$60,000,000 in transactions on foreign account in a single six months, and the return of part of this when the present depression began would have done much to have checked the tide of destruction, but the menace of a debased silver standard supplanting the gold basis in this country has prevented this usual and natural relief. As the buying of silver affords only an unstable basis for the issuance of United States notes, this feature of the Sherman act should be at once absolutely and unconditionally repealed. [Applause.]

The following comparative table from the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury would seem to show that there was circulation enough in this country if confidence was restored:

Countries.	Gold.	Silver.	Uncovered notes.	Totals.	Per capita.
United Kingdom.....	\$550,000,000	\$100,000,000	\$50,000,000	\$700,000,000	\$18.42
France.....	800,000,000	700,000,000	81,000,000	1,581,000,000	49.56
Germany.....	600,000,000	210,000,000	107,000,000	917,000,000	18.54
United States.....	654,000,000	575,000,000	405,000,000	1,634,000,000	25.15

This table shows a per capita of \$25.15, the greatest per capita of currency ever before in circulation in this country. The largest in the flush times before 1888 was only \$16, or thereabout; the present circulation being a fraction more than a third greater than it was then, and yet we are told by the silver men that there is not enough of currency, and they offer this as one of the arguments against the repeal. It is idle and vicious, because it is untrue.

Gold coin is not any longer as desirable for a currency as its representative in paper, except occasionally when needed to settle foreign balances. The stoppage of silver purchases and the decision by the Government to maintain the gold redemption at all hazards, for the sake of the national credit as well as the national honor, should be arrived at without loss of time. The measures for the increase of the gold reserve require economy in the Government, and, if taken with care and judgment and a sound discrimination, will at once restore confidence and impart stability to business affairs from the moment of their adoption.

The return to specie payments was accomplished in 1878 by the issuance of United States bonds to create a gold reserve of about 30 per cent of the notes then outstanding. A similar expedient would seem necessary now to increase the reserve in a fair proportion to the increased issues of currency, and thus maintain the

credit of the United States, though the issuance of interest-bearing bonds should be the last thing resorted to.

There are some suggestions, however, that I desire to offer at this time, though they are hardly pertinent to the matter of the repeal of this bill, except in so far as they would supply the place of an elastic currency, which is the real thing the bimetalists want, though they hardly seem to know it. At no time since the ending of the civil war and the unexampled development and increase in prosperity that followed has the country been free from the lurking danger arising from the use of a large volume of unelastic Government paper, which has constituted a chief part of the circulating medium of the country. The rigid restrictions connected with the issuance of notes by national banks have caused this very serviceable kind of currency to decrease, while the rapid growth of business and population required constantly more and more circulation.

No other nation than ours is more given to the habitual use of banking privileges, and the free use of checks and drafts in the transactions of ordinary business and the settlement of the normal expenses of daily life. Under ordinary circumstances a person of good repute can travel where he wishes, buy what he wants, and settle his indebtedness by a check on his home bank without difficulty. The amount of current money most people have to hold and carry about compared with their total expenditure is a mere trifle, but to avoid delay and the trouble of identification a person will require a larger amount of currency when he passes outside of the locality in which he is thoroughly known.

Just as a fair portion of gold held as a reserve is able to impart a standard of value to a much larger amount of paper issued, so the currency reserves of the banks can in ordinary times sustain a cash indebtedness three or four times as great. When there is no adequate provision for the issue of circulating notes by the banks there will come from the people an irresistible demand for governmental issues of some sort, and if these are made in paper or in coin not having full value abroad to an extent sufficient to meet the full tide of active business and exchange, there will be times of stagnation in the movements of the products of the country when the supply will be redundant and the accumulation of money at the financial centers will be such that it can only find employment in speculative transactions injurious to the people at large, and from which it is difficult to withdraw the capital they have absorbed and restore it to the regular channels of trade in times of panic.

In times of distrust and contraction there often arises a demand from many solvent merchants for an increase of bank credit to tide them over a temporary depression, and at the same time there is likely to be an increased demand from all classes of persons on their deposits of currency, whether in ordinary banks of deposit or in institutions for savings.

A reduction in the cash resources in the banks has the effect of enforcing a contraction of its loans, and thus it comes about that at the very time of a demand for increased discount the ability to extend this accommodation is taken away by the reduction in the reserve due to the demands of customers for the payment in currency of their accounts. When adverse conditions produce a demand for currency and a bank is required to pay out \$100,000 of legal-tender money, then in order to maintain its reserve on a 25 per cent basis it must call in \$400,000 of its loans, and the embarrassment becomes great when this curtailment of credit is coincident with a demand for an increase in its line of discount.

If under these circumstances a bank could freely emit its own circulating notes in exchange for the checks of its depositors, its total liabilities would not be changed by the operation; it would owe more on account of circulation but less to the depositor whose check had been exchanged in this way, and the percentage of reserve to liabilities would remain the same, and the demand for currency would have been met without a reduction in the amount of legal-tender money held by the bank. In times of financial stringency and distrust there will always be, as there is now, some hoarding of legal-tender money by persons of small means, and the aggregate of their collections and withdrawals of customary deposit accounts is enough to seriously affect the cash reserve of many banks. Actual suspension is then only escaped by avoiding the payment of large checks except through the clearing-house exchanges with other banks, where clearing-house certificates can be used, and a premium on currency becomes an established feature of the situation.

In my opinion the business demands for currency, which cause this premium, could be readily met if the bank in which the depositor has a credit balance could exchange for the individual check its own promises to pay lawful money in convenient amounts for the settlement of small transactions. Amongst the legal restrictions which now cut off this method of relief is to be found the Government tax of 10 per cent on State bank notes.

This tax, designed to protect national banks and promote their purchases of Government bonds, had a war origin, and, like the revenue stamp on checks and promissory notes, was submitted to with patriotic resignation. It should have been abolished when the others were.

In the light of experience, it is the duty of every State to regulate the issues of bank notes so that no loss attending upon their use shall fall upon the people through whose hands they pass. This can readily be done, and it would be preferable that action by the State Legislatures of uniform character and in harmony with the currency legislation of the General Government should be taken before the present restrictions are entirely removed. A State-bank issue can be made just as secure to the people as any other circulating note by the enactment of wise legislation. Banks of issue should be under governmental control and examination at frequent intervals of time.

The stockholders should be held liable to an amount equal to their stock, and notes of circulation should be a first lien on all assets of the bank in case of failure. All the banks in any State made liable by a percentage on the circulation they have issued, for any possible loss on the bills of any one of their number which may fail. This, of course, while, as I said before, not pertinent to the issue before this House, is offered as a suggestion which I invite the bimetalists and those who desire a safe and elastic currency to think over.

I have not examined this matter in the light of constitutional reflection, but if power can be found in the Constitution to work out such a measure it would supply an elastic currency, the one great need of the commercial and industrial interests of our country. This matter, of course, is and ought to be an after consideration. The one great want of this country to-day is the repeal of the Sherman act, and if good sense, patriotism, and the obligations of public duty are to prevail there ought not to be a single moment of unnecessary delay in reaching that end.

Mr. HALL of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, "The times are out of joint." A country richer than all others in the variety and extent of its resources, stronger than all others in the intelligence, enterprise, and ingenuity of its people, greater than all others in its opportunities for individual effort and success, finds its resources stagnant, its enterprise clogged, its progress stopped by an impending financial crisis, dangerous in its present severity and terrible in its possibilities.

These wise men, if I understand them, find nothing in the present alarming condition of the country except an all-pervading fear of the early demise of McKinleyism. The financial distress, the suspension of banks, the hoarding and almost total disappearance of money, the failures of jobbing and commercial houses, the closing of factories, the bankruptcy of railroads, and the universal stagnation of all kinds of business are, in their judgment, mainly due to the fear that this Democratic Congress will in good faith carry out the tariff reform it promised the people.

We are summoned in extraordinary session not to prescribe a remedy for all the ills which afflict the people's business, but to check—to stamp out the financial epidemic which is carrying distress and ruin to every threshold in the nation. Gentlemen tell us that before we can do this we must diagnose the disease. Over the writhing, dying patient these learned doctors consult, quarrel, and disagree in approved professional manner. The venerable practitioner from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] and his boisterous associates from Iowa [Mr. HENDERSON and Mr. HEPBURN] and from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] have diagnosed the case with great relish and self-satisfaction, and have reached the profound conclusion that the patient is suffering from too much fright and too little nourishment.

"Madam," said an eminent specialist, "your husband is afflicted with a complication of disorders which we are utterly unable to understand. But I assure you, my dear madam, everything will be made clear and satisfactory at the post-mortem." [Laughter.]

"To this lame and impotent conclusion" does all their skill, wisdom, and experience lead them.

What quackery it is! If these doctors had but looked into the eyes of the suffering patient, seen his coated tongue, felt his throbbing, feverish pulse, they would not have had the hardihood to speak as they have.

The Almighty has so constructed humanity that in every age and in every country there are men whose patriotism is so diminutive and partisanship so intense that even in a nation's distress and a people's suffering they can see nothing but an opportunity for factional gain and personal profit. To them and of them I can only say in the language of the venerable Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR]:

No man whom the American people have trusted with any share of political power is entitled to be respected who approaches the duty of this hour in any partisan or sectional spirit or inspired by the desire to reap partisan advantage from the public calamity.

But let us diagnose the diagnosis of these wise men.

Sherman's silver law was passed in July, 1890. For twelve years prior thereto, under the Bland-Allison act, this country had been annually coining \$24,000,000 worth of silver into silver dollars of the average market value of 73 cents each. Over 400,000,000 of these coined dollars were then directly or indirectly in circulation as a part of the money of the country. The Sherman differed from the Bland-Allison law about as two drinks differ from one. It doubled the dose. It compelled the purchase and compelled, substantially, the coinage of twice as much silver as the Bland-Allison act. The shrewd financiers of the world at once comprehended the ultimate effect of the law. They knew that it inevitably accelerated our speed on the down grade to silver monometallism. The wiping out of the magnificent surplus which Mr. Cleveland left in the Treasury was additional cause of alarm.

I can not give you statistics, but every intelligent man knows that the great and rapid development of this country has not been solely due to our people. It is the British pound sterling and the Dutch florin in the hands of the enterprising Americans which has set this country spinning on the highway of development, to the astonishment and admiration of the world. Foreign capital borrowed at low rates of interest has created our railroads, opened our factories and mines, and developed our resources. No undertaking involving the use of large amounts of money could be successfully carried on without the aid of foreign money. Our own capital was too limited, our rates of interest too high to admit of this. But in the cheap markets of Europe we found cheap money. This we borrowed in untold millions and utilized it for our own profit and advancement.

To the people who lent us this money—to the Rothschilds, to the Jews, that marvelous race who are the bankers of the universe, Sherman's law came as a threat of repudiation, an act of partial bankruptcy, an attempt to pay back the money we had borrowed in a debased currency, in clipped shillings of inferior value. They began to draw in their loans, to unload our securities, and, worst of all, they refused to loan us more money.

At once upon the enactment of Sherman's law, gold began to go out of this country in large quantities. In the first fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, our net export of gold was over \$68,000,000, and in addition we sent a net export of \$44,000,000 of crops and merchandise, in all, over \$112,000,000 to pay our called-in indebtedness.

In the next year ending June, 1892, we had a net export of only a half million of gold, but we added to it from our magnificent crops of that year an export surplus of nearly \$216,000,000. Did McKinley's law or the fear of its repeal have anything to do with this? Why this enormous payment of our called-in indebtedness occurred while McKinleyism was triumphant; before the American people had rendered their verdict and passed sentence upon the felonious measure?

This distrust and lack of confidence on the part of European money-lenders speedily communicated itself to our American capitalists. They began to prepare for the coming storm by hoarding gold. The banks did likewise. All this time gold was flowing out of the Treasury, and only silver going in. It was apparent that the \$100,000,000 of gold held for redemption purposes must soon be encroached upon. Early in the fall of 1891, scarcely a year after the passage of Sherman's law, Ohio's magnificent plunger, then Secretary of the Treasury, announced that he stood ready to use the reserve "upon a pinch." For the first time since 1879 that reserve, the sheet anchor of all our currency, of silver as well as paper, was in danger. All this occurred before the Presidential election. How, then, doctors, could the fear of the repeal of the McKinley law have produced it?

When the people discovered that the bankers and capitalists were scared, they became scared themselves, and began to draw out their money from the banks and hoard it. They got but little gold, for the capitalists had already taken that. But they got currency and hoarded that, until it is almost literally true that there is no money in circulation. Whatever business is carried on consists of small transactions requiring currency of small denominations, and we consequently have the seemingly mysterious phenomenon of small currency at a premium.

From the New York Press, a leading Republican newspaper, I have clipped a column of disasters reported in a single issue—twenty-six in all. They comprehend a variety of business establishments, protected and unprotected. This record of a single day tells of the failure of six banks, three railways, one packing-house, five mercantile houses, two board of trade brokers, one Chicago hotel, one large creamery, and only seven establishments which, by the wildest stretch of imagination, could be in anywise affected by a reduction of the tariff.

It is absurd to say that the banks are dependent upon tariff taxes; equally ridiculous to claim that a fear of the reduction of the cost of steel rails has bankrupted the railways; or of the tax on hog's bristles has closed the packing-house; or of that

upon eggs has sent the hotel into the hands of a receiver. The mercantile houses, the brokers, and the creamery were not included in McKinley's distribution of illegitimate profits. And as this day's record is, so has the daily record been for two months past.

Probably the most reliable commercial journal in the United States is Bradstreet's. In a very recent number of that journal I find a list of 800 manufacturing establishments, employing one-half million of people, which have closed since June 1. A large part of these are protected industries. Many of them, such as wagon factories, brick yards, common potteries, sewer and drain pipe works, and others of similar character are in fact wholly unprotected by tariff duties. Of these 800 establishments, according to Bradstreet's, 79 per cent were closed by reason of financial stringency, only 1 per cent claimed that its suspension was due to "a fear of impending tariff changes," and the others were closed for repairs, taking of invoices, or by reason of fire, etc.

If these learned doctors had looked into the columns of a daily newspaper or glanced at the commercial reports of any trade journal, they would not have had the temerity to submit to us a diagnosis so frivolous and absurd.

Here and there doubtless are a few vicious protectionists, enriched by tariff favoritism and reluctant to surrender the special privileges of profit which McKinleyism has given them, who are reckless enough to attribute the embarrassment which comes from a financial panic to a fear of tariff reform. But such men are few in number and worthless in character.

Later on, when we approach the great work of tariff revision, we shall have a howling wail from every protected cradle in the country. All the infants will scream in unison, and tears will flow by prearranged schedule. [Laughter.] The calamity-shriekers from Pennsylvania will outdo their modest brethren from Colorado and Nevada. But it is too early for that now. They are not yet in politics. I do not regret that gentlemen upon the Republican side of this House have endeavored to make partisan capital out of the present distress. It is well that we have them, their diagnosis, fears, and predictions upon record.

In my judgment the unconditional repeal of Sherman's silver law will afford relief to the business of the country so swift and decisive that when this Congress enters upon the great work of tariff reform these prophets of protection will be so discredited by the failure of their present diagnosis that all the fears, prophecies, predictions, and threats they may then utter will be received with universal derision as "full of sound and signifying nothing." [Laughter.]

The undeniable truth is that our present financial distress is universal; that it penetrates every corner of the land and lays its paralyzing hand upon every industry, protected and unprotected. Wherever there is a business which depends upon bank deposits or borrowed money it has gone to the wall.

Such, Mr. Speaker, is the epitomized history of our greatest financial crisis. It commenced—the hoarding of gold, the money famine began—immediately upon the passage of Sherman's law. It was, in a measure, tided over and relieved by our unusual and enormous crops of 1891; it has now reached its culmination.

Doubtless many minor causes have contributed to it; I believe that our protective policy has so debauched and enfeebled our business system as to render it particularly sensitive to such attacks. I believe that the financial disturbances existing in South America, Australia, and to some extent in Europe, have more or less contributed to our own distress. But none of these, singly or combined, are sufficient to account for our present condition. It is self-evident and universally acknowledged that the direct cause of our distress is distrust and want of confidence in our ability to maintain the money of this country at a par with the international money of the commercial world.

The vaults and coffers of Europe are bursting with unusable money. It is worth only 1½ per cent in London. Cheap as it is, it lies idle awaiting safe investment. Driven out of South America, frightened out of Australia, it has accumulated in mountainous hoards awaiting the call of him who will give good security for its repayment. Here in the United States, in spite of our past financial idiosyncracies, Europe has found the best and safest field for investments.

But she loans us no money now, and is withdrawing that which we already have as fast as possible. True, within the two weeks past we have imported much gold. We are not borrowing it; we are buying it—sacrificing our securities and surplus crops at forced sale for gold. As it comes here it disappears as effectually as though the ship which brought it had gone to the mid-ocean's bottom.

Never has there been such an opportunity for the immediate development of our railways, our manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests and the funding at low rates of our corporate and individual indebtedness. The cheap money of Europe—

cheaper than ever before—is ours to hold and to use if we will but guarantee its repayment in the same kind of money in which it is loaned to us. But the financiers of the Old World will never send us gold and accept 53-cent silver tokens in payment. [Applause.]

I come from beyond the Mississippi, modestly representing one of the undeveloped States of the Northwest, a marvelous empire with almost boundless resources still slumbering in her virgin soil. Our lands are mortgaged; we need cheap money, not a depreciated currency, not clipped shillings, not a bankrupt's dollar, but low-priced, honest, cheap money to renew our mortgages and render agriculture profitable. We have growing manufactures; we need cheap money to operate and develop them. We have inexhaustible mines; we need cheap money to open and work them. We have large cities and prosperous villages; we need a network of railways over the State, connecting with great trunk lines, which will carry our surplus products at low rates to the seaboard. We stand at the fountain head of two great waterways connecting us with the Atlantic and the Gulf; we need steamboats and enlarged canals. Cheap money builds railways, canals, and steamships.

