

of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct. And can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded, and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion or a laudable zeal for public good the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak toward a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that for-

eign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not legally hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good—that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in

both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my Administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow-citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

Go: WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, September 19, 1796.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, in accordance with the notice I gave yesterday, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 2646) to authorize two additional regiments of artillery.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Connecticut asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill named by him. Is there objection?

Mr. MORGAN. I think we should proceed with the order of business naturally occurring to-day as at any other time. I ask the Senator from Connecticut to allow me to offer a resolution for consideration before we proceed with his bill?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Connecticut withdraw his request, so that morning business may be received?

Mr. HAWLEY. For morning business or for one resolution?

Mr. MORGAN. For one resolution and for morning business.

Mr. HAWLEY. I have no objection, though I shall be anxious to proceed with the consideration of the bill I have named after that is disposed of. I yield for the present.

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON WAR SHIP.

Mr. MORGAN. I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask for its present consideration.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on Naval Affairs is instructed to inquire and report whether a man-of-war, equal, at least, to any war ship in the world, to be named *The George Washington*, can be built, armed, and commissioned within the period of twelve months by the use of the facilities of the shipyards, machine shops, mines, and forests of the United States, wherever the same are found; and that the committee have leave to report at any time by bill or otherwise.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. H. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills:

A bill (S. 126) granting an increase of pension to Henry B. Conway;

A bill (S. 152) to increase the pension of Esther Brown;
A bill (S. 182) granting a pension to Hiram H. Palmer;
A bill (S. 225) for the relief of the Newberry College, Newberry, S. C.;

A bill (S. 492) to increase the pension of Margaret Custer Calhoun;

A bill (S. 485) granting a pension to Mrs. Martha Frank;
A bill (S. 1826) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Jane L. Fagg, widow of Col. John A. Fagg; and

A bill (S. 2377) granting a pension to Rachel Kern.

The message also announced that the House had passed, each with an amendment, the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (S. 141) granting an increase of pension to Capt. John W. Dodd; and

A bill (S. 504) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Christine C. Barnard.

The message further announced that the House had passed, with amendments, the bill (S. 1603) for the relief of Charles A. Nazro, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 92) granting a pension to Auguste Whitmer;

A bill (H. R. 137) for the relief of Annie Saffell;

A bill (H. R. 164) granting an increase of pension to John P. Thomas;

A bill (H. R. 314) for the relief of William H. King;

A bill (H. R. 639) increasing the pension of Charles B. Eades, Hopkingsville, Ky.;

A bill (H. R. 820) for the relief of Charles Winters, a quartermaster, United States Navy;

A bill (H. R. 1387) to increase the pension of Victor Beau-boucher;

A bill (H. R. 1802) increasing the pension of Mary E. Wallick;

A bill (H. R. 1803) for the relief of Joseph P. Patton;

A bill (H. R. 1852) removing the charge of desertion from the naval record of Patrick Naddy;

A bill (H. R. 1957) to increase the pension of William P. Cooper;

A bill (H. R. 2015) granting a pension to Elizabeth Lane;

A bill (H. R. 2078) to pension Laura E. Davenport;

A bill (H. R. 2307) to correct the naval history of John C. Dull;

A bill (H. R. 2506) granting a pension to Martha E. Graves;

A bill (H. R. 3184) granting an increase of pension to James H. Blakeman;

A bill (H. R. 3212) granting an increase of pension to Barbara Miller;

A bill (H. R. 3299) granting a pension to Ellen Day, stepmother of Albert L. Day;

A bill (H. R. 4122) to correct the naval record of John Hurley;

A bill (H. R. 4193) granting a pension to Eliza Houghton, daughter of N. E. Houghton, a soldier of the Indian war, 1862;

A bill (H. R. 5083) granting a pension to Thomas Lane;

A bill (H. R. 6211) granting an increase of pension to Isabella G. Daniels, widow of Milton T. Daniels; and

A bill (H. R. 6359) to quiet land titles in the District of Columbia.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I present two important petitions, one from sundry iron ship builders of New York City, praying for the construction of a steel dry dock at the port of New York, and the other from sundry steamship owners, ship owners, and other business firms of New York City, in favor of the erection of a steel floating dry dock at that port. I move that the petitions be referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MILLS presented a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Palestine, Tex., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit kinetoscope reproductions of pugilistic encounters in the District of Columbia and the Territories; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. SEWELL presented a petition of the congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Haddonfield, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation to protect State anti-cigarette laws by providing that cigarettes imported in original packages on entering any State shall become subject to its laws; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented petitions of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Moorestown; of the congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Tuckerton; of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tuckerton, and of the congregation of the Presbyterian Church of Tuckerton, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation to raise the age of protection for girls to 18 years in the District of Columbia and the Territories; which were ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented petitions of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tuckerton; of the congregation of the Presbyterian Church of Tuckerton; of the congregation of the Presbyterian Church of Daretown, and of the congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Tuckerton, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in all Government buildings; which were referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also presented petitions of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tuckerton, of the congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Tuckerton, and of the congregation of the Presbyterian Church of Tuckerton, all in the State of New Jersey, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the interstate transmission of lottery messages and other gambling matter by telegraph; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. HOAR presented petitions of the Christian Endeavor Society of the Shawmut Congregational Church of Boston, of the Young People's Christian Union of Warren, and of the Hampden County Woman's Christian Temperance Union, all in the State of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in all Government buildings; which were referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also presented a petition of the Hampden County Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Massachusetts, praying for the enactment of a Sunday-rest law for the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. MORRILL presented petitions of the Young People's Christian Union of Hartland, Vt.; of the congregations of the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church South, of the New York Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, of the Grace Methodist Episcopal Church, of the McKendree Methodist Episcopal Church, of the Gorsuch Methodist Episcopal Church, of the Metropolitan Baptist Church, of the Eastern Presbyterian Church, and of the Washington District Epworth League, all in the city of Washington, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in all Government buildings; which were referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. GEAR presented a memorial of members of the sophomore class of the State University of Iowa, remonstrating against the passage of Senate bill No. 1063, for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of the Friday Club of Jefferson, Iowa, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in all Government buildings; which was referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

He also presented a memorial of the Twenty-seventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa, remonstrating against the passage of the so-called pooling bill; which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. McBRIDE presented a memorial of 45 citizens of Roseburg, Oreg., remonstrating against the enactment of a general bankruptcy law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. COCKRELL presented a petition of the Hoffman Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Kansas City, Mo., and a petition of the congregation of the Bales Avenue Baptist Church of Kansas City, Mo., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in all Government buildings; which were referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Mr. PASCO presented a petition of Local Union No. 29, Cigar Makers' International Union, of Jacksonville, Fla., praying for the enactment of legislation to provide for the protection of free labor and to limit the hours of daily labor to eight hours a day; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. ELKINS presented petitions of 103 members of the Presbyterian congregation of Grafton, of 350 members of the congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Grafton, of 375 members of the congregation of the Lutheran Church of Grafton, and of 200 members of the congregation of the Union Baptist Church of West Grafton, all in the State of West Virginia, praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in all Government buildings; which were referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

Mr. THURSTON, from the Select Committee on International Expositions, to whom was referred the joint resolution (S. R. 106) for the provision of a commission to supervise the collection of a fund among all the schools and colleges of the United States for the purpose of erecting a monument to General Lafayette in the city of Paris, France, the same to be presented to the Government of France and unveiled and dedicated on the 4th day of July, in the year 1900, reported it with amendments.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. GEAR introduced a bill (S. 3873) to authorize the relocation and rebuilding of a pontoon bridge across the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien, Wis.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas introduced a bill (S. 3874) for the relief of the trustees of the Presbyterian Church, of Dardanelle, Yell County, Ark.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. ELKINS introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 3875) granting a pension to James W. Wentz;
A bill (S. 3876) granting a pension to Rachel E. Newell, of Chapel, W. Va.;

A bill (S. 3877) to grant a pension to Andrew Carr, of Tanner, Gilmer County, W. Va.;

A bill (S. 3878) granting a pension to F. M. Davidson, late private Company G, Third West Virginia Volunteer Infantry;

A bill (S. 3879) granting a pension to Abner Robinson, of Sardis, Harrison County, W. Va.;

A bill (S. 3880) granting a pension to S. C. Loomis;

A bill (S. 3881) granting a pension to James Whitney;

A bill (S. 3882) granting a pension to Sarah J. Pugh; and

A bill (S. 3883) granting a pension to David M. Wentz.

Mr. ELKINS introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Claims:

A bill (S. 3884) for the relief of George F. Anderson, of Jefferson County, W. Va.;

A bill (S. 3885) for the relief of G. W. Ratleff; and

A bill (S. 3886) for relief of John Harkins.

Mr. ELKINS introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (S. 3887) for the relief of John Murphey, Second West Virginia Cavalry; and

A bill (S. 3888) for the relief of Maramon A. Martin, late private of Company A, Sixth Regiment of West Virginia Volunteer Infantry.

Mr. HANNA introduced a bill (S. 3889) granting a pension to Mrs. Weltha Post Leggett; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. PETTUS introduced a bill (S. 3890) to grant lands to the State of Alabama for the use of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama, for negroes, and the State Normal College, at Florence, Ala.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. SHOUP introduced a bill (S. 3891) to amend section 2324 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to mining claims; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

ADDITIONAL REGIMENTS OF ARTILLERY.

Mr. HAWLEY. I now renew my request that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill No. 2640.

There being no objection, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 2640) to authorize two additional regiments of artillery.

Mr. HAWLEY. There is an amendment proposed by the committee.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In section 1, line 7, after the word "ten," the Committee on Military Affairs report to insert the words "the increase to be exclusively for the artillery arm;" so as to make the section read:

That the artillery of the Army shall consist of seven regiments, and that the total number of enlisted men in the Army of the United States, including Indian scouts and the Hospital Corps, shall be increased 1,610, the increase to be exclusively for the artillery arm.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HAWLEY. Under advice, I move to amend by striking out section 4.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Connecticut will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to strike out section 4, as follows:

SEC. 4. That this act shall take effect July 1, 1898; and all laws or parts of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BATE. Mr. President, I think there is no more important bill pending before the Senate than that which is now presented for our consideration. I am a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, I heard the bill discussed in that committee, and I wish frankly to say that I opposed it there.

I do not rise now for the purpose of making any factious opposition to the bill, but it is one which I think is not generally understood. I for one am against the increase of the Regular Army, and this bill means to increase it by two regiments, entailing an annual expense of nearly half a million dollars upon the Government in its present unhappy financial condition. The regiments proposed to be created will be in the artillery branch, at a cost of \$260,000 a year for each regiment. There are already, I believe, two skeleton companies to each regiment of the five artillery regiments we now have.

I do not see any absolute necessity for this proposed increase. It may be that war is imminent and that something should be done, but I do not see it that way just now. I should not be slow to take action with Senators if such a crisis as that should present itself. In the event of war I should be ready and willing to do whatever would be necessary in the way of raising men and money to defend and maintain the honor and interest of the Government, but I do not wish to stand here in time of peace and give my consent to an increase in the Regular Army without just cause being shown for such increase.

If additional men are needed to man the coast guns, very well; after the \$4,000,000 we have appropriated this session for that purpose become available let it be done; but the question is, Where should those men come from? I insist that there are soldiers belonging to the Regular Army who are now idle at various points in this country, and, for the time being, are practically idle. I can name as many as a dozen of those places in the interior of the country where the commands are useless. There are twenty-five regiments of infantry besides cavalry in the Army, and I think it proper that some of the enlisted men in some of those regiments should be appropriated and utilized in the way proposed, without an increase of the Army.

The policy heretofore has been, I believe, at least since the close of our unhappy war, to decrease the Army. It has been the invariable course of the Government since the close of the war to decrease and not increase the Army. It was first left at 54,000 after the war. That was the number retained for the proper protection of our country. Then it was made 45,000; then it was lowered to 30,000; and finally to 25,000, at which number it now stands.

This bill seems to me to be a movement in the other direction and to be the initiative which will result in increasing the Army by degrees. Two years hence we may be asked to increase it by two more additional regiments for the same purpose, as the coast defense is a big enterprise and will need more artillerymen to man other guns when put in place.

I want to see the guns which have been and are to be erected for the defense of our coasts properly manned, but I desire to see the men who are to man them drawn from the lists of those soldiers and officers who are now idle in various parts of the country. That is the idea I have on the subject. I do not want to prevent the proper manning of the guns, but I feel that we should take the troops who are now idle in the various camps and barracks in the interior of the country and detail them for this service in that way, and not increase the Army. I am for keeping the Army we now have up to the highest point of military discipline and equipment and not increasing its strength in time of peace.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I will say that the Army, as at present constituted, consists nominally of 25,000 men, but it has been every year steadily decreasing in proportion to our population. It is not one-half to-day what it was when the number was first fixed at 25,000, when you consider the number of our people, our resources, and the general necessities of the country.

In the second place, without entering upon many considerations which occur to me, Congress has appropriated, within some dozen years, for various purposes relating to fortifications and armament, including the gun plants at Watervliet, in New York, and Watertown, in Massachusetts, etc., \$81,000,000. Existing legislation, when it shall all have taken effect, will result in the putting up of 527 guns, the contracts for which were made under the liberal, generous, and patriotic appropriations which have been made within two years. Those appropriations will result in the placing upon our coasts under the contracts by the 1st of July 159 guns, of which 139 are of the larger caliber—magnificent guns, built in accordance with the highest development of modern science. In addition to those, 233 of the new, powerful, rifled steel mortars, making about 392 guns and mortars, will have been placed upon our coast in the course of two years.

Mr. STEWART. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question right there?

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes.

Mr. STEWART. Has the Senator any estimate as to the number of men required to man the guns we now have, of which he has spoken? Has he an estimate of the number required for that special service?

Mr. HAWLEY. The War Department estimates that the 1,610

provided for in this bill will be sufficient for the present. Many of the guns are now ready.

Mr. STEWART. That does not include the men now employed, does it? How many are employed in the particular service of manning the guns?

Mr. HAWLEY. I can not give the figures exactly. After the engineers abandon the emplacements and the ordnance officers have put the guns up, the artillery and infantry men go away to some other work. Then the General of the Army sends a few men there, who are really only caretakers, to see that the guns are not injured by malicious persons, to keep them clean, etc. There ought to be by all means a body of men being trained to the use of the guns. Those of you who have seen the modern rifles, and especially those upon the wonderful disappearing carriages, for example, know that it is utterly useless to talk of putting to the handling of those guns men entirely new. Each one of them requires as much skill to handle as a good locomotive or an ordinary river steamer.

After ordering all of these guns, it seems to me that it is very late now to object to employing men to take care of them, to learn to handle them, and to practice at intervals in firing them. I have seen a good deal of rifle practice in this country. Men about to engage in a contest, six months or a year ahead devote themselves to systematic practice upon the firing grounds. They measure in the apothecary's scale every grain of powder, they weigh all the bullets, and reject those which are above and those which fall below a certain deviation from the proper weight. They keep a record of the sunshine or clouds by the barometer, and note every shot they make. So they come to be very skillful marksmen. Now, we are expected to put men upon guns, upon which we have to expend from five to six hundred dollars in a single discharge, without their ever having loaded a gun or having practiced at aiming it.

The report which the committee has submitted contains in the appendix all the material statements, which show the absolute necessity for the passage of this bill creating two additional regiments of artillery. I do not think it is necessary for me to argue with the Senate that the bill is the simplest dictate of common sense.

Mr. BATE. Mr. President, I merely want to say a word. I do not want to prevent the proper manning of these guns, but I insist that it should be done in a different way. I am frank to say, sir, that I did not know that this bill was coming up this morning or I should have prepared an amendment to it. My idea, however, is that we should take the men necessary for this service from the regiments we already have in the Army. This could be done without missing them in the infantry and cavalry arms. For instance, we should take some of the men who are stationed in California at Presidio.

We already have some seacoast guns ready to mount there and we are going to have more at Presidio. There are already six or eight companies of infantry stationed there, who are doing nothing outside of routine camp duty. How easy it would be to take those men who are already in pay of the Government to man those guns. I illustrate my idea in that way. Again, take, for instance, the regiments stationed nearer here. We had a proposition pending before the Military Committee last week in relation to enlarging Fort Thomas, in Kentucky. There are six or eight companies there. What are they doing? Does anyone know what they are doing, or why they can not be spared from there? And so with the large force at Columbus, Ohio, and so on at many other places. Why not utilize that force in the manning of those guns at comparatively no additional cost to the Government, instead of getting raw recruits at a cost of half a million dollars annually?

Furthermore, I insist that the soldiers who are experienced, and the educated and experienced officers we now have in the Army, are in a better position to take charge of the seacoast guns than would a raw recruit be who was without any military experience whatever. Being a disciplined soldier, he would be more easily taught how to handle those seacoast guns. I say it would be better for the country if those men who are now in the camps, who are educated and drilled soldiers, and accustomed to obedience, and under skilled officers, should be assigned to this duty. It would be better to select those men for such work than it would be to recruit other persons from the outside, who are unaccustomed to military life, and teach them that which is so essential for them to know. I say that the adoption of this policy would facilitate the object which the Senator from Connecticut seems to have in view.

I think, therefore, sir, it would be economy to follow the course I have indicated, and I believe it just and proper that it should be done. It certainly would avoid the idea, which is objectionable in this country of ours, and which ought to be objectionable, that we are by this bill increasing the Army of the United States, when it has been the policy of the Government ever since the war to decrease it. The passage of the pending bill would be starting the machinery in the other direction, and I oppose it.

I think, Mr. President, the bill ought not to be put through today. I do not like to offer any factious opposition to it; but at the same time I think it ought to be carefully considered, and Senators ought to have an opportunity to think over it, so that they may know what they are doing before we authorize the expenditure of half a million dollars for an increase of the force, when we have a sufficient force already under pay which can be utilized for this work. That is practical, and that is my idea of what should be done.

Mr. HAWLEY. Just a word, Mr. President. This bill has been before the Senate for more than a year, beginning in the last Congress. The reports of the chiefs of the bureaus of the War Department have been laid upon our desks twice since the subject was taken up. I do not think I can be reproached with urging the bill with undue haste; on the contrary, I have reproached myself that I have not pressed it much earlier.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, the only question here is whether we have the requisite number of soldiers and officers who can be spared from their other duties to man the seacoast guns. There is a strong opposition in this country against increasing the Regular Army, for the increase of the Army implies too much. It implies with the people that we need an Army to keep them in order, which we all know is not true. We should not increase the Army in time of peace unless we have a distinct object in view, which would relieve us from the suspicion that we are increasing the Regular Army and that we are going to have a larger Army in the country to keep the peace, because large armies to keep the peace generally destroy liberty. They have done so often, and it is very natural that the people should be very jealous on that subject.

Now we are admonished of the necessity of putting in condition the defenses against foreign countries. We find that we can not negotiate treaties, we can not exercise the influence to which this country is entitled in favor of human rights and free government, without being in a condition of defense, and it is as necessary to have soldiers and officers to man these guns as it is to build the guns. All I want to be satisfied about is that it is necessary for this particular service, and that it shall not imply an increase of the Army. If it is necessary for this service, and the men can not be taken from any other service, I shall vote for the bill freely. That is the point I want to get at.

Mr. HAWLEY. Well, Mr. President, there must be some patriotism, some ability in our Army.

Mr. STEWART. There is.

Mr. HAWLEY. I do not think it is surpassed in proportion to its numbers by any army in the world in those respects. Every solitary officer of the Army desires that this bill shall be passed.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I do not believe the reason given by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY], that the officers of the Army desire it, is any reason on earth why this bill should be passed.

Here is exactly the situation. There is a fear, an apprehension among the great masses of the people living upon the coasts of our country that our large cities and places in an unfortified condition would be in danger in case of a foreign war. I realize that that is a real danger in their minds, but I do not apprehend any such danger. That, however, has operated, and the Congress of the United States has passed law after law for the fortification of twenty-seven different points on the coasts of the United States. The money has been expended; the works are being built; some of them are completed. The Government of this country has expended large sums of money in the construction of the most improved artillery in existence—cannon and guns—to man these fortifications and command them. Now, they are constructed; here are the fortifications; here are the guns to go into them, and there are no men to man the guns or to take care of the fortifications.

Now, what are you going to do? There is the question. I am unalterably opposed to an increase of the standing Army so far as the infantry and cavalry are concerned, and no man has fought it more persistently and consistently than I have upon the floor of the Senate for the last fifteen or sixteen years, for it is fifteen or sixteen years since the first bill was brought in here for the increase of the Army generally, the infantry and the cavalry.

The question was brought up here again. We have resisted it; I have continuously resisted it ever since then; but these things have gone on until the fortifications are built and the guns are constructed. What are you going to do with them? Place them in fortifications and put some one there to take charge of them, or let them lie in warehouses, and let the fortifications go to waste and destruction and injury? It is a matter of necessity, and that is the only reason why I, as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, consented that the bill should be reported to the Senate for its consideration and action.

This bill as originally before the Senate was for an increase of the infantry and cavalry. That part has been abandoned, and now it provides only for an increase of the artillery force, and for the reason I have given.

Mr. SEWELL. Mr. President, I will add only a word or two to what the chairman of the committee has stated and to the speech of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. COCKRELL].

There is an absolute necessity for more men to man these guns. In the last three or four years and up to this time we have appropriated between thirty and forty million dollars, and we have in the appropriation bill this year about \$9,000,000 for fortifying 27 posts on the east and west coasts of this country on a plan that was well matured and adopted by Congress. The guns for these fortifications are the heaviest and most expensive and of the latest patterns that have been invented in the world. They are of delicate mechanism and can not be handled by a lot of farmers turned in on them in case of a sudden attack. They can not be handled by infantrymen even.

It will take a year from this day to educate the men whom we admit into the service under the bill, if it becomes a law, so that they can successfully fire one of these 10, 12, 14, or 16 inch guns. We have five regiments of artillery for these thousands of miles of coast, and the Department asks for but 1,600 men more, so that the guns can have a mere minimum number of men to serve them in case of necessity and to educate the men in the meantime to their use.

By the time you get through, in three years, with the fortification work we shall have expended a hundred million dollars. Do you want to leave the result of that expenditure to rot and rust and go down? This bill calls for about a half-million-dollar increase to the appropriations for the Army. It is not in any sense an increase of the Army. It is an absolute necessity for the care and protection of the property for which we have appropriated and expended money. That is the light in which to look upon it.

Mr. BATE. Mr. President, we are told by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SEWELL] who has just taken his seat that the guns we have already bought will have "to rot and rust." One of the very objects I have in view in making the objection is that it shall not be so. I want a sufficient number of men to man the guns and care for them. They should be cared for, as the appropriation has been made and some of the guns are in place, and the work is now going on. But the way to do it, I think, is to have soldiers who are experienced and officers who are educated, and who are now already in a state of organization, do it, and especially when it will be such a saving to our Treasury in its present condition.

Look for a moment how simple the proposition is. As I recall it, about 408 privates and 117 commissioned and noncommissioned officers make the complement of an infantry regiment. Now, 1,600 men are called for by this bill—just about three regiments. How easy to transfer to this duty three regiments of infantry which are absolutely doing nothing save the ordinary drill and camp duty.

I named two or three of them. Take the one at Fort Thomas, in Kentucky. It is a splendid regiment; or the one in Columbus, Ohio, equally as good. Take one anywhere, I do not care where it is, so it is not needed where it is. You are paying them just as much money as you are any of the others, and as there is no necessity for them where they are, why not take them at once and give the power to the Secretary of War to place them in charge of these guns? The guns will not rust and rot then. They will be cared for and kept ready for use.

This is the opening, it seems to me, of a vast scheme—all these coast defenses—and the Senator from New Jersey stated properly that we will spend a hundred million dollars in carrying it out. There is no question of it. It looks to me that in a few years from now there will be a distinct corps known as the coast-defense corps, and I am not sure but that will be the best way to organize it.

Have it separate and distinct from regiments, and let the company or companies at each place of defense report direct to the commander of that district or some officer in that corps. These coast-defense commands will soon so multiply that it may come to this.

I merely rose, Mr. President, to say in reply to the Senator from New Jersey that my idea is not to let these guns rot and rust, nor to let the money expended by the Government go unused. Let it be properly appropriated, and let us take these men who are idle and are now receiving pay from the Government and transfer them from the infantry and from the cavalry, where they are doing no service whatever, and put them at these places, and let them then be utilized. That is the point I make.

Mr. HAWLEY. I hope we may now have a vote.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. BATE. Mr. President, I regard this as the beginning of the increase of the Army. I think it is distasteful to my constituents and the taxpayers generally to increase the Regular Army as

a standing force to perform this service, when we are already paying men now in the Army and virtually doing nothing who could perform the service better than raw recruits whom we can utilize. Therefore I call for the yeas and nays on the passage of the bill.

Mr. HAWLEY. I thank the Senator from Tennessee. I shall be glad to record myself in favor of the passage of the bill.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the bill pass? on which the yeas and nays are demanded.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CAFFERY (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS]. I do not know how he would vote on this question, and therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. HAWLEY. He would vote "yea."

Mr. LODGE. The Senator from Michigan would vote "yea."

Mr. McMILLAN. My colleague would vote "yea" if present.

Mr. CAFFERY. Then I will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. GALLINGER (when Mr. CHANDLER's name was called). My colleague, who is absent from the city, has a general pair with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. McENERY]. If my colleague were here, he would vote "yea."

Mr. GALLINGER (when his name was called). I have a standing pair with the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS], whom I do not see in his seat. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ALDRICH] and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. GEAR (when his name was called). I have a standing pair with the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]. This being a nonpolitical measure, and a measure of public necessity, I will waive my pair and vote "yea," understanding that if he were here he would vote as I do.

Mr. McLAURIN (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. McMILLAN (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY]. Not knowing how he would vote, I withhold mine for the present.

Mr. MARTIN (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANTLE]. If he were present, I should vote "yea."

Mr. McMILLAN. I suggest to the Senator from Virginia that we exchange pairs, so that both of us may vote.

Mr. MARTIN. I shall be very glad to do so. I vote "yea."

Mr. SHOUP (when his name was called). I have a regular pair with the senior Senator from California [Mr. WHITE]. I am informed that if he were present he would vote "yea." In order to make absolutely certain, I transfer my pair to the Senator from Nevada [Mr. JONES], and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. SPOONER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL]. I have not been able to ascertain how he would vote upon this question. Therefore I withhold my vote. If I were at liberty to vote, I should vote "yea."

Mr. THURSTON (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]. The junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. McLAURIN] is paired with the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. PRITCHARD]. By agreement we transfer our pairs, leaving us at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. MORRILL (after having voted in the affirmative). I have voted, but I do not see the Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] with whom I am paired in his seat. I therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. FORAKER. I was requested to announce that the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. FAIRBANKS] is unavoidably absent, and that if he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. SPOONER. I am informed by the chairman of the committee that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WALTHALL] voted for this bill in committee and is in favor of it. I will therefore vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MORRILL. I understand that the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. FAIRBANKS] is not paired. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Indiana [Mr. TURPIE] to the junior Senator from Indiana, and will vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. MONEY. I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. WALTHALL] is absent sick.

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 4, as follows:

YEAS—52.

Allen,	Gear,	Martin,	Rawlins,
Allison,	Hanna,	Mason,	Roach,
Bacon,	Harris,	Mitchell,	Sewell,
Berry,	Hawley,	Money,	Shoup,
Caffery,	Heitfeld,	Morgan,	Spooner,
Cannon,	Hoar,	Morrill,	Stewart,
Carter,	Jones, Ark.	Murphy,	Teller,
Cockrell,	Kyle,	Nelson,	Thurston,
Deboe,	Lodge,	Pasco,	Turley,
Elkins,	McBride,	Perkins,	Turner,
Foraker,	McLaurin,	Pettus,	Warren,
Frye,	McMillan,	Platt, Conn.	Wetmore,
Gallinger,	Mallory,	Platt, N. Y.	Wilson.