I have not the courage, Mr. Speaker, to look my intelligent constituency in the face and tell them by my vote that we have locked out the cheap, low-priced money of Europe. For years I have been preaching to them the gospel of free trade. They sent and resent me here, because they believed in that gospel. Having challenged the right of the Government by its tariff legislation to exclude foreign competition from our home markets, I can not now aid in shutting out the low-priced money of Europe in order that the capitalists of Boston and New York may have a monopoly of the home money market. My political economy knows no such paradox as this. If anywhere on this round globe there is money to be had at lower rates of interest, I want my farmer constituents to get at it and to get it.

Sherman's law shuts the door in the face of every foreign investor; it warns him that if he sends gold into this country he will only receive depreciated silver in return. It shuts him out and leaves the great borrowing West and the borrowing South to the tender mercies of the Shylocks of Wall street and the bloodsuckers of New England.

To me this is a sufficient reason why Sherman's law should be repealed. It should be immediately repealed. Whether it is a wise or unwise measure, whether it is or is not the real cause of the existing distress, the people believe it to be so. Unquestionably it is the cause of the panic which prevails; and to appease the panic instantaneous repeal is necessary. It should be unconditionally repealed. For if you attach to its repeal any new financial scheme, any untried monetary experiment, you still leave in the public mind the doubt, distrust, and alarm which already exists.

The house is on fire. The first thing to do is to put out the fire. When that is done we can determine the extent of the damage and the nature of the repairs necessary. It is the height of folly to attempt to rebuild the roof while the smoke is pouring and the flames coiling out of the second-story windows. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] tells us that he purposes to hold the Sherman law as a "hostage" for the enactment of a free-coinage law. What financial wisdom! He would take a chattel mortgage upon the conflagration as a security for the reshingling of the roof. [Laughter.]

The amendments offered to this bill are offered for the purpose of preventing the repeal of the Sherman law, and not with the expectation of securing free coinage at the hands of this Congress. It is a cunningly devised scheme to defeat by amendments a bill which can not be openly defeated.

Interesting as the subject is, I shall not enter into a prolonged discussion of the question of bimetallicism, for in my judgment the only thing for us to consider is: Shall we stop buying 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month with gold, or shall we exhaust our gold to accumulate silver?

I am a bimetallicist. I believe in the use of both metals as money. I believe that with certain restrictions and upon certain conditions both can be wisely and safely utilized as a circulating medium. But bimetallicism does not mean two standards of value. There can not be such a self-contradiction as a double or a triple standard. You can not say that 36 and 30 inches shall constitute a yard, but you can have yardsticks of steel, brass, wood, or tape. Each is a measure of length, but each must conform to the single standard of 36 inches. You can have a gold, silver, copper, or paper dollar, and if they are kept equal with each other they have equal purchasing power and each is a dollar.

Gold, and gold alone, is the commercial, the international money of the world. Whenever any other kind of money comes in contact with it, it is measured, valued by gold. The price of silver bullion, of copper, of iron, is measured by gold. A grain of gold is the yardstick of the nations. It derives no additional strength from coinage or legal-tender laws; whether stamped by a na-

tion's mint or not, coined or uncoined, it is the grain of gold which for more than a century has been the single common standard of value throughout the world, in every mart where civilized man trades with his fellow. We could not discard it if we would, unless, following the logic of McKinleyism, we maintained absolute nonintercourse with all the world.

We can utilize silver as money, not as a substitute for gold, but as an auxiliary and equal to it. The gold and silver dollars can be made equal to each other in three ways. I call attention to the fact that each of these three methods of equalization is specifically set forth in the last Democratic national platform. First, they must be of "equal intrinsic or exchangeable value," so that, put into the melting-pot, either one as commercial bullion would purchase the other in any of the world's markets. This equalization of the two dollars has been feasible at any time within the past twenty years.

If the advocates of free coinage had demanded a silver dollar containing a dollar's worth of silver, instead of advocating a bonus or indirect bounty to silver mine owners, they would have succeeded. To-day, however, such coinage is utterly impracticable. India has closed her mints to the coinage of silver, and so unsettled the silver markets that no one can to-day predict the price of silver to-morrow. No ratio between the metals can be fixed at the present time which would last a week.

Second. Or, "be adjudged through international agreement." Undoubtedly by unanimous consent the nations of the earth can maintain whatever ratio they see fit to adopt.

Third. Or, "By such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts." Making both dollars a legal tender would give them equal power in the markets. The only way to make and keep them equal in the markets is to make them interchangeable—to redeem one with the other.

Since 1879, when specie payments were resumed, we have been able to do this by the accumulation of a large gold reserve in the Treasury. We have kept greenbacks, bank notes, silver certificates, Treasury notes, silver itself, at par with gold, because the Treasury has at all times been ready to exchange gold for them—to redeem them in gold.

All this time we have been and still are upon a gold basis, with gold as the single standard of value. But we have had bimetallicism; we have used both gold and silver and paper, too, as money; we have maintained their equality in our own markets, at least, by using them interchangeably and being at all times ready to redeem the silver and paper with gold; we have maintained their debt paying equality by our legal-tender acts. From 1879 to the last hour of the Harrison Administration a gold reserve of \$100,000,000 has been set apart and sacredly held in the Treasury as a fund pledged for the maintenance at par with gold of all our silver and paper money.

When Mr. Cleveland surrendered the Presidency to Mr. Harrison in 1885 an additional \$100,000,000 had accumulated in our vaults. This was our great surplus saved by an honest and economical Democratic Administration, and held as a further guarantee of the equality of all our money. When Mr. Harrison surrendered the Presidency to Mr. Cleveland in 1893 only a few pennies of the magnificent surplus could be found in the Treasury vaults.

Under the operation of Sherman's law since 1890 our silver and paper currency has increased and our stock of accumulated gold decreased to such an extent that the world has lost confidence in our ability to redeem the one with the other and thus maintain their parity.

We must either increase our stock of gold or stop increasing the currency redeemable in gold. If we fail to do one or the other of these things gold must necessarily become a mere commodity, purchasable with silver or paper, and the gold dollar will be worth in the market a premium equal to the difference in the commercial value between gold and silver bullion. We will no longer continue upon a gold basis, but we will sink to a silver basis upon a level with Mexico and China.

We are brought face to face with the problem whether we shall continue as we have been since 1879 upon a gold basis, or whether we shall Mexicanize our currency and sink to a silver basis. On a gold basis we can maintain bimetallicism; we can utilize silver as a part of our money so long as we stand ready to redeem it with gold. On a silver basis we become monometallicists; we drive all gold out of circulation, because we could not redeem a gold with a silver dollar. The cheaper coin can not purchase the dearer.

The pending bill stops the further increase of Treasury notes issued in purchasing silver. If it fails to pass, it still remains the duty of the Government to maintain the parity of gold and silver as required by Sherman's law. The only way to do this is to increase the gold reserve in the Treasury. To do that we must sell bonds and increase the national debt.

I shall not now pause to discuss the much-mooted problem as to whether or not under the resumption act of 1875 the Secretary of the Treasury has authority to issue bonds and purchase gold for redemption purposes. In the conflict of opinion which exists upon that question, I shall assume that in the stress of a great emergency he might be justified in giving that act such a construction as to authorize an issue of bonds, for in no other way would it be possible for him to carry out the declaratory clause of the Sherman law that it is the established policy of this country to forever maintain the parity of our gold and silver dollars.

The heart of the question before us is not the free coinage of silver, for the enactment of such a law by this Congress is a recognized impossibility, but whether we shall stop buying silver or issue bonds and accumulate gold to maintain the parity of the two metals, as the law requires.

The estimated stock of coined gold in this country is \$604,000,000, or \$9.01 per capita. Only \$100,000,000 of this is in the Treasury; the balance is withdrawn from circulation and hoarded by the people. Our stock of coined silver (including the bullion purchased under the Sherman law) is \$615,000,000, or \$9.18 per capita. We have more silver than gold in circulation. No one proposes to touch the silver we now have. It is not to be demonetized or "struck down." It is to be left standing as a part, and a large part, of our circulating medium.

When we recall the fact that only about 8,000,000 silver dollars were coined by this Government in all the years prior to 1878, when the Bland-Allison silver law was enacted, and that 607,000,000 silver dollars have been coined since 1878, under the Bland-Allison and the Sherman laws, can it be fairly said that we of this generation have been unfair or unjust towards silver? When we keep in circulation a larger amount of silver than of gold are we not in the true sense of the word bimetalists; do we deserve to be stigmatized as "gold bugs" in the hire of Great Britain?

France has in circulation \$800,000,000 of gold and \$700,000,000 of silver. She maintains the parity of gold and silver by redeeming her silver in gold. Our purpose is to follow the example of France—to maintain bimetalism by keeping the relative amount of gold and silver in circulation equal to each other. France has \$100,000,000 more gold than silver; we now have \$11,000,000 more silver than gold.

The Sherman law and the McKinley law were the twin monstrosities of the billion Congress. In each is to be found the same principle, but a different method of protection—of special legislation for the benefit of interested parties. As McKinley gave to Carnegie and to such as Carnegie a home market for the product of their mills, so did Sherman give to the mine owners a home market for the production of their mines. Both laws were passed for the direct purpose of assisting influential capitalists in their private business—of giving them large and illegitimate profits. They are both based upon the same political theories, they emanated from the same source, they were enacted by the same Congress, they received the solid vote of the Republicans in both Houses, they were approved by a Republican President.

If, Mr. Speaker, I was disposed at such a time as this to indulge in remarks of a partisan character no subject could be more tempting than that now under consideration. But, in my judgment, the condition of affairs is altogether too serious and threatening to justify discussion of that character. It matters not where the responsibility for the law which has produced these conditions may lie, the duty of this hour and this Congress is to at once and unconditionally repeal the Sherman law, and give to ourselves and to the world restored confidence in the stability and integrity of the American dollar, be it of gold, silver, or paper.

I listened to the eloquent gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN] as he told us the enchanting story of the drummer-boy of Marengo. Pardon me if I inclose his charming picture in the rude frame of my remarks.

Mr. BRYAN said:

Muehlbach relates an incident in the life of the great military hero of France. At Marengo the Man of Destiny, sad and disheartened, thought the battle lost. He called to a drummer boy and ordered him to beat a retreat. The lad replied: "Sire, I do not know how. Desaix has never taught me retreat, but I can beat a charge. I beat that charge at the Bridge of Lodi; I beat it at Mount Tabor; I beat it at the Pyramids: Oh, may I beat it here!" The charge was ordered, the battle won, and Marengo was added to the victories of Napoleon. Oh, let our gallant leader draw inspiration from the street gamin of Paris.

I do not know, sir, that historical accuracy is at all essential to a free-coinage speech; but as a student of correct history I deeply regret that my friend should have torn from the gallant Desaix the laurels he won at Marengo, and plastered them over the cropped head of a Parisian gamin. [Laughter.]

I am sure my friend is mistaken both as to the time and place of the incident to which he refers. If memory fails me not, it was upon another field and on that dread, eventful day in June,

1815, that the historic drummer-boy was summoned into the war councils of the great emperor.

All day long Napoleon had hurled his veteran forces against the British guards upon Mount St. Jean; the grenadiers, hardened by Moscow's terrors, had been driven back in irreparable disorder; the steel-clad cuirassiers who decided the day at Austerlitz had been shattered and crushed in the storm of battle; even the invincible Old Guard, with Ney at its head, had reeled, hesitated, and fled under the fire of the unbroken squares; far to the east, through the shimmering dust-clouds, came the gray mustaches of old Blucher and his sturdy Prussians. The field of Waterloo was irretrievably lost. The time to retreat had come. The battle was lost; it was time to save the army.

Then it was that Napoleon drew inspiration from the street gamin of Paris. [Laughter.] Confident still in his destiny and bewitched by the rub-a-dub-dub of the little drummer-boy, he ordered the remnant of the guard to charge. Side by side with Cambronne and surrounded by the heroes of a hundred victories, he went in himself; and he came out, so Hugo says, "the mighty somnambulist of a shattered dream." [Laughter.]

Years afterwards, on St. Helena's stormy isle, chained like Prometheus to the ocean rock, unwritten history says the great Corsican fought his battles over again, and in tremulous accents left to his faithful Bertrand the dying injunction, "Put not your trust in drummer boys." [Laughter and applause.]

This country has gone far enough—it has gone too far—upon the road to Mexico. Threatened now with financial disaster, it is time to retreat. Let not our great commander heed the rub-a-dub-dub of the drummer boys of Missouri and Nebraska; let him rather listen to the throbbing heart-beat of a distressed and indignant people, and lead us back to the security of honest finance.

The battle for the free coinage of unlimited quantities of silver is irretrievably lost. There is yet time to save the armies of honest bimetalism. [Applause.]

Mr. IKIRT. Mr. Speaker, the question under consideration is of grave import and far-reaching effect. It reaches the hearthstone of every home in this broad land. It is, then, indeed proper that we approach it with calmness, solemnity, fairness, and a patriotic desire to reach the best solution possible with the least possible delay.

It is true that Thebes, that ancient city, had not more gates than have been the ways proposed by which to dispel the cloud that to-day hangs like a dark pall over the nation. And yet out of all the ways proposed not one is of such a character, by reason of the varied and various interests of our country, as to give assurance of concurrence therein of the two Houses of Congress.

This is not pleasant to contemplate I know full well, but it is true nevertheless; and there is nothing to be gained, but much to be lost, by closing our eyes to a painful fact when we should have them open to a full realization of the impending danger. It has been well and frequently said that history oft repeats itself, but I hope and sincerely trust that when the record of this extraordinary session shall have been made up, it will not be found to be a repetition of the history of the extra session called by President Harrison in 1841. Harrison having died, the session was held under Mr. Tyler, convened May 31 and ended September 13, 1841, and the record, as given by Cooper in "American Politics," says, "was replete with disappointed calculations and nearly barren of permanent results. The purpose for which it was called into being failed."

We are all, irrespective of party, doubtless, desirous that such shall not be the record and epitaph of this session, and yet many on the floor of this House feel assured that unless there is a coming together on some middle ground such may be the record; and it is believed and admitted that the United States Senate will not concur in the unconditional repeal of the silver-bullion purchasing clause of the Sherman law. Such being the situation, there is, then, great danger, that of this extraordinary session, called especially to furnish relief, it may be written, as of old, that it failed for the reason that—

Man, proud man—
Robed in a little brief authority,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
As make the angels weep.

The extremes have taken their position. Come, let us in the spirit of conservatism reason together and see where lies conservative ground, if indeed there be such.

President Cleveland, in his message calling Congress to assemble, says:

I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 15, 1890 (the Sherman act), authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

Mr. Cleveland has been criticised because he was not more explicit and failed to specify what was meant by other legislation after the repeal of the provision of the act authorizing the purchase of silver bullion. I see no valid reason why Mr. Cleveland should be criticised. The message is clearly on constitutional ground. It recommended the repeal of the silver-bullion purchase clause, and that other legislative action (said other legislative action to be, as a matter of course, the wisest and best that could be given the coun-

try at this time), and he asks that it be of such a character that it may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations. How? In gold? No; he does not so state, but "in money universally recognized by all civilized countries." To my mind that is susceptible to the interpretation that gold, silver, and paper, all on a parity at home, must have been meant, and I am further strengthened in that belief by what he said in his letter of acceptance.

In his letter accepting the nomination for President, Mr. Cleveland discussed the money question in the following language, in a letter dated Gray Gables, September 26, 1892:

"Every dollar put into the hands of the people should be of the same intrinsic or purchasing power. With this condition absolutely guaranteed, both gold and silver can be safely utilized upon equal terms in the adjustment of our currency."

Now, I submit this proposition, that, inasmuch as the President has nowhere declared that he would not officially sanction a measure to coin silver at a proper ratio, that he wisely left both roads open for Congress to do its work and to criticize him under these circumstances and at this time, is premature and unwarranted.

There are conservative men upon the floor of this House that might vote for either unconditional repeal or repeal with conditions to give relief from the present tense financial condition, and, in view of the position of the Senate and the condition of the country, Mr. Cleveland showed his wisdom and patriotism in leaving both roads open. By so doing he says, in fact, to Senate and House, I expect you and the country expects you to agree on one or the other of these methods of giving relief.

The responsibility now rests with the two Houses of Congress, disregard it they may; escape it they can not.

It is therefore pertinent to inquire, not in a spirit of levity, but in all seriousness, "Where are we at?" and what authority have we for being where we are at?

I reply to the first that we are at the point where we must repeal a part of the act of 1890 unconditionally, or the whole of that act conditionally, or humiliate ourselves and the country. As the first seems impossible the second is the course still left open.

In reply to the second question as to our authority for being where we are at, that is, traversing the road of conditional repeal, I submit the authority of the finance planks of both the great parties, which read as follows:

GOLD AND SILVER.—We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all its supporters, as well as its author, auxiliary for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in payment of debt; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

GOLD AND SILVER MONEY.—The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetalism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

The people having subscribed almost wholly to one or the other of these platforms must mean that as their expressed desire. We should then find the proper ratio in accordance with the commands of the people irrespective of party, class, or condition in life. The people, by subscribing to these platforms, having said to you, gentlemen upon the floor of this House and the honorable Senators assembled yonder, that we will be satisfied when you do this as nearly as possible according to your conscientious judgment, have said but one thing more since that time, and that is a universal demand that this work be accomplished without delay. It likewise should be heeded and the work promptly done. It has been argued upon the floor of this House that the present ratio is sufficient and should not be changed; that if it were not changed and the equal right to coinage with gold were extended to silver it would be all that is necessary and all the people desire.

This is the extreme silver view of the question and I deny that proposition. The people expect a dollar of increased intrinsic value and have so said in subscribing to those platforms, and while I admit that silver has greatly depreciated by reason of adverse legislation, yet with other present conditions it is unreasonable to assume that the intrinsic value of the silver dollar could immediately increase to any marked degree if the ratio of 16 to 1 obtain. Times and conditions change. This must be admitted by all. In the early history of our nation Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton believed, after mature investigation based on the history and customs of other countries, that a ratio of 15 to 1 was right, and that was accepted and continued down to 1834.

In 1834, the conditions having changed, the 15-to-1 theory, together with that ratio, was abandoned because the ratio was too high, was driving gold out and inviting silver in, and the present

ratio, 16 to 1, substituted. I believe now that the conditions have so changed that the ratio should again be changed, and in making this change the conditions should be carefully considered.

Taking the average commercial ratio of silver to gold for the year 1873 (the year it was demonetized), which was 15.92, and the average commercial ratio in 1892, which was 23.72, we find the difference in the commercial ratio of the world to be 7.80, an increase of near one-half, and that the intrinsic value to-day, measured by the bullion value in the market of the world by the gold standard, which has in the meantime appreciated, the intrinsic value of the silver dollar is 58 to 60 cents.

But how much has the standard, gold, by which we compute the value of the bullion in the silver dollar, appreciated? This we must admit is an unknown quantity, but it is safe to assume it has appreciated. While the amount of silver in the silver dollar should be increased so as to bring its bullion value up to a point where, through international agreement anticipating the same, its intrinsic value can and will likely be made equal to its face value, it is not necessary to make its intrinsic value correspond with its face value under the unprecedented conditions of to-day. This to my mind is clear from the fact that, strictly speaking, there is in existence now no money anywhere that is universally recognized by all civilized nations.

The fact must be patent to all, that either gold, silver, or copper coins are money only in the nation that made them and that outside of that nation, they are, strictly speaking, treated as commodities only, and not money. I aver that while silver has depreciated by reason of natural laws, yet the decline is out of all proportion to what it properly should be; and in seeking to find the proper ratio which we could with propriety adopt we must then be guided by a comparison of commercial ratios through a period of years.

By reference to a table (page 50 of the Statistical Abstract, No. 15) it will appear that from 1872, the year previous to which silver was demonetized, down to and including 1878, a period of seven years, the commercial value fluctuated 2.31. That during the next seven years from 1879 to 1885, inclusive, the fluctuation was but 1.36 and that for six consecutive years of that period the commercial ratio never changed but a fraction from 18 to 1 while for the next seven years, including 1892, the fluctuation was 3.97.

It is further worthy of note that the average commercial ratio during that seven year period from 1879 to 1885 was 18.73 to 1. This too, after the full depressing effect of demonetization. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that a ratio of about 18 to 1, or 19 to 1, would be indicated and that the latter might be preferable in view of the fact that the United States would for a time at least have to maintain the coinage alone.

It has been argued to change the ratio would entail a large expense to recoin our 419,000,000 silver dollars. It is not absolutely necessary. What inconvenience would it be if we had two legal-tender silver dollars of slightly different sizes? None whatever. At the ratio of 19 to 1 your new dollar would contain about three-sixteenths more bullion and would be slightly thicker and heavier. No necessity, then, to recoin.

But if, on the other hand, the bullion now stored like so much cordwood in the Treasury was at once coined at 19 to 1, the Government would be the gainer to the extent of about \$40,000,000.

But the rights and conditions of the West and particularly the silver States have been urged. I for one am not unmindful of their rights, but do regard them, while disregarding the threats. Private life is an Eldorado of peace that has no terrors for true manhood, while fear is the stalking specter of feeble minds, and word pictures of gory-charging squadrons but the transitory vapor of a super-heated brain. I for one regard the rights of your "breadwinners" as I do the rights of all others, no matter where they toil, whether in the mines East or West, or whether they follow the corn row in the North or the cotton row in the South. I regard these classes everywhere, and maintain that labor should have the higher consideration by reason of the fact that it is above all, older than all, produces all, and pays for all.

But this measure, Mr. Speaker, has little of class legislation in it, since all classes have united in making the same request, and in complying with that request as best we may we are seeking to benefit all. The bimetalists are not unmindful of that other great principle that there are more than 65 millions of people whose best interests demand the careful maintenance of stability in values, and they, therefore, do not wish to see a further contraction.

Sirs, we have had too much contraction since 1866. Take the history of the ten years from 1866 to 1876, and behold the ruin and wreckage all along the wayside.

I desire to quote from the Machinery Moulder Journal for July, as follows:

On the 12th day of April, 1866, Congress passed a law authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell 5-20 bonds and with the proceeds retire United States currency, including greenbacks.

When this act was passed there was in circulation \$1,996,687,770 of currency. During the year there were 520 business failures in the whole country, involving a loss of but \$17,625,000. Labor was well paid and fully employed.

In 1867 the work of contraction was vigorously pushed and there were 2,386 failures, with a total loss of \$86,218,000.

During the year 1868, \$473,000,000 of money was called in and destroyed. The failures increased to 2,608, with a loss to creditors of \$63,774,000. In 1869 over \$500,000,000 of money passed into the cremation furnace, producing 2,790 business

failures and a loss of \$75,054,900. Money growing tighter and wages lower. In 1870 only \$67,000,000 was destroyed, and 3,551 failures were recorded, involving a loss of \$88,242,000. Money was very scarce and wages were reduced all over the country. In 1871 \$35,000,000 was retired and 2,915 failures reported, with a loss of \$85,250,000. More men out of work and wages still going down. In 1872 only about \$12,000,000 was destroyed, but such had been the strain upon the business of the country for the past five years that this proved the last straw to 4,069 business firms who went under, involving a loss of \$121,058,000.

More cutting of wages, great uneasiness among the workmen and strikes talked of. In 1873 the storm reached its climax. Notwithstanding that only \$1,609,000 were destroyed, the people became panic-stricken, and 5,183 business firms were precipitated, with a loss of \$228,499,000. Five hundred thousand men were out of employment, wages cut down all over the country, and strikes were of frequent occurrence.

Notwithstanding the terrible results of contraction in the previous year the work of destroying the money of the country—its lifeblood—goes steadily on in 1874. In this year \$174,579,045 in legal tender and fractional currency is destroyed, resulting in 5,832 failures and a loss of \$155,239,000 to creditors. A million idle men begin to tramp the country in search of work to keep their families from starvation. Wages still decline and strikes more numerous.

In 1875 the volume of currency was reduced \$40,817,418, and failures reached 7,740 with a loss to creditors of \$201,060,000. Two millions of laborers out of work. Famine and hunger stares them in the face and tramping became a profession. In 1876 the contraction of the currency was estimated at a little less than 100,000,000, there being 10,000 failures with losses amounting to over \$300,000,000. Three million men were out of employment, wages were cut down to the starvation point, and most of the States were enacting laws against the tramp nuisance. Strikes, riots, and general consternation seized the people and the circulation was cut down from a little over \$40 per capita in 1866 to less than \$10 per capita in 1876. In 1887 the great railroad strikes and riots stirred the country from end to end; the red torch of the vandal lighted up the country from Pittsburg to Chicago. Such is the history of the contraction of the currency and the resumption of specie payment.

Think you we need more contraction? I propose to treat this question fairly. I have no maledictions to heap on the heads of bankers; but in the light of the facts given it is so plain that none need err—that the interest of the small banker, the manufacturer, the farmer, and the wage-earner all lie on a common plane in this matter, and that he is a false friend that advises either of these classes that his interest will be benefited by a marked contraction such as the single gold standard people want. The only men benefited would be your very rich banker and retired business man that buy up mortgages.

Let us see; the United States Treasury is the great heart, the banks are the arteries, and the people are the veins, of business. Thus it will be seen the interest of all lies in the very opposite direction from contraction, and neither of these great classes is independent of the other. The normal working of all is just as essential to perfect financial prosperity as is the normal working of the heart, arteries, and veins to perfect physical health. I think the banks throughout the country, national and private, have done their best to breast the storm, and I, for one, give them credit for it; but do not for one moment think that I include in the list some of the associations on Wall street that are in league with Lombard street, and have contributed much to bring on the present condition. The country wants no further contraction.

On the contrary we need expansion, as the volume of business has far outgrown the available capital. I know of no process of legerdemain by means of which we can increase our circulating medium by striking down a very large portion of what we have. The principle is therefore wrong. The gentleman from Mississippi [Gen. CATCHINGS], who made the strongest argument, in my opinion, that has been made on this floor in favor of the single gold standard, admitted the effect would probably be, or might be, to increase the indebtedness on long time obligations. Then in the name of justice why largely increase such obligations? The bimetalists neither desire too much silver nor yet too little gold. They refuse to bow down to either the golden calf or the silver cow. They worship neither, but respect both. They recognize the interest of the whole people, while they regard the honor of the nation. I care not so much whether we have the precise dollar of the daddies in form, but I do care that we have an honest dollar, whether gold or silver. I mean a dollar that is honest toward the debtor and honest toward the creditor, and in no other way should this matter be settled in order to be right; for nothing is settled until it is right, eternally right. They remember that on the 1st of July, according to the Director of the Mint, that while the amount of silver in the Treasury is larger than the amount of gold, yet our entire stock of gold was estimated at that time at \$654,000,000 and our entire stock of silver at \$875,000,000.

In the light of that statement both these metals have rights which entitle them to consideration, and hence the desire of the true bimetalists, who are the only conservative element upon this floor, that both metals be used and recognized as money metals, as the Constitution designed. We have no right to demonetize either gold or silver. Now, having considered the extreme silver view, let us turn for a little to the views of the opposing extreme. It is claimed by the advocates of the single gold standard that unaided and alone the United States can not sustain the free coinage of silver at any ratio. They aver that international bimetalism is their aim, and I assume they are sincere, but declare it can only be reached through unconditional repeal of the purchase clause. If gentlemen really desire repeal why not so vote when the ratio is reached that they believe in? They are like the man that, figuratively speaking, has a patent on religion to the extent that he thinks (remember he is sin-

cere, too) that no man can go to heaven except through his particular church.

But the two extremes then are a unit in desiring international bimetalism. The great question then is, How shall we attempt to reach it? Through monometallism or by direct bimetalism at home and a declaration of American principles? It is admittedly the harbor of rest, the sunny Italy of a more stable national prosperity all long to enjoy. But before the anchor is dropped in the harbor of rest comes the vicissitude of the voyage, before the higher prosperity of international bimetalism, the traversing of the Alps that lie before us, bold, rugged, and uninviting.

Again we are confronted with the fact that unconditional repeal being apparently beyond hope, international bimetalism must be obtained in some other way if at all. The allegation and theory that there is no other way, as the United States can not sustain bimetalism at any ratio, will bear investigation. It is said, that years ago a wise man racked his brain and burned the candle low at midnight to write a book proving that a steamship could not carry sufficient weight in coal to enable her to generate sufficient steam thereby to propel her across the Atlantic.

Inventors were at work and, strange to say, the first trip the ship made across the Atlantic she carried that book to America. Possibly the story is not true, but I add the moral which is both original and true. Theory may be, and often is, but a transitory dream, while fact is ever an abiding substance. Turn on the flashlight of fact, which is the argument of to-day and worth a thousand theories. It is known that France, with much less area and fertility in resource, did sustain bimetalism for a period as long as the children of Israel journeyed in the wilderness—seventy years, and that, at a ratio of 15½ to 1, she kept the metals together.

For explanation on this point, see Report of the Gold and Silver Commission, p. 83, sections 191 to 197, made by George Howell, M. P., and published in 1889. But again, on page 50 of the Statistical Abstract of 1892, the fifteenth number, will be found a statement of the commercial ratio of silver and gold for every year from 1687. It is a veritable mine of information on the subject of ratios, and shows that for two hundred years the commercial ratio never went higher than 1 to 16½, except in 1813, and that the ratios during that two hundred years remained at 15½ to 1, substantially, under all the various fluctuations of both metals by the production variations of each, and was not affected by the gold discoveries in either Australia or California, nor by the demonetization of silver by England, in 1816. It remained practically permanent under all conditions of peace and war, down to the demonetization of silver, in 1873, by the United States.

Then the commercial ratio that had been uniform and stable began to change, and has since for the last twenty years risen steadily, and in 1892 reached 23.72 to 1, the highest ever known to that time, and last month (July, 1893) was 28.52. I assert that this table which I here submit, is proof positive that the act of 1873, together with similar acts of other nations resulting therefrom, caused the marked change in the commercial ratio.

No. 28.—Commercial ratio of silver to gold for each year since 1687.

NOTE.—From 1687 to 1832 the ratios are taken from the tables of Dr. A. Soetbeer; from 1833 to 1878 from Pixley and Abell's tables; and from 1878 to 1892 from daily cablegrams from London to the Bureau of the Mint.]

Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.	Year.	Ratio.
1687	14.94	1722	15.17	1757	14.87	1791	15.05	1825	15.70	1859	15.19
1688	14.94	1723	15.20	1758	14.85	1792	15.17	1826	15.76	1860	15.29
1689	15.02	1724	15.11	1759	14.15	1793	15.00	1827	15.74	1861	15.50
1690	15.02	1725	15.11	1760	14.14	1794	15.37	1828	15.78	1862	15.35
1691	14.98	1726	15.15	1761	14.54	1795	15.55	1829	15.78	1863	15.37
1692	14.92	1727	15.24	1762	15.27	1796	15.65	1830	15.82	1864	15.37
1693	14.83	1728	15.11	1763	14.99	1797	15.41	1831	15.72	1865	15.44
1694	14.87	1729	14.92	1764	14.70	1798	15.59	1832	15.73	1866	15.43
1695	15.02	1730	14.81	1765	14.83	1799	15.74	1833	15.93	1867	15.57
1696	15.00	1731	14.94	1766	14.80	1800	15.68	1834	15.73	1868	15.59
1697	15.20	1732	15.09	1767	14.85	1801	15.46	1835	15.80	1869	15.60
1698	15.07	1733	15.18	1768	14.80	1802	15.26	1836	15.72	1870	15.57
1699	14.94	1734	15.39	1769	14.72	1803	15.41	1837	15.83	1871	15.57
1700	14.81	1735	15.41	1770	14.62	1804	15.41	1838	15.85	1872	15.63
1701	15.07	1736	15.18	1771	14.66	1805	15.79	1839	15.62	1873	15.92
1702	15.52	1737	15.02	1772	14.52	1806	15.52	1840	15.62	1874	16.17
1703	15.17	1738	14.91	1773	14.62	1807	15.43	1841	15.70	1875	16.59
1704	15.22	1739	14.91	1774	14.62	1808	16.08	1842	15.87	1876	17.88
1705	15.11	1740	14.94	1775	14.72	1809	15.96	1843	15.93	1877	17.22
1706	15.27	1741	14.92	1776	14.55	1810	15.77	1844	15.85	1878	17.34
1707	15.44	1742	14.85	1777	14.54	1811	15.53	1845	15.92	1879	18.40
1708	15.41	1743	14.85	1778	14.68	1812	16.11	1846	15.90	1880	18.05
1709	15.31	1744	14.87	1779	14.80	1813	16.25	1847	15.80	1881	18.16
1710	15.22	1745	14.98	1780	14.72	1814	15.04	1848	15.85	1882	18.19
1711	15.29	1746	15.13	1781	14.78	1815	15.26	1849	15.78	1883	18.64
1712	15.31	1747	15.26	1782	14.42	1816	15.28	1850	15.70	1884	18.57
1713	15.24	1748	15.11	1783	14.48	1817	15.11	1851	15.46	1885	19.41
1714	15.13	1749	14.80	1784	14.70	1818	15.35	1852	15.59	1886	20.78
1715	15.11	1750	14.55	1785	14.92	1819	15.33	1853	15.33	1887	21.13
1716	15.09	1751	14.39	1786	14.96	1820	15.62	1854	15.33	1888	21.99
1717	15.13	1752	14.54	1787	14.92	1821	15.95	1855	15.38	1889	22.09
1718	15.11	1753	14.54	1788	14.05	1822	15.80	1856	15.38	1890	19.75
1719	15.09	1754	14.48	1789	14.75	1823	15.84	1857	15.27	1891	20.92
1720	15.04	1755	14.68	1790	15.04	1824	15.82	1858	15.38	1892	23.72
1721	15.05	1756	14.94								

I challenge successful contradiction of this statement and this table upon the floor of this House. I further assert that if this table be not successfully contradicted, then it must stand as an irrefutable answer to the prophecy repeatedly made upon the floor by pseudo-prophets (I mean no disrespect by that term) that the United States can not sustain coinage of both metals because they will not stay together at any ratio.

I intimated that the act of 1873 led to similar acts on the part of other nations, which helped to account for the rapid and steady decline in commercial ratios since 1873. Now, what did happen? Previous to 1873 the great commercial nations, except England, made gold and silver interchangeable at fixed proportions—some making silver and some gold the national standard, but the greater number silver. Silver began to fall in 1873, when the United States and Germany changed their standard to gold. Then Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Italy, known as "The Latin Union," by reason of the action of the United States and Germany, denied the free right of mintage to silver. Thus it is clear the action of the United States and Germany compelled other countries to demonetize silver, and that increased both the demand for and potency of gold, and then began the scramble among nations for gold.

Thus America with Germany walked into the trap set by England in 1816 and caused other nations by necessity, and not from choice, to follow, with the result that in the same sense that the silver dollar is a dishonest dollar, the gold dollar is also a dishonest dollar. The gold dollar is dishonest just to the extent that the metal contained therein may have appreciated while the silver dollar is dishonest to the extent that the metal in it has depreciated, below the mean value of both metals. The one has gone above, the other below, the mean value of both metals.