Bate,	Chilton,	NAYS—4.		Vest.
		Clay,		
NOT VOTING—33.				
Aldrich,	Fairbanks,	McENERY,	Tillman,	
Baker,	Faulkner,	Mantle,	Turpie,	
Burrows,	Gorman,	Mills,	Walthall,	
Butler,	Gray,	Penrose,	Wellington,	
Chandler,	Hale,	Pettigrew,	White,	
Clark,	Hansbrough,	Pritchard,	Wolcott.	
Cullom,	Jones, Nev.	Proctor,		
Daniel,	Kenney,	Quay,		
Davis,	Lindsay,	Smith,		

So the bill was passed.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (H. R. 92) granting a pension to Auguste Whitmer;

A bill (H. R. 137) for the relief of Annie Saffell;

A bill (H. R. 164) granting an increase of pension to John P. Thomas;

A bill (H. R. 639) increasing the pension of Charles B. Eades, Hopkinsville, Ky.;

A bill (H. R. 1387) to increase the pension of Victor Beau-boucher;

A bill (H. R. 1802) increasing the pension of Mary E. Wallick;

A bill (H. R. 1957) to increase the pension of William P. Cooper;

A bill (H. R. 2015) granting a pension to Elisabeth Lane;

A bill (H. R. 2078) to pension Laura E. Davenport;

A bill (H. R. 2506) granting a pension to Martha E. Graves;

A bill (H. R. 3184) granting an increase of pension to James H. Blakeman;

A bill (H. R. 3212) granting an increase of pension to Barbara Miller;

A bill (H. R. 3299) granting a pension to Ellen Day, stepmother of Albert L. Day;

A bill (H. R. 4193) granting a pension to Eliza Houghton, daughter of N. E. Houghton, a soldier of the Indian war, 1862;

A bill (H. R. 5083) granting a pension to Thomas Lane; and

A bill (H. R. 6211) granting an increase of pension to Isabella G. Daniels, widow of Milton T. Daniels.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs:

A bill (H. R. 314) for the relief of William H. King;

A bill (H. R. 820) for the relief of Charles Winters, a quartermaster, United States Navy;

A bill (H. R. 1852) removing the charge of desertion from the naval record of Patrick Naddy;

A bill (H. R. 2307) to correct the naval history of John C. Dull; and

A bill (H. R. 4122) to correct the naval record of John Hurley.

The bill (H. R. 1803) for the relief of Joseph P. Patton was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The bill (H. R. 6359) to quiet land titles in the District of Columbia was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PENSIONABLE STATUS OF MISSOURI MILITIA.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present a communication to me from the Commissioner of Pensions containing information relative to the pensionable status of the Enrolled Missouri Militia regiments on account of disabilities incurred in the military service of the United States. I move that the communication lie on the table, and that it be printed as a document.

The motion was agreed to.

MRS. CHRISTINE C. BARNARD.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives on the bill (S. 504) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Christine C. Barnard.

The VICE-PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 504) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Christine C. Barnard, which was, in line 9, before the word "dollars," to strike out "forty" and insert "thirty."

Mr. GALLINGER. I move that the Senate disagree to the amendment made by the House of Representatives and ask for a conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.

The motion was agreed to.

By unanimous consent, the Vice-President was authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate; and Mr. GALLINGER, Mr. SHOUP, and Mr. MITCHELL were appointed.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (S. 728) granting a pension to John F. Hathaway; and

A bill (S. 856) granting pension to Margaret Rowsell.

The message also announced that the House had passed with amendments the bill (S. 1614) granting a pension to John Amrein, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

- A bill (H. R. 90) granting a pension to Eunice Taylor;
- A bill (H. R. 345) granting an increase of pension to George D. Cook;
- A bill (H. R. 722) granting a pension to Mrs. Sarah A. Denny, an Army nurse;
- A bill (H. R. 802) granting a pension to Benjamin F. Moulton;
- A bill (H. R. 1039) to grant a pension to Samuel L. Busick;
- A bill (H. R. 1257) granting a pension to Louisa Pasquet;
- A bill (H. R. 1263) for the relief of John Fox;
- A bill (H. R. 1303) increasing the pension of William Warner;
- A bill (H. R. 1381) granting an increase of pension to Elisha M. Luckett;
- A bill (H. R. 1547) granting a pension to Sarah E. Daub;
- A bill (H. R. 1944) to grant a pension to Sarah A. Blazer;
- A bill (H. R. 2246) to increase the pension of Elwin A. Scutt;
- A bill (H. R. 2349) granting a pension to Mrs. Weltha Post-Leggett;
- A bill (H. R. 2924) granting an increase of pension to R. A. Browning;
- A bill (H. R. 2970) to permit an increase of pension of John A. Anderson;
- A bill (H. R. 3132) for the relief of P. P. Miner, Company B, Twelfth Indiana Infantry;
- A bill (H. R. 3524) increasing the pension of Gustavus A. Kindblade;
- A bill (H. R. 3802) increasing the pension of Francis N. Bruner;
- A bill (H. R. 3889) granting an increase of pension to Mrs. Calista Hadley;
- A bill (H. R. 4167) to increase the pension of John Q. Washburn;
- A bill (H. R. 4183) granting an increase of pension to Nicholas Gardner;
- A bill (H. R. 4320) granting a pension to Nancy Hollenbank, an army nurse during the war of the rebellion;
- A bill (H. R. 4456) for the relief of Joseph R. Findley;
- A bill (H. R. 4467) to increase the pension of Carey H. Russell;
- A bill (H. R. 4548) granting a pension to Matthew B. Nale;
- A bill (H. R. 4624) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Herd;
- A bill (H. R. 6007) for the relief of Cora L. Robinson, of Centralia, Kans.;
- A bill (H. R. 7008) granting a pension to R. G. English;
- A bill (H. R. 7355) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Connelly;
- A bill (H. R. 7449) granting a pension to William S. Adams, late acting assistant surgeon, United States Volunteers; and
- A bill (H. R. 7827) granting a pension to Elizabeth M. Tummy.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. ALLISON. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After two hours and twenty minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, February 23, 1898, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate February 15, 1898.

POSTMASTER.

John C. Outhwaite, to be postmaster at De Pere, in the county of Brown and State of Wisconsin.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate February 22, 1898.

APPOINTMENT IN THE MARINE-HOSPITAL SERVICE.

Herman B. Parker, of Delaware, to be an assistant surgeon.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS.

Reuben D. Hill, of Kentucky, to be attorney of the United States for the district of Kentucky.

Charles J. Hamblett, of New Hampshire, to be attorney of the United States for the district of New Hampshire.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

George H. Lyman, of Massachusetts, to be collector of customs for the district of Boston and Charlestown, in the State of Massachusetts.

John H. Deveaux, of Georgia, to be collector of customs for the district of Savannah, in the State of Georgia.

POSTMASTERS.

Frank W. James, to be postmaster at Naples, in the county of Ontario and State of New York.

Charles C. Crowe, to be postmaster at Marion, in the county of Perry and State of Alabama.

Seymour L. Billings, to be postmaster at Marion, in the county of Marion and State of Kansas.

Robert M. Skillen, to be postmaster at Akron, in the county of Erie and State of New York.

Henry H. Smith, to be postmaster at Worcester, in the county of Otsego and State of New York.

N. B. Needham, to be postmaster at Clifton, in the county of Washington and State of Kansas.

Ernest P. Karr, to be postmaster at Valley Falls, in the county of Jefferson and State of Kansas.

Zenas R. Detwiler, to be postmaster at Wamego, in the county of Pottawatomie and State of Kansas.

Charles C. Storer, to be postmaster at Shakopee, in the county of Scott and State of Minnesota.

Edgar B. Shanks, to be postmaster at Fairmont, in the county of Martin and State of Minnesota.

William C. Perdue, to be postmaster at Beloit, in the county of Mitchell and State of Kansas.

Ole Oleson, to be postmaster at Oshkosh, in the county of Winnebago and State of Wisconsin.

Orlando Wood Maulsby, to be postmaster at Santa Barbara, in the county of Santa Barbara and State of California.

Reuben N. Shanks, to be postmaster at Clarence, in the county of Shelby and State of Missouri.

Alexander Clohan, to be postmaster at Martinsburg, in the county of Berkeley and State of West Virginia.

James W. Bartlett, to be postmaster at Doylestown, in the county of Bucks and State of Pennsylvania.

Gustavus A. Kuechenmeister, to be postmaster at West Bend, in the county of Washington and State of Wisconsin.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, February 22, 1898.

The House met at 12 o'clock m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved. Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker—

THE RECORD.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to correct the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee rises to correct the RECORD.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out on page 2321, in the last column of that page, in the seventeenth line from the bottom, the word "certain" and insert the word "Southern."

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. RICHARDSON. The gentleman from Pennsylvania yesterday afternoon charged in the remarks there that there was a coalition between the Democrats on this side of the Chamber and the Southern Republicans to loot and rob the Treasury, using both words. I objected afterwards that the gentleman was reflecting on Southern Republicans, and it appears in the RECORD that I made objection to these remarks. The gentleman has edited out the word "Southern" and inserted the word "certain." Now, under the precedent established here a few weeks ago, that would not permit the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. NORTON] to change the word "most" to "many," that side of the House will be compelled to preserve the consistency of their record and vote for my motion. On a yea-and-nay vote, I believe, the gentleman from Pennsylvania voted to strike out the word "many" in Mr. NORTON's remarks and insert the word "most." Now, I call the attention to that fact, Mr. Speaker, and wish to illustrate how absurd it was to attempt to take a partisan advantage of the gentleman from Ohio on that occasion. Having called attention to it, I withdraw the motion.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I understand the rule to be, and so does the gentleman from Tennessee, that where a colloquy takes place in the House between gentlemen no one of them has the right to make a change in the RECORD unless by consent of the other; but where a gentleman undertakes to correct remarks peculiarly his own he has a right to do so. In this case I substituted the word "certain" for the word "Southern." In doing that, first, I followed the advice of the gentleman from Tennessee given me yesterday, and, secondly, I used the word that conforms to the real facts. I do not care which one of the words appears in the RECORD.

Mr. RICHARDSON. You certainly do care, or you would not have changed it.

Mr. DALZELL. I do not, and the gentleman does not, and

therefore he withdrew his motion; and he will not have a yeay-and-nay vote on it, either.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Certainly the gentleman cares or he would not have made the change.

The SPEAKER. The motion is withdrawn.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, I call up for consideration the bill (S. 2739) directing the issue of a check in lieu of a lost check drawn by Bernard R. Green in favor of Frederick MacMonnies.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to submit a privileged motion.

Mr. CANNON. I believe I am first on my feet.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York asks consent, and therefore the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. CANNON. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering general appropriation bills, and I will not yield.

Mr. BAILEY. Pending that, I move that the House, as a mark of respect to the memory of George Washington, do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. Such a motion, the Chair suggests to the gentleman from Texas, may not be in order.

Mr. BAILEY. A motion to adjourn is always in order.

The SPEAKER. But a motion "out of respect" is not.

Mr. BAILEY. If that offends the rules of the House, I withdraw that part of it, and make the plain motion to adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman withdraws that part of it, and so it is a simple motion to adjourn.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the noes seemed to have it.

Mr. BAILEY. Division, Mr. Speaker.

The House divided; and there were—ayes 74, noes 72.

Mr. CANNON. I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. Thirty being the number required, and 60 gentlemen rising, the yeas and nays are ordered. Those in favor of adjourning will vote "yea," and those opposed "no."

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 95, nays 105, answered "present" 12, not voting 144; as follows:

YEAS—95.

- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Adamson, | De Armond, | Lewis, Wash. | Shafroth, |
| Bailey, | De Graffenreid, | Little, | Simpson, |
| Baker, Ill. | De Vries, | Livingston, | Sims, |
| Bankhead, | Dinsmore, | Lloyd, | Skinner, |
| Bell, | Dockery, | Love, | Smith, Ky. |
| Benner, Pa. | Dorr, | McClellan, | Stark, |
| Berry, | Elliott, | McCormick, | Stephens, Tex. |
| Bland, | Epes, | McDowell, | Stokes, |
| Bodine, | Fox, | Maddox, | Strait, |
| Botkin, | Gibson, | Martin, | Sullivan, |
| Brantley, | Greene, | Maxwell, | Sutherland, |
| Brenner, Ohio | Griffith, | Moon, | Swanson, |
| Brewer, | Hay, | Norton, S. C. | Tate, |
| Brundidge, | Henry, Miss. | Ogden, | Terry, |
| Burke, | Henry, Tex. | Osborne, | Todd, |
| Carmack, | Hinrichsen, | Peters, | Vandiver, |
| Clardy, | Howard, Ga. | Pierce, Tenn. | Walker, Va. |
| Clark, Mo. | Hunter, | Powers, | Wanger, |
| Cooney, | Jones, Wash. | Rhea, | Wheeler, Ala. |
| Cooper, Tex. | Kitchin, | Ridgely, | Wheeler, Ky. |
| Cowherd, | Kleberg, | Robertson, La. | Williams, Miss. |
| Crumpacker, | Lanham, | Robinson, Ind. | Wilson, |
| Davey, | Latimer, | Sayers, | Zenor. |
| Davis, | Lewis, Ga. | Settle, | |

NAYS—105.

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| Aldrich, | Davison, Ky. | Jenkins, | Pearson, |
| Alexander, | Dingley, | Johnson, Ind. | Perkins, |
| Babcock, | Dolliver, | Johnson, N. Dak. | Pitney, |
| Barham, | Evans, | Joy, | Quigg, |
| Barney, | Faris, | Knox, | Ray, |
| Barrows, | Fenton, | Lacey, | Robbins, |
| Bartholdt, | Fletcher, | Lawrence, | Royse, |
| Bennett, | Gardner, | Lorimer, | Showalter, |
| Bingham, | Gillet, N. Y. | Loud, | Smith, Ill. |
| Bishop, | Gillet, Mass. | Loudenslager, | Smith, S. W. |
| Boutelle, Me. | Graff, | Lovering, | Southard, |
| Brewster, | Griffin, | Low, | Sperry, |
| Broderick, | Grout, | McCall, | Stewart, Wis. |
| Brownlow, | Hager, | McDonald, | Stone, C. W. |
| Bull, | Harmer, | Mahany, | Stone, W. A. |
| Burleigh, | Hawley, | Marsh, | Sturtevant, |
| Burton, | Hemenway, | Mercer, | Tongue, |
| Butler, | Henderson, | Mesick, | Wadsworth, |
| Cannon, | Henry, Conn. | Miller, | Walker, Mass. |
| Capron, | Henry, Ind. | Minor, | Warner, |
| Coddling, | Hepburn, | Mitchell, | Weaver, |
| Connell, | Hicks, | Moody, | Weymouth, |
| Connolly, | Hilborn, | Northway, | Williams, Pa. |
| Curtis, Iowa | Hopkins, | Overstreet, | Young, Pa. |
| Curtis, Kans. | Howard, Ala. | Packer, Pa. | |
| Dalzell, | Howe, | Parker, N. J. | |
| Danford, | Howell, | Payne, | |

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—12.

- | | | | |
|-----------|---------|----------|-------------|
| Bartlett, | Driggs, | Jett, | Otey, |
| Brucker, | Gaines, | Lester, | Richardson, |
| Cox, | Griggs, | Lybrand, | Shattuc. |

NOT VOTING—144.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|
| Acheson, | Cranford, | Knowles, | Sauerhering, |
| Adams, | Crump, | Kulp, | Shannon, |
| Allen, | Cummings, | Lamb, | Shelden, |
| Arnold, | Davenport, | Landis, | Sherman, |
| Baird, | Davidson, Wis. | Lentz, | Shuford, |
| Baker, Md. | Dayton, | Linnay, | Simpkins, |
| Ball, | Dovener, | Littauer, | Slayden, |
| Barber, | Eddy, | McAleer, | Smith, Wm. Alden |
| Barlow, | Ellis, | McCleary, | Snover, |
| Barrett, | Ermentrout, | McCulloch, | Southwick, |
| Beach, | Fischer, | McEwan, | Spalding, |
| Belden, | Fitzgerald, | McIntire, | Sparkman, |
| Belford, | Fitzpatrick, | McMillin, | Sprague, |
| Belknap, | Fleming, | McRae, | Stallings, |
| Benton, | Footo, | Magnire, | Steele, |
| Booze, | Foss, | Mahon, | Stevens, Minn. |
| Boutell, Ill. | Fowler, N. C. | Mann, | Stewart, N. J. |
| Bradley, | Fowler, N. J. | Marshall, | Strode, Nebr. |
| Bromwell, | Grosvenor, | Meekison, | Strowd, N. C. |
| Brosius, | Grow, | Meyer, La. | Sulloway, |
| Broussard, | Gunn, | Miers, Ind. | Sulzer, |
| Brown, | Hamilton, | Mills, | Talbert, |
| Brumm, | Handy, | Morris, | Tawney, |
| Campbell, | Hartman, | Mudd, | Taylor, Ohio |
| Castle, | Heatwole, | Newlands, | Taylor, Ala. |
| Catchings, | Hill, | Norton, Ohio | Underwood, |
| Chickering, | Hitt, | Odell, | Updegraff, |
| Clark, Iowa | Hooker, | Olmsted, | Van Voorhis, |
| Clarke, N. H. | Hull, | Otjen, | Vincent, |
| Clayton, | Hurley, | Pearce, Mo. | Ward, |
| Cochran, Mo. | Jones, Va. | Prince, | White, Ill. |
| Cochrane, N. Y. | Kelley, | Pugh, | White, N. C. |
| Colson, | Kerr, | Reeves, | Wilber, |
| Cooper, Wis. | Ketcham, | Rixey, | Yost, |
| Corniss, | King, | Robb, | Young, Va. |
| Cousins, | Kirkpatrick, | Russell, | |

The following pairs were announced:

Until further notice:

- Mr. McINTIRE with Mr. McRAE.
- Mr. KETCHAM with Mr. LESTER.
- Mr. HURLEY with Mr. DRIGGS.
- Mr. CORLISS with Mr. JONES of Virginia.
- Mr. BROWN of Ohio with Mr. ERMENTROUT.
- Mr. BOUTELL of Illinois with Mr. GRIGGS.
- Mr. BELFORD with Mr. McALEER.
- Mr. SHERMAN with Mr. MEYER of Louisiana.
- Mr. HILL with Mr. COX.
- Mr. LYBRAND with Mr. LENTZ.
- Mr. SHATTUC with Mr. FLEMING.
- Mr. WARD with Mr. McCULLOCH.
- Mr. JENKINS with Mr. KNOWLES.
- Mr. SNOVER with Mr. BARLOW.
- Mr. SHELDEN with Mr. YOUNG of Virginia.
- Mr. ODELL with Mr. BARTLETT.
- Mr. REEVES with Mr. BULL.
- Mr. JETT with Mr. MANN.
- Mr. HOOKER with Mr. CATCHINGS.
- Mr. CHICKERING with Mr. OTEY.
- Mr. SIMPKINS of Massachusetts with Mr. FITZGERALD.
- Mr. FOOTE with Mr. GAINES.
- Mr. DOVENER with Mr. SPARKMAN.
- Mr. GROW with Mr. RICHARDSON.
- Mr. PEARCE of Missouri with Mr. VANDIVER.
- Mr. SPALDING with Mr. BRUCKER.
- Mr. ARNOLD with Mr. CAMPBELL.
- Mr. STEELE with Mr. TAYLOR of Alabama.
- Mr. STURTEVANT with Mr. SLAYDEN.
- Mr. YOST with Mr. SULZER.
- Mr. WILBER with Mr. McMILLIN.
- Mr. SOUTHWICK with Mr. BENTON.
- Mr. MORRIS with Mr. HARTMAN.
- Mr. LITTAUER with Mr. CRANFORD.
- Mr. FOSS with Mr. STALLINGS.
- Mr. BRUMM with Mr. CLAYTON.
- Mr. BROMWELL with Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri.
- Mr. HAMILTON with Mr. RIXEY.
- Mr. CRUMP with Mr. ROBB.
- Mr. HEATWOLE with Mr. TALBERT.

For this day:

- Mr. STEWART of New Jersey with Mr. HANDY.
 - Mr. WHITE of Illinois with Mr. DINSMORE.
 - Mr. HULL with Mr. ALLEN.
 - Mr. BEACH with Mr. NORTON of Ohio.
 - Mr. VAN VOORHIS with Mr. KING.
 - Mr. McEWAN with Mr. VEHLAGE.
 - Mr. TAYLER of Ohio with Mr. UNDERWOOD.
- After the roll call the following took place:
- Mr. GRIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with Mr. BOUTELL of Illinois. I do not know how he would vote, and I therefore desire to withdraw my vote.
 - Mr. BRUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with Mr. SPALDING. I do not know how he would vote, and I desire to withdraw my vote.

Mr. BARTLETT. I am paired with Mr. ODELL, and I therefore wish to withdraw my vote.

Mr. DE ARMOND. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. BENTON, is detained from the House by illness in his family.

Mr. DRIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with Mr. HURLEY, and I desire to withdraw my vote.

Mr. LESTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe I am paired with Mr. KETCHAM, of New York, and if so, I withdraw my vote.

Mr. GAINES. Mr. Speaker, I am paired with the gentleman from New York, Mr. FOOTE, and I wish to withdraw my vote.

The result of the vote was then announced as above recorded.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 8428) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois moves that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering general appropriation bills. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union (Mr. PAYNE in the Chair).

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the consideration of general appropriation bills. The first bill in order is House bill No. 8428, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, and for other purposes.

Mr. CANNON. I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

Mr. SAYERS. Before that motion is put, I wish to ask the gentleman in charge of the bill whether he would not agree to fix now the time for general debate?

Mr. CANNON. What proposition does the gentleman suggest?

Mr. SAYERS. I suggest that the debate run until 5 o'clock this evening. Several gentlemen have been named to me on this side of the House who desire to speak.

Mr. CANNON. The time to be divided equally?

Mr. SAYERS. Equally between the two sides.

Mr. CANNON. Controlled by the Chair, or will the gentleman from Texas control half and I the other half?

Mr. SAYERS. I suggest that the gentleman from Illinois be allowed to control one half the time, and if there be no objection on this side that I be allowed to control the other half.

The CHAIRMAN. Unanimous consent is asked that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with, and that general debate be closed at 5 o'clock to-day, one half the time to be controlled by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and the other half by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS]. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none; and it is so ordered.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I will for the information of the committee make a brief statement touching this bill. If gentlemen will provide themselves with the report on this bill—Report No. 504—it will save much of my time in explaining the bill and will render more intelligible what I have to say.

This bill appropriates or recommends appropriations aggregating in round numbers \$44,000,000, being \$11,000,000 less than the regular estimates or \$13,000,000 less than the regular and supplemental estimates submitted by the Departments, and \$8,800,000 less than the appropriations for the current year. Before calling attention to the principal items of interest in the bill, it is well for me to say, in a general way, that in my judgment this is one of the most liberal bills for the public service or that portion that it seeks to provide for that has ever been reported from the Committee on Appropriations. While, however, it is liberal in its recommendations, it is not in my judgment extravagant. It cares sufficiently for those branches of the public service that must be cared for and does not enter upon the line of new expenditures that can wait.

Having said that much by way of introduction, I will call attention to a few of the principal items that gentlemen no doubt are most interested in.

There is a reduction of \$232,640 in the recommendations for light-houses, beacons, and fog signals. This reduction arises from the fact that, while the estimates are large, they cover in many instances works which have not been authorized by law, and are therefore not in order on this bill.

For the Light-House Establishment appropriations of \$3,006,000 are recommended, covering an increase of \$112,400. And at this point I may say that, so far as I am informed, after something of inquiry, there is no nation on the earth that has a Light-House Establishment equal in efficiency of service to ours. This increase, I may say, for our great coast line of eight to ten thousand miles, as well as for the great rivers and the inland seas, is explained from the desire to increase the gas-buoy service, a very valuable

service and a very economical one, the liberal use of gas buoys very frequently, indeed, dispensing with the necessity of expensive light-house construction.

The Life-Saving Service carries an increase over the current law of \$30,280. This is explained by the fact of six new stations which must be manned. And let me say, in passing, that this is also a magnificent service, creditable to human instinct and creditable also from an economical standpoint.

For the Revenue-Cutter Service the bill recommends the same amount of appropriation as is contained in the current law. For the Bureau of Engraving and Printing there is an increase of \$69,000, which measures the increase of labor necessary to do additional work in the printing of Treasury notes known as greenbacks and silver certificates.

For the Coast and Geodetic Survey there is an increase of \$25,000 over the appropriation for the current year. There were other increases in connection with the Alaskan service made upon the urgent deficiency bill.

For the Fish Commission—a great service—there is an increase of \$13,500. For the punishment of the violation of internal-revenue laws the increase is \$25,000. In this matter we have recommended the appropriation of the full amount estimated by the Department. The appropriation for the current year is \$50,000. After full investigation we have recommended in this bill an appropriation of \$75,000.

For pay of assistant custodians and janitors of public buildings we recommend an increase of \$32,000 over the appropriations for the current year. This increase results from the new public buildings that will come into service within the next fiscal year and at the close of this.

For fuel, lights, and water for public buildings we recommend the amount of the current appropriation. We would recommend an increase, but we have expended considerable amounts in erecting light plants which tend to reduce the general cost of this service.

For suppressing counterfeiting and other crimes we recommend an increase of \$25,000.

Mr. LOUD. Before the gentleman leaves this point, I should like to ask him a question.

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. LOUD. At the bottom of page 43, I see an appropriation of \$25,000 for supplying necessary power and repairs, etc., for power for pneumatic-tube service, and at the top of page 44 there is an appropriation of \$5,000 for substantially the same service. Is this a new item in the appropriation bill?

Mr. CANNON. Yes; it is a new item, and becomes necessary from the fact that for the pneumatic-tube service the power comes in the main from Government buildings where we have boilers and engines, and as this additional service is required, we have in some cases to have additional boilers, and there is additional expense. This comes under the Treasury Department, because, as the gentleman is aware, the public buildings are substantially under the Treasury Department. Therefore this recommendation.

Mr. LOUD. Yes; I understand that, of course. I understand that two or three million dollars is carried in this bill that is really for the support of the Post-Office Department, but I want to suggest to the gentleman that these items cover prospective matters, and that it is yet a question whether the Post-Office Committee will allow those items or not. You cover a service here in Brooklyn. You cover a service in Boston which is not inaugurated, and it is yet a question whether such service will be inaugurated, and it is a question whether a prospective appropriation should be given in the bill at a time when we want to keep appropriations down.

Mr. CANNON. Well, I will say to the gentleman that this pneumatic-tube service is not a service which has been investigated by the Committee on Appropriations. It was made from appropriations carried upon the Post-Office appropriation bill. I have no opinion about it. If, however, it is to be instituted, or so far as it had been instituted, the Treasury Department, having charge of public buildings, has been called upon to furnish the power. Now, if when we reach those items the judgment of the gentleman is that they should not be carried upon the bill, I will confess a motion to strike out any or all portions relating to that subject.

Mr. LOUD. I thought as the gentleman was reviewing the subject, it was well perhaps to call the attention of the gentleman and the House to some facts that we ought to consider and that I should like the House to consider. We are appropriating so much money annually in the Post-Office appropriation bill for the lease of pneumatic tubes, and it is a question whether those items should not go together, and it is a further question whether under that lease the power should not be supplied by the lessors rather than by the Government. I think the Government pays sufficient for the lease of this pneumatic-tube service without furnishing the power.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, I shall be delighted if the gentleman can relieve this bill of either or both these items; but after consultation and following the estimates submitted by the Treasury we recommend the items for the consideration of the Committee of the Whole. If there is a better way to do it, and a more economical way to do it, I certainly shall welcome it when we reach those items.

Mr. LOUD. I only regret that the committee did not fairly investigate that subject when it was before them, so that we might have the facts.

Mr. CANNON. We very fully investigated it so far as these appropriations were concerned. We did not go into the question of the desirability of the pneumatic-tube service, because the gentleman's committee originated those appropriations and the gentleman's committee are entitled to the credit and the responsibility for them.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the next item is for the enforcement of the Chinese-exclusion act. Gentlemen are familiar with the uses of that appropriation. The reduction of \$25,000 is recommended by the Department. We made close inquiry and followed the recommendations.

For quarantine service there is an increase of \$13,000.

For expense of collecting the revenue from sales of public land there is a net increase of \$42,500. Under this title is included a new appropriation of \$75,000 for the protection and administration of forest reserves. This grows out of the forest reservations made during the last eighteen months and the legislation during the last session of Congress, which gentlemen will recollect.

For armories and arsenals we recommend \$193,000, an increase of \$54,000, principally to be expended at Frankfort. The principal object of that expense is to enable the Government more efficiently and rapidly to make small cartridges, ammunition, and supplies of that kind. We looked into it thoughtfully and were satisfied that the appropriation was necessary.

For military posts there is an appropriation of \$420,000, being the same amount as was appropriated for the current year.

At this point I want the attention of the committee for a very few minutes touching the use of this appropriation and a kindred appropriation carried upon the Army bill. For barracks and quarters on the Army bill, reported by the Committee on Military Affairs, there is an item of \$750,000, and that substantially has been the appropriation, if I recollect aright, for many years.

We had always supposed—at least I had, and I think members generally had—that the appropriation from the Committee on Military Affairs in the Army bill for barracks and quarters was substantially for care, preservation, repairs, miscellaneous and necessary expenses from day to day and month to month, and that the item for military posts carried upon the sundry civil bill was for the construction of new posts or new buildings at posts; one a miscellaneous repair and current expense fund, and the other, carried upon this bill, for the erection of new buildings at military posts. We have looked into it, and, notwithstanding the section of the Revised Statutes which prohibits the erection of any building at any post that would cost over \$20,000 until plans have been made and special authority given by Congress, we find that posts have been and are being erected which, in my judgment, Congress never considered the propriety of erecting and did not have it in mind that this appropriation for barracks and quarters should be utilized for the erection of entirely new posts.