That is all there is about it, except that legislation brought about by England, as she desired to establish her supremacy as mistress of the financial world, is responsible directly for the legislation, while America is culpable for allowing herself to be entrapped. I have no censure to heap on anyone, and have been sorry to hear so much about the British lion from our Republican friends. The British lion was let in through the demonetization act in 1873 by Republicans and ever since; the American people, menaced by his lordship's financial presence, have been trying to turn him out again.

Our country is to-day, mid peace and plenty, brought face to face with a condition of great danger which by unwise legislation it brought upon itself. What is the remedy? Apply the principle "that God helps him that helps himself."

As there is not sufficient gold in the world to supply the demand; as two-fifths of the gold we produce is taken out in connection with silver and two-fifths of the silver of the world is produced by the United States, England naturally, in a financial sense, fears us more than any other nation and it follows, as the day the night, that we surely have a greater interest in ourselves than other nations have in us. Therefore it is proper that we move first in our own behalf and then ask other nations to join us. It would seem we can coin both metals at a ratio of 18 to 1 or 19 to 1 and practically keep them together and then when we appear at the fourth International Monetary Conference it will be in such a manner as to command respect and not as a humble humiliated subject. But we might not long be alone. Other countries equally anxious will join us and international bimetalism would more assuredly and more speedily come.

Gentlemen of the single gold standard only faith on the floor of this House have sought to appeal to the patriotism of their colleagues, but in vain. Their appeals touch no chord that vibrates in harmony with a supplicating, enervating policy.

Unlock the shackles and let America assert herself.

Speaking for myself and the very large majority of the 199,000 people I have the honor to represent, I believe in the use of both metals, and believe international bimetalism may be achieved in more ways than one; but I believe the surest and safest way is for the United States to declare herself. Sirs, we stand this hour in the uncertainty of a financial night; but while the night is not so dark as it has been painted, the call comes up from every farm, village, town, and city in this land, from banker, manufacturer, and wage earner. Watchman, what of the night? And may "Uncle Sam," the national watchman, by reason of the work here done, be enabled to answer back, the light cometh. May that light be to the people, when it shall come, as the first glint of morn to the bright and perfect day; the opening of the dawn of a truer, better, and more abiding prosperity than we have ever known before.

Mr. Speaker, gentlemen may talk of patriotism while the nation anxiously waits for something to be done. Speaking for myself, and myself alone, it looks to me as though what we need most at this time is another Declaration of Independence, and this time a declaration of financial independence; and in order to make it we need more of the spirit of Patrick Henry and John Hancock. We should rise equal to the emergency and preserve the honor of the nation as the people demand, by an unflinching declaration that the United States of America no longer waits, but from this time assumes to lead.

Shall we, then, declare the ability of the country to take care of itself without dictation from a foreign monetary power that alone

blocks the way to international agreement, and that will always dictate terms favorable to herself? Are we in this hour to halt and waver?

Mark it well, "To halt is to lose, and to waver is to fail." Said Patrick Henry, in the Virginia convention in 1775, and his words are applicable here and now: "They tell us, sir, that we are weak; unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week or the next year? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction?" Shall we? Again I ask, shall we be of the number of whom it is spoken in Holy Writ, "That having eyes see not, and ears hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation?"

Mr. Speaker, we shall see what we shall see; but may He that, all unseen, guided the prow of the Columbus fleet, and guarded the frail Mayflower to Plymouth Rock, in His Omnipotent wisdom ordain that we shall not thus humiliate our country by a policy both withering and blighting in its effects. [Applause.]

Mr. McDEARMON. Mr. Speaker, perhaps a more important session of Congress was never held in this country than this. A nation seems with bated breath to be awaiting with manifest impatience to hear what Congress is going to do in the present emergency when a phenomenal state of affairs exists. Suddenly, in the midst of plenty and contentment, when the husbandman is preparing to harvest and send to market a most bountiful crop, amidst the hum of industry on every side; when the nation is enjoying the blessings of health and prosperity; without apparent cause, a money panic spread its baneful shadow over our fair land; seized with insane fear, timid capital shrinks back into its covert and the lifeblood of commerce and industry is cut off and commercial congestion and paralysis result.

Banks have been wrecked, factory wheels are still, and the strange contagion is spreading to all departments of human effort. Tens of thousands of the unemployed throng the streets of our great cities; apprehension and fear rule the hour, and all eyes are turned toward Washington. It behooves us, then, to most earnestly and solemnly address ourselves to the consideration of the grave questions now under discussion. The President, in his message, attributes this strange condition of affairs to the operation of the act of July 14, 1890, and urges Congress to speedily repeal the obnoxious law.

Mr. Speaker, I most sincerely admire Mr. Cleveland. I honor him for his pure and exalted patriotism; I love him for his sturdy and courageous manliness; I revere him for the honesty of purpose and conscientious devotion to duty which have characterized his official life. America never produced a more heroic spirit, or a more loyal, true and noble citizen. And in many things, Mr. Speaker, I would be inclined to defer to his judgment and follow his leadership.

But, sir, after a most careful and thoughtful consideration of this great subject, and after having patiently listened to the many able and eloquent speeches which have been made on both sides in this great debate, I am reluctantly compelled to dissent from the recommendation of the President and to vote against the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON].

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe this financial crash was caused by the operation of the Sherman act, or that that law has much, if anything, to do with it. It has been admitted by some advocates of the Wilson bill that the act of July 14, 1890, is not the cause of the present crisis. The most that can be fairly argued on that point is that the effect of that law, in connection with many other causes, has brought about the panic.

Mr. Speaker, the pages of history are replete with records of panics similar to the one which now afflicts the country. The Bank of England, the greatest financial institution that the world ever saw, has been frequently affected and endangered by panics. The advance of the Highlanders under the Pretender as far as Derby in 1745 caused a run on the banks which threatened the destruction of the "Old Lady of Threadneedle street," and she was saved by the device of making payments in shillings and sixpences.

In 1792 a general panic took place in England and Wales, and three hundred of the three hundred and fifty banks then existing in those countries were compelled to stop payment, and fifty of them were utterly destroyed, causing an extent of misery and bankruptcy before unknown.

In 1797 a general panic caused the suspension of many banks and compelled the Bank of England to suspend specie payments.

In 1825 another great convulsion took place in England, which brought woe and dire distress in its train, and so from time to time these strange panics have occurred in Great Britain and often almost wrecked the Bank of England until 1844, when Sir Robert Peel procured the passage of the law which limits the general issue of the bank to £15,000,000; and for every note above

this amount that is issued to be secured by a deposit of its equivalent in coin in the bank, thus putting the bank upon a firm and apparently impregnable basis.

In the United States, between 1811 and 1820, about one hundred and ninety-five banks in different parts of the Union failed, causing a state of distress, as stated by the Secretary of the Treasury, in his report, dated May 12, 1820, so general and severe that few examples of the like had before occurred.

The great revolution of 1837, when every bank in the Union suspended, followed in 1857 by another mighty financial crash, when every bank from the Gulf to the Lakes again stopped payment. The great crisis precipitated by the failure of the firm of Jay Cooke & Co., in 1873, is fresh in the minds of most of us, to say nothing of the recent financial earthquake caused by the failure of the great banking house of Baring Brothers, which "shook realms and nations in its jar."

The annals of every other great nation furnish many similar examples of these bubbles which form and break ever and anon upon the tide of commercial life. A writer says:

A panic has no laws; it has no fixed shape; it is precipitated, we know not how; and we are in the midst of it before we are aware; "To attempt to define the condition of that which is, in its essence, unreasonable is a logical contradiction.

I respectfully insist, therefore, that when we carefully analyze the present crisis we will find it to be simply an old-fashioned panic, without any reasonable cause for its existence, and that its worst features are the result of that insane, unreasoning fright and dismay which always characterize large bodies of people when alarmed or panic-stricken; and that the only remedy is a little time, for these financial spasms are of short duration, and reason and good sense will surely and speedily resume their sway.

My humble opinion is that confidence would long since have been restored and the worst would have been over if this extra session had not been called upon the assumption that the Sherman law "was the Illiad of all our woes." I believe that many of the people most alarmed and most clamorous for the repeal of the Sherman act were unaware that there was a "Sherman law," and still less familiar with its nature or effects until their attention was directed to it by the President's message.

And, Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the advocates of a single gold standard and circulation are taking an unfair and unpatriotic advantage of the unfortunate and deplorable state of things, and are appealing to the fears of the members of this House and the public in order to work its destruction to silver as money, and to fix upon the country as a permanent policy monometallism, which in my judgment is tenfold worse than the disease sought to be remedied.

The passage of the bill introduced by the gentleman from West Virginia would leave the country upon a gold basis pure and simple; it would be tantamount to a reenactment of the infamous and much abhorred act of July 14, 1873. In other words, Mr. Speaker, the issue is made clear and sharp between monometallism and bimetalism.

The great battle is now on. The enemy has selected his position, and planted his batteries; it is true he thinly disguised his frowning cannon, but it can scarcely be called a masked battery. The last clause or section of the Wilson bill, to the effect that the policy of the Government shall be to maintain the parity between silver and gold, is calculated to deceive but few; if it means anything, it can only mean that this parity between the silver coin now in circulation and gold is to be maintained. There is no promise, express or implied, that another silver dollar shall ever be coined by the American mints.

A careful reading of the President's message shows that he is opposed to further coinage of silver, and that he is unmistakably a monometallist, and would in all probability veto any bill that Congress might enact providing for free and unlimited silver coinage, or the further coinage of silver. The refusal of the opposition to accept any amendment to the bill proposed shows that their real policy is to adopt monometallism as the fixed policy of the country, as the Wilson bill unquestionably does.

If they are sincere in their professed willingness to legislate for the further coinage of silver, why do they not in this bill insert sections to that effect? The universal method of substituting one law for another is to enact the new law and repeal the old in the last section.

Mr. Speaker, it is palpable that in view of the recent shutting down of the East Indian mints against free coinage of silver and the consequent fall in the price of bullion the simple repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act without further, or other, legislation friendly to silver will be an abandonment of silver bullion to its fate; and will indeed be, in the eloquent language of the gentleman from New York [Mr. HENDRIX], "the last tolling note of the funeral bell ringing

over the doom of silver as money". Silver bullion is no exception to the universal and inexorable law of supply and demand.

Before it was degraded and dishonored by the law of 1873 it was equal with gold, and had been for "a time whereof the memory of man ran not to the contrary." Of silver, as of the ocean, it could then have been said in the language of the poet,

Time writes no wrinkles on thine azure brow.
As creation's dawn beheld thee, thou rollest now.

On account of the difference between the ratio of the metals of this country and the Latin Union in 1873 silver was at a premium over gold in the United States. But immediately upon the passage of the act of 1873 whereby the mints of the country were closed against silver, silver bullion began at once to decline, for the simple reason that the principal use to which that metal had been put, viz, its unlimited use as money at \$1.2929 per ounce, was cut off, the demand was curtailed and limited; and as corn or wheat or any other commodity, if prohibited from being used to the extent it now is, or if the demand for it was cut off, would decline in market price, so silver yielded and obeyed the law of trade, and depreciated in value.

I am no apologist or defender of the Sherman act, but I submit that even as it is administered by the Secretary of the Treasury it is a slight support of silver, in that a market is provided for an amount of bullion each year nearly equal to the output of the American mines; and it is indisputable that it prevents silver from further declining.

And I further suggest that if, instead of storing the bullion in the Treasury, as has been and is being done, the Secretary of the Treasury would, as he is commanded to do by the act, have the bullion coined into American dollars, reserve enough to pay the outstanding Treasury notes issued in payment for the bullion, and cover the seigniorage or profit into the Treasury and pay it out on the various demands against the Government, thus increasing the circulation at least forty millions of dollars, this much-abused Sherman act would not be as black as it is painted; under it a constant inflation of the currency is had each month and the country is supplied with what the opposition claims is so much needed on Wall street, *i. e.*, more money. They, however, clamor for a repeal of the act, the cutting off of this addition to the currency, and a contraction of the volume of circulation. If one could have any faith in the sincerity of those who make this argument, he could but pity their judgment.

Mr. Speaker, I have been driven to the conclusion, from a careful perusal of Mr. Cleveland's message, and from close attention to the language and the trend of the arguments of the advocates of the Wilson bill, that the great struggle between monometallism and bimetalism is now in progress, and that a vote for the Wilson bill is a vote for the destruction of bimetalism as the permanent policy of this Government and the establishment of monometallism in its stead; if this bill becomes a law not another dollar will be coined in this day and generation, and very soon the work of retiring the silver coin now in the hands of the people will begin. Indeed, if this measure is adopted, it seems to me that the consistent and logical course to pursue would be, as suggested in the Washington Post of the 19th instant, to issue bonds and buy gold, and prepare to adopt the policy now practiced by England and other gold-standard countries.

Mr. Speaker, with the convictions I entertain as to the duty of a Representative of the people, I could not conscientiously vote for this bill, even if I were converted into the belief that it is a wise measure, for I think that a "public office is a public trust," as said by Mr. Cleveland. I was elected upon the Chicago platform and construed it in my speeches before my constituents to mean what it so plainly says upon the financial questions, and I feel that I would be guilty of a breach of trust and treachery, if forsooth, because there is a panic in Wall street and among the banks and merchants and business men at this moment, which I believe to be temporary, as I have argued, and which I am confident has no connection with the question before us, I should vote for a bill which would, in the strict letter, it is true, carry out one sentence of the platform, but would distinctly and clearly violate other and much more material and important declarations. I do not intend by anything I say to impugn the motives of any gentleman upon this floor, but I accord to each the same honesty of purpose which I claim for myself.

And I will say right here that I have a contempt for the threats which I have heard suggested by some of my associates on this side, to the effect that a member who votes for the Wilson bill will never be sent back here, etc. Mr. Speaker, a man who would not vote according to his convictions of right and duty regardless of its effect upon his chances of being returned to this floor is not worthy to sit here.

But, I repeat, with my convictions and understanding of my duty, if I was convinced of the wisdom of the proposed bill I

would not misrepresent my people, and if I could not cast my vote in accordance with their wishes I would resign my seat and go home and let a true exponent of their views be sent in my place. I believe the people are the sovereign rulers of this country and the majority of each Congressional district in this nation is entitled to have one vote recorded upon this and every other measure acted upon by this House as they desire it to be cast, and we are the instruments and trusted agents selected to cast those votes, respectively.

But, Mr. Speaker, I most earnestly and with all my soul believe that bimetalism is the best financial policy for the country, and that bimetalism is just, honest, and equitable to both the masses of the people and to the creditors of our nation, State, and individuals, and that with bimetalism as our permanent policy our beloved country will continue in its marvelous career of happiness, prosperity, and greatness; upon the other hand, I believe that monometalism would be unjust, vicious, and extremely disastrous to the tax-ridden and debt-burdened toiling millions of this great country.

I ask not proud philosophy to tell me that the contraction of the currency tends to reduce the prices of labor and commodities, adds to the burdens of those that "labor and are heavy laden," renders debts more difficult to pay, and increases the purchasing power of the money that is left, thereby enhancing the wealth of the wealthy, and adding to the luxury and ease of those who "toil not, neither do they spin." The college professors and authors of works on political economy all agree upon this undeniable and self-evident truth.

Mr. Speaker, silver has been one of the standards of value as far back as history, tradition, and God's revelation throws light upon the habits and customs of man. Both gold and silver were accumulated by the ancient Babylonians and Assyrian emperors. The Persian kings from the time of Darius levied tribute of gold upon India and of silver upon their other provinces. Gold and silver have been in all ages "a common drudge 'twixt man and man," measuring and being exchanged for every commodity bought and sold by the human race.

The production of these precious metals, while at times it fluctuates more or less, has on an average kept approximately equal pace through the centuries. The best authorities now estimate the amount of gold and silver coin in the world to be something like seven and one-half billion dollars, of which \$3,733,000,000 is gold and \$3,880,891,346 is silver.

In fixing the ratio between the two metals for coinage, the relative amount of each in existence should be and is considered, not the amount annually produced for any given period. This is demonstrated by the incident which happened during the period between the years 1851 and 1871, when about \$2,500,000,000 of gold was coined; an amount almost equal to the entire stock of gold then in the world, and an amount largely in excess of the silver produced during the same period, as shown by the following table:

Estimated production of gold and silver from 1493 to 1879.

Period.	No. of years.	Amount in kilos.		Value in millions of francs.		Ratio of gold to silver.
		Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	
1493-1530	28	162,400	1,316,000	560	292	11.3
1521-1544	24	171,800	2,165,000	592	481	11.2
1545-1580	36	273,000	10,976,000	940	2,438	11.5
1581-1600	20	147,600	8,378,000	508	1,862	11.9
1601-1620	20	170,400	8,458,000	587	1,880	13.0
1621-1640	20	166,000	7,872,000	572	1,749	13.4
1641-1660	20	175,400	7,326,000	604	1,628	13.8
1661-1680	20	185,200	6,740,000	638	1,498	14.7
1681-1700	20	215,300	6,838,000	742	1,520	15.0
1701-1720	20	256,400	7,112,000	883	1,580	15.2
1721-1740	20	381,600	8,942,000	1,314	1,916	15.1
1741-1760	20	492,200	10,663,000	1,695	2,370	14.8
1761-1780	20	414,100	13,055,000	1,426	2,900	14.8
1781-1800	20	355,800	17,581,000	1,226	3,906	15.1
1801-1810	10	177,800	8,942,000	612	1,987	15.6
1811-1820	10	114,400	5,408,000	394	1,202	15.5
1821-1830	10	142,200	4,600,000	490	1,023	15.8
1831-1840	10	202,900	5,964,000	699	1,325	15.7
1841-1850	10	547,600	7,804,000	1,886	1,734	15.8
1851-1855	5	987,600	4,431,000	3,402	985	15.4
1856-1860	5	1,030,000	4,525,000	3,549	1,006	15.3
1861-1865	5	925,600	5,506,000	3,188	1,223	15.4
1866-1870	5	954,500	6,695,000	3,305	1,488	15.6
1871-1875	5	853,400	9,847,000	2,940	2,188	16.0
1876	1	171,700	2,365,000	591.5	525.5	17.8
1877	1	182,800	2,428,000	629.8	539.8	17.19
1878	1	183,700	2,603,000	632.6	578.3	17.96
1879	1	156,900	2,587,000	540.3	568.2	18.39

RECAPITULATION.

1493-1850	358	4,752,100	149,828,000	16,868	33,292	14.5
1851-1879	29	5,451,200	40,997,000	18,778	9,101	15.85

Estimated production of gold and silver from 1880 to 1892.

Period.	No. of years.	Fine ounces.		Value.	Value.
		Gold.	Silver.		
1880-1885	6	29,516,883	538,795,324	\$614,168,000	\$713,728,000
1886	1	5,127,750	93,276,000	105,000,000	120,600,000
1887	1	5,093,984	96,189,000	105,000,000	124,366,000
1888	1	5,316,412	109,911,000	109,900,000	142,107,000
1889	1	5,746,950	125,830,000	118,800,000	162,600,000
1890	1	5,473,631	133,213,000	115,150,000	172,235,000
1891	1	5,830,107	144,426,000	120,519,000	186,733,000
1892	1	6,328,272	152,062,000	130,817,000	196,605,000

The ratio was very slightly changed, if at all, by any nation in the world. It is true that several European nations, actuated by the same spirit of greed and avarice now manifested by some of the gold-standard advocates, demonetized gold under the pretext that gold was getting to be too cheap and was a base metal.

After the discovery of the great silver mines in the West the production of that metal was greatly increased, but not to as great a comparative degree as the production of gold in the first period named. Hence it would be unfair and unwise to fix the ratio upon any calculation as to the relative production of the two metals since 1871, for the same reason that it would have been wrong and unwise to fix it in 1871 upon the estimate of the production of the metals during the period between 1851 and 1871.

It is argued in substance by the advocates of the single standard that free coinage of silver at any ratio with gold could not be maintained by the United States alone; because they assume in the first place that silver bullion after the mints are opened would remain below the coinage value and that the same disparity between the market value of the two metals would continue as it now exists; and second, that not only would all the silver bullion in the world flow to your mints to be coined, but that many of the nations of the world which are on a gold basis would gather up their old silver coin, and send them also here to be converted into American silver coin, which, in case this Government should maintain the parity between the two metals—which could only be done by exchanging the one for the other—would be under that policy exchanged for gold coin only to be exported, to take the place of their silver coin imported as aforesaid. This is a familiar argument and is not without at least some plausibility, and deserves respectful attention; for, to my mind, it presents the main difficulty in the way of free coinage of silver, if indeed any difficulty really exists.

I respectfully submit that the first assumption that silver bullion would remain below par after our mints are opened to free coinage is unsound and ridiculous. "A thing is worth what it will bring," is a maxim as old and trite as it is true. One of the prime elements of the value of all commodities is the use to which they can be put, the demand for them, and the abundance or scarcity of the supply.

Silver is now below par as compared with gold, for the simple reason that its use is restricted to the arts and a very limited use for money purposes, whereas every ounce of gold that can be procured can be converted into a legal-tender money at a fixed sum at the mints of almost every country on earth. Its value is fixed by law and the demand or use to which it is put is unlimited.

There is now over three thousand millions of dollars' worth of silver coin in circulation in the other countries of the world outside of the United States, and it has been thus circulating for centuries. Gold-standard England has over a hundred million dollars' worth of silver subsidiary coin; France, seven hundred million; Germany, two hundred and five million; Spain, one hundred and twenty-five million; India, nine hundred million; China, seven hundred million, and every country under the sun has millions of silver coin which is performing every function as a medium of exchange that can be performed by gold, and as subsidiary coin it is preferred to gold the world over. About 90 per cent of the silver coin in the world is in circulation in the countries outside of the United States.

This vast and enormous quantity of silver coin has circulated for centuries, and the volume is kept up and increased year by year to meet the requirements of the constantly multiplying population of the various countries by immense additions, by free coinage, or by purchases by the respective governments for coinage.

The minority report of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the Fifty-first Congress shows that, according to the figures of the Director of the Mint, the total coinage of silver outside of the United States for the years 1887, 1888, and

1889 was \$327,901,031, an average of over \$109,000,000 per annum. This amount included some \$20,000,000 of recoinages, which being deducted, leaves about \$90,000,000 of new silver which the world, outside of the United States, needs and actually coins each year, which amount increases every year; and it is estimated that this demand for new silver, to keep up the volume of circulation of other countries, is about equal to two-thirds of the world's supply of silver.

It seems to me to be absurd to say that all or any of the other countries of the world, after using silver from the earliest dawn of history, now wish to exchange it for gold, and are lying in wait for this country to open its mints again, and will, in that event, at enormous expense collect up their coin and ship it to our mints to be coined at a ratio greater than that prevailing anywhere on earth for our present ratio of 16 to 1 is the highest in the world—except, perhaps, Mexico and Japan—which of itself would be a loss to them of from 3 to 12 per cent.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. McCREARY], in his able, fair, and eloquent speech delivered upon this floor the other day, stated (and he is borne out by the report of the proceedings of the International Monetary Conference which assembled at Brussels last fall) that—

The feeling among her people (England) in favor of international bimetalism has greatly increased in the last few years, and again the day will come when he (Mr. Gladstone) will cease to be prime minister of England; then friends of bimetalism, with such leaders as Balfour, Goschen, Houldworth, Thompson, Chaplin, Archbishop Walsh, and many others, will show to the world that they appreciate the value of international bimetalism, and a new monetary policy will be inaugurated in England which other countries in Europe will follow.

It is well known that the countries composing the Latin Union—France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Greece—as well as other nations of Europe, have a bimetallic system similar to ours at present, and are prompted by the interests and desires of their people to favor the increased and enlarged use of silver; and for the reasons given by the gentleman from Kentucky.

I think it clear that if this, the greatest nation of earth, should boldly take the lead and go to free coinage at 16 to 1, the nations of Europe, instead of combining to defeat the object so much desired by all or most of them, as demonstrated by the gentleman, would joyfully applaud our course and follow our example; and, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, permit me to say that I shall stand upon and defend with my vote and my feeble voice every plank in the Chicago platform, and I feel that I have as much right to disregard or violate that plank which demands a revision of the nefarious and villainous McKinley tariff as to refuse or postpone until an international conference can be had, or until the gorged and fatted plunderers of the substance of the toilers in the fields, who constitute the great majority of all who labor with their bodies in our land, should become satiated and cry, "Hold, enough," as to fail to do all I can to bring about the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and to insist upon the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage.

The Democratic party, after a lapse of over thirty years, has been restored to full power and control of this nation; the people have trusted us and lodged in our hands a power and dominion which, if Alexander the Great had possessed, he would not have wept for other worlds to conquer, but would have trembled at the thought of assuming such responsibility; the happiness, the peace, the liberties, and the prosperity of nearly seventy millions of the bravest, brainiest, and noblest people that ever lived upon God's footstool are intrusted to our custody for a time.

But I remind my fellow Democrats upon this floor that the keen and critical eyes of our masters are upon us, our every word and action are being weighed and scrutinized, and as sure as there is a sky above us, if we falter or hesitate in the discharge of the vows we made them, or if the grasp of our hand upon the helm of state betrays the slightest tremor, evidencing weakness or cowardice, the thunders of their indignant wrath will smite our ears and we will be unable to face them as faithful stewards.

When the Democratic party last year was true to its teaching and ancient traditions, and became inspired with that divine courage which conquers defeat and declared for a tariff for revenue only, and nominated an ideal exponent of that doctrine, the people believed it and trusted it, and in the mightiest political revolution ever witnessed on this planet the Republican party was dethroned and destroyed, and Democracy was restored to its former dominion.

But, my colleagues, if we begin our career by forgetting our pledges to the people, or dare to break our covenants with them, or cease to remember the mission we were sent to perform, our doom will be read in the scowling faces of our constituents and our reign will be short. [Applause.]

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I must confess that I occupy the time

of the House with some trepidation. I have been told since I came here that the people of the West, where money is scarce, where they are poor, have no right to a positive opinion upon these subjects; that they must come to the great centers, where wealth is accumulated in vast amounts and where the great operations or exchanges of the country are carried on, before this subject can be understood. I desire to say that I do not agree with that idea. I have read a good many commentaries on the Merchant of Venice; and not even among the most profound German commentators has there been evolved the idea that Shylock possessed any of the qualifications of a professor of political economy. There was another distinguished accumulator of wealth known not far from New York a great many years ago; but I have never heard that Captain Kidd "as he sailed" was supposed to have any of the qualities which rendered him fit to be a teacher of monetary science. There have been worthy successors to Captain Kidd in the vicinity of New York in the last twenty years; but we of the West do not feel that we are obliged to accept our opinions on these subjects from men who accumulate wealth by such or similar processes.

Who are these people in the great West who are so treated with contumely and scorn—this remote and alien horizon, as it seems to be to some of these people. Let me call your attention for a moment to the manner in which that country has been settled and the class of men who occupy those magnificent plains.

At the close of the greatest war that this world has ever seen, your younger brothers and your sons turned from the scenes of that great combat. The flame of battle still in their faces, begrimed with powder, they turned their steps to the great West. In that transmissouri region they have built up empires; they have faced all the privations, all the sufferings. With their young wives they went out into the wilderness, and they have builded an empire where beats the heart of this great American continent.

Wherever the bread of life is eaten all over this globe men rise up and call them blessed. And all over the prairies of that region are dotted the graves of those wives gone down prematurely with unrewarded, unrequited toil. Those people have been the victims for twenty years of the avarice, of the remorseless greed, of the concurrence of selfish interests which seems to guide and control the eastern part of the country. It is time, sir, that they should rise in revolt, and that they should demand of both these great parties the rights which have been so long denied them, which have been so long falsely promised and refused.

The political parties of this country have boasted time and time again of the loyalty, of the devotion to party, which those people have displayed. For a quarter of a century Kansas was the tenth legion in the army of the Republican party. Her eagles never turned their backs on the enemy nor were ever bowed in defeat. For a quarter of a century the gentlemen on the other side of the House have admired the dogged persistency and devotion which the Democracy of that State has displayed. Like the "old guard" they might die, but they never surrendered. Again and again they came up in line of battle and met inevitable defeat, true in every respect to the traditions of the Democracy.

Both of these great parties in their political platforms from 1873 down to 1892 have promised over and over again that the straw should not be taken away from them, that their tale of bricks should not be produced at the expense of any more or greater effort than when the contract was made.

What were the conditions that these people found when they went into that region? I happen to know, as I was there with them at an early day, that they found the whole of that vast region had all practically been preempted by the widows and orphans and servant girls that we are told constitute the creditor classes of the East. These enterprising individuals had all gone out there, and, through land-grant railroads, through the acquisition of magnificent Indian reservations, and by other means, all of those magnificent prairies had been taken possession of by these people here. The settlers had to pay an increased price. Instead of getting their lands, as they should have done, from the Government, they had to pay millions and millions of dollars of profit into the coffers of these parties in the East. If they wanted to build schoolhouses, railroads, or any other improvement, the money was always ready and forthcoming—for a consideration. Bonds were voted everywhere. These railroads, which had been endowed by the Government, took advantage of their opportunities to pit neighborhood against neighborhood, county against county, for the voting of greater and greater amounts of bonds. We have been covered with debt, because we had faith in the future, because we had faith in our country, and we had faith in the great political parties that we believed would do us justice.

We believed that the means which were promised for increasing the amount of money for the payment of these debts would continue and not be denied us. There were men in those days who said we could depend upon it.

Let me call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the utterance of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of Americans. Mr. Lincoln, in an interview with Mr. Colfax, who was about to visit the West, said to him on the day he ended his life:

Mr. Colfax, I want you to take a message from me to the miners whom you visit.

I have very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. I believe it practically inexhaustible. It abounds all over the western country, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and its development has scarcely commenced. During the war, when we were adding a couple of million of dollars every day to our national debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volume of our precious metals. We had the country to save first. But now that the rebellion is overthrown, and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine, we make the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now—

Said he, speaking with more emphasis—

I am going to encourage that in every possible way. We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such great numbers might paralyze industry, by furnishing, suddenly, a greater supply of labor than there will be demand for. I am going to try to attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain ranges, where there is room enough for all. Immigration, which even the war has not stopped, will land upon our shores hundreds of thousands more per year from overcrowded Europe. I intend to point them to the gold and silver that wait for them in the West. Tell the miners for me that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation; and—

Said he, his eye kindling with enthusiasm—

We shall prove, in a very few years, that we are indeed the treasury of the world.

In addition to that, sir, I remember well myself hearing a speech which Mr. Blaine made in our country some twenty years ago, in which he said that we need no longer concern ourselves with regard to the rates of freightage to the Atlantic seaboard; that in a few years the Western mountains would furnish a market for all we should produce; that it was the great mineral storehouse of the world; and so from that time on down we have been encouraged to believe that those who went into these mountains and those who went on the plains would alike meet their reward.

We have believed that their efforts would be encouraged and that they would receive the final reward which their unexampled toil and bravery entitled them to.

Now we have our friends in the East whose eyes seem to be all turned in the other direction. They are more concerned with regard to the rate of exchange on London than in regard to the great internal financial interests of this country. They continually tell us that we will sink into the condition of Mexico. That if we remonetize silver it will put us on a silver basis and drag us down.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask these gentlemen if they consider that the condition of Mexico is owing to the fact that their currency is silver, or to the fact that they have not enough of silver? They are a poor people. They produce but little, and to ascribe their poverty or ignorance to the metal they use in their exchanges is absolutely absurd. And I wish to say further that, supposing we should come to that point, and we should for a time be placed on a silver basis, as an American I should not consider that an irretrievable mischief.

President Andrews, of Brown University, says:

I propose to consider what in all probability would come to pass should the United States begin free coinage alone. No doubt after the first stringency accompanying the announcement of a free-coinage policy, a stringency arising from the fact that gold would be instantly withdrawn from circulation, while silver could be coined to take its place but slowly, our country would derive great advantage from siding with the silver status. The fall of prices would be stayed, perhaps some rise of prices ensue, besides the United States would take its place as the one great manufacturing nation of the silver world, and derive from that position the immense gain which England has hitherto reaped, but largely lost by the demonetization of silver. We should manufacture for Mexico, South America, China, and Japan, and England, owing to the lack of par exchange with them, would lose most or all of their custom. No doubt here is a splendid chance. We may effectually dish England as a manufacturing and commercial nation by the means suggested. I do not wonder that this prospect carries away so many, for it is indeed a glorious one.

And I should be proud if we could have a financial arrangement with the vast empire south of us, the vast undeveloped region which affords the nearest market for our manufactured products, our agricultural products, and our steel and iron, for years to come.

We can well afford to drop our financial relations in the way of borrowing money with Great Britain or with any of the other powers. In fact, on this subject of borrowing money, which seems to be the leading argument of the gentleman from New York, I have pretty nearly reached the opinion of old Polonius, that for a time it would be better for us—

Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.

I do not regard our condition as a perpetual borrower of Great Britain to be one that will lead us ultimately to the high position that we ought to occupy. I believe that by the adoption of a liberal remonetization of silver, as it was prior to 1873, we will so encourage the production of wealth, we will so encourage the accumulation of capital, that we will in a short time be rendered independent of those people. Capital is timid, but after all I have never yet known conditions to be so risky or so fearful that capital will not seek the more profitable investment. A great and growing country like this will attract capital, whether the par of exchange be maintained at all times or not. That has nothing whatever to do with it, and would not present any insuperable obstacle to the doing of business with those great people.

A great many of the gentlemen who have spoken on this subject, who call themselves international bimetallics, seem to be willing to aid to precipitate in Europe another fall in prices so aggravated that the most obdurate banker of Lombard street will have to admit

that gold can not be safely taken as the sole metallic money in order to bring about silver coinage in this country. They seem to be willing to perform the part of Sampson. They are willing to pull the pillars of the temple down, to destroy their enemies, regardless of the consequences to themselves or to their countrymen. I have no special desire to destroy Great Britain or to destroy France. The prosperity of those people is a matter which vitally affects us, but I certainly would not seek to advance it by first destroying ourselves. I am more inclined to respect the opinion of the great people in the West on these matters when I recall the speech which Edmund Burke delivered on the floor of the House of Commons in defending Woodfall, the publisher of the Letters of Junius. He exclaimed:

The wisdom of the whole nation can see farther than the sages of Westminster Hall. The collective knowledge and penetration of the people at large are more to be depended on than the boasted discernment of all the bar. The reason is clear: Their eyes are not dazzled by the prospects of an opposite interest. The Crown has no lure sufficiently tempting to make them forget themselves and the general good.

And I desire to commend that extract to gentlemen who some day may find inconsistency a hobgoblin if they do not now find consistency having anything frightful to them.

Why should we not do then, Mr. Speaker, what the great majority of the people have so often desired, what they have time and time again expressed themselves as in favor of? How should we arrive at what is the opinion of the majority of those people, or what is the opinion of the great mass of the people? Is there any better means of arriving at it than to study the political platforms which for twenty years have been made with special reference to catching the majority of votes? There is not a single solitary exception in any of the platforms in any of the parties, where the delusion has not been held out that they intended to remonetize silver. Ever since the great revolt in 1878 no public man has dared to face these people upon any other kind of pretense. They have one and all endeavored to give the impression, no matter what their real opinions were, that they would consult the wishes and the will of the people; and I wish to say that the time has come when the people are becoming indignant, when they deem it a crime that public office is not treated as a public trust, when political expediency and jugglery will no longer avail.