To give you an example, there are twenty-seven posts where we have guns emplaced from appropriations made for fortifications and emplacements. Now, it is necessary to have a force of men at those guns. A single battery, if fully equipped with men, requires, in round numbers, sixty-five men—officers, employees, and soldiers, all told. A two-battery post requires almost double the number of men, and so on. Now, commencing back under the late Administration, Mr. Lamont being Secretary of War and Mr. Cleveland President, the Administration entered upon the construction of barracks and quarters at Fort Hancock, adjacent or close to—or in any event for the use of the garrison that are to man the guns at Sandy Hook. Congress never supposed it was considering an appropriation to construct these barracks and quarters. Yet, notwithstanding the law—and I call the attention of my colleague from Illinois [Mr. MARSH] to this—notwithstanding the law and the custom, we find that during the last fiscal year there was taken from this appropriation for barracks and quarters carried by the military bill the sum of \$216,000 which was devoted absolutely to the construction of new buildings at an entirely new post.

In addition to that the sum of \$80,000 was taken from the sundry civil appropriation bill, as it might, under the custom, have properly been taken. Now, I hold in my hand a list of these expenditures from the Quartermaster-General.

Mr. MARSH. If my colleague will permit me—

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. MARSH. The \$700,000 and odd carried by the Army appropriation bill was understood by the committee not to be

entirely for the purpose of repairs, but so much of it as was necessary for the repairs to be expended for that, and the balance could be expended in new structures. The Committee on Military Affairs fully understood that a portion of this money, which was unnecessary for repairs, could be expended in the erection of new buildings.

Mr. CANNON. The committee may have so understood, but the House did not so understand, and I undertake to say that the law does not so contemplate.

Mr. MARSH. I will say that my recollection is that that has been the custom for a number of years, that the balance of that appropriation over and above what was necessary for repairs has been expended in the construction of new buildings.

Mr. CANNON. Now, this is a repair appropriation, and gentlemen will, I think, agree with me substantially. Now, let us just take one point. Last year at Fort Hancock there were constructed from this repair appropriation an administration building, costing \$9,600; a guard house, \$3,000; quartermaster and subsistence stores, \$10,000; fuel storehouse, \$3,000; shop building, nearly \$4,000; stable, \$8,000; wagon shed, \$2,400; two double set noncommissioned staff officers' quarters, \$8,700; four barracks, brick, \$67,900; commanding officer's quarters, \$7,700; six captains' quarters, \$74,000; eleven lieutenants' quarters, \$78,000; quarters for four bachelor officers, \$12,000; engineer's quarters, \$1,500.

Now, that is just for one year; and then there was \$80,000 taken from the proper appropriation, and the expenditure last year was \$296,000 at an entirely new post, where Congress did not contemplate there would be any such expenditure, if any expenditure at all.

Mr. MARSH. I have no hesitation in saying that that sort of an expenditure was never contemplated by the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CANNON. I am quite satisfied that is so, and I am very glad my colleague says so. In other words, I want the House to understand that in spite of this law, that was enacted to prevent such expenditures, keeping apparently the letter of the law, the substance of it has been set aside. The spirit maketh alive, but the letter killeth, seems to be a proverb that the War Department for a year or two past have not been familiar with.

Now, I call attention to the law and the manner in which it has been substantially evaded, not for the mere purpose of criticism, but for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to the fact that there are twenty-seven places where guns in connection with our fortifications are unplaced and ready to be manned, and that my information is in a general way that they require the enlistment of some men to arm them and to be trained in that service. But I will not refer to that, because that is a matter that comes peculiarly within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Military Affairs.

But when you man them you have got to do one of two things. You have got to rent quarters for them, you have got to put them in tents, or you have got to use quarters, in a few instances and a very few, where they can be successfully used, where the Government owns them, or you have got further to appropriate for the construction of them. Now, your Committee on Appropriations made as exhaustive an examination touching that matter as possible, and on that examination we find that the War Department, in round numbers, estimates that it will take \$3,000,000 to build barracks and quarters at these twenty-seven points—many of them one-battery barracks, 65 men, and some of them two-battery barracks, twice 65 men; but two-battery barracks being averaged would be over an average, if I recollect aright. Now, we asked them how they were going to expend this money.

They have now, as the law is construed, an unbridled discretion on the part of the War Department. Well, they said, as the examination will show, as it is in print, that they were going to expend about \$75,000 at every one-battery post for buildings, and then it would take about \$25,000 for water, sewerage, improvements of walks, etc. And we asked, "What buildings are you going to put up?" We found that buildings for officers, commanding 65 men, would cost \$30,000 out of \$75,000, and the balance of the \$75,000 was to be devoted to barracks for the men, the commissary building, the administrative building, and so forth.

Mr. SAYERS. Will the gentleman yield to me? The gentleman has been pleased to criticize the Democratic Administration in regard to a portion of the expenditure of this appropriation.

Mr. CANNON. Not as such. I had no partisan end in view.

Mr. SAYERS. Will not the gentleman state that these extravagant estimates of which he speaks come from the present Administration?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly. I had no idea, no thought of attacking any particular Administration. In fact, so far as this is concerned, the Army is substantially without politics, and properly so. The Quartermaster-General, on the one hand, superintends, the Chief of Engineers superintends in another of these expenditures, all under the direction and control of the Secretary of War, and finally under the President in execution of the law.

I am taking it as I find it. I am speaking of this kind of administration that would allow the kind of expenditures that I have spoken of; and as there are in front of us 27 posts to make, I wanted to call the attention of the committee to it, and I do it for this purpose.

In my judgment, after the best inquiry I can make, and in the judgment of the committee over which I have the honor to preside, a one-battery post, on an average, that will house 65 men and the necessary officers and to improve the walks and make arrangements for sewerage and make arrangement for water, instead of costing \$100,000, which they propose to expend, could be builded, and be well and substantially builded, for \$50,000.

Mr. SAYERS. I quite agree with the gentleman in his statement; but probably, if I were charged with the responsibility of the bill, I would reduce the limit to \$40,000, because I do not believe expensive buildings ought to be erected near a battery, as we all know that in case of war such buildings would be knocked to pieces. I believe that buildings that are comfortable enough, but not very costly, should be erected near the batteries.

Mr. CANNON. In the case here, in the money appropriated or recommended, we propose a provision that will put it out of the power of officers of the Army or anybody else to erect barracks complete for a one-battery post that will cost more than \$50,000, and a two-battery post \$25,000 more, and so on. So that when they come to build these posts they will have a discretion limited to that; and in our opinion it ought to be limited.

Mr. MARSH. The Committee on Military Affairs, in considering this appropriation that originated in the Army bill for barracks and quarters, have called before them the Quartermaster-General of the Army, and if my colleague will permit me I will read—it will only take a moment of time—upon that point.

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. MARSH (reading)—

The CHAIRMAN. Under this appropriation you can spend all we give you? General WEEKS. Yes, sir. And we have to spread it out pretty thin.

This refers to the \$75,000 appropriation.

The CHAIRMAN. It was raised to \$750,000 on the ground that the sum was not sufficient.

General WEEKS. We have got a balance, and we have been asked for garisons for these new batteries; but it will all be spent, and we could have spent more.

This refers to the appropriation for the current year.

The CHAIRMAN. The only question is whether we can cut that down without injuring the service.

General WEEKS. I do not believe you can.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be better policy for us to make special provisions for any one place?

General WEEKS. No, sir; I do not think so. The people in interest will be after you to do that, but we do not want it done.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it would be an injury to the service for us to undertake to distribute the appropriation?

General WEEKS. I think so. I think we are making the most of it.

The CLERK. The extra-duty pay for enlisted men was in the last year's bill under the head of "Barracks."

General WEEKS. You can often employ that extra-duty pay for labor.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the same as in the case of the Military Academy, where they have extra-duty pay?

General WEEKS. Yes, sir. We can employ that on barracks proper, and it ought to come out of that appropriation. It does not amount to much, but it is something on which we figure closely.

I simply want to say that this appropriation, as distinctly understood by the Committee on Military Affairs, was not only an appropriation for repairs, but if there was a surplus from that, to utilize it for the construction of new buildings.

Mr. CANNON. I do not care to pursue that. Did the gentleman give me his attention when I spoke of the limitation?

Mr. MARSH. I am sorry to say I did not, for I went out to the committee room after a document.

Mr. CANNON. We propose a limitation on a one-battery post of \$50,000 and on two-battery posts of \$75,000, etc.

Mr. MARSH. I think that is very wise, especially if you have the estimates; it would not be well to put on limitations unless you have the estimate of what the necessary buildings would cost.

Mr. CANNON. They cost \$500,000 at Fort Hancock. What we want to do is to circumscribe and limit the discretion; that is all.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Will the gentleman from Illinois permit me a question?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. As the chairman is aware, I with my colleague am interested in the new posts to be constructed at Spokane and Seattle, and I invite the honorable chairman's attention to the report, with which he is doubtless familiar, from the War Department or the commanding officer, that those barracks should be built of brick as a precaution against fire. I ask if the chairman has taken that into consideration in suggesting the lessening estimate or limitation of \$50,000?

Mr. CANNON. The limitation does not apply to posts that the gentleman refers to.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Then my question has no pertinency.

Mr. CANNON. Now, I will pass on to the works on rivers and harbors under authorized contracts. We recommend in the aggregate for this work authorized by law, \$13,000,210. We do this after the most exhaustive examination of the Chief of Engineers. It is true that the estimates submitted in the regular Book of Estimates in round numbers amount to \$18,000,000, but the Chief of Engineers expressly informed us when we called him before us that, while under the law \$18,000,000 might be placed under contract or expended if the maximum was required and if the contracts had not been made less than authorized in some instances, the amount of money necessary to meet the payments under contract would be stated by him and was stated in the hearing, and amounts in round numbers to \$13,000,000. I am authorized, in my judgment, to state to the committee that that \$13,000,000 will in every instance pay every dollar that will be earned during the whole of the next fiscal year on the river and harbor contract works.

The next item that I call attention to is for the survey of the deep waterways between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean, \$325,000. That is an increase of \$75,000. This survey was authorized for the current year and \$150,000 appropriated. The board organized and the work progressing, there was no estimate in the original estimate, because no report had been made at the time the estimates were forwarded. On investigation, we find the work can be completed during the next fiscal year for \$225,000, and so far as the survey was concerned, we thought it the part of economy and wisdom to authorize the expenditure of that amount.

Mr. GAINES. I am informed that this bill only applies to works under contract under the continuing-contract system.

Mr. CANNON. The gentleman from Tennessee is misinformed. It applies to all contract work where the contract had been made or where, in the judgment of the chief engineers, they would be let so as to require payments under these contracts during the next fiscal year.

The next item I call attention to is the expenses of the United States courts, \$4,846,000. That estimate we recommend, which is a reduction of \$348,500 under the appropriation for the current year including deficiencies, and we have had considerable deficiency appropriation to enact for the present year. This decrease in expenditures comes, in my judgment, from the exceedingly wise legislation that was moved by the Judiciary Committee under the special rule during the last Congress upon the appropriation bill and enacted. It gives us greatly decreased expenditures.

The next is the Paris Exposition. If gentlemen will bear with me, I will call attention very briefly to our recommendation touching that matter. At the late session of Congress on the deficiency bill there was a provision carrying legislation accepting the invitation of the French Government on the part of the United States for our people to participate in the Paris Exposition of 1900, with an appropriation of \$35,000 to enable the President to appoint a commissioner to proceed to communicate with the exposition authorities and to obtain proper space, and also to give proper information to our own people. That commissioner was appointed, Major Handy, that all of us recollect so well, connected with the World's Fair at Chicago. He took upon himself the labor of visiting Paris, made arrangements for space, and made a very exhaustive report, which was transmitted to the Senate—and gentlemen can obtain it by sending to the document room—covering the scope of the Paris Exposition, with recommendation for future appropriations and provisions. Since then it is a matter of record to us all that Major Handy has been called upon to cross the dark river.

Now, it is important and necessary that at this session of Congress we should continue this appropriation upon such terms as will cover the expense that the Government should be called upon to meet in connection with this exposition. And let me say to the gentleman that we have given to this subject the fullest investigation possible; we have given the closest examination we could to Major Handy's report; we have heard experts who had experience at the Chicago Exposition; we have had a thorough hearing of General Franklin, who was our commissioner at the Paris Exposition in 1889; we have received suggestions from every quarter where we could get them, notably from Mr. Brackett, who had an important connection with the late World's Fair and who gave us very useful information, which gentlemen will find in print in our hearings. We find it to be the fact that the Paris Exposition will probably be the greatest exposition from the standpoint of selection that has been held at any time.

So far as I am concerned, I doubt whether there has been or will be probably any exposition that will equal in all respects our exposition at Chicago. But this Paris Exposition is an exposition wonderfully important, and one which will be wonderfully interesting, because it will be an exposition of selection of the best, of the most desirable. There is not nearly as much space to be provided at this exposition for exhibits as was provided at Chicago. My understanding is that the space for exhibits at the Paris Exposition will be less than one-half of the space which was occupied

at Chicago. The space to be allotted to the United States for all our exhibits, or those of our citizens, will be less than the space which was embraced in the mines and mining building at the Chicago Exposition.

If gentlemen will read this report they will recognize that it is desirable to have on this side a board or boards of selection, to shut out exhibits that are not of the best, because there will not be room enough for all the exhibits that our people may desire to send. Therefore there must be selection on this side first; and afterwards, on the other side, the exposition authorities must again have boards of selection.

Space, as we find by Major Handy's report, is to be given to the exhibitors by the exposition authorities without cost. Power and various other things are also to be furnished without cost. In the department of fine arts installation is also to be furnished by the Paris Exposition; in other departments installation is to be at the expense of the exhibitor. Gentlemen will understand that this term "installation" covers the special passageways and the arranging of exhibits.

Now, your committee recommend, in the way of appropriation upon this bill, in substance, as follows: For one commissioner-general, to serve for three years, \$8,000 a year; an assistant commissioner-general, \$6,000 a year; a secretary-general, at \$4,500 a year. The commissioner-general under our bill, except so far as limited by the appropriation, will have power to make rules and regulations. He is to be at the head of the expenditure of this appropriation. After much investigation we designedly so recommend, and in doing so we are guided by the light of our experience at the Chicago Exposition. In that case there was a great commissioner, one commissioner from each State and Territory.

It was found wonderfully expensive to get those commissioners together, and when they did get together they disagreed, as that number of men naturally would; and as all their expenses were paid, it was not very material to them how long they disagreed or how big the expenses were. We finally reached a time when a committee of this House, and I believe of the Senate, had to go out there and make investigation, and absolutely had to freeze that commission out and install a practical head; otherwise that great exposition would have been a failure.

Now, we do not propose, so far as the recommendations of your committee are concerned, to enter upon the mistake of a divided authority. One commissioner, having power to make rules and regulations, having the money with which to organize this work, and having also discretion to accomplish a wise organization, will be better than ten commissioners or fifty commissioners. Therefore we recommend but one. But commissions seem to be popular, and so many people probably desire to be commissioners that we have not been unmindful of this desire of the American citizen. And there are many eminent citizens very well adapted to be commissioners—men of skill and judgment. Therefore we provide for an honorary board of nine commissioners, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. And, by the way, the other three officers whom I have named are to be appointed in the same way.

This honorary board of commissioners is to have an advisory function as to rules and regulations and the execution of the same. These eminent gentlemen, after they are appointed and confirmed, can organize themselves into a board, which will advise the commissioner-general touching rules and regulations, and their execution. And assuming that these nine commissioners will be patriotic citizens, as we know they will be, we provide that they shall serve without salary and without allowance for expenses.

Mr. SAYERS. And, the gentleman will allow me to say, it is also understood that the commissioner-general is not bound to take their advice.

Mr. CANNON. No; their function is advisory only. If the commissioner-general were bound to accept the rules and regulations which any board might devise, it would probably take some six months to start the organization. Our theory in reporting this appropriation was that there should be one man big enough and industrious enough, in the judgment of the President and the Senate, to be intrusted with the expenditure of this money, and that it was not advisable to have any division of counsels or any division of responsibility. But as this commissioner-general may not "know it all," we provide for this board of patriotic and eminent American citizens, who may meet at their own expense and consider all matters tending to give glory to their country and their fellow-citizens, and who shall certify (if they agree) their judgment to the commissioner-general for his consideration.

Now we limit this appropriation. We say that these expenditures shall be within \$525,000, and, after full inquiry, we believe that is quite enough. It was no part of the intention of your committee to in any way cheese-pare or in any way fail to give the necessary money to enable the United States to do its whole duty effectively and liberally. In our opinion, after full inquiry, we have done that. We give money enough to provide \$75,000 for installation in the proper building. We do not detail it, but we take that into consideration, and no doubt that amount

can be and will be used. For agriculture, education, and fisheries, which are the only governmental exhibits that we authorized (those not being authorized except in the discretion of the President), we limit the cost of those three to \$85,000.

We shall necessarily have to make those exhibits if the Government enters upon that work, and pay the expenses of freight and transportation, etc. Then as to loan exhibits which gentlemen will understand—exhibits which it is desirable from the standpoint of the United States to make as a loan, because of their great interest—we provide that the United States may pay the freight upon them. But as to all other exhibits my information is that there will be many times the number of exhibitors knocking at the door for admission than will be enabled to obtain admission in the space that the United States can get, and the United States, under the report of Mr. Handy, will get what space it is entitled to in comparison with other countries, and as desirable space.

So that you see it is to be an exposition of selection. The United States will do the administration. It will have its bureaus of information, and its special guards, too, at the general expense. The policing generally is done by the exposition. It will furnish the administrative force. It will pay the expenses of officers and forces of clerks in the United States, and give information. It will pay the expenses of the boards of selection in the United States. It will pay the expenses of officers of the bureau of information and all clerical force in Paris.

It will pay the revenue agent when the goods are landed. It will pay all the expenses of administration and most of the expenses of installation. It has got money enough to pay the expenses of installation after all this up to \$75,000, which is estimated to be sufficient to make a pavilion in the great Manufactures Building, which is the principal building. For the balance of the installation we do not provide. It is deemed by experts that this great army of people of ours that want to go with their exhibits will furnish the amount of money necessary to install their exhibits.

We do not provide for payment of freight on the one hand or installation on the other, except by recommending \$75,000 for installation in part. It has cost us, perhaps, as much trouble to report this measure, or more trouble, than any other measure that the bill carries. With this explanation I will pass on.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois a question.

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. The section of this bill that provides for the appointment of commissioners to represent the United States at Paris in 1900 carries nothing for the expenses of the commission. Is this correct?

Mr. CANNON. That is correct.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I would like to ask the gentleman from Illinois whether he knows of a similar case on record, in which a great government, proposing to take part in a world's exposition, perfecting plans and making preparations to creditably cause that government to be represented, has sent its commission to do that service without compensation, and without even expense money.

Mr. CANNON. I will answer the gentleman from Michigan. If he had done me the honor to follow my explanation—

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I followed it closely.

Mr. CANNON. It seems to me he would not have asked that question. Now, we pay, and pay liberally, for all the people that it is necessary to appropriate for from the standpoint of the Government exhibits. Now, it is represented to the committee that there are many citizens who want to be commissioners.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. From where?

Mr. CANNON. I have no doubt the gentleman has one or more in his State. I do not know, but suppose that he would be able to find them without getting out a search warrant.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. There are gentlemen of a certain class who might be willing to serve without compensation and pay their own expenses; but is this the most desirable course for the Government to pursue? Will it secure the ablest and best representation?

Mr. CANNON. The truth is, I will submit to a motion from the gentleman from Michigan with great pleasure to strike out the nine commissioners if he wants to make it.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Illinois has brought from the Committee on Appropriations the recommendation that the commissioner-general to be chosen by the President shall have the advice and the counsel and the assistance of nine commissioners, to be selected also by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Presumably it was his intention to create a useful and necessary body to share in the responsibility and labor of such an important undertaking. I simply desire to raise the question as to whether it is wise or proper for the Government to restrict itself in the choice of representatives in this important capacity to men who may be able and willing to pay their own expenses and serve without compensation.

I do not believe in this discrimination between our citizens,

neither do I believe that the Government would obtain the best service by this course. I deem it to be an unfair and uncalled for discrimination, and while I have no desire to eliminate that provision from the law, I have a great desire that the commission thus to be selected may be chosen for its ability and capacity for creditably representing our Government in France.

Mr. CANNON. Now, in reply to the gentleman's question, I will say that we propose to pay liberally every man who is necessary to a successful exposition. Does the gentleman propose to do anything more?

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I propose, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. CANNON. Just answer me that question, please.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. Well, I will answer the question of the gentleman from Illinois; but I must insist upon answering it in my own way. I propose, sir, if I have a vote upon this proposition, to help formulate a law that will give our Government such representation in France as is becoming to a great Government, and not send over our representatives crippled and hampered by appropriations entirely insufficient to properly place the workmanship and accomplishments of our citizens before the people of the world who may gather at the beginning of a new century for the purpose of learning useful lessons from the past; and I do not believe that great wealth or the ability to labor without compensation and without expense is the proper test of fitness for this important work, and I can not understand upon what theory such a proposition can be based.

Ability and special fitness should be the tests; for although a man may not be able to work without pay and from his own means meet the expenses of such a duty, yet he may be well qualified for the service, though poor in purse, and he should not be denied the privilege of serving in such capacity, if in the opinion of the President of the United States he is in all other respects qualified and deserving. [Applause.]

Mr. CANNON. Great applause. [Laughter.]

Mr. MAHANY. I should like to ask the gentleman from Illinois a question.

Mr. CANNON. One at a time, please.

Mr. MAHANY. I will ask one at a time. [Laughter.]

Mr. CANNON. I will answer the question which has been asked me and then I will yield to the gentleman, if he desires to ask a question.

Mr. MAHANY. The gentleman says that it is not necessary—

Mr. CANNON. I will yield to the gentleman from New York when I have answered the gentleman from Michigan, and will not yield for remarks interpellated out of order.

I say again that in the judgment of your committee this board of honorary commissioners are not necessary for the success of this exposition. Now, I am quite content, when we come to its consideration, that you amend the bill by striking the nine honorary commissioners out. If, after the investigation and consideration which we have given it, we had believed that they were necessary to this work, to give an effective exposition and maintain the honor and the credit and the glory of the Republic, we should have put them in there and paid them all their services were worth; but they go in there at the suggestions of gentlemen as an honorary commission, and if they do not want to go and pay their own expenses they do not have to go. We do not need them; but if they want a yellow jacket and a peacock's feather that does not cost anything, your committee thought we would report a provision that would give them a chance to have the yellow jacket and the peacock's feather if they want it.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I would suggest to the gentleman from Illinois, in view of his statement that the Committee on Appropriations has made provision to confer the rank of the "Yellow Jack and Peacock Feather" upon certain distinguished citizens whom he probably has in his mind, that it should not be done under the guise of attempting to provide proper machinery and appointments to enable our country to participate in the Paris Exposition.

I favor the selection of a commission with broad, liberal discretion to do what in their judgment is necessary to properly place our intellectual and industrial triumphs before the world, but I favor paying reasonable salaries and all legitimate expenses incurred in this work. We have men able and well qualified. Why not make it possible for them to serve?

Mr. CANNON. I do not yield for a speech.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois declines to yield.

Mr. QUIGG. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield?

Mr. CANNON. Just one at a time.

Mr. QUIGG. I supposed the gentleman from Michigan had concluded.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. Will you let me finish my sentence?

Mr. CANNON. If it is not too long.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I will ask the gentleman from Illinois to reconsider his proposition and bring a suitable substitute therefor before the House.

Mr. CANNON. Very well; that is very good.

Mr. QUIGG. Now will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CANNON. For a question.

Mr. QUIGG. The bill carries with it an appropriation which enables this commissioner-general and his assistant and his secretary to provide any establishment that may be required, does it not?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. QUIGG. That is, he can employ clerks or whatever employees are necessary.

Mr. CANNON. Oh, yes; according to his discretion.

Mr. QUIGG. And he has an appropriation in a lump sum that enables him to do it?

Mr. CANNON. Substantially, with certain limitations.

Mr. QUIGG. Then, as I understand, having made a provision so that he may create a commission or a force with which to do the work, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] does not consider that these nine commissioners are necessary at all to a proper exposition?

Mr. CANNON. Not in the slightest, and I so stated before I had the advantage of the exceedingly clear statement of the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. One further question, if the gentleman will allow me.

Mr. CANNON. Very well.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. I will ask the gentleman from Illinois his opinion as to whether or not a single representative can be chosen who can manage the vast interests involved to the entire satisfaction of the various sections of our whole country, or whether it would not be better to have a properly paid and well-selected commission, chosen with reference to fitness and locality, to manage the exhibit of our vast and diversified interests?

Mr. CANNON. What is the question?

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH (continuing). I suggest that a suitable provision should be made for a commission, to be selected with reference somewhat to geographical appropriateness, who shall have a voice in the arrangement for and the execution of the American exhibit; who shall determine, after careful inquiry, the character of our display and the space necessary to properly make it. To determine this question will involve much labor and care and thought and investigation, and, while I am not so tenacious regarding salary to be paid the commissioners chosen for this duty, I think that the Government can appropriately make reasonable provision therefor and pay all reasonable expenses incurred in that service.

Mr. CANNON. Now, the gentleman in a question and a question and another question has made three speeches. I will say to him again, this is sought not by Michigan, or Illinois, or Indiana, or New York, or other States to participate in this at the common expense of States; no, not at all. It would not be for the success—

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi—

How happy could I be with either.
Were t' other dear charmer away!

Mr. CANNON (continuing). Of this exhibition. It appears as if the American people had enough to do with State boundaries. We undertook the State and Territory boundary at Chicago, and they came very near wrecking the exposition. They were exceedingly expensive. They brought upon it scandals, and had to be eliminated; the whole commission, for they were a commission. It inhered in the system; do you not see? I am not saying that there was any personal dishonesty in the commissioners, but they had substantially to eliminate them to save that great exposition. Now, I am not in favor of entering upon a similar experiment here, and your committee is not. Now, let me state again, that there may be no misunderstanding. If the offer of your committee is accepted, there will be one commissioner and he will have plenary discretion.

Mr. MAHANY. Now will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. CANNON. Oh, just a minute, my friend.

Now, then, I will say again, that, in our judgment, is enough and the only reason that your committee had for reporting or suggesting nine honorary commissioners was that it was represented that eminent American citizens having leisure and willing to pay their own expenses and serve the country without expense to the Government in a merely advisory capacity would be willing to do it. Therefore we put it in. I will vote for the gentleman's amendment, when the time comes, if he desires to strike it out.

Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH. You had better strike it out.

Mr. CANNON. Very well; so be it. I will vote every time against a hydra-headed commission that is to be vested with power here, that is to meet and quarrel at the public expense, although it might give a constituent of the gentleman or a constituent of mine a place.

Mr. MAHANY. Now will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly, my friend.

Mr. MAHANY. Referring to the statement of the gentleman regarding—

Mr. CANNON. What is the question?

Mr. MAHANY. Well, I must be permitted to frame my question in my own way. Regarding the "yellow-jacket and peacock-feather commissioners" that the gentleman has mentioned, does he not think that we have had during the preceding Administration—I will not say in this—enough "peacock-feather and yellow-jacket" ambassadors and special envoys of the United States, and does he not agree that it is time to cut off these purely social and entirely useless representatives of this Government? Will he, as chairman, submit to an amendment correcting, if possible, that evil in this commission?

Mr. CANNON. I will submit with great pleasure.

Mr. SAYERS. Why do you not say under this Administration? Let me ask the gentleman to have the courtesy to answer that question.

Mr. MAHANY. Oh, I leave that to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. QUIGG. Mr. Chairman, I desire to ask the gentleman from Illinois a question.

Mr. CANNON. Certainly.

Mr. QUIGG. I want to say to him that I am very much afraid that one result of this one-commissioner proposition—

Mr. CANNON. Very well.

Mr. QUIGG. Will be that the interests who want to be represented there and who are willing to pay the expenses of their representatives may succeed in gobbling up these nine commissioners, so that instead of being representatives of the Government they would be representatives of the large interests, and there is great danger of this sort of thing, because I know the kind of persons who will try to do it.

Mr. CANNON. To entirely avoid that, would it not be better not to have any commission?

Mr. QUIGG. I think so.

Mr. CANNON. We can get rid of all temptation if we pass an act taking a back track; not to expend any money for the exposition at all.

Mr. QUIGG. You can get rid of it much better by confining it to your own proposition, which I entirely approve of. The gentleman says he thinks—I think the gentleman ought to be willing to yield—

Mr. CANNON. I had not answered the gentleman yet. Let me finish, and then I will yield to the gentleman.

Mr. QUIGG. Well, the gentleman seemed to look kind of weary.

Mr. CANNON. I am consuming more time now than I ought to. I will say that I am not enchanted with the commission of nine people. I am quite content that the provision should be stricken out. I will say that to the extent of my voice and vote I will oppose any commission composed of several people that is to be in charge of this exposition, because I see nothing but disaster to result from it. Now I will yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. QUIGG].

Mr. QUIGG. I simply want to indulge the hope that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] will favor striking out the proposition for nine honorary commissioners. He has provided already, as he has explained, suitable and sufficient commissioners for the carrying out of the exposition on the part of this Government, and I see in the proposition for nine honorary commissioners a danger and a serious scandal.

Mr. CANNON. My friend will notice, if he will read the provision, that the nine eminent citizens are to act in an advisory capacity only; still, I am willing to see that provision stricken out.

Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH. I want to ask the chairman what this provision is for the transportation of silver coin?

Mr. CANNON. It is the ordinary appropriation that commenced in 1888, and it is to pay the expenses of transportation of silver to whoever applies for it.

Mr. COX. I would like to ask one question before you leave this question of the Paris Exposition. Under this bill, the way it is proposed to organize for this exposition, can any serious results or injury come if you strike out entirely the nine honorary commissioners?

Mr. CANNON. No.

Mr. COX. Well, do you not think it would be better?

Mr. CANNON. The only chance for trouble with these nine commissioners, or ninety commissioners, who pay their own salaries and expenses, would be to give them the power to make rules and regulations. But all this bill proposes to do is to give them the power to meet and then certify their conclusions for the information of the commissioner who alone has full power.

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman yield me a few moments?

Mr. CANNON. I will, in a minute. I think I have about finished.

Mr. MARSH. I would like to ask my colleague whether the authority conferred upon the Secretary of Agriculture is ample

to enable him to prepare an exposition of corn in its various states of food, etc., for the exposition?

Mr. CANNON. I think so.

Mr. MARSH. That is a subject of great importance to the corn growers, as well as to the country generally.

Mr. CANNON. The power of the agricultural commissioner is plenary.

Mr. MARSH. One paragraph requires the exposition provided for by the Secretary of the Interior to be returned. The object of my inquiry is to ascertain whether the committee have taken into consideration that the Secretary of Agriculture is fully authorized to prepare such an exhibit?

Mr. CANNON. It seems to me certain.

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Will the gentleman permit me? Does not this provision for the nine commissioners really mean the appointment of nine millionaires who have special trade interests to go over there and look after their interests—people who have no general interest in the trades that other people are interested in—go to Paris and to get in the swim? [Laughter.]

Mr. CANNON. About that I have no information, but if they do go, they go at their own expense.

Mr. MAHANY. That will not deter them.

Mr. CANNON. I do not want any millionaire, or anybody who is not a millionaire, to fasten themselves onto this service at the expense of the Government in any place where they are not needed.

Mr. RIDGELY. I wish to ask the gentleman from Illinois a question. As I understand, these nine commissioners are to have no power and are to cost nothing.

Mr. CANNON. Precisely.

Mr. RIDGELY. Can we not open the door and authorize 99 commissioners or any other number?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly; we can do that just as well. I have no objection whether the number be 9 or 19 or 99. It does not make a bit of difference to me whether there are 9 or 99 or none.

Mr. RIDGELY. I object to any.

Mr. CANNON. But I say this: When you give the power to run an exposition to more than one man, that is not practical, in my judgment, if we are to have a successful exposition.

I yield seven minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALKER].

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I should like to know what is to be the result in this House of this adverse criticism, this condemnation and sneering and contemptuous remarks directed toward any man who, in developing this country, in making it rich and prosperous, has accumulated himself any part of the wealth which he is instrumental in creating and which is absolutely necessary in order to enable him to do this thing of developing our country, which we all want done. Suppose we should draft our Congressmen from the poorhouses, have them all paupers! That is what we are coming to, if these men are right. What a miserable, contemptible man he must be who, having improved his five talents, has other five committed to him, or to whom the one talent his fellow has buried is committed! What are we coming to in this House? What is this style of discussion aiming at, and what will be its results? I am utterly—it may not be quite parliamentary, but I will say it—I am utterly ashamed of this constant haranguing in this House, to the effect that no man can be trusted who has any taxable property, that a man is contemptible and mean in proportion to the amount of his tax bills. It is time that this thing were ended and we attended to legislation.

Now, what about these nine commissioners? Let us look at this matter a moment. Suppose you send to Paris one commissioner with no man to advise him, no man to whom he can reveal his plans and upon whom he can rely to give him counsel. I want to tell you that in such a case the wear and tear upon that man must be a hundredfold more than if he has nine competent men to consult and advise with, men who have shown their ability in acquiring control and leadership and kingship over the physical things of this life as well as over mental and moral things. Contemptible, is he? and to be trodden upon in this House!

These nine commissioners are to be appointed by the President. Is he so contemptible that he will appoint men who will enter upon this duty for the sake of advancing their special interests—to advertise themselves and their wares? Is not the President rightly the representative of this great people of 70,000,000; and can we not trust him? If not, whom shall we trust? We must commit this business to some one. To whom shall we commit it? Why not to a man who has been elected by the people, who looks to those 70,000,000 people for their approval and commendation, who must please them or receive their condemnation? Where else can we lodge this authority, absolutely necessary to be exercised if this commissioner is to be successful?

We need these nine men, and if they go upon this commission they may honorably pay their own charges. I think I remember to have read in an ancient book that a man of supreme ability and grand self-sacrifice once went upon a certain mission at his own

charges—the great apostle to the Gentiles. Was he mean and contemptible because he had the wherewithal, or could get it, to go upon his own charge?

I think it is time this thing should be ended. I think we ought to legislate like men and not like disgruntled boys. We should not legislate in a spirit of contempt for every man in the community of any substantial worth having proved his value to this country by developing its physical resources. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts yield to a question?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. NORTHWAY). The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I ask the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SAYERS] to yield a minute that I may ask my question and the gentleman from Massachusetts answer it.

Mr. SAYERS. I will yield a minute to the gentleman from Indiana for that purpose.

Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana. I wish to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts whether the character of this bill with its provisions for the appointment of this commission does not suggest the suspicion of the appointment of a commission to go to France to change her monetary system? [Laughter.]

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts (rising from his seat). Good morning! [Loud laughter.]

Mr. CANNON. I now yield thirty minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, there is pending today before the Senate of the United States a treaty which has for its object the annexation to this country of the Sandwich Islands. The question involved in this measure, I need hardly say to the House, is one of profound interest to the American people.

Indeed, sir, it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the question. It can truthfully be affirmed that very few matters as serious in character and as far-reaching in consequences have been before the Senate for consideration within the last quarter of a century.

It is generally understood that a sufficient number of Senators have not yet consented to vote for this treaty to secure its ratification, but nevertheless the weary debate at the other end of the Capitol still draws on, not openly, that the people may hear what is said and weigh the arguments, but behind closed doors, in what the gentlemen of the Senate are pleased to dignify by the somewhat euphonious title of executive session. Meanwhile the friends and supporters of this treaty, both inside and outside of the Senate, are turning heaven and earth in order to secure its adoption.

We are told that the President of the United States is laboring earnestly and persistently to change the convictions of certain Senators who are known to be opposed to annexation. The President of the Hawaiian Republic has been upon our shores that he might by his personal presence add something of momentum to the movement. He was received here by those holding high official positions with a hospitality which bordered somewhat upon ostentation. The social amenities that passed between him and them were so cordial in their character that their very effusiveness may have obscured the serious and dangerous character of the proposition which he asked us to accept.

It is therefore well enough, Mr. Chairman, for us to pause at this juncture of the affair and reflect that the Hawaiian nation is the only one of the two nations concerned in this treaty which has everything to gain and nothing to lose by a political union with ourselves. It is certainly not demanding too much, sir, to ask that this grave and momentous question shall be discussed, considered, and decided solely from the standpoint of American interest and with the single purpose of promoting the happiness and welfare of those who dwell under the shadow of the American flag.

I confess, Mr. Chairman, that I am somewhat amazed at the general and widespread indifference upon the part of the masses of our countrymen with respect to this matter. It is true that the question of Hawaiian annexation has been brought forward several times within the last four or five years, that the newspapers have discussed it to a greater or less extent and with more or less intelligence, and that it is now generally known that the treaty is pending and that its ratification is being urged; but with all this, it is still the fact that the condition of the public mind concerning it is one of apathy. The very few of our countrymen who have given any attention to the subject are inclined to favor annexation. There is something which so appeals to the national vanity in connection with the project that the superficial and the unreflecting find it exceedingly hard to resist it. It seems to be a difficult thing for them to put away this glittering prize, which they are told can be ours if we will simply accept it.

Mr. Chairman, I know of no more certain way of arousing the public mind upon this subject, of concentrating upon it the popular attention, of disabusing the minds of the people of first blush and erroneous impressions respecting it, than to break down the

doors of the Senate of the United States and let our countrymen into the galleries, that they may see what is transpiring upon the floor of that body and know what is being said there. I want to see this question put to the crucial test of an open and public discussion, for I firmly believe that if ever it is subjected to this test, either upon the floor of the Senate or upon the floor of this House, the people will be quick to discover the danger that lurks in the proposition, and will place upon it the seal of their condemnation in language so plain and unmistakable that it will be buried beyond the possibility even of an ultimate resurrection. [Applause.]

I confess, Mr. Chairman, that I have not been able to give to this subject an exhaustive examination; that I am not entirely familiar with all the literature which bears upon it. If I am ignorant in some particulars, I have to blame the gentlemen who have hidden their wisdom behind barred doors at the other end of this building, and hence I can not be reproached by them because of any lack of minute information upon my part.

But amid the general press of the public duties which have borne upon me I have nevertheless had time and opportunity to give to the matter some thoughtful consideration, and I can not see, sir, in the proposal for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands anything but menace and danger to the future of our countrymen.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the annexation of Hawaii because I believe that the people of Hawaii are opposed to it. I am not to be misled by this special plea that the real sentiment of the people of the Sandwich Islands is only to be obtained from those who assume to govern them. This, sir, is the merest technicality. There is no room here for the application of the narrow doctrine of estoppel.

I brush past this subterfuge, I get at the very heart of the question, and I find that, whether the existing Government of Hawaii is a government de facto or a government de jure, in this instance at least it is misrepresenting the actual wishes of the people whose rights it is so ready to barter away. [Applause.]

I find that a monster petition has been presented by two-thirds of the native inhabitants of that island to the Senate of the United States protesting against annexation. I find that neither the friends and supporters of this scheme in the Senate nor the Dole Government are willing to submit the question to the people of Hawaii that they may give expression to their sentiments by a free and untrammelled ballot.

Mr. Chairman, I remember several years ago when the government of the Queen of Hawaii had been overthrown, and when upon its ruins had been erected the Dole Government, there were those who asserted in this Chamber that this change of government had been brought about by the active interposition of American citizens. I did not then believe that charge to be true, and I was one of those who denied it vigorously upon this floor; but, sir, I am frank to confess that in view of the pertinacity and determination with which this treaty is now being pressed upon us, following so soon as it does upon the events to which I have referred, strong color is given to the accusation which was then made and which I then so earnestly denounced.

Mr. Chairman, we boast that ours is a representative Government, that it is a Government of volition, that its foundations are laid deep in the hearts of the people. With what propriety, with what consistency, with what justice, then, do we stand up before the eyes of the civilized world, and, holding in one hand the divine declaration of Thomas Jefferson that all governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, reach out with the other hand under pretense of amity, but really in violence, to draw into close relationship with ourselves a people who are not only not consenting to the union, but who are earnestly and actively protesting against it? [Applause.]

Mr. GIBSON. I will ask the gentleman if he was in favor of suppressing the rebellion?

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. I ask the gentleman not to interrupt me.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Indiana declines to be interrupted.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this proposition for another reason. The people of Hawaii are not sufficiently intelligent to be incorporated into our domain. Intelligence is the exception there; ignorance is the general rule. The population is a mixed, a mongrel, one. They have not been educated as we have; they have not our habits of thought; they do not appreciate the genius of free government as we do.

How long has it been since there was passed through both Houses of Congress and sent to the Executive for his signature a bill excluding from our shores the ignorance, the pauperism, and the crime of the Old World that are annually coming to our shores to permeate our system and poison the blood of the body politic? And yet the Hawaiian annexationist is proposing that we shall now annex to our domain these people who are open to the very objection upon which that bill was predicated. How long has it been since we passed our Chinese exclusion acts and justified them

to the country upon the ground that we must drive out the ignorance that was coming to us from the Flowery Kingdom to the peril of our population and the damage of our free institutions. With what consistency, then, do we now reach out over an expanse of waters to draw to ourselves a population composed so largely of Chinese?

I know, Mr. Chairman, there are gentlemen who tell us that if annexation is once accomplished the tide of intelligence and civilization from this country will pour out and take possession of the island. But does this alter the fact that the ignorance will still remain there? I have not yet heard, sir, of any advocate of annexation, however enthusiastic, who proposes either to deport this population from the Sandwich Islands or to drive it into the sea.

I am also aware of the fact that gentlemen who favor this unhappy scheme tell us that the annexation of Hawaii does not necessarily imply that it is to be taken into the fellowship of States. Mr. Chairman, for this very reason I antagonize it with all the more resolution. I trust the time will never come in my history when I must look upon any territory under the shadow of my country's flag without realizing that in due course of events it will become entitled to a full participation in all the glories and advantages that come from a membership in the Federal Union.

Sir, the sordid policy of acquiring foreign territory simply to draw sustenance from it, simply to hold it as a matter of pride without permitting it to participate in the functions of government, was well adapted to the nations of antiquity, and even to the nations of mediæval times, to ancient Greece or Rome, but such a policy is utterly unbefitting the genius of a great and free people, whose government is representative in character and which derives all its just power from the consent of the governed.

Sir, in the name of our splendid system of common schools, in the name of our colleges, our universities, and our other institutions of learning, in the name of that general diffusion of knowledge which is so essential to the permanency of our free institutions, I enter my solemn protest against the consummation of this colossal blunder.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to annexation for another reason. We do not need this territory in which to expand our population. We have not yet reached the period, and will not reach the period in a century of time, when we shall require an overflow for our development. It is true that we have here 70,000,000 souls, but our country is a vast empire and our population, comparatively speaking, is still sparse and diffused. Our people are not treading on each other's heels as are the inhabitants of many of the countries of the Old World where population is dense. We can put our 70,000,000 people inside of the confines of the great State of Texas alone without their having to touch elbows and without their interfering with the freedom of action.

There is nothing, then, in the national growth, either present or prospective, which requires that this sacrifice shall be made. Far better will it be for us to devote our energies to the development of our own resources, to inaugurating the great reforms which are necessary for the welfare of our people and the permanency of our institutions than for us to reach out hundreds of miles into the Pacific Ocean to take to ourselves a country which we do not need and which is inferior in all its general aspects to the soil of which we are already the happy possessors.

I am opposed, sir, to this proposed treaty upon another ground. The acquisition of Hawaii means the strengthening not of the centripetal but of the centrifugal force in this nation. I am one of those, sir, who believe in the Federalist theory of government, not that I would deprive the people of their unalienable right to local self-government, not that I would withdraw from the States any of that sovereignty which is theirs under a just construction of the Constitution, but that, consistent with the employment of these inestimable blessings, I would attract the minds and hearts of the people to that great Federal Government which is over all.

I would inspire them with respect and veneration for that centralized and unified power in the State which is, after all, our surest refuge in time of storm and danger, and in the absence of which, instead of being a great and powerful nation, capable of inspiring respect abroad and confidence at home, we will become a mere lot of petty States with clashing interests, impotent to protect ourselves either from dangers within or without.

Therefore, sir, because I favor the centripetal and unifying power in the State, I hesitate not to antagonize here and now any proposition for the acquisition of insular territorial possessions which is pursued in flagrant violation either of lines of latitude or of longitude, or which ignores those well-marked differences in disposition and temperament which come from difference in race, and which therefore tends to create a diversity rather than a community of interests, and to weaken rather than to strengthen the bonds which bind us to a common flag and a common destiny.

Every island, sir, that you plant in the sea, every ignorant alien people that you take unto yourself, increases by just that much

the underlying currents which make for dismemberment and flow to disintegration.

Mr. Chairman, I am still further opposed to this short-sighted proposition because it is inaugurated in plain and flagrant violation of the traditions of this country, because it proposes to depart from all that is safe and conservative in our history, and to foolishly embark us upon the rash sea of an unnecessary experiment. Every bit of the territory which we have heretofore annexed, with one exception, has been of soil contiguous to our own domain. It was so in the case of Florida, which we purchased from Spain. It was so when we bought Louisiana from Napoleon Bonaparte. It was so when we annexed Texas as an independent State. It was so when we acquired California, immediately following the war with Mexico.

In 1853, when Millard Fillmore was President and Daniel Webster was Secretary of State, these very islands were offered to us for the mere acceptance of them, and the statesmanship of that day was sensible and patriotic enough to respectfully decline them. During the Administration of Andrew Johnson, or, at any rate, when William H. Seward was premier, the Island of St. Thomas was offered to us on precisely the same terms, and again we had the wisdom and good sense to refuse to accept the gift.

During the Administration of General Grant, although he threw the weight of his powerful influence in its favor, after a prolonged and somewhat acrimonious debate in the Senate of the United States a proposition to purchase San Domingo and make it a part of our domain was signally defeated. Never have we departed from this policy, except when we bought Alaska from Russia. Whether or not that purchase was wise or unwise, whether that act was fortunate or unfortunate, the future alone will develop; we are not yet beyond the stages of experiment with respect to it.

If we have acquired rich territory, it can at least be said that the discovery of gold recently made there is beyond our territorial lines. If we have acquired seal fisheries, we have acquired with them delicate and perplexing questions which have caused us much difficulty with the mother country and entailed the expenditure of a large sum of money, and yet these troublesome questions still remain to perplex us in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this whole scheme for another reason. The possession of the Hawaiian Islands simply means that they will be a source of irritation for all time to come between ourselves and foreign nations. Insular territorial possessions are a prolific source of contention. I invoke the history of all ages in corroboration of this. The experience of the mother country herself amply attests it. It has been so with Alaska. It will be more so with Hawaii.

The very moment the Sandwich Islands become an integral part of our country, that moment we take upon ourselves all the responsibility for their management and control. Who is there wise enough to foresee or foretell how many vexed and annoying questions may arise between ourselves and powerful maritime nations of the Old World growing out of such a union, questions as to the occupation by them of Hawaiian waters, Hawaiian harbors, the use of the islands for coaling stations, and the hundreds of controversies which are liable to arise with respect to this territory?

And this, sir, naturally leads me to another ground of objection to annexation, one closely allied to that about which I have just been talking. This nation to-day is practically invulnerable to successful attack from a foreign foe. The broad ocean which rolls between us and the powerful nations of the Old World forms an impassable barrier to dangerous aggression. We have no outlying and exposed provinces to defend. We have a territory contiguous and compact. Our resources are inexhaustible, our base of supplies is at our very door, our lines of communication are open and can not be severed in case of a foreign war.

We have here 70,000,000 brave and patriotic people. Thus entrenched in a continent, the nation that would wage war upon us must attack us upon our own domain, where our great prowess and our enormous population would enable us to crush any force that might be sent against us. We have a splendid Navy and excellent coast defenses for the protection of our seaboard. It is true that our commerce, in case of hostilities, might be preyed upon on the open sea, but we ourselves possess some swift cruisers which would make havoc with the merchant marine of any nation on the face of the globe.

Our natural facilities for defense, I say, are great. We are respected, and even feared, abroad, not simply because we produce those things which the nations of the earth must have, but also because God Almighty has blessed us with the advantage of geographical situation. But what does the annexationist propose to do? Instantly to segregate our territory, instantly to destroy its contiguity, instantly to plant our territory 2,200 miles out in the Pacific Ocean; to take us away from our base of supplies, to make it difficult for us to maintain our communication, to surrender the natural advantages for defense which we now enjoy, and to give

us an island out there which will be a bone of contention to fight over and defend in case of a foreign war.

Mr. TAWNEY. Will the gentleman from Indiana allow me a question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. I prefer not to be interrupted. I never heretofore have denied gentlemen the right to interrupt in debate, but I prefer on this occasion to finish my remarks. I think I will come to the matter that the gentleman has in mind very soon.

Mr. Chairman, this annexation thus becomes our veriest weakness; this point of vulnerability in itself invites war where now our invulnerability discourages it.

Now, what adequate reply, sir, can gentlemen who are in the habit of telling us that this island is the key to the Pacific, that it is absolutely necessary that we should have it for our protection, and who are constantly prating about its tactical advantage and about its strategic importance, make to all this—these gentlemen who would have us believe that American guns mounted in Hawaii could sweep the mouth of the Nicaraguan Canal, hundreds of miles away, and could command the vast expanse of waters that roll between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and thus remove from us the possibility of invasion?

Why, the very moment we acquire these islands, that very moment we must proceed to garrison them, to fortify them, and make them as near impregnable as possible. They must be converted into a veritable Gibraltar. We must greatly increase our Navy, in order that we may be able to keep open our lines of communication, and rally to their defense when they are attacked by any hostile power. And what, Mr. Chairman, does this signify? It means that we must enormously increase our appropriation to provide for this fortification, this garrison, and this Navy, and to meet the onerous demands which this annexation would impose upon us, and that, too, sir, at the very time when our receipts are running behind our expenditures between \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000 per year; that, too, at the very time when our current receipts are hardly equal to our current expenditures; that, too, at the very time when every consideration of patriotic duty requires that we shall endeavor to administer the Government in all its branches with the utmost and wisest economy.

Mr. Chairman, there is no escape from this proposition. A man does not have to be graduated either from West Point or from Annapolis to see it. If Hawaii is the key of the Pacific, it ceases to be the key of the Pacific to any nation that holds it without fortifying it, and without the enormous expenditure of money and the great naval equipment necessary in order to maintain it in all its integrity.

Mr. Chairman, I antagonize the pending treaty for another reason. It sets a precedent—a bad precedent, a vicious precedent; a precedent which, I imagine, will be followed, and that, too, at a very early day. You will find, gentlemen, that in this matter “increase of appetite” will “grow by what it feeds on.” This is the most lamentable feature of this entire transgression, if, indeed, we are at all disposed to take the first step in the transgression.

To-day the cry is, “Give us Hawaii!” Yie'd to this in a moment of weakness, and to-morrow you will hear the cry, “Give us Cuba!” Accede to this in an hour of irresolution, and the day after you will hear the cry, “Give us Samoa!” And each one of these demands will be fortified by artful sophistries evolved from the fertile brains of gentlemen who know full well how to pander to the national vanity and to appeal to the national cupidity.

And thus, sir, you will finally gain such momentum that you can not check your course, even if discretion tells you that you ought to do so. So you will go on till you find yourselves irrevocably committed to a policy which is not only in violation of all our traditions, which is not only not essential to the happiness, prosperity, or material development of our people, but which also leads down a pathway strewn with the wreck of the nations that have pursued such a policy, and leads you into difficulties the character and magnitude of which are utterly unknown.

Mr. Chairman, I do not deny that the acquisition of foreign territory is gratifying to the pride of a nation. I do not even deny that it sometimes has its advantages; that it results occasionally in the acquisition of power and of wealth. But I nevertheless unhesitatingly affirm on this floor—and again I call impartial history to bear me out in the assertion—that as a general rule it is a source of weakness rather than of strength to a people. Such a policy excites cupidity; it provokes avarice; it breeds oppression; it inflicts injustice; it levies taxes; it incurs expenses; it stirs up strife; it sheds human blood; it is a step in the direction of dismemberment; and the inevitable goal to which the nation tends which follows it is that of national disintegration and decay.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. SLAYDEN. I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana be allowed time to finish his remarks.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. I am now two-thirds through.

Mr. SAYERS. I hope that the request will be granted and

that instead of the general debate being closed at 5 o'clock to-day it be closed at 5.30.

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, let the nations of the Old World go on pursuing this policy to their hearts' content, if they desire to do so. Let them, I beg you, have a full monopoly of the evils which follow in its train. Let them saddle their people with enormous debts that they may equip great navies and raise great armies to precipitate them into conflicts in which they spend millions of treasure and shed oceans of human blood.

Let the mother country, less fortunately situated than ourselves—obliged by the narrow confines of her island home to draw upon her colonies for subsistence and to draw upon them also largely for her commerce and her wealth—boast, if she pleases, that the sun never goes down upon British soil. We can point her to the fact that neither does the sun go down upon the wretchedness and misery which her remorseless policy has produced. [Applause.]

We can point her to the revolts in India, to the difficulty of maintaining her supremacy in South Africa, to the enormous expense of keeping up her lines of communication, to the wars and rumors of wars which bring anxiety to the faces and sadness to the hearts of her people. We can point her—and we can do it with pardonable pride—to the flower of her colonies, which for seven long years she sought by the expenditure of money and blood to retain, breaking away from her grasp and in a little over a century, by pursuing directly the opposite policy to that which she has pursued in this respect, not only rivaling but outstripping her in progress and in material development and in everything that makes a nation great and respected in the eyes of mankind. [Applause.]

No, Mr. Chairman, while these nations are teaching avarice, let us preach contentment. While they are exciting by threats of war, let us soothe by promises of perpetual peace. While they are inflicting suffering and misery, let us dispense happiness and prosperity.

Peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than war.

Let it be our happy lot to achieve those bloodless triumphs which, while they will exalt and enrich us as a people, will not derogate in the least from the happiness and welfare of any other nation under the light of the shining sun. Let us heed the advice and example of George Washington, that great and wise patriot whose birth is this instant being commemorated throughout the entire land, and avoid all entangling alliances with the other countries of the earth. Let us turn our attention to the development of our own resources and to the upbuilding and upholding of that which is already ours.

We have here, Mr. Chairman, as I said before, 70,000,000 people, intelligent, thrifty, ingenious, and patriotic. We have an empire for our home. Our soil is teeming with natural riches, which await the deft hand of labor, seconded by the power of capital, to take them from their hiding places and convert them into articles of ornament and use. We have fields to plant and to sow. We have crops to harvest and to garner. We have mines to open and work. We have mills and factories to operate. We are yet in the very infancy of our resources, in the very morning of our development.

Our great navigable rivers, our railroads whose steel bands form the fretwork of our continent, are lying ready to convey to all classes of our population, in every portion of our mighty domain, these products of the field, the mine, and the factory; and the great ocean vessels, with their dark hulls, are lying at our seaboard ports, ready to transport these things to the various nations of the globe and to receive back from them in trade those things which are necessary for our comfort and our happiness.

Mr. Chairman, we shall be wise indeed if we devote ourselves to this internal development and growth, if we refuse to take hold of this bauble that is handed out to us, and which, I am persuaded, those who think the most profoundly will be quickest to reject.

And, Mr. Chairman, are there not also administrative and internal reforms which are necessary to our people and worthy of our most serious attention? Ah, sir, here is a field broad enough to enlist the best attributes of our hearts and minds.

Let us see if we can not purify the right of suffrage, if we can not banish fraud and bribery and violence in all forms from the polls, if we can not do away with the shameful, notorious, and profligate use of money at all our general elections, and especially at our Presidential elections. [Applause.] Let us see if we can not avoid the reproach, whether deserved or not I shall not say, that the surest stepping-stone to power in our country, and especially to the United States Senate, is the possession of great wealth.

Let us see if we can not rid our great municipalities of the corrupt rings that dominate them and plunder them without conscience and without stint, making local self-government by the people, so long as they are in control, a byword and a sham. Let

us see if we can not pass a wisely devised immigration law that will stop at the doors of Castle Garden the great hordes of the ignorant, the vicious, and the pauper classes who come here annually from abroad in numbers too large for us longer to assimilate, and who threaten to produce deterioration in the national blood. [Applause.]

Let us see, Mr. Chairman, if we can not establish, and that, too, beyond the possibility of cavil or doubt, a stable and fixed standard of value. Let us see if we can not do away with this crude, unscientific, and costly system of banking and currency which we possess, a system not founded upon economic truths, but born amid the exigencies of war, the result largely of unwise legislative compromises; a system whose evils I do not exaggerate when I denominate it a system of patchwork and shreds, the like of which no civilized nation upon the face of the earth would tolerate for an instant.

Let us see if we can not supplant this system with one which is better adapted to the necessities of our countrymen, which will do away with the demand obligations of the Government and relegate the Treasury to its ancient and normal functions of simply collecting the public revenues and disbursing them in the payment of the public expenses; a system which, without contracting our currency, will give us an elastic and safe circulating medium, one which will do away with the congestion of money at the money centers and give to the people in the agricultural sections of the country the same facilities for doing business cheaply as are possessed in the great marts of trade and commerce—one which will equalize, at least to a great extent, the interest rates throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Let us see if we can not devise for ourselves a system which will not be a menace to business, an impediment to trade, a restriction upon commerce; which will not hamper our material development, but which will confer upon us the maximum of benefit at the minimum of cost and speed us forward upon the highway of enterprise.

Mr. Chairman, our foreign policy can be firm and patriotic, and at the same time be respectful and dignified. Conscious of our great power, we can well afford to avoid bluster and to look upon jingoism with contempt. We should have higher ambition than simply to be the roistering bully of the Western Hemisphere. We should endeavor to maintain the Monroe policy so far as it is necessary to save us from real menace or reasonable apprehension of danger.