Now, sir; we are told that the sum of iniquities, that the cause of all this trouble and unrest, is the purchasing clause of the Sherman bill; and we are brought here for the express purpose of repealing that law. That is supposed to be all that is necessary to put us back upon the high road to prosperity.

Why, gentlemen, we in the West some five to eight years ago began to see that there were a great many causes conspiring to this unfortunate end. The present condition is but the culmination of those causes, most of them antedating by years this Sherman bill. The people of the West as a rule did not approve of the Sherman bill. They did not consider that it was in accord with true monetary principles; but the Republican party enacted it and the Republicans of the West accepted it as affording some measure of relief. It was not all that they desired, yet they thought in time free coinage would come; and it did make a positive addition to the currency; and had it been administered by its friends, I have no doubt that it would have been a powerful auxiliary in reestablishing the remonetization of silver.

We do not regard it as a vital thing in the present condition. While, as I say, we do not regard it as a proper monetary measure, yet we do not propose to repeal that which we have, without some knowledge of that which will come hereafter. We desire to know that the pledges of the Democratic party—that being the party in power, that being the party which we have all looked to more or less as intending to act in good faith and honestly in this matter—we look to that party to carry out the platform as an entirety. We do not consider that it is legitimate to select a single clause and to act upon that in a manner which will jeopardize for years to come the vital principle of free coinage.

In the State of Kansas there is no division on this question; Democrats, Republicans, and Populists alike are all agreed that we will stand by the Sherman act until we get free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. [Applause.] There is nothing indistinct in the utterances from that part of the country. There are no juggleries in language out there. They say exactly what they mean, and propose to do exactly what they say. There will be no chance for any party in this country that does not stand upon that platform so far as that part of the country is concerned.

Now, sir, this question has been thoroughly examined. It has been taken before conferences and before commissions without end, where the ablest and most expert financiers have controlled. The argument has been gone over and over, and our people out there are impatient of delay. They say the time has come when you must act, when you must say what you mean. I desire to have the Clerk read an extract from the unanimous decision of the great English monetary commission, which practically covers the points that have been so much discussed. It will show that a commission composed of twelve men, six bimetallics and six monometallics, unanimously agreed on the power of a single nation to fix the ratio, not only in her own limits, but in outside countries, a nation not comparable

in strength, commerce, importance, population, territory, or resources, to this great country of ours.

The Clerk read as follows:

Now, undoubtedly, the date which forms the dividing line between an epoch of approximate fixity in the relative value of gold and silver and one of marked instability, is the year when the bimetallic system which had previously been in force in the Latin Union ceased to be in full operation, and we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the operation of that system, established as it was in countries the population and commerce of which were considerable, exerted a material influence upon the relative value of the two metals.

So long as that system was in force we think that, notwithstanding the changes in the production and use of the precious metals, it kept the market price of silver approximately steady at the ratio fixed by law between them, namely, 15½ to 1.

Section 193. Nor does it appear to us *a priori* unreasonable to suppose that the existence in the Latin Union of a bimetallic system with a ratio of 15½ to 1 fixed between the two metals should have been capable of keeping the market price of silver steady at approximately that ratio.

The view that it could only affect the market price to the extent to which there was a demand for it for currency purposes in the Latin Union, or to which it was actually taken to the mints of those countries, is, we think, fallacious.

The fact that the owner of silver could, in the last resort, take it to those mints and have it converted into coin which would purchase commodities at the ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold, would, in our opinion, be likely to affect the price of silver in the market generally, whoever the purchaser and for whatever country it was destined. It would enable the seller to stand out for a price approximating to the legal coin and would tend to keep the market steady at about that point.

Now, sir, this is what the people believe and have a right to believe.

And, sir, as the doctors are so confused, would it not be well as a representative body to be guided by what the people want, and to make an honest effort to execute the popular will? Is there doubt in any man's mind what that is? That in spite of the tremendous machinery that has been employed to turn them, the vast majority of the people of this country for twenty years have steadily and continuously struggled with wonderful patience and persistency to have silver placed back on the throne from which it has been expelled, but which it has never abdicated.

The simple fact that every political party in this country has in all this time recognized this demand, and everywhere has promised, or pretended to promise, to be governed by it, is an all-sufficient proof of the fact. That they have juggled with words till they quarrel among themselves as to what their platforms really mean only adds to their deeper damnation.

Let me quote from a distinguished Senator [Ingalls]:

I say, if without impropriety I may do so, to the Executive of the nation, that there will come a time when the people will be trifled with no longer on this subject. Once, twice, thrice, by Executive intervention, Democratic and Republican, by parliamentary proceedings that I need not characterize, by various methods of legislative jugglery, the deliberate purpose of the American people, irrespective of party, has been thwarted; it has been defied; it has been contumaciously trodden under foot; and I repeat to those who have been the instruments and implements, no matter what the impulse or the motive or the intention may have been, at some time the people will elect a House of Representatives, they will elect a Senate of the United States, they will elect a President of the United States, who will carry out the pledges and execute the popular will.

In all this discussion as to the single standard and double standard it is strange that no mention has been made of that which is the single and only standard by which we form the mental conception, which we call exchangeable value, and that is, human effort or labor. The average labor cost of the greatest number of articles involving human effort would be the nearest possible approach to an unvarying standard. Gold and silver bullion are simply two commodities selected and used by society at something near the average cost in labor, as an expression of this idea, having in the smallest bulk the greatest labor cost.

That the accidents of mining and the vicissitudes attending the production of the two would have an average of fluctuation less marked in range than would one is unquestionable, and the average price line which is established by the mean between the two metals is the nearest approach to stability which we can have.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] is partially right in contending that there is a tendency to the alternate actual use of the metals, and it is in that very fact that, as so superbly shown by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BRYAN], exists the automatic regulation which tends to insure stability. As a man in walking rests his weight first on one foot and then the other, his stability would not be increased by cutting off one of his legs and leaving him to hop on one alone. [Applause.]

Here the hammer fell.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, if I can be recognized, I will state that the only speaker to follow the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. HARRIS] is my colleague [Mr. BELL], and at his suggestion, I ask that the time of the gentleman from Kansas be extended at least five minutes, so that he may follow the present thread of his argument.

There was no objection.

Mr. HARRIS. I simply wish to add a quotation from Francis A. Walker:

The abandonment of silver will result in the enhancement of the burden of all debts and fixed charges, acting as a drag upon production, and suffocation, strangulation, are words hardly too strong to express the agony of the industrial body when embraced in the fatal coils of a contracting money.

Now, sir, the supply of the two metals has never been so great that the prices of other things have been very greatly raised at any

time, and now that a determined effort to destroy the use of one metal, and thereby double the demand for the other, is being made, as an undoubted result prices have been falling all over the world with all of the dire results which universally follow such a condition, and which will result in the ruin of all debtors and the steady concentration of wealth in the hands of the few.

One of England's truest poets once, at such an era, exclaimed:

Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey
The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,
'Tis yours to mark how wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land.

Whenever men have protested against the metallic base as narrow, fluctuating, often insufficient almost to ruin, at other times flowing in with such abundance as to lead to wild excitement and speculation for short periods, as unscientific and unphilosophic, they have been met with the argument that God made these metals for man's needs.

With our catechism we have been taught that the precious metals were provided for the use of mankind as money, that the automatic theory was something sacred; that human intelligence and honesty were all insufficient to regulate or restrain human authority in providing society with a medium of exchange and that only the limitation of nature could and should be trusted with this greatest of functions. When darkness covered the world and civilization was about to perish it was a providential interposition that inspired Columbus to open the way to the metallic treasures of the New World. Again, when from the same cause, in the first half of the century, poverty, suffering, and discontent opened the bloody gates of revolution upon Europe, divine pity directed men to the golden store of California and Australia, and hope returned to the hearts of the people, civilization, with its science, art, and literature received a mighty impetus and the world laughed.

Allison, alluding to the discovery of the silver mines of Mexico and Peru in the sixteenth century, and of the gold mines of California and Australia in this, says:

If ever the benevolence of the Almighty was clearly revealed in human affairs, it was in these two decisive discoveries made at such periods; and he who, on considering them, is not persuaded of the superintendence of an ever-watchful Providence would not be convinced though one rose from the dead.

Predicting the great output of gold, he says:

Before half a century has elapsed prices of every article of commerce will be tripled, enterprise proportionately encouraged, industry vivified, debts and taxes lessened.

And—

We can now contemplate with complacency any given increase in mankind; the growth of their numbers will not lead to the aggravation of their sufferings.

Hardly, however, had these words been written when a new gospel was discovered and preached. It was found that this "happiness of mankind" was about to interfere with the interests of a small but powerful class, debts were being paid too rapidly and easily, "the financial world was becoming saturated with gold" (Chevalier), the debtor was about to escape, and human intelligence and honesty were now invoked to stop the flow of God's beneficence. But the memories of revolution were too fresh. As Mr. A. Allard (delegate of Belgium to the Brussels conference) says:

We had just left 1848 behind us. Besides, both prophets of good and of evil were disappointed, and the stream of gold gradually diminished.

The numbers and needs of mankind continued to increase, however, to 1860 to 1870 found half the civilized world on a paper basis, the arts and natural loss depleting the accumulated stock more and more, the strain and stress again began to be felt, when lo! a miracle—in the West the dawn of light appeared.

A third time (under the automatic theory) God turned again His face towards His creatures, and from the frowning heights of our Western mountains a silver rivulet began to descend. The parched and thirsty earth was gladdened at the sight and mankind rejoiced. Here in our own country we were inexpressibly exhilarated, sated from the reaction of a great war; a new field opened for the bold and active; the road to resumption made plain and easy; the great debt of the nation to be paid as no other had ever been. We girded up our loins, and, full of hope and courage and patriotism, we started on our great work. But we reckoned without our host. A new power now essayed to dominate the world; somewhat timid in 1857, it had grown great on the world's misfortunes or mistakes.

The "bondholder" asserted his right to limit the means of the debtor to pay, and the "financier" waved his glittering wand before the eyes of the people, and from the rosy mists of confidence evolved castles of credit-currency upon the steadily thinning foundation of gold, and claimed that under the modern art of exchanges (swapping checks) practically so much metal money was a burden, a relic of barbarism, cumbersome and to be abandoned; and so the work was done, this time silver, the selected victim. Here it was done "in the night," no man daring openly to avow the full design, nor to this day has any party dared to face an indignant people with a frank avowal of such a purpose.

The two great parties have

Paltered with us in a double sense,
Keeping the word of promise to our ear
And breaking it to our hope.

Grudgingly have they been forced to concede various palliative measures, all alike unfairly and dishonestly administered. The last (the Sherman law), a compromise forced upon us, a monstrosity, a violation of every principle, and, as administered, an open dishonoring of silver as a money metal, and yet to-day it, instead of being the cause of gold leaving us, is, to the extent to which the currency has been increased, standing between us and panic.

Gold is leaving us. Why? Because the world is trying to keep warm under a blanket all too small, and each nation is tugging for a part of it. Austria is paying a premium (4 per cent bonds at 95½ or less). The Baring failure, and later the Australian crash, started a flood of our bonds home, to save the gold-based English credit system from a collapse not yet ended.

An unfavorable balance of trade, in spite of high tariff, if not caused by it, and a determined effort to scare the nation from its purpose, and this outflow was in no way to be prevented or cured by going in debt or issuing bonds. "We are like children who make a shadow on the wall, and are as alarmed at it as if it were a reality."

Had we never demonetized silver "the shadow would never have existed and we would still be in that era of prosperity which we regret to-day" (Allard).

If the flow of gold is a misfortune, which I do not believe, why not check it, as would England, France, or Germany when demanded for export? The law gives Mr. Carlisle the option in payment of Treasury notes to coin silver and use it. The "honest dollar" is the dollar of the contract; no more, no less. Open the mints, coin dollars "of the present weight and standard of fineness." Establish "parity" by parity of use. To expect the bullion values of gold and silver to approach equality, with one sustained by an increased demand originating in legislative action, and an open mint with its fixed unflinching price, while the other is made a commodity, to be purchased at the lowest bid, is an absurdity and a sham.

Give both equal treatment and fixed mint values, then if in due time there should be any inequality, exercise the constitutional right "to regulate the value thereof" in the interests of the great "plain people" of the country. But, says some bright genius, "the silver miners will be benefited." Why should we hate the silver miner or love him less than the man who with a minimum of cost washes the gravel of placers for gold? Shall we freeze because the coal miner might make a profit on coal?

Let no one think that there is unjust prejudice against the legitimate and well-guarded use of bank credit currency; but no one will deny that it is the most subtle and dangerous form of inflation known to the world, and capable of being used to the greatest injury of mankind, especially when the reserve of money of redemption is admitted by all to be inadequate, as is the case with gold.

With all the gold and all the silver the world will still be scantily supplied and the arts will more and more encroach on the stock accumulated.

Let us lead the way alone, and the world will follow. Otherwise the metallic basis for money, or automatic theory, will be forever destroyed by the calamities which will follow and overwhelm us in the attempt to do the business of the world on bank credits resting on the basis of diminishing gold, for the benefit of the "financiers." [Applause.]

Mr. BELL, of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, however we may disagree upon other matters I think we may unite upon these propositions: First. The demand for money of some kind is equal to the sum of our demands for all other purchasable things.

Second. That our trouble does not arise as to differences between varied products of the field and shop, but the discrepancy arises between all of the products of toil and promiscuous property on one side and legal-tender money on the other.

Third. That there is not a depreciated coined silver dollar in France, the United States, or any other great nation, and in the United States coined silver is at a premium over gold.

Fourth. That when silver was demonetized and reduced to a commodity it was at a premium, and that no political party, newspaper, or petition from the people demanded its demonetization.

Fifth. That since demonetization prices of all commodities including silver bullion have gradually decreased, as compared with gold, until they have reached ruinously low prices.

Sixth. That there is now a money famine raging in Europe and America.

When we reach the causes leading up to these injuries and the remedy to be applied we meet a chaotic confusion of ideas.

Our friends east of the Allegheny Mountains and some others plant themselves firmly upon the narrow and, we think, illogical foundation that the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly is the principal cause of disasters and the transcendent question of the hour. If it is possible that this great Government, with its matchless wealth, intelligence, and enterprise, is so weak and unstable in governmental sagacity as to be thrown into irretrievable ruin with so little provocation, then our friends are quite right; we are incapable of self-government, and should supplicate with the mother country for a financial policy. Think of the absurdity of a Government with \$27,396,055,389 in assessed valuation quaking

at the drop of a mere pebble. It is illogical and, it seems to us, unworthy of serious consideration.

WHY ALL OF THIS SHUFFLING?

We were told long prior to the object lessons given us by the officers of the Government, financial circles, and the public press that the tightening up of money was caused by our securities being thrown back upon our hands from foreign investors. We were then told that the cause of this was losses sustained in India and the Argentine Republic. These were mostly gold securities. Why this change?

We know our gold drifted to Europe early in the year because of adverse balances of trade, and is now flowing back because of reverse conditions. Why did not the Government use the means at its command? Because the Administration is unfriendly to silver.

It is puerile to talk about a failure of silver to circulate when the Government is determined that it shall not circulate. People are clamoring for silver and can not get it. Ever since the Bland act the Executive and the Treasury Department of the Government have done everything in their power to make these acts odious.

Why is it that the silver dollar is now at a premium over gold? (This should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of its defamers.) Silver is and always will be the money of the people in cash transactions.

When people say hold on, we will check up and balance our accounts. We have another object lesson: that is your gold and bank conveniences are satisfactory while we are running on unlimited credit, but when we have to check up and cash in we must have money.

These panics come surely and regularly every few years, and it is here that the mighty and strong swallow up the weak. They call it cleaning out the unstable financial and commercial institutions.

WHAT DID CAUSE THE PANIC?

It was partially caused by the Baring failure, Argentine Republic complications, large purchases of cheap goods from overstocked merchants in Europe and an attempt to further spread gold as a money standard, and the hoarding of money. The officers of the Government, the bankers and boards of trade, which represent one and the same class, sent out interviews, circulars, and inflammatory articles through the press for the purpose of influencing this Congress, and intimidated the laboring men and women and that class of our citizens not in active commercial or manufacturing pursuits, but who owned and held the idle and ready money of the country, and caused them to lock it up in safety deposits.

In Colorado it was a significant fact that practically all of the panic-stricken were women and citizens not engaged in active business. They took you at your word when you predicted the great danger. It is also a significant fact that the scramble was not for gold but for any kind of legal-tender money. The merchants and manufacturers generally owed the banks, and their fears were "that the banks would run upon them."

It is said that in the panic of 1864 in India a large financial and commercial institution failed with £100,000 of gold, upon which it could not obtain a loan of rupees.

In July, in Colorado, money could not be raised on gold ore. In India silver was legal tender, and in Colorado coin and paper, and the banks were expecting the demands of depositors at any moment and would let no one have a legal-tender dollar even upon gold bullion. Legal-tender money is what we need and must have, and abundance of it, to prevent panics.

Bankers and this line of specialists in finance tell you there is abundance of money. This is deceptive. While the business of the country is prosperous and 80 to 90 per cent of our transactions are on credit we may thrive, but the moment a disturbance arises credit is shut off, a money famine sets in, and the weak fall into the hands of the strong.

If it can be said that we had an abundant amount of money while our credit was expanded to 90 per cent of our transactions, then after credit has been contracted three-fourths it would leave us short of money just to the extent of the contraction of credit. Credit is a circulating medium that expands and contracts with the ebb and flow of good or bad conditions, but never does or can pay a debt when people say we will stop, invoice, and cash in. Then the crash comes, as the legal-tender money does not exist.