Mr. Chairman, this nation is all powerful. The world needs what we produce, and therefore has no disposition to attack us. All people realize our great strength, and therefore seek no difficulty with us. With nations, as with individuals, the natural state is one of amity. It is only under the influences of provocation, cupidity, or danger that they develop into a condition of hostility, and I hesitate not, sir, to affirm in this presence that there are no benefits which can accrue to us by virtue either of conquest or of annexation that can not be more readily and more economically obtained by the peaceful arts of treaty and diplomacy.

It is well enough, too, Mr. Chairman, that we should learn something as to the right use of the great Navy which we possess, a Navy for whose building and maintenance we have voted appropriations with such pride and gratification. I fancy, sir, that since the Navy has developed into such formidable proportions there has sometimes been displayed by certain classes a spirit of impatience and aggressiveness toward other countries which was hardly befitting a peaceful and mighty people. I imagine that it has bred in certain quarters a spirit of belligerency almost bordering upon insolence.

Sir, as a plethora of treasure leads to great schemes of public plunder, so does a well-equipped army or navy sometimes lead to rash conduct upon the part of those who possess it—conduct which often results in injury to the people. [Applause.] The Army and the Navy were created to defend, if necessary, the rights and the territories which we possess, not to conquer other territory or even to patrol and defend territory to be acquired by peaceful annexation. The Navy, sir, unless I greatly misconceive the purpose for which it was called into existence, is designed to avert hostilities rather than to provoke them. Proud of our seamen, conscious that in case of need they can be implicitly relied upon to do their whole duty, let us nevertheless see to it that their prowess is not misdirected, and that their lives are not imperiled in wanton and unjustifiable war.

Mr. Chairman, it may seem to some gentlemen that I have been premature in the remarks which by the courtesy of the members of the Committee on Appropriations I have been allowed to submit to the committee this afternoon. It may be possible that I have laid myself open to the criticism of having taken too prompt a hold upon the forelock of time; but, sir, my purpose has been to sound an alarm and to plant a standard to attract the attention of this committee and, if it will do me the honor to hear the words of one so humble as myself, the attention of the country to the

dangerous character of the proposition now pending in the Senate. I may have failed in this. If so, sir, I shall at least carry from this Chamber the consciousness that I have tried, in my feeble way, to discharge what I regard as a great and patriotic duty.

The treaty now pending in the Senate I have every reason to believe will fail. When it has failed, its friends and advocates there will supplant it with a bill for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands. I doubt not that such a bill will pass the Senate and will be sent to us for our concurrence. Sir, when that time comes, if the Senate of the United States has failed to rise to its high traditions, if it has failed to see the dangerous character of the measure and has given it its assent, let it be the high prerogative of the American House of Representatives, fresh from the people, to put upon it the seal of their condemnation. [Applause.]

I trust, sir, when that time comes, that we shall not rush with indecent haste to a determination, that we shall not be animated by the spirit of jingoism, that we shall be able to read between the lines and not content ourselves with a superficial survey of the situation. I trust to God that the matter will not be made a party question. In its very essence it is broader than any party in the country, I care not how great that party may be. It deals profoundly with the future of all our people, a people who are divided among the existing party organizations.

I trust when that time comes, no man on either side of this Chamber will be base enough to undertake to make party capital out of it, but that in the spirit of exalted patriotism, in the spirit of absolute devotion to duty, and with deliberate counsels, we will take up the measure, discuss it from beginning to end, investigate it thoughtfully upon its merits, and reach a conclusion which will be worthy of the House, worthy of the American people, and an assured guaranty for the future happiness and safety of the Republic.

Mr. Chairman, in this emergency we will only adhere to that which is right, if we will only be true to our teachings and our traditions, within twenty-five years to come events will amply vindicate our choice. We can then look back upon a progress more marvelous even than that which has marked our career in the past, and which has excited the admiration of the whole world. We can then lay our patriotic and peaceful achievements side by side with the achievements of any nation which has in the meantime pursued a policy contrary to our own with emotions of pride and exultation at the result.

We will then thank God with grateful hearts that in the hour of temptation we had the moral courage to say "no," and the resolution to turn away from the enticement of those who would lure us from the plain path of duty and lead us in a new departure along the lines of a mistaken policy whose final destination no power short of the Supreme Ruler of the universe can foretell. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I thank the committee for its attention.

Mr. SAYERS. I yield twenty minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MIERS].

Mr. MIERS of Indiana. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the House, I trust under the liberal rule of this House in debate that I may be pardoned if I digress as other members a little from the subject being considered and talk upon a kindred subject rather than the one presented in the bill.

Mr. Chairman, the principles of the Republican party have been handed down from Hamilton; those of the Democratic party from Jefferson.

Both Hamilton and Jefferson were strong advocates of the free coinage of silver. They fought side by side against all attempts to fasten the evils of monometallism upon this country. Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury drew the first bill establishing the coinage of the United States; Jefferson heartily approved it. This bill provided "that dollars or units" should contain so many grains of silver. Hamilton in an exhaustive and unanswerable argument showed that only in the use of both metals could financial safety lie; Jefferson added to these arguments in his speeches and writings. The party of Hamilton and the party of Jefferson stood side by side in advocacy of the gold and silver units of the Constitution until 1896.

It is true that the party of Hamilton dropped the silver dollar from the list of coins to be minted in 1873, but in 1878 they acted with the Democrats in having that dollar restored. The voices of such Republicans as Blaine, Garfield, McKinley, Davis, ALLISON, HOAR, ALDRICH, Burchard, and Butterworth united with those of the leading Democrats, Carlisle, COCKRELL, TURPIE, and others, in demanding that the money of the Constitution should not be impaired. In 1888 the Republican party in its platform came out unequivocally in favor of silver and wrongfully accused the Democrats of seeking to destroy it.

Hamilton was in favor of the free coinage of silver. Hamilton's party has always claimed to be in favor of the free coinage of silver. Jefferson was in favor of the free coinage of silver. Jefferson's party is still in favor of the free coinage of silver; and yet

the party of Hamilton and the party of Jefferson are now diametrically opposed to each other, although still remaining true to the tenets of their original faith. This sounds paradoxical, but it is true.

When the question arose whether the United States Government should redeem the Continental money at its face value or what had actually been paid for it, the entire issue having been bought up by speculators, Jefferson was the champion of the people, while Hamilton was the champion of the money brokers. Jefferson said:

Justice will be done to all by paying to all persons what this money actually cost them, with an interest of 6 per cent from the time they received it. These very people who had only given one dollar's worth of provisions, of manufactures, or perhaps of silver for \$40 were displeased that they could not in a moment multiply their silver into forty. If it were decided that the United States should pay a silver dollar for every paper dollar they emitted, I am of opinion that a debt which in its just amount is not, perhaps, more than \$8,000,000 would amount to four hundred millions.—*Jefferson's Works*, volume 9, pages 250 and 259.

This was vigorously opposed by Hamilton, who favored paying the shylocks more than they were entitled to and prated about honor, just as the advocates of the bondholders prate about honor to-day as they demand that the bondholders shall receive more than their contracts call for.

Jefferson's idea of true republican government was to make the voice of the people as direct and potent as possible; Hamilton's was that the rich and influential should rule. Jefferson was in favor of a short-term Presidency; Hamilton's draft of the Constitution contained the provision that the President should hold office for life. Jefferson was in favor of a small Senate and a large House of Representatives; Hamilton argued for a large Senate and a small House of Representatives. Jefferson wanted to get as near to the people as possible; Hamilton as far away.

The following quotations from Hamilton's works will sufficiently set forth his views. He says (volume 2, page 443):

It is a harsh doctrine that men grow wicked in proportion as they improve and enlighten their minds. Experience has by no means justified us in the supposition that there is more virtue in one class of men than in another. Look through the rich and the poor of a community; the learned and the ignorant. Where does virtue predominate? The difference, indeed, consists not in the quantity but kind of vices which are incident to the various classes; and here the advantage of character belongs to the wealthy. Their vices are probably more favorable to the prosperity of the State than those of the indigent, and partake less of moral depravity.

Concerning republics in general, he says (volume 2, page 440):

It has been observed that a pure democracy, if it were practicable, would be the most perfect government. Experience has proved that no position in politics is more false than this. The ancient democracies, in which the people themselves deliberated, never possessed one feature of good government.

Again:

It has been observed that a large representation is necessary to understand the true interests of the people. I would ask why may a man not understand the interests of thirty as well as twenty? The opinion appears to be based upon the unfounded presumption that all the interests of all parts of the community must be represented. No idea is more erroneous than this. Only such interests are proper to be represented as are involved in the powers of the general government. These interests come completely under the observation of one or a few men, and the requisite information is by no means augmented in proportion to the increase of number.

With respect to the comparative importance of the Senate and House, he said:

It is an unquestionable truth that the body of the people in every country sincerely desire its prosperity. But it is equally unquestionable that they do not possess the discernment and stability necessary for systematic government. To deny that they are frequently led into the grossest errors by misinformation and passion would be a flattery which their own good sense must despise. That branch of administration especially which involves our political relations with foreign States a community will ever be incompetent to.

Hamilton's objections to the Constitution were that the President did not hold office for life and that the Senate did not possess more powers of restraint over the House. Jefferson's were as stated in his letter to Madison (*Jefferson's Works*, volume 2, page 329):

I will now tell you what I do not like. First, the omission of a bill of rights, providing clearly and without the aid of sophism for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction of monopolies, eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury.

All of these had been omitted at the instance of Hamilton and his followers. The people finally won, and Jefferson's ideas were all incorporated in the amendments of the Constitution.

It was a fight between an aristocracy headed by Hamilton and a democracy headed by Jefferson. The democracy won. That fight has been going on ever since, slowly but assiduously, until the masses, lulled to sleep by fancied security, have allowed the classes to establish the Hamiltonian aristocracy against the letter and the spirit of the Constitution.

The fight for a democracy instead of an aristocracy, when the Constitution was adopted and its subsequent amendments ratified, was a hard one, but the victory was supposed to be complete. Until the unfortunate events which caused the dark pages of American history in the early sixties, democracy remained in the ascendancy. The growth and prosperity of the United States during that entire period was without a parallel in the annals of

nations. Since that time the Hamiltonian party has succeeded in advancing step by step for the formation of a perfect aristocracy and the overturn of our republican institutions.

If the people had known that the fundamental questions at issue between Hamilton and Jefferson were still unsettled the Republican party would never have elected a President. They have secured their power, not through their principles, but by posing as the friends of the soldiers. Its success is based entirely upon the sentiment that attaches to the military achievements of over thirty years ago. They claim to be the party that saved the nation, and the people have trusted them on that account with national affairs. What is the result? The States have been degraded until in some respects their powers are not as important as those of municipal corporations. For many years it was the settled doctrine of the United States Supreme Court that where Congress had not acted upon a subject enumerated in the Constitution, it left the States free to act.

That rule has now been reversed, and the Supreme Court holds that where Congress has not acted it is equivalent to a declaration that the subject shall not be legislated upon. Under this latter construction a case went up from Missouri. That State had passed a law prohibiting the transportation through it of diseased cattle. The Supreme Court held that this law was unconstitutional as affecting interstate commerce, and until the Federal Government spoke the cattle of Missouri could not be protected. The State of New York tried to protect itself against pauper immigrants; the Supreme Court held that the law was unconstitutional. The State of California passed a similar statute excluding improper characters, which was also declared unconstitutional.

There is not a municipal corporation in the United States that can not under its police power protect itself from disease and pauperism. Yet no State has the power to do either. Under the old rulings of the United States Supreme Court there was never any question that the power of levying direct taxes rested exclusively with the States. But a few days ago an able lawyer, formerly a Republican President of the United States, argued before the United States Supreme Court that under the United States Constitution the State of Illinois had no power to levy an inheritance tax.

The sheriff of every county has a right to call out the posse comitatus, which is the militia of his county. The governor of each State has a militia which he can call out, but only after the sheriff has called upon him for assistance.

Under the new order of things, the United States Government can send its troops into any State in the Union, even against the protests of the governor who insists that there is no insurrection. The Federal Government therefore has more control over the States than the States have over the counties.

Not only is the power of the United States being centralized in the Federal Government, but the wealth of the United States is being centralized in the hands of a few.

The total population on June 1, 1890, was 63,450,700, or about 12,690,152 families of 5 members each, or an aggregate of that many homes, both owned and rented. Out of the total number of families the number owning and occupying mortgaged homes and farms is about 2,250,000, leaving 10,440,152 families occupying hired homes and farms or those which they own free of incumbrance; about 8,250,000 families occupy hired homes and farms, leaving 2,190,152 who occupy their homes free of incumbrance.

Finally there is a group of 4,047 families, or 20,235 individuals, who own and control nearly \$15,000,000,000—say \$12,000,000,000, or about one-fifth the aggregate wealth. Otherwise stated, 20 per cent of the aggregate wealth is owned and controlled by three hundredths of 1 per cent of the population.

Having concentrated the power and the wealth of the country in the hands of a few, it is not remarkable that the Republican party wishes to strike down one-half of the money of the country in order that its masters may have absolute control of the circulating medium.

Hamilton was in favor of a life tenure of office for the President, a powerful Senate, a small and uninfluential House of Representatives, and also in favor of paying the bankers forty times the amount they had paid for the continental currency. To-day the Hamiltonian party stands strictly on the Hamiltonian platform, favoring the concentration of power and wealth and the payment to the bankers of more than they are entitled to.

Jefferson favored a system of Government that would insure the liberties of the people and guarantee to them equality in its affairs. He favored the payment to the bankers of what was justly due them; and to-day the Jeffersonian Democracy stands where he did then; they stand upon the Constitution, not as adopted by Hamilton, but as amended with the Jefferson bill of rights; they believe in the people; they believe that every man has a right to a voice in the affairs of this Government; they believe in equality to all under the law; they believe in paying every dollar of just indebtedness, and oppose robbing the masses in order to pay the bondholders more than they are entitled to receive.

The United States Constitution declares for gold and silver as the constitutional money. The principles of Jefferson and the principles of Hamilton are those of the double unit of gold and silver. The great Daniel Webster argued that any legislation affecting the standing of either as monetary metals would be unconstitutional. Under the Democratic rule up to 1861 but \$8,000,000 in silver dollars was coined. Under Republican rule, from 1861 to 1873, four hundred and fifty millions were coined. The Republicans then dropped the silver dollar from the list of coins to be minted and substituted the trade dollar. In 1873 the Republicans restored the silver dollar to its former position as a monetary unit. Under that law the Republicans coined many million silver dollars.

In 1890 the Republicans passed a law for the purchase of silver bullion. Under that law the Republicans coined many million silver dollars. These dollars were paid out to the old soldiers for pensions, to the employees for wages and salaries, and to the contractors for supplies furnished. The banks paid them over their counters to their customers. As Secretary Gage said the 1st of last July, in Circular 143, silver equally with gold is a money of redemption, and these dollars can not therefore be redeemed in anything.

Now that they have been paid out to the old soldiers, the workmen, and the American contractors, the Republican party claims that these dollars are dishonest dollars—50-cent dollars—and while it was honest to pay them to the Americans, it would be dishonest to pay them to the foreign bondholders. It is honest for the banks to pay them to the people, but dishonest for the people to pay them back to the banks. They are Republican dollars, coined under Republican Administrations—coined under laws passed by the Republicans—and the Democrats are accused of being repudiationists because they want to give full faith and credit to these dollars.

The Republicans claim that these dollars are worth but 50 cents; they claim that it would be dishonest to pay them to the bondholders, and yet it has never been claimed by any Republican that the Government should make good to the people the loss they have incurred by receiving this 50 cents for their claims when they were entitled to a dollar.

No Republican claims that his party was dishonest in coining these dollars; no Republican claims that his party was dishonest in paying the old soldiers with them. The first time the Republican conscience was pricked was when it came to paying them to foreign bondholders for interest on bonds.

If these dollars were honest when coined, they are honest now. There has been no legislation since 1873, except the passage of an act in 1890 and its repeal in 1893. If these dollars were honest then, they are honest now; if they are dishonest now, they were dishonest then. If they were good money with which the banks could pay their customers, they are good money now with which the customers can pay the banks.

This country is on the same monetary basis now that it has been since the act of 1873. If it is on a single gold basis now, it was then and has been ever since. If it was on a bimetallic basis then, it is now.

It is not and never could have been upon a bimetallic basis for the bankers.

It has been claimed by the opponents of silver that the fact that but eight millions of dollars was coined previous to 1861 is an argument against the present Democratic position. Had there been no silver dollars coined up to date, although the law provided for a double unit of gold and silver, then a change to a single gold unit—there being no silver money—would have but little effect. Had there been but eight millions of dollars when the coinage was stopped and silver discredited, the effect, while universal, would not have been very serious.

But when four hundred and fifty millions was coined and this coinage was all discredited, and then three hundred millions of these discredited dollars coined, then the basis changed from a bimetallic unit to gold alone, thus making seven hundred and fifty millions in dollars worth their bullion value only, and stopping the mints so that the value of that bullion would be reduced one-half would have completely bankrupted any other country than this. And yet this is precisely what the Republican party has done with the silver dollar.

The Republicans talk as glibly of these "50-cent dollars" and argue against their use in paying debts and the dishonesty of people who attempt to so use them as though they themselves had not already passed 750,000,000 of them on the people of the United States, who took them at their full face value. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

If the Republicans are right, and the silver dollars are 50-cent dollars, then there is only one course which in fairness and justice they can pursue. They must unequivocally establish the single gold unit and redeem every silver dollar with a gold dollar. This is the logical course.

The people have accepted them in good faith as worth 100 cents,

and if they are only worth 50 cents, the Government, if it acts in good faith, must redeem them in gold. Yet no Republican official has ever yet suggested such a course, and no bill has been introduced in Congress for the purpose of redeeming the silver dollars in gold, and no one dare do it. The Republicans say to the people that every dollar in the United States is equal to every other dollar. They make it their boast on the stump, in speeches at banquets, and on the floors of the Halls of Congress.

But when they talk to the bankers then their proud boast is changed to an apology, and they assure the gentlemen of finance that they appreciate that silver dollars are only worth 50 cents each and they will pay the banks nothing but gold. Realizing that to pay the banks silver would be dishonest, they pay the silver to the people in even exchange for the people's gold, and then pay the gold to the banks. To rob the banks would be dishonest; to rob the people is statesmanship.

The total gold stock of the United States in December, 1897, was \$696,460,640, and yet when the last bonds were bid for \$688,000,000 in gold was offered. The bidders controlled all there was in existence. Is the money of all except these bidders dishonest?

For every year between 1883 and 1890, inclusive, more silver than gold was coined. Was more than half the coinage dishonest? From 1873 to 1890 \$437,078,471 in silver was coined; and was it all dishonest? From 1890 to 1896 \$56,308,876 in dollars and \$332,698.70 in subsidiary coinage was minted. Was this all dishonest? In the year 1896, \$7,500,000 in silver dollars was coined; in 1897, \$12,651,731. From March to December, 1897, there was \$8,099,481 minted. Are these all dishonest? They are not exchangeable for gold. Secretary Gage, in Circular 143, issued July, 1897, says expressly:

Gold coins and standard silver dollars, being standard coins of the United States, are not redeemable.

The general stock of silver dollars in the United States December 1, 1896, was \$441,466,141; on December 1, 1897, \$454,213,792. Is the increase under Republican rule an increase of dishonesty?

The coinage of the world January 1, 1896, was \$4,143,700,000 gold and \$4,236,900,000 in silver. Are more than half the world's dollars dishonest?

In the name of justice I protest against such a conclusion forced by the recent utterances of President McKinley and Secretary Gage. These silver dollars are honest dollars and I will prove it by Republican utterances.

Alexander Hamilton, in his able and valuable report in 1791-93 on the establishment of the mint, declared that—

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

I take no risk in saying that benefits of a full circulation and the evils of a scanty circulation are both immeasurably greater to-day than they were when Hamilton uttered these weighty words. In the report from which I have already quoted, Mr. Hamilton argues at length in favor of a double standard, and all the subsequent experience of well-nigh ninety years has brought out no clearer statement of the whole case, nor developed a more complete comprehension of this subtle and difficult subject.

On the whole—

Says Mr. Hamilton—

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.

On February 16, 1878, in the Senate of the United States, Hon. John J. Ingalls, of Kansas, who at that time was in full accord with his party, said:

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 to 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 subject of so much adoration, it becomes haughty and sensitive and shrinks at the approach of danger, and wherever 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 that 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 crises of great 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 fruit of victory.

Senator HOAR, of Massachusetts, who has never been accused of deserting his party during his many years of public service, said August 15, 1893:

You may drive out nature with your legislative fork, but again and again she comes running back. This doctrine is recognized in the Constitution: "No State shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender." "No State

shall coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payments of debts."

That the words "money" and "gold and silver" were regarded as equivalent in constitutional meaning is shown by the fact that the Constitution makes a separate provision as to bills of credit and does not include them in the sentence which applies to money. It is not gold or silver that a State may make a legal tender, but gold and silver, the legal value of which by another clause of the Constitution is to be determined by Congress.

Chief Justice Ellsworth and his associate, who represented Connecticut in the Constitutional Convention, in their report to their constituents of the proceedings of the convention, say that the new Constitution provides that no State "shall make anything but money a legal tender for the payment of debts," showing that in their judgment the word "money" and the words "gold and silver" are identical or equivalent.

Alexander Hamilton considered this question in his great report on the mint and the coinage. He gave fullest weight to the arguments of the monometallists. He admitted that the money unit had up to that time virtually attached to gold rather than to silver. But with the fullest concurrence of President Washington and the statesmen of his time, he declared for the principle of bimetalism. His arguments have not lost their original force. They have not been answered in any discussion. The people of the United States, when the tempest has passed, will settle down and be reconciled to the solution of this great problem in which Washington and his Cabinet joined. They will never be permanently reconciled to any other.

The Forty-fifth Congress passed the Bland-Allison Act to restore the standard silver dollar to coinage, to full legal-tender functions. We find such Republicans voting for it as Senator ALLISON, Senator Davis, Senator Windom, Representatives Burchard, CANNON, Conger, J. D. Cox, Cummings, Keifer, Kelley, Aldrich, Bayne, Brewer, Brown, Garkins, Foster, and Ryan.

On September 12, 1890, at a meeting of the Ohio Republican Club at Toledo, President McKinley, criticising President Cleveland on the charge of attempting to debase silver, said:

During all his years at the head of our Government he was dishonoring one of our precious metals, one of the great products, discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored, even before his inauguration to office, to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterwards to the end of his Administration persistently used his power to that end. He was determined to contract the circulating medium and demonetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the value of money among the people, make money scarce and therefore dear.

He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master of everything, everything else the servant.

He was not thinking of the poor then. He had left their side. He was not standing forth in their defense. Cheap coats, cheap labor, and dear money; the sponsor and promoter of these, professing to stand guard over the welfare of the poor and lowly. Was there ever a more glaring inconsistency or reckless assumption?

Mr. Sherman, the honored Secretary of State, in a letter to Hon. A. Mann, of Brooklyn, N. Y., written on the 20th day of March, 1868, says:

DEAR SIR: I was pleased to receive your letter. My personal interests are the same as yours, but, like you, I do not intend to be influenced by them. My construction of the law is the result of careful examination, and I feel quite sure that an impartial court would confirm it if the case could be tried before a court. I send you my views as fully stated in a speech. Your idea is that we propose to repudiate or violate a promise when we offer to redeem the principal in legal tender.

I think the bondholder violates his promise when he refuses to take the same kind of money he pays for the bonds. If the case is to be tested by law I am right. If it is to be tested by Jay Cooke's advertisement I am wrong. I hate repudiation or anything like it, but we ought not to be deterred from doing what is right by the fear of undeserved epithets. If, under the law as it stands, the holders of the five-twenties can only be paid in gold, then we are repudiators if we propose to pay otherwise. If the bondholder can legally demand only the kind of money he paid, then he is a repudiator and extortioner to demand money more valuable than he gave.

Yours, truly,

JOHN SHERMAN.

Senator Fessenden, of Maine, said, concerning the proposition to pay the bonds in gold:

Sir, I meant what I said, and the Congress of the United States meant what it said—that it would pay so many dollars. What was a dollar? A dollar was defined by statute. It was gold or silver coin.

Hon. Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, contending that there was a vested right in the people to pay the bonds in legal-tender notes, said:

And now I propound the question: It is either intended by this bill to make a contract or it is not. If it is intended to make a contract I protest against it.

We should do foul injustice to the Government and the people of the United States after we have sold these bonds on an average for not more than 60 cents on the dollar now to make a new contract for the benefit of the holders.

Sir, it is understood, I believe, that the passage of a bill of this kind would have the effect in Europe, where our financial questions are not well understood, to increase the demand, and that will enable the great operators to sell the bonds they have on hand at a profit.

It is the nature of a broker's operation. It is a bull movement, intended to put up the price of bonds for the interest of parties dealing in them. This great interest is thundering at the doors of Congress, and has for many months and by every means been attempting to drive us into legislation for the purpose of making money for the great operators. That is what it means, and nothing else.

During all of this period when the Republican leaders were advocating silver in Congress the Republican Secretaries of the Treasury were debasing it, and in this way the people's eyes were blindfolded until the money broker had obtained complete control of our financial system. Then and not until then did the Republican party allow the people to know that it was in favor of the gold standard and of paying the bonds exclusively in gold, when by their terms they were payable in either gold or silver.

Why do the Republicans want to establish that these dollars they have coined are dishonest? The trusts and bankers demand it, and it is a part of the price of power. I give the list of these trusts and their contributions to the campaign fund of the Republicans in 1896:

Name of trust.	When formed.	Common stock.	Preferred stock.	Contribution to McKinley campaign fund.
American Axe and Tool Co.....	1890	\$15,000,000	-----	\$5,000
American Bell Telephone Co.....	1881	23,015,000	-----	10,000
American Biscuit Manufacturing Co.....	1891	10,000,000	-----	-----
American Boiler Manufacturers' Union (128 manufacturers).....	1889	25,000,000	-----	7,500
American Book Co. (schoolbooks).....	1889	5,000,000	-----	5,000
American Cereal Co. (oatmeal).....	1891	3,500,000	-----	-----
American Cotton Oil Co.....	1883	20,237,000	\$10,198,000	20,000
American Electric Heating Corporation.....	1896	10,000,000	-----	5,000
American Glue Co.....	1891	1,400,000	700,000	-----
American Jute Bagging Manufacturing Co.....	1888	2,000,000	-----	-----
American Lithograph Co.....	1891	8,000,000	3,500,000	5,000
American Machine Co. (sewing).....	1895	10,000,000	-----	5,000
American Maltng Co.....	1897	13,750,000	12,500,000	10,000
American Ordnance Co. (guns, projectiles, etc.).....	1896	2,500,000	-----	3,000
American Powder Co.....	1890	1,500,000	-----	-----
American Preservers' Association.....	1885	\$8,000,000	-----	\$4,000
American Screw Co.....	1893	3,250,000	-----	4,000
American Soda Fountain Co.....	1891	1,250,000	-----	5,000
American Spirits Manufacturing Co.....	1887	28,000,000	\$7,000,000	15,000
American Spool Cotton Manufacturing Association.....	1897	10,000,000	-----	5,000
American Strawboard Co.....	1889	6,000,000	-----	-----
American Steel Casting Co.....	1891	4,200,000	-----	5,000
American Sugar Refining Co.....	1887	38,968,000	38,968,000	25,000
American Tobacco Co.....	1890	17,900,000	11,935,000	10,000
American Type Founders' Co.....	1892	3,750,000	-----	5,000
American Window Glass Co.....	1890	20,000,000	-----	10,000
American Wringer Co.....	1891	850,000	1,650,000	5,900
American Manufacturing Association (cartridges).....	1883	4,000,000	-----	4,000
Anaconda Copper Co. (mining).....	1891	30,000,000	-----	-----
Atlas Tack Corporation.....	1881	700,000	-----	3,000
Barber Asphalt Co. (pools with other companies).....	1887	5,000,000	-----	-----
Beef (Consolidated Packing Co.).....	1892	5,000,000	-----	10,000
Bolt and nut (several associations).....	1888	10,000,000	-----	5,000
Brooklyn Union Gas.....	1895	15,000,000	-----	5,000
Brooklyn Wharf and Warehouse Co.....	1895	5,000,000	7,500,000	10,000
California Wine Makers' Association (allied with California Wine Association).....	1894	10,000,000	-----	3,000
Carnegie Steel Co. (Limited).....	1894	35,000,000	-----	25,000
Celluloid Co.....	1897	3,000,000	-----	-----
Central Lumber Co. of California.....	1896	70,000,000	-----	5,000
Chain Manufacturing Association (trace, wagon, etc.).....	1896	3,000,000	-----	-----
Chemical (pharmaceutical combine).....	-----	-----	-----	-----
Chicago and Milwaukee Brewers' Association.....	1890	50,000,000	-----	1,000
Columbia Spring Co.....	1894	2,000,000	-----	20,000
Consolidated Fruit Jar Co.....	1891	500,000	-----	-----
Consolidated Gas Co. of New York.....	1884	35,430,000	-----	10,000
Consolidated Ice Co.....	1895	6,500,000	3,500,000	10,000
Consolidated Kansas City Smelting and Refining Co.....	1887	2,500,000	2,000,000	10,000
Consolidated Steel Wire Co. (barbed wire).....	1891	4,000,000	-----	5,000
Diamond Match Co.....	1889	11,000,000	-----	15,000
Dynamite pool (3 big California companies).....	1897	2,000,000	-----	-----
Electric Storage Battery Co.....	1888	8,500,000	5,000,000	20,000
Eastern Burial Case Co.....	1890	4,000,000	-----	5,000
Electrotypers (New York City and vicinity).....	1897	5,000,000	-----	1,000
General Electric Co. (allied with others).....	1892	30,460,000	4,252,000	15,000
Glucose Sugar Refining Co.....	1897	24,286,000	12,300,000	25,000
Gas Fixture Combine.....	1889	5,000,000	-----	-----
Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Co.....	1892	2,000,000	3,000,000	10,000
Herring-Hall-Marvin (safe).....	1892	1,500,000	1,800,000	10,000
Incandescent Lamp Pool.....	1896	3,000,000	-----	-----
Indurated Fibers Co.....	1890	1,000,000	-----	-----
Joint Traffic Association.....	1896	1,404,130,581	-----	25,000
Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines.....	1893	28,450,000	-----	5,000
Mechanical Rubber Manufacturing Association.....	1892	15,000,000	-----	-----
Manhattan Spirit Co. (wood alcohol).....	1893	5,000,000	-----	-----
Michigan Salt Association.....	1876	4,000,000	-----	10,000
Michigan-Peninsular Car Co.....	1892	2,000,000	5,000,000	15,000
Nail (cut and wire) Manufacturers Association.....	1895	\$5,000,000	-----	\$5,000
National Association of Axle Manufacturers.....	1895	5,000,000	-----	5,000
National Casket Co.....	1891	10,000,000	-----	5,000
National Harrow Co. (spring-tooth harrows).....	1890	2,000,000	-----	10,000
National Lead Co.....	1891	14,905,400	\$14,904,000	20,000
National Linseed Oil Co.....	1887	18,000,000	-----	20,000
National Pipe and Tube Co.....	1891	5,750,000	5,750,000	-----
National Rice Milling Co.....	1892	1,867,000	1,320,000	20,000
National Saw Co.....	1890	3,000,000	-----	-----
National Starch Manufacturing Co.....	1890	4,450,700	4,066,200	5,000

Name of trust.	When formed.	Common stock.	Preferred stock.	Contribution to McKinley campaign fund.
National Wall Paper Co.	1897	\$27,931,500	\$7,500,000	\$10,000
New York Biscuit Co. (allied with others)	1891	9,000,000	-----	10,000
New England Insurance Exchange (84 fire-insurance companies)	1883	58,537,167	-----	25,000
New York Architectural Terra Cotta Co. (allied with other companies)	1896	2,000,000	-----	10,000
Oilcloth pool (table, enameled, etc.)	1887	1,500,000	-----	-----
Pennsylvania Heat, Light, and Power Co. (electric)	1895	5,000,000	5,000,000	20,000
Pacific Coast borax	1887	1,500,000	1,000,000	5,000
Paris green combine	1889	1,000,000	-----	-----
People's Gaslight and Coke Co.	1887	25,000,000	-----	10,000
Pittsburg Plate Glass Co.	1891	10,000,000	-----	10,000
Philadelphia Co. (natural gas)	1887	19,500,500	2,000,000	10,000
Reading Co. (coal trust)	1892	150,000,000	-----	25,000
Shelby Tube Co. (weldless tubes)	1897	5,000,000	-----	-----
Shot and Lead Manufacturing Association	1890	2,000,000	-----	5,000
Sperry Flour Co. (California)	1892	10,000,000	-----	25,000
Standard Oil Co.	1872	97,500,000	-----	-----
Standard Rope and Twine Co.	1888	12,000,000	-----	10,000
Steel Rail Manufacturing Association	1891	50,000,000	-----	20,000
Tinned Plate Manufacturing Association	1892	10,000,000	-----	5,000
Trenton Potteries Co.	1892	1,750,000	1,250,000	15,000
Union Traction Co. (all trolleys in Philadelphia)	1895	30,000,000	-----	10,000
Union Typewriters Co.	1893	10,000,000	-----	10,000
United Paper Co. (tissue)	1892	1,500,000	1,500,000	5,000
United States Book Co. (cheap novels)	1890	3,250,000	-----	-----
United States Furniture Co. (school)	1892	2,000,000	-----	-----
United States Glass Co. (flint glass)	1891	4,000,000	-----	18,000
United States Leather Co.	1893	62,711,100	62,111,100	20,000
United States Playing Card Co.	-----	3,000,000	-----	5,000
United States Rubber Co. (boots)	1892	20,168,000	19,400,500	20,000
Western Union Beef Co. (cattle)	1896	13,600,000	-----	15,000
Western Union Telegraph Co.	1856	95,370,000	-----	25,000
Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co.	1891	8,342,925	3,996,053	25,000
Wholesale Druggists' National Association (250 firms)	1874	25,000,000	-----	25,000
Wholesale Grocers of New England	1875	75,000,000	-----	10,000
Yellow Pine Co.	1891	2,500,000	-----	5,000

Since that time there have been formed the International Paper Company of New York, capital \$45,000,000; the marble slab manufacturers of the United States; the National Biscuit Company, capital \$55,000,000; the sewer pipemanufacturers; the Citizens' Coal and Coke Company, controlling all coal shipments to the Cincinnati market; the pottery trust; the glass trust; American Air Power Company, capital \$7,000,000; the powder pool, controlling absolutely all trade in explosives; the potters' trust; the gas companies of Pittsburg; the street-railroad companies of Baltimore; the Lake Shore and Vanderbilt railroads have made trusts and combines, all of these being since the 1st of January, 1898. What other class has prospered with the trusts?

The profits arising from the appreciation of gold by the debasement of silver would alone create tremendous dividends. Pay their debts in silver and demand gold from their debtors.

The Republican leaders mislead the people by talking of maintaining the parity. There is no such thing as parity between dollars. A dollar is the representation of value. If the substance of which it is composed is worth more than a dollar, then the holders will sell the substance and use it as a commodity and not as money. If the commodity is worth less than the money value, it will be used as money and not as a commodity.

The gold has been bulled in price, as it was during the sixties, when it went to \$2.20 for each dollar. The dollar remains stationary. It would not be a dollar if it either increased or decreased in value. They insist upon gold, not because it is the money of the world, as they claim—it is not the money of the world; there is more silver than gold used as money—but because it is worth more as a commodity than its money face.

They prate about parity and pretend to seek to bring it about, and yet the way they proceed is to say here is a coin that the law says is a dollar, its face calls for a dollar, but it is only worth 50 cents; it would be dishonest to pay it to our creditors; the gold dollar alone is really a dollar, but we must maintain an exact equality between this 50 cents and this 100 cents; we can not exchange one for the other, but patriotic Americans must receive these 50-cent pieces at 100 cents each from the Government and maintain their honor by refusing to pay them out at more than 50 cents each. Thus by receiving 50 cents on the dollar for what is owing to us and paying a hundred cents on the dollar for what we owe we will maintain our integrity and be prosperous. Robbed of all verbiage, this is precisely the position of the Republicans.

Is it calculated to cause the silver dollar to be at parity with gold to call it a 50-cent dollar?

Is it calculated to cause the silver dollar to be at parity with gold to call it a dishonest dollar?

Is it calculated to cause the silver dollar to be at parity with gold to refuse to exchange it for gold?

The bankers and brokers have all of the gold, the people have most of the silver. If the bankers and brokers can bull the gold and bear the silver, at their bidding turn the gold into the banks, pay out the silver to the people, and talk about integrity, honesty, and parity between the metals, it will not take long for the Hamiltonian idea to be realized and this become a Government of the wealthy, by the wealthy, and for the wealthy. The greatest Republic the world ever knew will exist no more, and in its place will be the most exclusive aristocracy ever devised as a form of government. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

During the delivery of the foregoing remarks, the time of Mr. MIERS of Indiana expired.

Mr. BAILEY. If the gentleman from Texas will agree to yield to the gentleman from Indiana ten minutes, I will agree that he take that out of the time yielded to me. It will come out of the thirty minutes.

Mr. SAYERS. The gentleman from Washington yields ten minutes. I had promised him thirty minutes.

Mr. MIERS of Indiana. Give me two or three minutes.

Mr. SAYERS. I will yield a couple of minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. I will yield to the gentleman such time as he yielded me.

Mr. SAYERS. All right; I will yield the gentleman five minutes. The gentleman can take until he concludes his speech.

Mr. MIERS of Indiana continued and concluded his remarks as above.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Chairman, how much time did the gentleman use?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has used twenty-five minutes.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose, and Mr. PITNEY having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

S. R. 108. Joint resolution providing for the printing of Bulletin 19 of the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture;
S. 3809. An act to amend "An act providing for public printing and binding and the distribution of public documents," approved January 12, 1895;

S. 1711. An act for the relief of the legal representatives of George McDougall, deceased;

S. 707. An act for the relief of Ames & Detrick, of San Francisco, in the State of California;

S. 759. A act for the relief of William H. Crook;

S. 1016. An act for the relief of the Atlantic Works, of Boston, Mass.;

S. 662. An act concerning sail vessels of over 700 tons;

S. 946. An act relating to the collection of fees for furnishing certificates of title of vessels;

S. 1985. An act granting to the State of Wyoming 50,000 acres of land to aid in the continuation, enlargement, and maintenance of the Wyoming State Soldiers and Sailors' Home;

S. 2063. An act to authorize the White and Black River Valley Railway Company to build a bridge across the Black River in Arkansas;

S. 743. An act for the relief of Thomas Guinean, of Oregon;

S. 1149. An act for the relief of Avery D. Babcock and wife, of Oregon;

S. 2097. An act to grant to the city of Wilmington, Del., the use of certain real estate in said city on which is situated the building recently occupied for Federal purposes;

S. 1443. An act for the relief of William H. Tibbits;

S. 1990. An act to require patents to be issued to land actually settled under the act entitled "An act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the peninsula of Florida," approved August 4, 1842;

S. 1945. An act for the relief of Mary A. Coulson, executrix of Sewell Coulson, deceased;

S. 1166. An act for the relief of John L. Rhea, executor of Samuel Rhea, deceased, and John Anderson, administrator of Joseph R. Anderson, deceased;

S. 2284. An act to authorize Admiral T. O. Selfridge, United States Navy; Capt. G. H. Wadleigh, United States Navy; Lieut. Commander E. H. Gheen, United States Navy; Lieut. Commander Raymond P. Rodgers, United States Navy; Paymaster J. B. Redfield, United States Navy; Lieut. J. J. Hunker, United States Navy; Surg. D. N. Bertolette, United States Navy, and Ensign R. L. Russell, United States Navy, to accept medals presented to them by the Russian Government;

S. 921. An act to regulate the use of the public parks and improved reservations in the District of Columbia under the charge of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army;

S. 1865. An act to extend the charter of the Franklin Insurance Company of the city of Washington; and

S. 3578. An act to amend an act to prohibit the passage of local and special laws in the Territories, to limit Territorial indebtedness, etc.

SUNDRY CIVIL APPROPRIATION BILL.

The committee resumed its session.

Mr. SAYERS. I yield thirty minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JONES].

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. Chairman, the bill now under consideration calls for the appropriation of a very large sum of money—something over \$44,000,000. Other bills that have passed this House during the present session have also called for the appropriation of other very large sums of money, and as the money, Mr. Chairman, must be supplied by the people, and from the money which the people can secure they can not meet these appropriations, they can not change the daily deficit into a surplus unless they can get the money with which to transact their business and the surplus necessary to meet these enormous expenditures.

It becomes thus important to inquire, Mr. Chairman, how much money the people of the United States may get, because I say to you, sir, that the people of this country can not get the money to meet these appropriations unless the Government of the United States makes it possible for them to find the money to do so. It becomes thus important for us to inquire, Mr. Chairman, how much money the Government of the United States furnishes the people with which to transact all their multifarious forms of business and find a surplus necessary to support this Government.

The Secretary of the Treasury, on page 39 of his Report on the State of the Finances for the year 1897, presents the following estimates of moneys outside of the Treasury on November 1 of that year:

Gold coin	\$539,273,953
Standard silver dollars	60,199,778
Subsidiary silver	63,432,920
Gold certificates	36,814,109
Silver certificates	372,838,919
Treasury notes, act July 14, 1890	101,759,955
United States notes	258,990,598
Currency certificates, act June 8, 1872	48,285,000
National-bank notes	225,134,263
Total	1,706,732,904

No one who will devote a little attention to the analysis of the foregoing figures will have any difficulty in reaching the conclusion that there is something wrong with them. Let us inquire for a moment where is this money which the Secretary of the Treasury assures us is in circulation.

First. Where is the \$539,273,953 of gold coin?

On October 5, 1897, the Comptroller of the Currency informs us that the national banks held \$118,856,207 and all other banks held \$39,127,271, leaving outside of all the banks and outside of the Treasury the enormous sum of \$381,290,475, which, in order to make the Treasurer's estimate good, can be accounted for only in one way. It must be in the pockets of the people. There is no other way to account for it.

Let us see how this conjecture of the Treasurer harmonizes with known facts. It is notorious that no gold coin is in circulation in the East. Not a member of this House has seen a gold coin in circulation this side of the Mississippi in the last ten years unless he has happened to meet some tourist from the West who has not been yet relieved of all his money.

There is not a million dollars of gold coin in actual circulation among the people this side of the Rocky Mountains. There are about 3,000,000 people west of that range, and in order to make the Treasurer's estimate hold good every man, woman, and child on the other side of the Rockies must have \$127.09 in gold coin concealed about his person. Everyone who will reflect for a moment knows that to credit the people of that country with \$5 per capita of gold coin actually in their pockets and outside all the banks would involve a violent and irrational presumption.

In the Treasurer's estimate, under the head of gold coin alone, there is a palpable exaggeration of more than \$300,000,000, or, in other words, more than one-half of the Treasurer's estimate is manifestly pure imagination.

Nor are we without evidence that the attention of the officers of the Treasury Department has been especially called to this fact. In the Government publication entitled "Production of Gold and Silver in the United States, 1888," which report was submitted by Dr. Kimball, Director of the Mint, in 1889, we find the following quoted, with approval, from the Commercial and Financial Chronicle of February 9, 1889:

"In years past," says the Chronicle, "we have often insisted that there must be an error in the item" (gold coin), "because the most industrious inquiry failed to bring to light a very considerable portion of it. At present there are at least \$275,000,000 of the total that can not be accounted for."

If this was the condition in 1888, we think we are justified in as-

serting that, at the present time, the amount which can not be accounted for exceeds \$300,000,000; in other words, it does not exist. The only attempt made by the Director of the Mint to account for this enormous volume of gold is on the theory that it is hoarded by the people, or, in other words, hidden away in old stockings and other receptacles popularly supposed to be utilized by misers to preserve their treasures.

Mr. BELL. Will the gentleman allow me a suggestion?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Certainly.

Mr. BELL. I want to suggest that in 1893, when the hoarding was going on, that people usually objected to gold, and the hoarding included more bank paper or greenbacks and more silver certificates than any other money. They objected to the hoarding of metallic money.

Mr. JONES of Washington. There is no question about that.

But we submit, first, that it is absurd to suppose there is anything like that quantity of gold coin hoarded by the people of the United States. If such a thing could be believed, it necessarily leads to the conclusion that a form of money which offers so great a temptation to hoarding as to result in hiding away \$20 for every dollar kept in circulation is a very bad form of money and its use ought to be discontinued. Secondly, if it is thus hoarded it is not in circulation, but is as utterly unavailable for the purposes of money as if it were buried at the bottom of the ocean, and should not be reckoned as a part of the circulating medium.

Nor is it difficult to understand the magnitude of this exaggeration when we consider the methods employed by the Treasurer to arrive at these estimates. In making them up not a dollar is deducted for coin carried away by tourists and travelers in their pockets, or exported from ports other than New York; none for that lost in wrecks on ocean, lake, and river; none for that which has disappeared in the numerous conflagrations (some of them awful in their magnitude) which have occurred in the past twenty-five years; none for the coin hidden by misers who have died without revealing its hiding place; none for the coins casually lost from time to time by the people. Indeed, when we consider the remarkable system of mathematics by which these delusive results are reached, it is a wonder that the discrepancy between the facts and the estimates is not greater. It would be scarcely less rational to estimate the quantity of water in the ocean by adding to the original volume all that has been discharged by the streams, without making any allowance whatever for evaporation.

I know that the first impulse of my gold-standard friend will be to say, "It is incredible that the Secretary of the Treasury could have made such an error as to overestimate the amount of gold in circulation more than 150 per cent, and we know that neither the present Secretary nor his predecessor, Mr. Carlisle, would intentionally misrepresent anything to the American people." But those who think so gross an overestimate impossible have certainly never taken the trouble to inquire where the gold goes to.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. Will the gentleman state his own opinion as to how this money has departed?

Mr. JONES of Washington. There is one method in which a large portion of it has departed. Scarcely a tourist leaves our shores who does not have gold in his pocket when he starts. It is notorious that our people spend \$100,000,000 every year in tours through Europe. I do not say that the whole of this \$100,000,000 goes into the pockets of tourists; we know that it does not; but I do say that a large sum goes in that way. The Treasury Department guesses that the British tourists bring back just as much in this way as American tourists take out of the country. We all know, however, that such is not the fact.

Mr. SHAFROTH. Is it not a fact that millions of gold coin find their way to the pot of the goldsmith to be melted for use in the arts?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I thank the gentleman for that suggestion.

Mr. LEWIS of Washington. It was that suggestion I desired to bring out.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The Treasury Department does make a small allowance for coin melted to be used in the arts; but anyone examining the statement of the Department must be struck with the paucity of the allowance made on this account compared with the enormous use that even dentists make of gold—the enormous quantities buried every year in the graveyards of this country in the teeth of those who die.

Mr. JETT. As the gentleman seems to be so well informed on this matter, I should like to ask him this question: In his estimation, how much gold is in circulation now among the people of the United States?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Does the gentleman mean actually in the pockets of the people, outside of the banks?

Mr. JETT. Yes; outside of the banks.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I say it is absolutely unreasonable to believe that there is more than \$15,000,000 in actual circulation. I say this after making what seems to me not only a generous but an exaggerated allowance for money in the pockets of the people in the only part of the United States where gold coin does circulate—on the Pacific Coast—where they have always used gold coin.

Mr. BELL. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to connect my question with my previous object. You figured on the exact amount that the Treasury Department claims is hoarded in gold. The Treasury Department and the Government generally, when the hoarding was at the extreme, stated generally that the people did not collect gold to hoard; that they hoarded bank notes, greenbacks, Treasury notes of every kind. Now, taking their theory as correct, that all this gold is hoarded that you mention, suppose you take the same proportion of hoarding in paper money. Would not most of the money be hoarded?

Mr. JONES of Washington. We would not have any money.

Mr. BELL. All of it would be hoarded, would it not?

Mr. JONES of Washington. More than all of it, a good deal. Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to continue this question. I would like to speak a little concerning other forms of metallic money, for it is incredible that there is this vast amount of silver coin, dollars and subsidiary coin, in existence which the Treasury Department claims, but time will not permit and therefore confine myself to gold.

There was certainly some gold in the world when America was discovered, and, without reckoning the millions taken from obscure places by Chinamen and other vagrant miners, there has been produced since that time the enormous sum of \$14,253,070,666 (Annual Statistician, 1892, page 574), while the entire stock of gold now in the world is only \$4,143,700,000. (Finance, 1896, page 206.)

What has become of the other \$10,109,370,666, besides the large amount concerning the production of which no statistics were attainable? Where has it gone to? According to the same authority, page 220, there has been produced since 1860, \$4,356,478,200, which is \$212,778,200 more than exists in the world to-day.

Think of it. The entire product of the world prior to 1860, together with more than \$200,000,000 of that produced since 1860, has vanished in thirty-seven years. The United States alone since 1849 has produced more than half as much as can be found in the entire world to-day, and out of that production more than \$800,000,000 can not be accounted for at all.

It is, however, not difficult to realize the enormous loss and waste on this metal when we consider that the loss by abrasion alone on \$1,000,000 in gold coin shipped from New York to Liverpool averages \$256.16, notwithstanding the greatest care is employed in packing it so that this loss will be minimized. (Annual Statistician, 1892, page 514.)

If the loss under these conditions is so great, what must it be when the coin is carried in the pocket with other coins and keys and pocket knives? It is doubtful, indeed, if one hundred gold coins can be found in actual circulation in this country to-day that are a legal tender for their face value. When to the loss by abrasion we add the loss by conflagration, wreck, and casualty and the amount consumed in the arts (for 1895 estimated at \$58,579,160; see Finance, 1896, page 216) it is not difficult to understand the magnitude of the Treasurer's overestimate.

Again, it is only a very short time ago that the President of the United States entered into a secret arrangement with foreign bankers to furnish \$162,000,000 of gold coin for the use of the Treasury, and his only excuse for so doing was that gold could not be secured in the United States. Is it conceivable that the people of the United States can not be induced to take such securities as Government bonds paying a liberal rate of interest, when they have over \$350,000,000 in gold hidden away producing no revenue? [Applause.]

Let us now consider the Treasury statement with reference to another sort of money, viz, greenbacks. We find, by an examination of the Treasurer's report for 1897, pages 72 to 80, that from 1862 to 1878 there was an average of about \$370,000,000 outstanding. In 1878 this amount was reduced to \$346,681,016, and the Treasurer every year since that time has reported \$346,681,016 of greenbacks outstanding.

Not a dollar has been consumed by fire; none have been lost by wreck, accident, or carelessness; none have found their way into the nest of the patient and industrious mouse, though he is commonly reported to have a voracious appetite for a legal-tender domicile; the miser has hidden none away, leaving to posterity nothing but a legacy of curiosity as to what he did with his money. Oh, no; every rag of it is out among the people, doing duty as a medium of exchange.

But we are not wanting in data to show the absurdity of this conclusion. In 1862 the Government commenced issuing fractional currency, and from that date to 1879 there was an average of \$32,089,475 of that medium in circulation (see Report of the Treasurer, 1897, page 103). In 1879 the amount outstanding was reduced to \$15,842,610.11, and the amount now reported as outstanding is \$15,263,440.47. Now, we know that not a single "shinplaster" of this enormous sum has been in circulation for years. All that exists of it is held as curios in the cabinets of numismatists. The balance does not exist—it has been lost or destroyed in one way or another.

Now, it is difficult to believe that the people of this country are holding more than a quarter of a million of dollars in shinplasters just as curios, but grant that the entire \$263,640.47 is so held, it leaves a loss of \$15,000,000 on an average of \$32,089,475 in the sixteen years between 1862 and 1878, while they were in circulation; or,

in other words, the loss on this form of paper money by destruction was 3 per cent a year.

Mr. BLAND. Will the gentleman allow me, right there?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Certainly.

Mr. BLAND. That \$346,000,000 of greenbacks, as I understand it, is a mere estimate, not allowing anything since the losses of that date.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I was coming to that, if the gentleman will permit me. Now, we all know—I do not say we believe, but every single member of this House knows—that that statement is not true. There is hardly a member upon the floor of this House who has not personal knowledge of the destruction of some greenbacks. I know that I have known of the destruction of bills on several different occasions. And I believe that every man in this House, if he will tax his memory for a moment, will recall some circumstance that resulted in the destruction of more or less greenbacks. But the Treasury Department persists in telling the people of the United States that there is just exactly this amount of money outstanding.

A few days ago the Washington Post did me the honor to print a little interview upon this question, in which I spoke somewhat of the money that was lost in different ways. It was on Sunday morning that the interview was published, and on the opposite side of the very sheet upon which that interview was printed was an account of the death of a demented old negress down here who was known a week before her death to have a roll of greenbacks or notes of different kinds amounting to not less than two or three thousand dollars. Not a trace or track of that money was found.

Some time ago a gentleman in Oregon purchased a farm that had been owned during the war by a rather eccentric old individual, who died supposed to possess a very large sum of money. They could not find the money. This subsequent purchaser was plowing one day and he plowed up a canister containing some money. In that canister were over \$3,000 in gold coin and \$7,000 in greenbacks, evidently put in there when they were new and dated 1862, if I remember. He had chosen that way of hoarding his money. By an accident it was brought to light.

Another little circumstance. When they were repairing an old house in eastern Oregon, which had been inhabited by a gentleman of eccentric tendencies, they found on a beam in the cellar in an old can nearly a thousand dollars in gold coin, which he had put away there and perhaps forgotten.

Not one single dollar of allowance is made by the Treasury Department for any of these things.

Mr. COX. Will my friend yield for one question?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SAYERS. I yield ten minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I thank the gentleman from Texas very much.

Mr. SAYERS. That will make forty minutes in all.

Mr. COX. The question I want to draw your mind to is this: If these estimates have been made by the Treasury—I want to get it so the House will take the question in clearly and distinctly—what per cent is the estimate made of the loss in the circulation of national-bank notes and in greenbacks, as presented by the Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Why, he does not allow anything for destruction, nothing whatever.

If the same rate of destruction had occurred on the greenbacks during the thirty-five years they have been outstanding as on the shinplasters the entire amount would have disappeared before now. However, we know that the loss on small notes is greater than on large ones, but the average loss on any form of paper money has been estimated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. But this is, of necessity, only an estimate, because no steps have been taken to ascertain what the approximate loss is except in the case of fractional currency, which was called in as heretofore explained.

Let the Government call in the greenback for cancellation and attach a penalty of say 10 per cent for all not presented within six months, and we will soon see that there are not \$246,000,000 of them outstanding, although there is probably less loss on these than on most forms of paper money, because they have been practically withdrawn from circulation for several years; but it is difficult to believe that the loss on greenbacks is less than one-third as much as the loss on fractional currency.

Applying the same calculation to the other forms of money used by our people, and there is no escape from the conclusion that, instead of a per capita circulation of more than \$22, we have, in fact, not more than \$11 or \$12 per capita in existence. But of this comparatively insignificant sum more than half is held by banks as a reserve fund required by Federal and State laws, and this reserve is as completely withdrawn from circulation as though it were in the bottom of the ocean. It has, in fact, been mathematically demonstrated that there is less than \$4 per capita in actual circulation, and we have yet to learn that any of the numerous advocates of contraction have ever attempted to refute such demonstration. (See *The American People's Money*, pp. 79-85.)

Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire for a moment to pass to another branch of this question. We have seen that we have not got the

amount of money that is represented, and we know that we do need money.

HOW MUCH MONEY DO WE NEED?

Well, I am not going to assume the responsibility of saying how much money the people of the United States need or how much money any people need, but I will state this as an economic proposition, for which I challenge any refutation, that the people of the United States are entitled to as much money in proportion to the volume of business which they transact as the people of other countries have in proportion of the volume of business that they transact. It does not depend upon the number of people. Per capita has nothing to do with it. It is the business they have to do. And now where do they stand? How much money ought we to have?

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Does the gentleman want an answer to that question? They ought to have just as much as they want.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I think I can answer that question better than the gentleman from Massachusetts can.

Mr. GAINES. Massachusetts has had too much to do with our money matters anyway.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Without conceding that the people of any country have as much money as would be beneficial to them, for it seems that the greed and avarice of plutocracy is endeavoring in every country to reduce the people to poverty and despair by constantly augmenting their burdens through the subtle influence of an ever appreciating money, I think I can say without fear of successful contradiction that the wealth producers of the United States are entitled to as much money in proportion to the volume of business they transact annually as the people of other countries have. They can not stand on an equal footing in the struggle to solve the great problem of life, to overtake and embrace the bright but elusive goddess of fortune and prosperity, who seems to be every day increasing the distance between herself and her humble pursuers, unless they have their fair proportion of the world's circulating medium.

It then becomes important, Mr. Chairman, to inquire what part of the total volume of the world's business the people of this nation transact, and what volume they transact when compared with other great nations.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the distinguished gentleman who presides with so much ability and fairness over the deliberations of this House, in a burst of patriotic eloquence on the 1st day of February, 1894, was, I believe, the first American citizen to call the attention of the world sharply to the enormous power possessed by this country in comparison with other countries. Permit me to read from a speech made by him upon that occasion to this House, the wisdom and patriotism of which I most heartily commend.

Mr. GAINES. Who is that?

Mr. JONES of Washington. The Hon. THOMAS B. REED, our Speaker. After comparing England with the United States and criticising the Democracy for attempting to swap off our own markets for markets less desirable, and after showing that we transact nearly five times as much business as Great Britain, he used these words:

If this is our comparison with England, what is our comparison with the rest of the world, whose markets our committee are so eager to have exchanged for our own? Mulhall gives certain statistics which will serve to make the comparison clear. On page 365 of his Dictionary of Statistics he says the total yearly product of the manufacturers of the world is £4,474,000,000, of which the United States produces £1,443,000,000.