Our gold-standard friends insist that there is abundance of money if the people would place it back in the banks that they might lend it to the people. The world has gone mad in its scramble for gold and manipulations of money for the purposes of hire. This is not the object of money. This country has so legislated that the great army of producers have been forced to become mortgage-ridden and it has taken away and is trying to take away from them the power to repay.

It is not a loan of your money or England's money we demand—we demand that our mints be thrown open to the free coinage of silver, and that Mexico, South and Central America, and all other silver-using and producing countries of the world be invited to bring on their silver, coin it into standard dollars, buy our wheat, cotton, and other products at good prices, that we may pay our debts and owe no man.

The increase of population in the United States, estimated at 3 per cent of 67,000,000 people, equals 2,010,000 people. This increase must have, from the new or old money supply, a per capita of \$24. This will require \$48,000,000 per annum. Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs, ex-governor of the Bank of England, after allowing for abrasion any irretrievable losses by shipwreck and otherwise, says that \$35,000,000 in gold is a liberal allowance for additions to the old stock of the world. What part of this would the United States obtain?

If she received her portion, as equitably divided between the gold-using people of the world, she would receive only \$4,020,000 per annum, or 6 cents per capita, and no provision for the increase

of population. Do you wonder that the scramble is so sharp for gold?

The weight of silver in the world is only about 15.7 of silver to 1 in gold—not 16 to 1. This may seem at first blush to be deceptive, as the world has more dollars in silver than gold, but when we take into account the great mass of light-weight divisional silver coin, this reduces the weight of silver as above.

Six hundred and fifty-eight millions of the world's population have an exclusive silver currency, and the remaining 561,000,000 use both metals in some form as a full or limited tender, as shown by table below.

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the aggregate and per capita in the principal countries of the world.

Countries.	Monetary system.	Ratio between gold and full legal-tender silver.	Ratio between gold and limited-tender silver.	Population.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.			
						Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States	Gold and silver.	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	67,000,000	\$604,000,000	\$538,000,000	\$77,000,000	\$815,000,000	\$412,000,000	\$9.01	\$9.18	\$6.15	\$24.34
United Kingdom	Gold		1 to 14.28	38,000,000	550,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.42
France	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	39,000,000	800,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	81,402,000	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.56
Germany	Gold		1 to 13.957	49,500,000	600,000,000	103,000,000	108,000,000	211,000,000	107,000,000	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	6,100,000	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	25.53
Italy	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	31,000,000	93,605,000	16,000,000	34,200,000	50,200,000	163,471,000	3.01	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	3,000,000	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67
Greece	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain	do	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	18,000,000	40,000,000	120,000,000	88,000,000	158,000,000	100,000,000	2.23	8.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal	Gold		1 to 14.08	5,000,000	40,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	45,000,000	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary	do		1 to 13.69	40,000,000	40,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands	Gold and silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 15	4,500,000	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.42	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union	Gold		1 to 14.88	8,800,000	32,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia	Silver.	1 to 15½	1 to 15	113,000,000	250,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey	Gold and silver.		1 to 15.1	33,000,000	50,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000	45,000,000	1.52	1.36	.....	2.88	
Australia	Gold		1 to 14.28	4,000,000	100,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	25.00	1.75	.....	26.75	
Egypt	do		1 to 15.68	7,000,000	100,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	14.29	2.14	.....	16.43	
Mexico	Silver.	1 to 16½	.....	11,600,000	5,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91	
Central America	do	1 to 15½	.....	3,000,000	.....	500,000	.....	500,000	.....	.17	.....	.84	
South America	do	1 to 15½	.....	35,000,000	45,000,000	25,000,000	.....	25,000,000	600,000,000	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan	Gold and silver.	1 to 16.18	.....	40,000,000	90,000,000	50,000,000	.....	50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India	Silver.	1 to 15	.....	255,000,000	.....	900,000,000	.....	900,000,000	28,000,000	.....	3.53	.11	3.64
China	do	1 to 15	.....	400,000,000	.....	700,000,000	.....	700,000,000	.....	.....	1.75	.....	1.75
The Straits	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100,000,000	.....	100,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Canada	Gold		1 to 14.95	4,500,000	16,000,000	1,200,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, etc.	do	1 to 15½	.....	2,000,000	20,000,000	1,200,000	800,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total	.....	.....	.....	1,219,000,000	3,582,605,000	3,469,100,000	553,600,000	4,042,700,000	2,635,873,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
				*=658,000,000									
				†=561,000,000									

* Silver-using people.

† Gold-using people.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Bureau of the Mint, August 16, 1893.

How is it that \$714,636 in Treasury notes have been redeemed in silver during this month (August, 1893) on demand of the holders, while the Government has been freely offering gold instead? Why is it that the people have been offering gold for silver and can not get it? It is because silver is, and always will be, the money used in our ordinary domestic transactions.

THE SIXTY-CENT DOLLAR.

This is a delusion and a snare. The silver dollar is and always has been the honest 100-cent dollar, but the gold dollar has appreciated and has been a 140-cent dollar. This is not only proven, but demonstrated. Mr. Allard, director of the Belgium mint, and others, the representatives from Mexico at the Brussels Conference, showed that the Mexican dollar bought as much of the necessities of life now as it did in 1873. An ounce of bar silver in 1873 would buy a bushel of wheat, and has purchased the same ever since when general conditions of crops were normal. I submit here an interesting table published by "Coin" relative to cotton, silver, and wheat:

Year.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Silver.
1872	1.47	29.3	1.32
1873	1.31	18.8	1.29
1874	1.43	15.4	1.27
1875	1.12	15.0	1.24
1876	1.24	12.9	1.15
1877	1.17	11.8	1.20
1878	1.34	11.1	1.15
1879	1.07	9.9	1.12
1880	1.25	11.5	1.14
1881	1.11	11.4	1.13
1882	1.19	11.4	1.13
1883	1.13	10.8	1.11
1884	1.07	10.5	1.01
1885	.86	10.6	1.06
1886	.87	9.9	.99
1887	.89	9.5	.97
1888	.85	9.8	.93
1889	.90	9.9	.93
1890	.83	10.1	1.04
1891	.85	10.0	.90
1892	.80	8.7	.86
1893	.72	7.8	.78

MEXICANIZING AMERICA.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HARTER] appeals to us not to level this country with Mexico by Mexicanizing our coin. Comparisons are odious unless conditions are proximately similar. Mexico has 751,700 square miles of territory; the United States 3,602,990 square miles. Mexico has 11,632,924 inhabitants; the United States 67,000,000 people. Mexico is inhabited by a people whose wants are yet limited, credit small, etc. But let us take the condition of Mexico from one of her citizens and not secondhand:

CHICAGO, July 29, 1893.

EDITOR EVENING POST:

Your paper of July 25 brings an optimistic article about Mexican money and trade. I am Mexican myself and well acquainted with my native country, and as such beg to submit the following remarks: Mexico is the only happy country without monetary troubles, because it has free coinage of silver, and for that reason Mexican banks are in excellent condition, as they do not try to transact business with a substance they can not obtain—gold.

Mexican silver mines continue partly their work for the same reason as banks continue business; they pay their laborers in solid silver coin and don't swindle them with "paper that only means gold," but when redeemed proves to be based mostly on "credit and confidence," which are of no value in hard times.

The "silver trouble" is a wrong expression for the present situation, which is really a genuine "gold trouble," that upsets banks and produces panics. Free coinage of silver on a 20 to 1 ratio would bring to the United States the whole Mexican and South American and even East Indian trade, and Europe would be obliged to adopt also free coinage of silver as it could not eat and drink gold. Silver depreciation is a consequence of its demonetization and not vice versa. If you give a law to prohibit the use of diamonds, these pretty stones would be worth one cent a dozen.

The interior trade of Mexico does not depend much on the silver question in London and New York, as inside of Mexico \$1 is always 100 cents; but exterior trade will be reduced to the most indispensable articles, and even their importation must decline in proportion to the increase of the gold-currency premium, and at last we would have to live after the old Aztec's fashion.

Gold standard is a wicked monopoly of money and the only way to kill it is free coinage of silver. I am on a visit to the World's Fair, and should be much obliged if you would publish these ideas.

JOSE MAXIMILIANO DAMEN,
Durango, Mexico.

Let us take France, with only 204,177 square miles, while we have 3,602,990 square miles. France has 38,218,900 population, the United States 67,000,000; France fully developed, the United States in the very midst of her developing period. France supports without a ripple \$17.95 in silver for every inhabitant, the United States only \$9.18. The United States produces the silver, France

does not. It would require \$1,192,650,000 in silver to make our per capita equal to that of France.

The people ask why is it this per capita can be maintained in France and not in this country.

RATIO.

This portion of the discussion should not be neglected. We should not be deceived into changing the ratio. When silver was demonetized it was above par and silver dollars are now at a premium over gold.

The New York World, silver's worst enemy, on August 13 said:

It is not so long ago that apprehension was felt that the continued purchases of silver by the Government would send gold to a premium. A hoarding of the yellow metal resulted in consequence. Last week, however, gold was actually worth less than the Government promises to pay or paper money, and even the discredited silver dollars commanded a larger premium.

A ratio of 20 to 1 would not only require a recoinage of our present stock of silver, contracting the currency by over a hundred million dollars, but would probably disturb and cause a like recoinage and shrinkage in France and other silver-using countries. We can not be indifferent to the volume of money in our foreign markets. If our customers have an abundance of money prices will range high. An abundance of good automatic metallic money of final redemption is what we need.

The actual weight of silver in the world is only about 15.7 of silver to one of gold. There is a sharp demand for it on both sides of the Atlantic. It is simply borne down by an infamous brokerage system. The world has not only absorbed all of the silver produced since 1890, but has greatly reduced the old supply.

Give it a fair coinage test with a friendly administration, then if it will not stand it will be time for a new ratio. As you change the ratio you pin us down permanently to the low prices that the manipulators of the gold power have fixed upon us. There is no excess of production or cause for a change.

I here submit a table showing the varying quantities of the metals produced from year to year:

Year.	Gold.	Silver.
1851.....	\$87,600,000	\$40,000,000
1852.....	132,750,000	40,600,000
1853.....	155,450,000	40,600,000
1854.....	127,450,000	40,600,000
1855.....	135,075,000	40,600,000
1856.....	147,600,000	40,650,000
1857.....	133,275,000	40,650,000
1858.....	124,650,000	40,650,000
1859.....	124,850,000	40,750,000
1860.....	119,250,000	40,800,000
1861.....	113,800,000	44,700,000
1862.....	107,750,000	45,200,000
1863.....	106,950,000	49,200,000
1864.....	113,000,000	51,700,000
1865.....	120,200,000	51,950,000
1866.....	121,100,000	50,750,000
1867.....	104,025,000	54,225,000
1868.....	109,725,000	50,225,000
1869.....	106,225,000	47,500,000
1870.....	106,850,000	51,575,000
1871.....	107,000,000	61,050,000
1872.....	99,600,000	62,250,000
1873.....	96,200,000	81,800,000
1874.....	90,750,000	71,500,000
1875.....	97,500,000	80,500,000
1876.....	103,700,000	87,600,000
1877.....	114,000,000	81,000,000
1878.....	119,000,000	95,000,000
1879.....	109,000,000	96,000,000
1880.....	106,500,000	96,700,000
1881.....	103,000,000	102,000,000
1882.....	102,000,000	111,800,000
1883.....	95,400,000	115,300,000
1884.....	101,700,000	105,500,000
1885.....	108,400,000	118,500,000
1886.....	106,000,000	120,600,000
1887.....	105,775,000	124,281,000
1888.....	110,197,000	140,706,000
1889.....	123,489,000	162,159,000
1890.....	113,149,600	172,234,500
1891.....	120,518,800	186,733,000
1892.....	130,816,600	196,605,200

In addition to this our national debt; a great portion of our State, municipal, and private indebtedness was made when silver was money, and common honesty and fairness demand that it should be money when these debts are paid. It is well known that the bonded indebtedness was created through the conduit of greenbackism, costing the bondholder only about 60 cents upon the dollar in gold. These bonds were redeemable in any kind of legal-tender money.

The bondholder cunningly secured a Congressional act in 1869 making his debt payable in coin instead of any legal-tender currency. At this time silver was above par. He very cautiously had a provision incorporated in the funding act of 1870 that these bonds should be paid in coin of the standard values of July, 1870, which is our present gold and silver coin. Encouraged by these successes in an American Congress, he now asks that they be paid in gold.

FALSE LOGIC.

You tell us we are scarce of money and you propose to increase it by cutting off the supply. You tell us your shops have all shut down and your labor is unemployed and you wish to return it to its old position by narrowing the already too limited fields of labor. You will relieve labor, you tell us, by adding 50,000 more tramps to the list. You propose to start up the manufactures of the middle and New England States by destroying their best customer.

Joseph Nimmo, jr., the statistician, is quoted as saying: "The silver States are the best customers of the manufacturers, taking over \$50,000,000 per annum of their products, and are worth more to the manufacturers than all of South America and Europe combined." It is now estimated that over \$6,000,000 in fall orders have already been countermanded.

Is turning loose 150,000 laborers in the West going to increase your demand for labor in the East? How is the destruction of the greatest demand for railroad iron, cars, machinery, and all kinds of manufactured goods going to start up your manufactures? This new and developing country is your great consumer and a loss of this market will add hundreds of thousands of your laborers to our idle list.

I here submit a table showing the national debts of the world:

Austria-Hungary.....	\$2,643,021,000
Belgium.....	213,000,000
Denmark.....	58,467,000
France.....	4,982,840,000
Germany (entire).....	2,695,285,000
England (and dependencies).....	5,695,639,000
Greece.....	13,625,000
Italy.....	2,250,000,000
Montenegro.....	1,900,000
Netherlands.....	540,000,000
Portugal.....	593,670,000
Roumania.....	176,000,000
Russia (all).....	4,869,788,000
Servia.....	50,615,000
Spain.....	1,106,650,000
Sweden.....	58,000,000
Norway.....	29,860,000
Switzerland.....	65,000,000
Turkey.....	868,590,000
Argentina.....	148,000,000
Bolivia.....	19,000,000
Brazil.....	600,500,000
Canada.....	273,000,000
Chili.....	92,800,000
Colombia.....	15,000,000
Mexico.....	110,000,000
Pern.....	842,624,000
United States.....	915,962,112
Uruguay.....	79,109,600
Venezuela.....	63,700,000
Egypt.....	732,000,000
All other countries (about).....	3,500,000,000

This makes a grand total of about \$35,100,000,000. It is said the house of the Rothschilds, of Germany, and the Bank of England own \$28,000,000,000 of this sum attempted to be made payable in gold. There is but \$3,700,000,000 of gold in the world. If the wheels of business should stop to-day and the debtors of the world were required to pay, if they had all the gold in the world they could only pay 10 cents on the dollar if they were limited to these national obligations only.

This fight is indeed between the debtors and the creditors. The creditors are determined that the debtor shall only have money enough to pay the interest on these obligations. They are determined to make these national obligations perpetual that they and their posterity may forever clip coupons and have fixed incomes. The beginning of this fight was for another United States bond issue.

THE PLANS OF THE OPPOSITION.

In every paper from the money center the cry is, issue bonds. The advocates of gold here say, issue bonds.

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] and most of the Democrats agree that the Chicago platform declared for and was understood to be for free silver. We know the Populist platform was unmistakably so. President Cleveland received 45.7 per cent and Mr. Weaver 9.23 per cent of the popular vote, making a total of 54.93 per cent of the popular vote for free coinage. However, the Republicans of the West declared and insisted that their platform and party favored free silver.

The President and his followers speak in pathetic tones for the poor laborer. Is it not strange that these horn-handed sons of toil do not know what they want? Is it not strange that those they regard as their oppressors always assume to represent and speak for them? I wish to say to you that this assumption is wholly unauthorized. Mr. Powderly is a vice-president of the American Bimetallic League and one of its strongest advocates. A cardinal principle of the Farmers' Alliance is free silver. You can not longer feed them on sham platitudes.

In the minority report on the silver bill in the Fifty-first Congress, Mr. Bartine exposes this hypocrisy by saying:

From the general tenor of their arguments one might be led to suppose that the millionaire capitalist is in reality the poor man, while the money of the country is

virtually owned by the factory hands and servant girls of New York and New England. And yet it is a fact worthy of the most careful consideration, that these workmen and women were not represented by a single one of their own number and class upon that side of the question.

Almost every man who appeared in opposition to free coinage was a president or other executive officer of some bank, some great insurance company, or other firm, corporation, or association controlling vast aggregations of capital. About the only exceptions to this rule were college professors and lawyers, who appeared rather in the character of special pleaders.

Upon the other hand, it may not be out of place for us to mention the circumstances, by way of contrast, that at the conclusion of Mr. Atkinson's statement Mr. Dunning, the duly accredited agent of the Knights of Labor and various other kindred organizations comprising nearly 4,000,000 voters, stepped forward and laid on the table the petition of these toiling millions, praying for the free coinage of silver.

In addition to this it is proper for us to call attention to the further fact that the great organization known as the Farmers' Alliance has adopted a demand for the free coinage of silver as the cardinal feature of its creed.

COLORADO.

The gentlemen advocating the gold standard seem to think this fight is only made by a few mining States. If this conclusion was true we would be advocating an American and not an unlimited coinage. No; we are not so narrow-minded or unpatriotic. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE] complained that a little Western State has as many Senators as the great States of New York or Massachusetts. It is indeed very important as to whose ox is gored.

New York has thirty-five times as many people as Delaware, eighteen times as many as Vermont, and so on down the line, and New York has nearly three times as many inhabitants as the great State the gentleman represents. Under his precise distribution Massachusetts would be entitled to about two-thirds of one Senator.

Let us see if the West has injured the State the gentleman represents. We have always voted for your protection, bought your manufactured goods, and borrowed your money at high rates of interest. I will submit you some figures, the result of the reasoning of Mr. S. S. King, from the census of 1880 and 1890, and let the people judge whether Massachusetts and the North Atlantic States have been imposed on by overrepresentations of the Western States.