I do not vouch nor can anyone vouch for these figures, but the proportion of one-third to two-thirds no one can fairly dispute. We produce one-third and the rest of the world, England included, two-thirds. The population of the world is 1,500,000,000, of which we have 70,000,000, which leaves 1,430,000,000 for the rest of mankind. We use all our manufactures, or the equivalent of them, hence we are equal to one-half the whole globe outside of ourselves, England included, and, compared as a market with the rest of the world, our population is equal to about 700,000,000. I repeat, as compared with England herself as a market, our people are equivalent to 175,000,000. As compared with the rest of the world, England included, we are equal to a market of 700,000,000. These figures more than justify the adjectives of the Englishman, and the cold facts of mathematics surpass the spasms of rhetoric.—*Congressional Record*, page 1785, vol. 138.

Mr. GAINES. If the gentleman will permit me, I want to state I have in my hand McPherson's Handbook, which shows that the Hon. THOMAS B. REED voted for the Bland-Allison Act.

Mr. JONES of Washington. That was a very laudable act, and I am glad to know that he did so. [Laughter.]

While it is thus seen that the volume of our business resulting from manufactures alone is five times as great as that of the United Kingdom, we have only a little more than twice as much money to do it with, even accepting the grossly exaggerated estimates of the Treasury Department as correct. Strange, that in the discussion of the monetary question the wonderful industrial and commercial power of this country seems to be persistently ignored.

The very schoolboy learns important facts about his own country which seem to be beyond the ken of men who talk very glibly about political economy and "sound money" and "national honor." On page 61, Rand & McNally's Grammar School Geography, our boys and girls learn the following facts about their country:

With one-twentieth of the population of the earth, it consumes one-fifth of the earth's entire product of sugar, one-tenth of its coffee, one-third of its iron, one-third of its steel, three-tenths of its copper, one-third of its lead, one-fourth of its cotton, one-third of its wool, one-third of its rubber, one-fifth of its coal, and one-half of its tin. The tonnage which passes through the Detroit River during the eight months of the year when it is clear of ice is greater by millions of tons than the entire clearances from the two greatest ocean ports of the world—London

and Liverpool—during the whole year. The American railroads transport annually about 620,000,000 tons of merchandise, valued at nearly \$14,000,000,000. Each year this country produces and consumes five times as much manufactured material as Great Britain makes and exports to all the world. The entire export of Great Britain, whose foreign commerce is greater than that of any other nation, amounts to less than half the domestic commerce which crosses the Appalachian Mountain chain.

The total traffic of the Suez Canal is now 8,000,000 tons annually, while that of the Sault Sainte Marie Canal amounts to 18,000,000 tons annually. This canal is the outlet of Lake Superior, the remotest and least important commercially of the Great Lakes. It is paralleled on both sides by railroads, and yet the commerce passing through its outlet during the summer months when it is open is two and a quarter times as great as the entire commerce passing through the Suez Canal, a highway that connects oceans and separates continents.

Let our opponents reflect on the fact that of the great staples this country produces the following proportions of the world's product:

	Per cent.
Cotton	64
Copper	40
Lead	35
Iron ore	28
Pig iron	35.19
Steel	38.17

Of the breadstuffs—wheat, oats, and corn—we produce much more than one-third of the total amount.

But production and consumption do not alone measure the volume of a people's business. Where producer and consumer are neighbors, their exchange of commodities can be effected with comparatively little money. Not so when they are thousands of miles apart. The money needed to reduce their produce to a common denominator is in use a considerable length of time, and freight and insurance in transit demand a large addition to first cost. This increased demand is measured approximately by the transportation of a country. Mr. Chauncey Depew presents this feature of the case in a recent speech as follows:

The whole of the tonnage of the oceans of the world last year was about 140,000,000 tons, while the tonnage of the railroads of the world carried 100 miles was about 1,400,000,000 tons. There are 400,000 miles of railroad in the world, of which 180,000 are in the United States. Of the 1,400,000,000 tons carried 100 miles last year on the railroads of the world, 800,000,000 tons were carried by the railroads of the United States. You take the 600,000,000 tons carried 100 miles on the railroads of the world outside of the United States, and then you add to it 140,000,000 carried on the ocean in the commerce of the world upon the seas, and we will still have in the 800,000,000 carried on the railroads of the United States 60,000,000 tons more than on all the railroads of the world outside of the United States, and in all the ocean commerce of the world put together. This internal commerce of the United States makes it the most wonderful market on the globe.

In the face of these facts, Mr. Chairman, can anyone in the Chamber deny that the people of this country transact one-half as great a volume of business annually as all the balance of the world combined, and that as a consequence we are entitled to the use of one-third of the world's money?

Business alone creates a demand for money, and the people of each nation create a demand for money in exact proportion to the volume of business they transact, and their capacity to sustain the parity and value of money is in proportion to the demand they create for it. [Applause.]

On page 434 of the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1896 the world's stock of money is given as follows:

Gold	\$4,143,700,000
Silver	4,236,900,000
Paper	2,558,000,000

Making a total of

Of this stock the people of the United States are entitled to one-third, which would give them—

Gold	\$1,381,233,333
Silver	1,412,300,000
Paper	852,666,666

Total

This would give us about \$50 per capita.

Let us take another view of the situation. The same eminent English statistician, Michael G. Mulhall, so aptly quoted by the distinguished Speaker of this House in an article contributed by him to Public Opinion, June 6, 1895, presents a more detailed and interesting comparison, measuring the nations by the number of foot-tons of effective energy daily devoted to the creation of wealth, and these are his figures:

United States	129,300,000,000	Austria	22,510,000,000
Great Britain	56,110,000,000	Italy	11,300,000,000
Germany	45,580,000,000	Spain	10,640,000,000
France	34,580,000,000		

The same authority, commenting on the foregoing facts, uses the following language:

Here we see that the United States possesses almost as much energy as Great Britain, Germany, and France collectively, and that the ratio falling to each American is more than what two Frenchmen or Germans have at their disposal. Moreover, the military armament which keep in enforced idleness 4,000,000 men in Europe are happily unknown to the United States. It is not merely that European nations are deprived of the labor, skill, and exertions of 4,000,000 men in the prime of life; they have also set apart 1,000,000 workers of the agricultural and industrial classes to feed and clothe the standing armies and defray the cost of artillery, war vessels, etc. Thus the average of productive energy in France,

Germany, England, etc., is much less than appears in the above statement. Again, if we consider the labor-saving appliances of the United States, we see the perfection of agricultural and other machinery. An ordinary farm hand in the United States raises as much grain as 3 in England, 4 in France, 5 in Germany, or 6 in Austria, which shows that an enormous waste of labor occurs in Europe because farmers are not possessed of the same mechanical appliances as in the United States.

It takes six times as much money to handle the product of an American farm hand as that of the same kind of labor in Austria. How many in India? And still our sages talk about per capita circulation, as though the number of people in a country measures the amount of money required in the transaction of its business. If the United States were inhabited by 70,000,000 aborigines instead of 70,000,000 progressive, industrious, intelligent, and civilized people, a gold circulation of \$20 per capita, instead of meaning an increase of business, would mean that every redskin, papoose and all, would have a \$10 gold piece hanging from each ear.

From the foregoing table it appears that the actual productive energy of this country is two and one-third times as great as that of the United Kingdom, but we do not realize the full force of the writer's language, "Thus the average productive energy in France, Germany, England, etc., is much less than appears in the above statement," until we consider that on account of the superior efficiency of our productive energy, coupled with our infinitely greater commerce, the volume of our business, instead of being two and one-third times as great as England, is five times as great, as has been heretofore shown, and our people are therefore entitled to the use of five times as much money to transact it with.

Let us see, Mr. Chairman, how this Government treats its people in the matter of furnishing them a medium of exchange to transact their business with, when compared with other great nations; and for the purposes for this comparison we will accept the grossly exaggerated statements of our Treasury Department with respect to our circulation as correct. For the comparison, I will refer you to the Republican National Campaign Text-book for 1896, not because it is any better authority than can be found elsewhere, but because, being the latest contribution to the gospel of "sound economic principles" and "national honor," promulgated by that party which stands to-day as the only organized political exponent of the gold standard, I am sure that no Republican will dare impeach its veracity or insinuate that in the last campaign his party attempted to mislead the people.

On page 223 the amount of money in circulation in the seven great countries above mentioned is given as follows:

United States.....	\$1,660,400,000	Italy.....	\$331,400,000
Great Britain.....	808,000,000	Spain.....	289,700,000
France.....	1,370,000,000	Austria.....	464,300,000
Germany.....	900,400,000		

And as our people transact five times as much business as England, instead of having \$1,660,400,000 we should have \$1,040,000,000 in order to place the producers of this country on an equal footing with those even of Great Britain, which allows her people less than is allowed by any other nation except the United States. Assuming that the conditions as to the efficiency of productive energy and volume of transportation are substantially equal in the European countries, and that therefore the comparison given by Mulhall presents a close approximation to the relative volume of business in those countries, both of which assumptions are manifestly reasonable, we find that where this Government allows its people 100 cents of money to transact a given volume of business with,

England allows hers.....	\$2.43	Italy.....	\$5.04
Germany.....	3.37	Spain.....	4.86
France.....	6.80	Austria.....	3.69

If the Treasury estimates were corrected so as to show the real amount of money in this country, the foregoing figures would have to be materially increased.

The above calculations show how successful the money power of this country has been in forcing our people to use credit money, viz, checks and drafts, the most dangerous form of credit money, because guaranteed by nothing but the solvency of the maker; in compelling our business men and wealth producers to seek the aid and support of the banks, which are thus enabled to absorb their earnings in interest and compel all but the moneyed aristocracy, the favored few, to go in debt or go out of business; to enable the banks and money lenders to levy tribute on every form of productive energy in this great country, and impoverish the people by appropriating their property; to degrade the price of every product of industry, and thereby increase the burden of every debt until that burden has become insupportable and the people are to-day clamoring for relief through the agency of a bankruptcy law.

This is the reason that the failures of 1896 were 15,112 as compared with 530 in 1865, when we had money enough for the people to transact their business with. This it is that has enabled 250,000 people to accumulate 80 per cent of all the wealth between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, leaving 20 per cent to be divided between 71,750,000 people, making this country a conspicuous demonstration of the genius of the poet who sang years ago,

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

This it is that has made the private indebtedness of the country rise from almost nothing in 1865 to \$6,000,000,000 in 1880, and \$31,000,-

000,000 in 1896; and the value of all the property in this land shrink from \$70,000,000,000 in 1890 to \$49,000,000,000 in 1897. This it is that has brought poverty, sorrow, and despair to countless homes where joy and hope and plenty once dwelt; that nightly sends to desolate couches millions of our fellows, hungry and hopeless, destitute and desperate. [Applause.]

But, say our opponents, what of it? How will a further contraction of the currency injuriously affect the welfare of this country?

This question can be best answered by going back to that date when this accursed policy of contraction was first inaugurated. In 1865 the people of the Northern States were enjoying the highest degree of prosperity that they have ever enjoyed during the nation's history. The people were out of debt; business was conducted on a cash basis; there was practically no borrowing or lending of money; no appeals by distressed debtors for further leniency on the part of relentless creditors; the word tramp was unknown—it has been coined since that time; and instead of a hoard of hungry men hunting for one job a dozen jobs were hunting for one man.

The competition, instead of being between employees, was between employers. Every mill and factory was running on full time; every chimney was hot with the breath of enterprise; every workshop throbbled with the energy of human toil. The slumbering echoes of the glen were awakened by the joyous voice of Progress. Plenty and Content had a seat at every fireside from East to West. There were no soup houses, no strikes, no lockouts. Organized charity was not compelled to exhaust its resources in a fruitless effort to mitigate, in some degree, the misery and distress of our own people, but devoted itself almost exclusively to the salvation of the heathen. During the first half of the decade this country, taken as a whole, although the improvement was chiefly confined to the North, made greater progress than it had during any preceding decade, along every avenue of industrial progress. [Applause.]

Why was it that we thus increased our manufactures, our mining, and our agriculture, and all other legitimate industries to an extent that not only astonished us but amazed the entire world?

Was it because 2,859,132 men of the very flower of our youth and manhood, our farmers, our mechanics, and our business men, were withdrawn from the ranks of productive industry and made to engage in the awful occupation of destroying the lives and property of their brothers in the South, who, in almost equal numbers, were inflicting upon their Northern foes every injury possible? Did we plow more acres because there were fewer men to follow the plow? Did we harvest more grain because the laborers were few? Did we build more mills because there were fewer men to wield the trowel and hew the beam?

Did we produce more coal, and ore, and iron, and steel because there were fewer to delve in the bowels of the earth, to feed the fires, or tend the glowing furnace? Was all this prosperity because 280,397 Union soldiers and about as many of their Southern brothers died on the battlefield or in the hospital? Was it because 224,397 of the North and about as many of the South were sent home maimed and crippled?

Did the people get out of debt because they were taxed to an extent hitherto unknown; because the Government seized upon every article of utility which would yield a cent of revenue—from the match with which the busy housewife kindled her morning fire to the mattress upon which she threw herself at night—as a legitimate subject of taxation? Was it because a stamp tax almost drove the bank check from use and made the people transact their business with real money?

Did the people flourish because the Government was in trouble; because the revenues did not equal the expenditures; because it was running in debt at the rate of \$2,000,000 a day; because it was confronted with an annual deficit which makes the puny vacuum created by the Dingley bill look like a colossal and dangerous surplus? [Applause.] Unfortunately the people were too busy to pay any attention to censuses and statistics, and we are therefore without exact and concise figures as to the condition of the people; but that they were prosperous to an extent theretofore unthought of is a matter of common history to most of the members of this Chamber. We are not, however, entirely without high authority upon this question.

Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, who did as much to bring the curse of hard times on this country as any man whose birth was ever a country's misfortune, in a message to Congress in 1865, says:

The country as a whole, notwithstanding the ravages of war and its draft upon labor, is by its greatly developed resources far in advance of what it was in 1857. The people are now comparatively free from debt. * * * There is an immense volume of paper money in circulation. * * * Trade is carried on more largely by cash than ever was the case previous to 1861. * * * So far as individual indebtedness is regarded, it may be remarked that the people of the United States are much less in debt than in previous years.

He also tells us that the expansion resulting from the "immense volume of paper money in circulation" was so great that it was becoming "absolutely oppressive to a large portion of the public." That it was leading to extravagance, and becoming "subversive of good morals."

Who, Mr. Chairman, were the people it was oppressing? Certainly not the farmers. They were getting good prices for their produce and extending the acreage of arable land with wonderful rapidity.

Not the mechanic and artisans and laborers, for they were all getting full employment at good wages. Not the merchants, for they were growing rich through brisk trade and good prices.

But the bankers, of whom the Secretary was one, were complaining. Nobody had to borrow money of them and pay them ruinous interest for the accommodation. They were deprived of the easy, pleasant, and profitable employment of absorbing the earnings of the people through the medium of the silent but industrious mortgage. There was great indignation and mental distress among the gamblers of Wall street. They were not permitted to squeeze easy fortunes from the man of enterprise, who, confiding in the future of his country and the honesty of its government, had undertaken to push some needed improvement and thus place himself at the mercy of Shylock.

But Congress, acting upon the advice of this sapient financier, soon brought joy to the banker, glorious sunshine to the gambler, and sorrow to the farmer and manufacturer. Moderate fortunes, accumulated by years of honest toil and legitimate enterprise, were swallowed by the thousands, and these insatiate vampires reveled in the ruins of our prostrate industries until the whole land groaned for relief through the bankruptcy courts.

Another distinguished witness to the conditions of our industries and the prosperity of the people during the war is Justice Bradley, of the Supreme Court, who, speaking about this time, says:

It is an undoubted fact that during the late civil war the activity of the workshops and factories, mines and machinery, shipyards, railroads, and canals of the loyal States, caused by the issue of legal-tender currency, constituted an inexhaustible fountain of strength to the national cause. (12 Wall., 564.)

And yet the distinguished Indiana banker says that this currency had become "absolutely oppressive" to a large portion of our citizens. The prosperity of the common people is always "absolutely oppressive" to the tyrant, the usurer, and the gambler. [Applause.]

Mr. McCulloch, during his entire official career, argued vehemently and eloquently that this volume of paper currency must be contracted, so that the people's morals might not be corrupted by undue prosperity. But what was the enormous circulating medium of which he complained so loudly?

The Secretary of the Treasury, on page CXXV of Finance for 1896, informs us that the per capita circulation during the war was as follows:

1861	\$14.09	1864	\$20.72
1862	10.96	1865	22.16
1863	20.23		

Surely a maximum circulation of \$22.16 per capita is nothing to get hysterical about in view of the fact that France has got along very nicely with a circulation of nearly \$50 per capita for many years.

Let us see, however, how nearly the foregoing statement of the Secretary tallies with the actual facts. In 1869, Treasurer Spinner, in the finance report of that year, on page 244, enumerates the paper issued by the Government which circulated as money, and presents the following recapitulation of the outstanding circulation:

Seven and three-tenths notes, temporary loan certificates, certificates of indebtedness, 6 per cent compound-interest notes, gold certificates, 3 per cent certificates, old two-year 6 per cent notes, one-year 5 per cent notes, two-year 5 per cent notes, two-year 5 per cent coupon notes, demand notes, legal-tender notes, and fractional currency.

On pages 27 and 28, Messages and Documents, 1867-68, a public-debt statement shows that the following amounts of indebtedness, which the Treasurer of the United States declared were used as money, were in existence:

Certificates of indebtedness	\$85,093,000.00
Five per cent legal-tender notes	33,954,230.00
Compound interest legal-tender notes	217,024,160.00
Seven-thirty notes	830,000,000.00
United States notes	433,160,569.00
Fractional currency	26,944,742.51
Total	1,625,576,701.51

These were the obligations of the Government, issued by the Government, and used as money. Of the whole amount \$634,138,959 were made by law legal tender. But in addition to these we must count in the gold and silver, the State-bank notes, the national-bank notes, and the demand notes which were in circulation. These were:

Gold, at a premium, used to pay duties on imports	\$189,000,000
Silver (estimated)	9,500,000
State-bank notes	142,919,638
National-bank notes	146,137,880
Demand notes	472,603
Total	488,030,101

The foregoing makes a total of \$2,113,606,802.51, from which it appears that there is a material misunderstanding between the Treasurer of 1869 and the Secretary of 1896, but as Mr. Spinner was doing business at the earlier date, and had considerable information about what was going on in the loyal States, we may, perhaps, without doing violence to any principle of evidence, assume that Mr. Spinner knew what he was talking about, and that Mr. Carlisle was as much in error about the currency of war times as we have shown him to be concerning the present circulation.

How much per capita would that give the business men of the North, for it must not be forgotten that prior to the close of the war Federal money circulated only in the loyal States, while the balance of the country was doing business with Confederate currency.

When the war broke out there were, in round numbers, 20,000,000 people in the Northern States and 12,000,000 in the Confederacy. Assuming that by 1864 the population of the North had increased

to 25,000,000 people, which is certainly a liberal allowance, considering that in 1870 the entire population had only increased to 38,567,617, and we have \$2,113,606,802.57 divided by 25,000,000, which gives a per capita circulation of \$84.52. As soon, however, as the war was over, in the spring of 1865, this sum of money, instead of supplying the North alone, had to supply the additional 12,000,000 people in the South, and our circulation, without any act of Congress diminishing the quantity, was reduced from \$84.529 (\$2,113,606,802.57 divided by 25,000,000) to \$57.12, an immediate and catastrophic reduction of 32 per cent.

There was as yet no decrease in the supply, only an increase in the demand; but this increase in the demand caused an immediate and most disastrous increase in the purchasing power of the dollar, which was exhibited in the fall of prices which at once took place, and which may be better appreciated by a consideration of the following facts respecting the four great agricultural staples for the years 1864 and 1865, as appears in the Annual Statistician for 1893-94, on pages 212 and 213:

	Value of crop of 1864.	Price per bushel, 1864.	Value of crop of 1865.	Price per bushel, 1865.
Wheat.....	\$294,315,119	\$1.831	\$217,330,195	\$1.463
Rye.....	31,975,013	1.609	21,343,383	1.092
Oats.....	139,381,247	.792	93,745,314	.416
Corn.....	527,718,183	.995	324,168,698	.460
Total.....	993,389,562		656,587,490	

Making a total loss to the farmers of this country on four cereals of \$336,802,072, as compared with the preceding year, or expressed in percentage, a loss of 33 per cent.

By like calculation we find that the average price per bushel of these four cereals in 1864 was \$1.307, while in 1865 it was only \$0.858, a fall in price of 34.4 per cent, which upon comparison we find almost exactly tallies with the decrease in the per capita circulation, which was a little over 32 per cent.

Fortunately, the people were not much in debt, or this terrific decline in prices would have produced a panic which would have convulsed the nation. But they had some debts to pay; they had the salaries of officials to pay; they had Federal and State taxes to pay, and the burden of all these obligations was increased nearly 50 per cent at a single blow in one year.

This was "absolutely oppressive to a large portion of our people," as the Indiana banker said. But it didn't oppress the bondholder, the money lender, the banker, nor the Wall street gambler. Oh, no; it brought joy and comfort to them. It would seem as though an increase of nearly 50 per cent in the burden of every mortgage and other fixed charge would have been sufficient to satisfy the rapacity of any ordinary species of human vampire, but not so.

Through their able and influential official agent, the Secretary of the Treasury, they insisted with a zeal which, so far from being diminished by their first taste of the people's blood, was only intensified by sampling the feast of plunder in store for them. Did the people have no friends in this emergency? Will none speak out? Congress, apparently hypnotized by the weight and eloquence of his arguments, pusillanimously acquiesced in every demand, until it was compelled to repair by a bankruptcy law some of the industrial ruin it had wrought for the benefit of the money lender. [Applause.]

In 1869 Congress was prevailed upon to make the obligations of the Government, which by the express terms of the law and the contract were payable in the money with which they were purchased (viz, greenbacks), payable in coin. The direct result of this was to add to the value of these obligations the amount of the gold premium, 37 per cent. Had Congress by an arbitrary act increased the number of dollars payable to the bondholders, no one would have attempted to palliate or defend an act so utterly iniquitous and dishonest, but such an act would have savored no more either of iniquity or folly than the so-called credit-strengthening act, and would have been of infinitely less injury to the people.

True, it would have increased the burden of the public debt more than a billion of dollars, but it would not have robbed the people of the strength to bear it. It would not have added 37 per cent to the burden of all other obligations, including the support of the Federal, State, county, and municipal governments. A bushel of wheat, a pound of cotton, would still have gone as far toward paying taxes, interest, freight rates, car fare, and hotel bills. The immediate effect of this legislation on the producers of the country can be best understood by considering the course of prices from 1868 to 1870 of the four great staples, wheat, corn, oats, and rye, presented by the following table:

	Value of crops in 1868.	Value of crops in 1870.	Prices in 1868.	Prices in 1870.
Wheat.....	\$319,195,290	\$245,865,045	\$1.424	\$1.042
Corn.....	569,512,460	601,839,030	.628	.549
Oats.....	142,484,810	107,136,710	.559	.433
Rye.....	28,683,677	12,145,648	1.274	.815
Total.....	1,059,876,337	966,986,431		

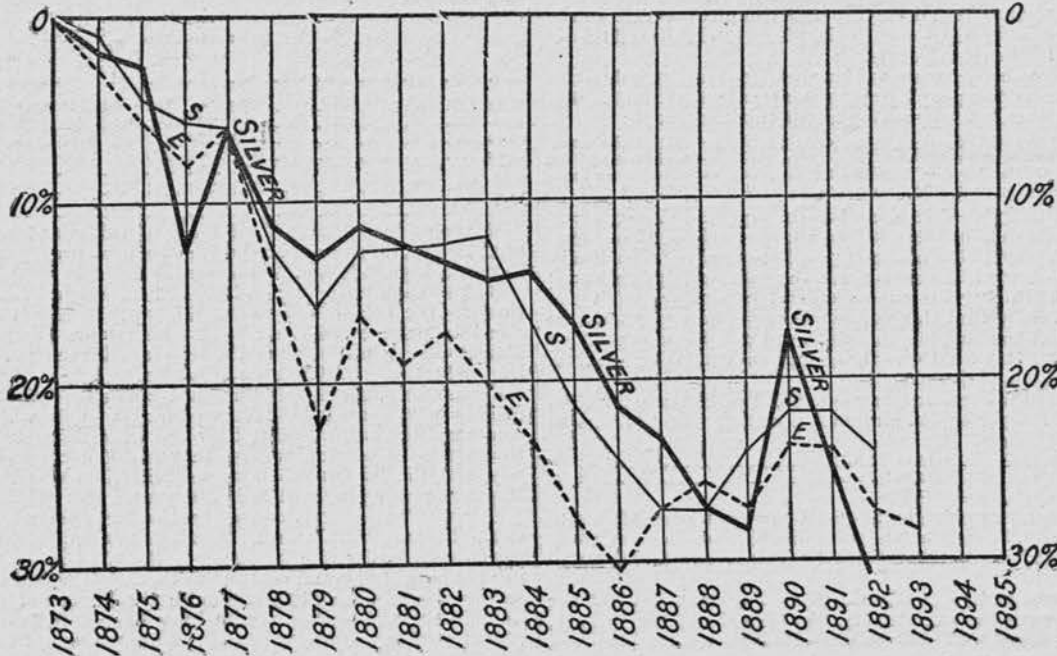
The loss to the farmers on these four crops was nearly \$93,000,000, notwithstanding a phenomenal corn crop, which reduced their deficit materially. But the fall in prices in the two years was 27 per cent. The full effect of this legislation was not felt at once, but it continued to operate in the depression of prices. Many of those who voted for this measure did not seem to understand its significance, as was then pointed out with great force and clearness by Mr. John Sherman, then a Senator from Ohio. He then warned his associates that it meant a contraction of the currency, a blighting fall of prices, a long-continued period of hard times, with all the consequent paralysis of industry.

The bondholders had now made three successful raids on the prosperity of the country, and proportionately augmented their own importance in the financial world. They had secured a contraction of the currency, first, by increasing the demand for money; second, by decreasing the supply, and third, by putting it all on a

coin (gold or silver) basis. Is it possible that their appetite for plunder was not yet sated? It seems not, for only four years later, by an act of stealth and fraud, compared with which the treason of Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr were examples of conspicuous and exalted patriotism, they succeeded in striking silver from the statute as one of the basic metals and thereby doubling the people's burdens in the course of a few years. [Applause.]

The magnitude of the decline caused by the general adoption of the gold standard in 1873 can be better appreciated by an examination of a chart presented at the Brussels conference by Sir Gilford Molesworth. No one, I believe, has ever attempted to question the accuracy of this chart, though the attention of our opponents has been frequently called to it, notably by Hon. Charles A. Towne in his masterly presentation of this subject before the House of Representatives February 8, 1896. This cut, showing the fluctuation of prices from 1873 to 1892, was used in the report of that speech.

CHART NO. 1.



In Chart No. 1 above, the line at the top marked 0—0 represents the general level of prices in 1873. The heavy black line marked "silver" shows the decline in the bullion value of that metal between the dates indicated. The line "S" shows the decline in the prices of 100 of the principal products of industry as compiled by Soetbeer, the eminent German statistician, and the line "E" shows the fall in

prices of 22 of the principal exports from London, as exhibited by the Economist's index numbers.

The course of prices from January 1, 1891, to January 1, 1898, is shown by the foregoing index numbers compiled from Bradstreet's market reports for the American. These numbers show the fluctuation of prices with precision and in a way easy to understand:

The American's summary of index numbers indicating the movement of prices.