The nine Atlantic States and the producing South and West: He shows that Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina in 1880 had 58 acres of land to Massachusetts' 1; the nine producing States had a population of 7 to Massachusetts' 1; in the assessed valuation the nine States had \$2 to Massachusetts' \$1, and yet between 1880 and 1890 Massachusetts gained about \$10,000,000 more in wealth than these nine great States; or, add to the nine producing States Florida, Kentucky, and Kansas, making twelve great producing States, giving them 14 acres of land to Pennsylvania's 1; the population of the twelve States is about 4 to Pennsylvania's 1; capital in the twelve States is about \$2 to Pennsylvania's \$1, and yet Pennsylvania from 1880 to 1890 gained in wealth \$12,000,000 more than these twelve great States; or, add to the twelve great States Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, making fifteen great producing States, with 16 acres of land to New York's 1; the fifteen States have 4 people to New York's 1; the fifteen States have \$1.50 to New York's \$1, and yet from 1880 to 1890 New York gained in wealth \$6,000,000 more than these great producing States; or, add to the fifteen States Missouri, Ohio, South Carolina, Arkansas, Maryland, and Delaware, making twenty-one great producing States with 6 acres of land to 1 acre in the North Atlantic States of New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Rhode Island.

The twenty-one States have two persons to the nine States' one. The twenty-one States have about the same capital as the nine States, and yet the nine States gained in wealth between 1880 and 1890 \$1,356,567,065 more than the twenty-one great producing States. These glaring discrepancies are traced by Mr. COX to special legislation in favor of the manufacturing and financial center of the nine North Atlantic States.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION.

The assumption that cost of the production of silver affects its value is false, in fact. See report of Senator Stewart's committee on this subject February, 1893, and Prof. Hague's article in Forum.

It is a general economic truth that cost of production affects value but indirectly as a circumstance in determining supply. In its relation to every commodity, demand is the fundamental factor in fixing value; for example, the demand for wheat, iron, cotton, or any other product regulates its price regardless of its cost of production, which must vary at different times and places.

If demand is destroyed prices must fall regardless of cost of production.

Now the chief demand for precious metals arises from their convertibility into money. Destroy that convertibility, the demand is paralyzed and prices fall.

It follows that decline in silver values results from legislative limitation placed on its use as money. Similar treatment of gold will produce similar consequences. Sir David Barbour says:

Gold and silver owe almost the whole of their value to the fact that they can be converted into and used as money.

Robert Barclay says:

Law singles out gold or silver or both to be used as money and gives them special functions which it confers on no other commodity. In virtue of this selection the demand for these metals is greatly increased, and as they are only of limited production their value is increased accordingly.

Mr. Samuel Smith (M. P.) says:

Gold and silver derive their value mainly from their use as money. If all the world passed such laws as England and Germany have done, silver would be almost valueless.

Silver was never below 16 to 1 with gold until the combined German and American legislation of 1873, coupled with the closing of the mints of the Latin Union to it, made a commodity out of it. Ever since then, its market value has approached its mint value or receded from it just in proportion as the prospect of free coinage in the United States has been good or bad.

All political economists, from Adam Smith down (who expressly refers to the precious metals), agree that the commodity or article is a durable and not a transient one. The existing stock or supply bearing a large proportion to its annual supply, the effect of cost of production on its value is slight and indirect and always uncertain.

If the cost of the production of silver was an important factor in fixing its price, the cost and the price would vary together. There have been violent up and down movements in silver in the last few years, varying from 6 per cent to 36 per cent as compared with gold. No sane man will pretend that similar fluctuations have existed in its cost of production.

Another well-established and undisputed economic principle is that cost of production does not affect value when applied to an industry of a highly speculative character. Such is the nature of mining for the precious metals, especially gold, whose occurrence in large quantities is always accidental. The industry is quite analogous to a lottery, where chance is more potent than calculation.

And in any event the cost of the production of silver is beyond human calculation, for it is a commodity which is the joint product of the same process which produces other commodities, and therefore cannot have an independent cost of production. The entire silver product of our mines is in the ores blended with gold, copper, lead, zinc, etc.

If cost of production is a factor of importance in determining value, it should affect gold as well as silver; yet the cost of production of gold varies as that of silver, or more, but its value is standard.

If cost of production affected values, the decline in value would limit the amount of production; and per contra increase of value would stimulate production. But, as a fact since 1873, with gold rising in value, its production has fallen off, while the value of silver has steadily fallen while its production has steadily increased. For example, it is a fact that during the decade 1871-1880, with a constantly changing market ratio, production was very close to the ratio in weight of 15½ to 1.

Amount of product independent of or with cost does not affect to any degree the relative values of the two metals if both are money metals. For example, Lord Liverpool admits that fifty-five years after the discovery of the Potosi mines, their silver yield had no visible effect on the valuation of coins at the English mint. On the other hand, during the twenty-five years between the discovery of gold in Australia and California and the demonetization of silver the effect of the enormous product of gold upon current coins was hardly more than appreciable.

If it costs so little to produce silver which sells for so much, why does not capital interest itself more largely and readily in silver mines? We know that capital shuns both classes of mines and because the business is so largely speculative.

I am fully aware that a reversion to the history of this deplorable legislation, when so well known, is tedious and tasteless, but the gentlemen from Ohio [Mr. HARTER, Mr. GROSVENOR, and others] have scouted the idea of a crime. I will here submit the record of this infamy as gathered by Mr. Frewen and published in the Fortnightly Review for June, 1893, and confidently assert that on these indisputable facts that any grand jury would return an accusation of guilt if the perpetrator could be located.

Here is what Mr. Frewen says in his article:

We first find an honorable and respected member, Mr. Kelley, introducing a bill in 1872, to codify for the general convenience, the various mint enactments. When Mr. Kelley reported the bill in the lower chamber, Mr. Potter of New York asked: "Does it make any change in the standard of weight or fineness of the coin?" Mr. Kelley replied: "It does not." Next, Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts appears in charge of Mr. Kelley's bill; so purely formal was the bill considered—that bill which yet contained within it a provision to demonetize silver forever—that in reply to Mr. HOLMAN of Indiana, who asked whether the bill, before being voted upon, would be read to the House, Mr. Hooper said: "I hope not; it is a long bill, and those who are interested in it are perfectly familiar with its provisions."

The bill was accordingly passed without being read. Now, since leaving Mr. Kelley's hands, section 16 had been imported as a Senate amendment. Here is section 16, which has probably cost the world of human industry more than all the wars of the century:

"The silver coins of the United States shall be a dollar, a half-dollar, a quarter-dollar, and a dime; and the weight of the dollar shall be 384 grains, the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and dime shall be, respectively, one-half, one-quarter, and one-tenth of the weight of the said dollar, which coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment."

Such is the clause which, without debate or consideration, has effected a revolu-

tionary change in the currency of the United States. Every Senator, without doubt, read the legal-tender limitation as applying not to the standard dollar but only to the subdivisions of the dollar. It was this clause which is, I think, responsible for the closing of the French mints, for the shrinkage of the ruppee, for the catastrophic fall of prices, and for the great increase of the burdens of every mortgagor.

It is little wonder then that, in view both of the motives and the consequences, public opinion in America has been educated to denounce this legislation as a crime against mankind.

"If this step was taken without full appreciation of the results that were to follow, it was a piece of delirious folly; if with full consciousness of the consequences, it was, on the part of the creditor classes, nothing less than an act of treason against the human race." (Senator JONES at Brussels.)

Let us see by what means this section 16 was arrived at in the Senate, because the vehement partisanship to-day of Senator STEWART and many others arises from their conviction that they were duped in 1873.

The bill, having passed the House, was now in the hands of the Senate Committee on Finance, Senator SHERMAN, of Ohio, being the chairman. The bill was amended in the Senate, and this is what Senator SHERMAN said of the intention of the amendment:

"This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the Associated Nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar provided by this bill is the precise equivalent of the 5-franc piece * * * the 5-franc piece of France will be the exact equivalent of a dollar of the United States in our silver coinage; and in order to show this, wherever our silver coin shall float, and we are providing that it shall float all over the world, we propose to stamp upon it, instead of our eagle, the intrinsic fineness and weight of the coin."

Senator CASSELY:

"We can not have an international coinage on the basis of our silver coin unless our silver coin is up to the standard of all the nations with which we expect to have relations. Now I ask the Senator whether this bill proposes a silver coinage of that character?"

Senator SHERMAN:

"This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar provided by this bill is the precise equivalent of the five-franc piece."

Could language be more explicit? Every Senator who heard this statement must have understood that the bill was a bill to include the United States within the Latin monetary union, and that her silver equally with theirs was to be coined freely into legal-tender money at a ratio of 1 to 154. Such is the history of the act of 1873. The nation was shortly to awaken to the fact that the bill to make American silver dollars "float all over the world"—which, in the words of the chairman of the Finance Committee, was to arrange for a silver coinage "exactly the same as the French"—which was to promote "international coinage," that this bill had positively deprived silver altogether of free coinage and legal tender!

And yet Senator SHERMAN declares to-day, and with indignation, that he at least understood the provisions and scope of the bill, and that he considered a dollar which was not even to be legal tender at home was yet good enough "to float all over the world."

Let me now point out with what amazement the act of 1873 broke upon the chiefs of both parties in Congress, when they first discovered that the currency had been tampered with before their very eyes. Grant was at that time President; more than eight months after he had signed the act which had forever excluded silver from the mints we find him writing to his friend, Mr. Cowdrey (McPherson's Handbook of Politics):

October 6, 1873.—The panics brought greenbacks about to a par with silver. I wonder that silver is not already coming into the market to supply the deficiency in the circulating medium. When it does come, and I predict that it will soon, we shall have made a rapid stride toward specie payments. The circulation of silver will have other beneficial effects. Silver will become the standard of value, which will be hoarded in a small way. I confess to a desire to see a limited hoarding of money. General (afterwards President) Garfield said, at Springfield, of the act of 1873:

"Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so, but the truth is that I, at that time chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and having my hands overfull during all that time, never read the bill. It was put through as dozens of bills are in Congress, on the faith of the report of the chairman of the committee; therefore I tell you, because it is the truth, that I had no knowledge of it."

Senator BECK, of Kentucky, said:

"What I complain of is that this House never knew what was in the bill. Will any sane man believe that they (Senators) deliberately consented to strike down silver coinage? Mr. SHERMAN says they all did. I do not believe him."

Senator STEWART, of Nevada, said to Senator SHERMAN:

"Whatever may be your construction of their meaning now, the words you used then induced me to vote with you, because you made me believe that you were sending out a bona fide dollar as good as any in the world."

Mr. Kelley, the father of the original measure, who was chairman of the Committee on Coinage, said (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 1605):

"In connection with the charge that I advocated the bill which demonetized the standard silver dollar, I say that, though chairman of the Committee on Coinage, I was as ignorant of the fact that it would demonetize the silver dollar or of its dropping the silver dollar from our system of coins, as were those distinguished Senators, Messrs. Blaine and VOORHEES. I do not think that there were three members of this House that knew it. * * * The Committee on Coinage who reported the original bill were faithful and able, and scanned its provisions closely. As their organ I reported it; it contained provision for both the standard gold and silver dollar and the trade dollar."

"Never having heard till long after its enactment of the substitution in this Senate of the section which dropped the standard dollar, I profess to know nothing of its history; but I am prepared to say that in all the legislation of this country there is no mystery equal to the demonetization of the standard dollar of the United States. I have never found a man who could tell how it came about or why. * * * I wish gentlemen to know what the bill was; it was a bill to reorganize the mints, and it was passed without allusion in debate to the question of the retention or abandonment of the standard silver dollar. * * *

"I was the chairman of the committee that reported the original bill, and I aver upon my honor that I did not know that it proposed to drop the standard dollar, and I did not learn that it had done so for eighteen months after the passage of the substitute offered by Mr. Hooper."

Mr. HOLMAN said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 193):

"I have before me the record of the proceedings of this House on the passage of that bill—a record which no man can read without being convinced that the measure and the method of its passage through the House was a colossal swindle. I assert that the measure never had the sanction of the House, and does not possess the moral force of law."

Mr. BRIGHT of Tennessee said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 584):

"The bill passed by fraud in the House, never having been printed in advance. It was passed under such circumstances that the fraud escaped the attention of some of the most watchful as well as the ablest statesmen in Congress."

Senator ALLISON said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 1058):

"When the secret history of this bill comes to be told, it will disclose the fact

that the House intended to coin both gold and silver, and intended to place both metals upon the French relation (ratio) instead of our own."

Senator HOWE said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 764):

"Mr. President, I do not regard the demonetization of silver as an attempt to wrench from the people more than they agreed to pay. That is not the crime of which I accuse the act of 1873. I charge it with guilt compared with which the robbery of a thousand million dollars is venial."

Senator VOORHEES said (RECORD, Vol. VII, p. 1063):

"I want to ask my friend from Maine whether I may not call him as one more witness to the fact that it was not generally known whether silver was demonetized? Did he know, as Speaker of the House presiding at that time, that the silver dollar was demonetized in the bill?"

Senator BLAINE:

"I did not know anything that was in the bill. And now I should like to exchange questions with the Senator from Indiana, who was then on the floor, and whose business it was far more than mine to know, because by the designation of the House I was to put questions, the Senator from Indiana, with his power as a debator, to unfold them, did he know?"

Senator VOORHEES:

"I very frankly say I did not."

Such were the circumstances attending the "outlawry of silver"—circumstances which are hardly reconcilable with common honesty. If, on the other hand, as is so generally believed in America to-day, a wealthy ring of European speculators for the fall in silver securities were busy with certain draftsmen and officials at Washington, then this covert mutilation of the law is at once accounted for.

If gold and silver were the money of the United States Constitution it would seem that the exclusion of one or the other is a constitutional change, requiring the sanction of a two-thirds majority of the State legislatures.

In addition to this I wish to further submit the report of the Monetary Commission of 1876, showing that while the act of 1873 stopped the coinage of silver, it did not affect the full legal-tender quality of the silver then coined. That in 1874, through the revision of the statutes, the legal-tender quality of silver was not legislated but revised out of existence. (Report of the Monetary Commission, 1876, p. 90.)

"The demonetization of silver, coined and uncoined, was affirmatively completed in June, 1874, by the following section (3586) of the Revised Statutes: 'The silver coins of the United States shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment.'

"No law was ever passed by Congress of which this language can be considered a revision."

The Revised Statutes were enacted in bulk. They were intended to be a revision merely of the existing laws, without change or introduction of new matter, and Congress was assured by its committee on revision that no new matter had been introduced into them. It was not possible for the members of the committee to have personally verified the exact accuracy of the revision. They must necessarily have relied upon assurances given to them by the persons actually engaged in the work. Whoever may be responsible for this error in the Revised Statutes, the ancient money of the country instead of being intentionally legislated out of existence was revised out of existence.

Germany and the United States demonetized silver in 1873. At that time it was neither depreciated nor unsteady in value, nor had any change occurred in the relative production, consumption, or distribution of the precious metals to indicate its depreciation in the future, nor was any actual or probable depreciation assigned as a reason for its demonetization. The average flow of silver to India was undisturbed, and the Big Bonanza in the Comstock lode was undiscovered.

Manifestly, the real reason for the demonetization of silver was the apprehension of the creditor classes that the combined production of the two metals would raise prices and cheapen money unless one of them was shorn of the money function. In Europe this reason was distinctly avowed.

The scheme of demonetizing one of the metals throughout the western world originated soon after the discovery of gold in California and Australia, at a time when the yield was at what has since proved to have been its maximum, but which was then expected by many to continue on an ascending scale for an indefinite period. An eminent English writer (DeQuincey) published at that time an elaborate collation of current accounts, from which he arrived at the conclusion that the annual out-turn of gold would soon reach seventy millions sterling, or \$350,000,000. On the basis of such expectations, the governments of Europe were invoked by Chevalier and others to prevent the anticipated depreciation in the value of money, or in other words, the anticipated rise in general prices, by the demonetization of silver, but of gold.

Under these appeals of Chevalier and others, several nations in Europe, notably Germany and Austria, in 1857 demonetized gold. It is probable that the movement in that direction would have become universal in Europe but for the resistance of France. It was changed, at least as early as 1865, into a movement for the demonetization of silver. In the convention of 1865, in which the Latin Union was formed, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland insisted strenuously upon the adoption of the gold standard, but were overruled by France. But this change, from demonetizing gold to demonetizing silver, was more of form than substance. The object aimed at by both was, through a disuse of one of the money metals, to protect the creditor classes and those having fixed incomes against a fall in the value of money and a rise in general prices. This is the pith and marrow of the monetary discussions of the last twenty-five years.

After this report was made the silver people at once began efforts to restore silver to the place from which, they think, it had been clandestinely and fraudulently taken. The same forces that are now trying to destroy silver, with some additions, forced the Bland act upon us. Here began the Government pawnbrokerage so glowingly and truthfully pictured by the eloquent gentleman from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER]. My friends, it has always been your shop, not ours.

In 1890 our same forces were trying to restore silver to the mints and its enemies forced upon them the Sherman act, as they confess, with a knowledge of its infirmities. Yes; and does not the history of this shady transaction conclusively show that these acts were forced upon us to appease the people until they could renew their hold and consummate the design of 1873. Are you going to condone this crime and help consummate this infamy? Ah, they say, it is immaterial how it was demonetized. I deny it. The subject should not be open for debate on its merits until this right is returned to the people; then if, after full debate and notice, a majority believes it should be repealed, then we should gracefully submit; but we never should condone a pillage of the American Congress.

Then, on motion of Mr. TRACEY (at 11 o'clock p. m.) the House adjourned.