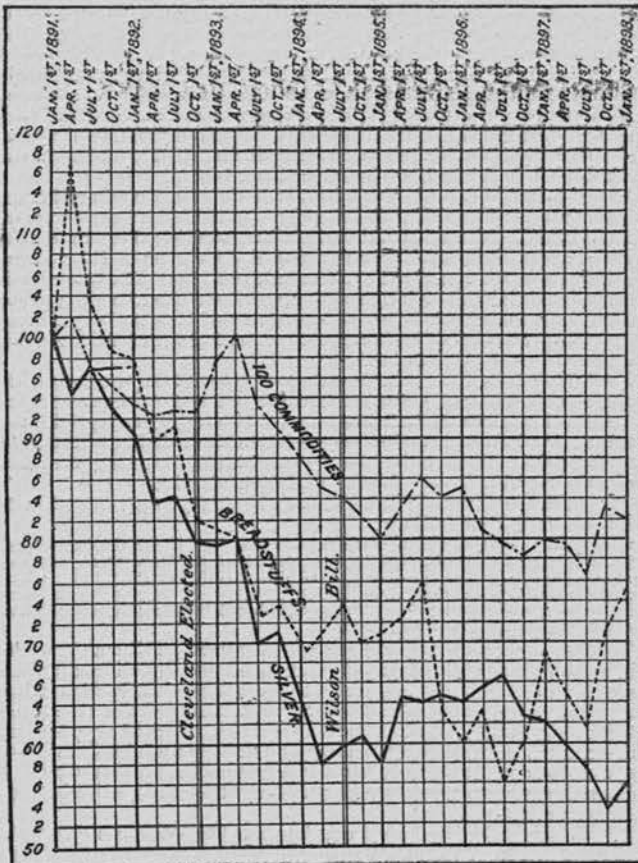
	Silver.	Bread-stuffs, 6 articles.	Live stock, 4.	Provi-sions, 24 articles.	Hides and leather, 4 articles.	Raw and manufac-tured tex-tiles, 11 articles.	Metals, 12 ar-ticles.	Coal and coke, 4 articles.	Mineral and vege-table oils, 7 articles.	Naval stores, 3 articles.	Building mate-rials, 7 articles.	Chemio-als, 11 articles.	Miscel-laneous, 7 articles.	General index number, 100 ar-ticles.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per ct.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
January 1, 1891.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
April 1, 1891.....	94.25	118.31	116.98	105.34	100.52	98.57	92.84	98.05	99.34	110.60	97.37	98.70	100.38	101.96
July 1, 1891.....	98.21	103.90	110.38	100.40	98.26	95.60	95.22	99.89	94.76	111.61	95.24	90.69	100.56	98.28
October 1, 1891.....	93.42	97.94	112.49	98.09	96.62	96.25	90.10	102.10	87.18	104.41	87.88	89.35	89.03	94.71
January 1, 1892.....	91.02	97.17	104.35	95.08	94.13	96.15	89.01	98.19	83.82	94.19	90.86	88.31	93.93	93.12
April 1, 1892.....	83.83	89.45	110.13	97.96	91.60	97.50	81.99	100.02	81.42	88.57	89.53	87.03	99.53	92.85
July 1, 1892.....	84.51	92.58	113.53	97.56	95.28	97.50	84.02	99.77	83.17	104.42	92.81	85.64	91.31	92.87
October 1, 1892.....	79.76	82.77	104.88	104.24	94.32	95.89	81.93	103.46	84.38	84.17	90.57	88.04	95.82	93.60
January 1, 1893.....	79.52	80.59	119.08	113.45	93.47	105.41	80.24	103.94	81.24	81.24	90.57	90.05	104.70	98.42
April 1, 1893.....	80	79.99	125.28	115.84	95.28	102.02	81.26	97.72	98.23	81.99	87.91	92.74	109.29	99.75
July 1, 1893.....	69.94	73.62	110.01	100.32	92.76	90.62	77.09	94.43	90.81	79.63	85.34	89.69	100.69	93.39
October 1, 1893.....	71.62	74.82	108.34	107.34	90.44	84.41	74.16	92.41	90.19	77.11	83.71	89.52	100.42	91.43
January 1, 1894.....	65.87	68.46	101.33	97.45	89.28	86.89	67.93	89.77	90.89	75.87	86.33	88.18	97.03	87.59
April 1, 1894.....	58.21	70.38	97.78	92.97	83.90	79.49	66.11	85.98	92.09	77.34	80.05	89.25	90.76	84.70
July 1, 1894.....	60.59	74.32	92.42	93.70	83.57	78.31	66.13	83.11	92.86	89.39	78.71	85.96	91.45	84.40
October 1, 1894.....	60.84	69.08	101.57	97.68	86.38	74.32	64.23	79.82	90.46	81.64	75.12	79.89	82.89	82.81
January 1, 1895.....	57.51	70.53	84.88	91.79	90.19	69.18	59.99	78.33	91.23	76.32	81.84	77.76	79.62	79.74
April 1, 1895.....	64.67	72.45	104.41	97.31	95.43	69.68	60.26	79.34	100.26	85.05	79.05	76.77	74.51	82.59
July 1, 1895.....	63.95	75.83	100.54	93.59	131.99	74.53	69.10	81.53	108.18	87.85	80.68	76.38	81.87	86.05
October 1, 1895.....	61.31	62.52	79.54	86.56	132.36	81.48	75.82	89.36	102.35	83.10	82.40	77.05	86.68	84.83
January 1, 1896.....	63.95	59.59	73.83	85.93	107.07	79.96	67.42	96.97	108.22	81.19	87.40	96.27	91.14	85.29
April 1, 1896.....	65.39	63.73	68.47	83.00	97.74	73.08	67.25	90.85	99.01	82.66	88.22	82.86	90.15	81.29
July 1, 1896.....	66.23	55.70	73.20	78.64	101.28	72.34	67.11	93.73	*91.67	94.28	85.07	81.70	82.11	†78.81
October 1, 1896.....	63.50	59.94	69.23	79.16	95.12	77.88	64.83	90.95	*89.66	91.42	82.38	70.21	82.92	†78.34
January 1, 1897.....	62.16	68.46	77.32	82.63	108.92	75.41	62.09	89.59	*85.07	90.99	86.76	77.64	84.43	†79.95
April 1, 1897.....	59.52	64.25	83.94	84.15	111.49	73.58	60.66	84.85	*85.63	91.27	78.21	80.69	80.84	†79.83
July 1, 1897.....	57.60	61.60	75.86	78.62	106.07	74.09	59.10	83.12	*83.51	86.06	78.25	76.67	79.79	†76.33
October 1, 1897.....	52.69	71.88	82.45	90.21	116.09	74.99	61.16	105.79	*81.83	92.81	79.18	82.49	85.91	†82.83
January 1, 1898.....	55.09	74.37	81.32	86.82	116.56	73.77	59.30	102.86	*81.08	88.21	82.85	84.90	86.61	†82.10

* Six articles.

† Ninety-nine articles.

The following chart, prepared from the foregoing index numbers, shows the decline in silver, breadstuffs, and the 100 articles given in the last column of the numbers during the period covered. A little patience will enable anyone to verify the chart or prepare a similar one from the numbers.

CHART No. 2.



In the above chart the line marked 100 shows the general level of prices on the 1st of January, 1891. A rise above that line represents an advance in prices and a fall below that line represents a decline. These charts and index numbers show a decline in the price of all the products of human industry, between 1873 and 1891, of nearly 25 per cent, and since 1891 of 17 1/2 per cent, amounting to a total decline of 42 1/2 per cent.

And now a word as to the value of the index numbers. It was seen by students of political economy many years ago that any attempt to gather anything like an accurate idea of economic conditions by observing the course of any one commodity, or even by observing the course of many commodities during a short period of time, must of necessity be futile. There never has been a time in the history of mankind when the price of some commodity was not advancing while the price of some other commodity was falling. Anyone who confined his attention to the rising commodity would say, "Times are improving," while he who observed the declining prices would say, "Times are getting bad."

It is only by making a careful and accurate study of the course of prices of a large number of commodities, and continuing the observation over a considerable length of time, that one is able to reach anything like a correct conclusion as to the course of economic conditions. Prices do not advance or decline by a steady and uniform movement. A general rise in prices is interrupted by occasional drops, just as a general decline is marked by temporary recoveries; just as the wave of a receding tide brings the water at intervals higher up on the shore. Each wave, however, recedes a little farther than its predecessor, and each returning wave leaves its line of foam a little farther seaward.

In the present economic conflict there seems to be no serious dispute between any of the political parties as to the general cause, either of hard times or of prosperity. All of them attribute hard times to low prices, and each promises to promote better times by enacting laws that will cause the products of human industry to advance in price. As they all agree to this extent, it may be assumed that they are all thus far correct, and all equally wise and patriotic. The utter abhorrence in which the Republican party holds cheap commodities is well exemplified by the following extract from page 54 of their campaign text-book for 1896:

We are opposed to cheap goods and cheap agricultural products. Cheap goods and cheap products mean cheap labor—starvation wages for toiling slaves, with-

out hope and without ambition for the future. Huts and hovels and nakedness and pauperism and crime follow sadly after the procession of cheap labor. * * * Goods are cheap in Italy, in Hungary, and in Poland, but labor is cheaper and the laborer can not buy. * * * Cheap labor is a national curse. Nay, more, it is barbarism itself. Ill-paid labor means a degraded standard of life; therefore, well-paid labor and its attendant consequences are to be desired and not to be feared.

The immortal Blaine crystallized this sentiment into an aphorism which will burn in the hearts of the American people as long as civilization endures when he said:

I hate the word "cheap."

Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans all fully indorse the foregoing sentiment, and equally execrate a policy which induces falling prices and cheap goods and labor.

A contemplation of the foregoing charts and statistics exhibiting the ruinous fall of prices which has taken place in the last twenty-five years ought to make every Republican shudder, for are not all Republicans the apostles of high prices? Do they not preach protection to avert the awful calamity of falling prices and cheap products? Do they not go before the people every two years and show them what a terrible disaster it would be to let Democrats and Populists get control of Congress and make things cheap?

It may not be out of place for me, Mr. Chairman, to call the attention of my Republican friends to the fact that when our committee (I say "our committee," because I was then a Republican), in 1894, was calling the attention of the people to the miserable condition of the laboring man in other countries not blessed with a protective tariff it didn't happen to think of any countries except those in which the blessed gold standard prevailed. [Applause.]

We were greatly agitated lest the laboring man of this country should be dragged down to the level of the unfortunate son of toil in such gold-standard countries as England, Ireland, Italy, Hungary, and Poland, and, I may add, Turkey, Spain, and Egypt. What a pity our committee didn't happen to think of Mexico then!

If the Republican party is so averse to cheap goods and cheap agricultural products, and if "cheap goods, cheap products, mean cheap labor, starvation wages for toiling slaves, without hope and without ambition for the future," and if "cheap labor is a national curse, * * * a barbarism itself," and if "ill-paid labor means a degraded standard of life," why is the Republican party so anxious to fasten on this country a financial policy which has already brought, and is still bringing, this "national curse," "this barbarism," "this degraded standard of life," on American labor?—a policy which, by enhancing the value of the dollar, drags down prices, not alone in this country, but in Europe, where our surplus products are sold? Is it possible that we do not understand that "cheap products" is only another name for dear money, and that "high prices" is only another name for cheap money? Our distinguished President certainly understood it, when, in 1892, he submitted to the Republican League of Ohio some observations on his predecessor, Grover Cleveland, as follows:

During all of the years at the head of the Government he was dishonoring one of the precious metals, one of our own great products, discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored, even before his inauguration to office, to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterwards and to the end of his Administration persistently used his power to that end. He was determined to contract the circulating medium and demonetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce and therefore dear. He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master, everything else the servant. He was not thinking of the poor people then. He had left their side. He was not standing forth in their defense. Cheap oats, cheap labor, and dear money; the sponsor and promoter of those professing to stand guard over the poor and lowly. Was there ever more glaring inconsistency or reckless assumption? * * * He believed that poverty is a blessing to be promoted and encouraged, and that a shrinkage in the value of everything but money is a national benediction.

WHY ARE THINGS CHEAP?

But, Mr. Chairman, why have prices fallen? Why are things so cheap? Why are the cotton mills of New England shut down to-day leaving thousands of workers idle and distressed? Why are the iron mills of Maryland idle and so much distress among those depending upon them for labor? There is only one answer to this question, and the distinguished President of the United States, in his remarks before quoted, has pointed it out with accuracy. Past Administrations have made money "scarce and therefore dear," and the present Administration is making money scarcer and therefore dearer.

There is even now, in this city, a powerful lobby working assiduously to secure legislation which will retire the greenbacks and decrease the available money to the extent of more than \$346,000,000, and this lobby is encouraged by the President of the United States and his Secretary of the Treasury.

There can be no possible doubt, Mr. Chairman, of the relation between money and prices, and no one has ever attempted to dispute it until recently, and only now because an acknowledgment of that fact would mean the political death of everyone who advocates the gold standard and the policy of contraction. Even gold monometallists on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean honestly and frankly confess that they believe in the gold standard because they are in favor of cheaper goods. Not long ago the London Times chided bimetallicists for their simplicity in supposing that all they had to

do to convert the world to bimetalism was to prove that bimetalism would mean a rise in prices, and in doing so that powerful champion of the gold standard used this language editorially:

It seems impossible for us to get bimetalists to understand that there is a large class of us for whom rising prices have no charm whatever. We like things cheap—the cheaper the better. If prices could be reduced to one half their present range it would be a great boon to us who have everything to buy and nothing to sell.

They make no false pretenses about "sound money" or "national honor;" they make no mystery of their allegiance to the gold standard; they simply want things cheap because their wealth consists largely of securities which grow in value just as prices fall, because with cheapening goods it takes more and more of all that labor produces to pay the bonds and mortgages held by them.

Sir Robert Griffin is probably the ablest of all advocates of the gold standard, as he is certainly the fairest.

Shortly after 1873 he wrote a work upon political economy, in which he pointed out the fact that owing to the demonetization of silver by the great nations the demand for gold must increase and prices of commodities must, as a consequence, fall.

In his Case Against Bimetalism, page 218, in referring to the relation between money and prices, he says:

In this sense to say that the quantity of money regulates prices is only the same thing as to say of any article that is bought or sold that its quantity is a material factor in determining its value.

And in his memorandum, hereafter printed in full, he says, among other things:

It is a great misfortune, I consider, that some monometallists, as appeared in the course of the evidence before this commission, have refused and still refuse to recognize the general fall in prices in the last quarter of a century as being, in economic language, an appreciation of gold, and as being explained by the contraction (as compared with a previous period of expansion) which commenced about the year 1873.

This is the conclusion of 10 out of the 14 members of the Royal Commission, an extract from the report of which I append to these remarks, and a host of political economists, from whom citations are made in the memorandum of Sir Robert Lacey Everett.

The whole philosophy of this principle of political economy is eloquently stated in the following quotation from the report of the United States Monetary Commission, made March 2, 1877, in which we find the following language:

That the disasters of the Dark Ages were caused by decreasing money and falling prices, and that the recovery therefrom and the comparative prosperity which followed the discovery of America were due to an increased supply of the precious metals and rising prices, will not seem surprising or unreasonable when the noble functions of money are considered. Money is the great instrument of association, the very fiber of social organization, the vitalizing force of industry, the protoplasm of civilization, and as essential to its existence as oxygen is to animal life. Without money civilization could not have had a beginning, and with a diminishing supply it must languish and, unless relieved, finally perish.

In short, no political economist of any reputation has ever ventured to dispute this principle of political economy, and it is only recently that any politician or space writer has attempted even to modify the force or efficiency of this doctrine, and they only do so now because to admit the correctness of this contention would mean the complete overthrow of the gold standard and the rout of the bondholders who now control the Government of the United States.

Until recently, Mr. Chairman, the Republican party contended that the demonetization of silver was at least partially responsible for low prices, but since it has set up the golden calf as its idol it seeks to shuffle off the entire blame onto the tariff policy of its opponents.

Is it too much to hope, Mr. Chairman, that there is yet a Republican Moses who will shortly come down from Sinai and lead his party back to righteousness? [Applause.]

By a recurrence to Chart No. 2 it appears that the most disastrous fall in prices which has occurred since 1873 was from January 1, 1891, to August, 1894, while the McKinley bill was in force. During these three and one-half years a fall of 15.6 per cent occurred—almost 5 per cent a year. Such a catastrophic fall in prices as this must challenge the attention of every thinking man. Its continuance would mean ruin and bankruptcy to all engaged in productive enterprises of any sort.

Until July, 1892, the Republican party was in control of every branch of the Government; its tariff policy was in full force, and nobody believed that Democracy would triumph in the next campaign. They met, however, in convention at Chicago about July 1, 1892, adopted a platform which, honestly construed, meant free coinage, and the people had every right to rely upon this construction in view of the fact that up to that time nearly every Democrat in Congress had advocated and voted for free coinage of silver pure and simple. In the past the Republicans have been in the habit of attributing to a Democratic threat of free trade whatever industrial disorder occurred while they themselves were in power, but a recurrence to the chart given discloses the fact that as election approached and Democratic prospects advanced prices rose notwithstanding the threat of free trade contained in the Chicago platform, and when election was over and the Democrats had swept the country like a whirlwind, making it seem certain that a free-coinage law would be passed, prices rose with extraordinary rapidity until May, 1893, when Mr. Carlisle, the Secretary of the Treasury, went to New York, had a conference with a large number of bankers, and

came back echoing the declaration of the President that the Sherman law must be repealed and that free coinage was a heresy. From the moment that this country learned that Mr. Cleveland would not permit a free coinage law to be enacted prices declined with disastrous rapidity. Whatever may be our views with reference to the merit of a protective tariff, the foregoing facts fully demonstrate that no tariff that can be devised by human genius can arrest the fall of prices so long as the blight of the gold standard oppresses our industries. [Applause on Democratic side.]

The Wilson bill superseded the McKinley bill in August, 1894, but prices still continued to decline. A slight recovery took place in 1895, but the real cause of falling prices was still at work, the blood was still being drained from the arteries of our industrial system, and the inevitable relapse came in 1896 and 1897, and the patient sunk a little lower than he had ever been before.

In the latter part of 1897 a world-wide famine forced up the price of breadstuffs materially, and as they constituted a very important item of the 100 commodities the whole line was raised to some extent, but the rise in breadstuffs during the last quarter of the year was not enough to compensate the fall in commodities. The fatal decline has again set in, and so long as the present vicious monetary system continues nothing can arrest the progress of this malady which is benumbing the arm of industry and infecting all civilization with a misery-breeding pestilence.

Now, it may be true, and I confess to a belief in the truth, that under normal monetary conditions a protective tariff has a tendency to maintain prices in this country by excluding the products of cheaper labor abroad, but in view of the demoralizing fall in prices that has taken place under the highest tariffs, thinking men must look to some other cause for the persistent decline.

The cause assigned by the Democratic party is expressed in the platform of 1896 as follows:

We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation, and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; the prostration of industry and the impoverishment of the people.

To this doctrine Populists and Silver Republicans give full assent, and during the last campaign their champions emphasized their belief in it on every rostrum from Eastport to San Diego; nay, even more, many men of great prominence in the Republican party freely expressed their conviction that the gold standard was the main cause of falling prices, and led many honest and well-meaning people to believe that the Republican party would dethrone the gold standard by persuading other nations to help this country get rid of it.

The distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT], who has just returned from Europe, whither he went in pursuit of that ignis fatuus, "international agreement," goes farther in this line than any one has ever before ventured. He seriously assures us that the Indian famine was a product of the gold standard; that it was a famine of money rather than of food; that rice was abundant and cheap, but the people had no money, and therefore could not buy.

OVERPRODUCTION.

But, Mr. Chairman, our opponents are very ingenious in inventing excuses for falling prices. When driven from one position they seek refuge in another equally as fallacious, and one of their favorite arguments is that low prices are caused by overproduction. They dare not attempt to point out specifically the things that have been produced in excess, because any statistics cited by them would show the utter falsity of the statement. The trouble is that when hard times are accompanied by falling prices the people are without the means to buy, not alone the luxuries, but the comforts or necessities of life; and because they can not consume there seems to be, to those who are not thus feeling the pinch of poverty, an excess in production.

Let my Republican friend who thinks that overproduction has anything to do with the present situation turn to page 77 of his Bible—the Republican campaign text-book for 1896—and he will find that in 1885 the people of this country consumed on an average 6.77 bushels of wheat and 31.4 bushels of corn per capita, while in 1894 they consumed only 3.41 bushels of the former and 22.76 of the latter, or a decrease of 50 per cent in the consumption of wheat and 30 per cent in the consumption of corn, notwithstanding the fact that the price of wheat and corn was extremely low in the latter year.

The trouble was, Mr. Chairman, that the people were too poor to supply themselves with the necessaries of life, and therefore there seemed to be an excess of wheat and corn in the country. At the rate consumed in 1885 it would have taken more than 450,000,000 bushels of wheat to supply the people of this country, but they only consumed about 230,000,000 bushels.

Another interesting fact shown by the statistics on the same page is that while the consumption of wheat and corn, the poor man's food, decreased greatly during these years, the consumption of sugar and tea, articles chiefly used by the wealthy, or the well to do at least, not only did not decrease, but slightly increased, and the consumption of coffee and wool only slightly decreased. During these years, while the condition of the laborer has been getting worse and

worse, wealth has been amassed at an enormous rate by the favored few. They are now able to indulge in wild extravagances. The Bradley-Martin function would have shocked the people of 1865, but such things are commonplace to-day, and as a result we would probably find, if information was attainable, that the consumption of luxuries, strictly speaking, has increased during the period referred to.

This only confirms, Mr. Chairman, the quotation heretofore referred to from the Republican campaign text-book, which says that Italian, Hungarian, and Polish "goods are cheap, but labor is cheaper, and the laborer can not buy." At the first glance it is difficult to understand how there could have been such an amazing shrinkage in the quantity of bread consumed by the people of the United States as exhibited by these figures. It is not conceivable that the people of this country ate more bread in 1885 than they wanted or needed. Bread is not one of the things with which even a glutton will gorge himself.

It is hard to understand how anyone would eat more of this plain food than he needed; and we know that even in 1885 there were many persons in the United States who did not have as much bread as they wanted, and yet nine years later they only consumed one-half as much. We might seek a reason for this decrease in the consumption of wheat by supposing that they had substituted some other kind of bread for wheat bread, but the fact that there was a very great shrinkage in the consumption of corn utterly refutes this idea.

It would indeed be almost impossible to believe these statistics were it not for the patient study that has been made in the leading civilized nations of the world during the past two or three decades with respect to the amount of nutrition consumed by different classes of people in the different countries.

A perusal of the following extract from an article contributed by Prof. W. O. Atwater to the Forum for June, 1892, and entitled "What the coming man will eat," will serve to illustrate how adversity will diminish the consumption of food among the classes which feel the grinding curse of ill-requited toil:

But there is another side to this picture. It is brought out by the comparison of the food of wage workers here and in Europe. The smallest amount furnished the dietaries of the class examined was 3,500 calories of energy per man per day. The average of seven dietaries of 421 persons in Massachusetts, of factory operatives, mechanics, etc., at moderate work, was 4,415 calories; and that of four dietaries of mechanics and laborers in Connecticut, at severe work, 6,705. In this latter the dietary of the Massachusetts brickmakers, with their 8,850 calories, was not included. The average of twenty dietaries of wage workers in the two States named was 5,275 calories.

In a large number of dietaries of which I have obtained statistics there are many which range from only 1,700 to 1,900 calories. Of course these are of relatively poor people. The average of eleven dietaries of poorly fed wage workers in Saxony and Prussia is 2,290. The average of the same number of dietaries of well-paid mechanics in Bavaria is 3,150. The largest European dietary I have found on record for men in ordinary conditions, even with the severest labor, gives in the neighborhood of 4,500. The American workmen whose dietaries were examined were better nourished by half than their transatlantic brethren. These comparisons have, I believe, a profound significance.

The dietary statistics above cited, taken with the collateral facts, lead to the inference that the ordinary people have with us what only the exceptionally well fed have on the other side of the Atlantic—the food they need to make the most of themselves and work. Indeed, is it not safe to say that, so far as the facts at hand go, they imply very distinctly that to the American workman is vouchsafed the priceless gift which is denied to most people of the world, namely, the physical conditions, including especially the liberal nourishment, which are essential to large production, high wages, and the highest physical existence, and that as corollary he has a like peculiar opportunity for intellectual and moral development and progress? To my mind the saddest part of the picture that one sees among the industrious and worthy members of the poorly paid and poorly fed classes in Europe is not the physical want, but the spiritual poverty, the lack of buoyancy, the mute, hopeless endurance of their lives.

From this it appears that the brickmakers of Massachusetts habitually take into their systems more than five times as much nutrition daily as other classes of workmen who are described as poor people, but who, no doubt, would supply themselves as generously as these brickmakers if they had the means to do so. If these poor people supplied themselves as generously as more favored classes, and the consumption of the food products were thereby increased five times, does anybody believe that there would be any talk of overproduction of wheat, or corn, or any of the other necessities of life?

Take another view of the situation. There are over 400,000,000 Caucasians in Europe alone. If these 400,000,000 people had supplied themselves with bread as generously as the people of the United States did in 1885 it would take more than 2,700,000,000 bushels of wheat to satisfy their wants, which would be considerably more wheat than the world ever produced in any year, the greatest wheat crop being 2,676,651,000 bushels. It would take 23,000,000 bushels more than the world ever produced to supply Europe alone, not leaving a bushel for America, Asia, Africa, and Australasia.

In view of these figures, it is apparent that the attempt to account for low prices by assigning overproduction as the cause is not simply erroneous; it is absurd.

When we point out the fact that there are millions of people, even in the United States to-day, who are hungry, ill clad, and shelterless, the only answer our opponents make is that they are hungry because there is too much bread; ill clad because there is too much cotton and wool, and shelterless because there are too many bricks and too much lumber.

But by reference to the statistics presented in the report of Sir R.

Lacey Everett we find that during the period from 1849 to 1872 the production of wheat increased 70 per cent, while during the same period the price rose 30 per cent. During the succeeding period, however, from 1872 to 1894, the production only increased 40 per cent, while the price fell 40 per cent. During the period first mentioned the production of cotton increased 130 per cent, while the price rose 50 per cent. During the succeeding period the production of cotton only increased 40 per cent, while the price fell 70 per cent. Taking commodities in general, during the first period the production of all commodities increased 70 per cent, while the price rose 45 per cent. During the second period production increased less than 40 per cent and prices fell 50 per cent.

In the face of such overwhelming evidence as this, how can any man who pretends to possess the faculty of reason maintain seriously that an increase in production has even a tendency to reduce prices. When the people produce more things to sell they should have more money to buy with and a greater capacity to consume; and consumption keeps steady pace with production so long as the labor of the producer brings its legitimate reward for his toil and thereby enables him to supply himself more generously with the things that other toilers produce.

Secretary McCulloch, in his report to Congress in 1885, urged as one of the chief reasons why the currency should be contracted was because high prices were making people extravagant. Just what the extravagance consisted in he does not say, but it is a fact that they were wearing better clothes, consuming more and better food, expending more money upon the education of their children, supplying their homes with literature, and music, and furniture, and other comforts which "exalt and embellish civilized life." But was this a misfortune? Is it a crime for anyone but the bondholder and the banker to wear good clothes, eat good food, educate his family, and make his home a fit habitation for civilized man?

This condition, which the Secretary described as extravagance, created a brisk demand for the product of the sawmill, the workshop, the factory, the printing press, for the skill of the mechanic, the artisan, and the school-teacher, all of whom prospered, because the wealth producers, who are finally the foundation of all prosperity, were themselves prosperous. It is not overproduction that causes low prices, but low prices that cause under consumption and distress.

Another argument used by pseudo economists to account for falling prices is

LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY.

It is, indeed, a circumstance for which every right-thinking man may well congratulate himself and his country that the progress of invention, science, and improvement has not been totally arrested by the general paralysis of nearly every form of industry during the past twenty-five years. It is true that many improvements have been made in the machinery used by man to fashion into forms of utility those things he needs to cultivate the farm, to harvest his crops, to extract coal, iron, lead, copper, silver, and gold from the mines, to reduce ores to useful metals, to transport all the products of industry from place to place. But this progress is nothing new. The world has been progressing in this way for many centuries, but it is doubtful if any period of the world's history exhibits a more rapid development in labor-saving machinery, facilities of transportation, or scientific discoveries than the fifteen years from 1850 to 1865.

The wonderful progress in invention made during that period is ably summarized by the Hon. Charles A. Towne, in his speech heretofore referred to, as follows:

By far the greatest amount of this accomplishment belongs, so far as its commercial and productive aspect is concerned, to the period from about 1850. By that time the steam engine had been perfected; the old Newcomen engine of 1769, with a "duty" of 5,500,000 foot-pounds per 1 bushel of Welsh coal, had developed into the improved Cornish engine of 1850, with a "duty" of 60,000,000 foot-pounds; the factory system had come into systematic operation—the greatest revolution in production in the history of industry—so that when England, about 1850, changed the tariff policy under which she had grown great, and started out to impose free trade on the world, it is estimated that her labor-saving machinery represented a capacity of 450,000,000 pairs of human hands.

In agriculture the period in question saw the perfection of the plow, the seeding machine, the grain drill, and the mowing machine. The first successful reaper was McCormick's, invented in 1834, improved in 1847, and first attracting general attention at the London World's Fair in 1851, where it took the gold medal, and from which time it came rapidly in use. Between 1850 and 1870 nearly 3,000 patents were taken out in this country alone for harvesters and their attachments. The thrashing machine was brought to perfection in 1853. The self-binder belongs to a later period, but its effect and that of improvements on the inventions named had nothing like the significance for agriculture which the devices that came in from 1850 to 1873 had. To this period also belongs the beginning of scientific agriculture and the use of imported and manufactured fertilizers on a large scale, the systematic and general breeding of cattle, horses, and sheep, and the inauguration and considerable development of the cheese-factory system.

In manufactures it is sufficient to name the leading processes and machines that had been commercially effective in this period—the cotton gin and spinning jenny, with their principal attachments and improvements; the power loom, calico printing, and color weaving; the hot blast in iron manufacture, perfected by 1845, by which many previous refractory ores were rendered reducible and the cost of smelting was diminished nearly one-half; the steam hammer, rolling mill, and turning lathe; the Bessemer steel process and the chief improvements in producing and refining iron, the casting, forging, and rolling of the heated metal, and the turning and planing of the cold metal; the jack, the slotting, key-grooving, milling, and shaping machines; the process of assembling, or the making of interchangeable parts of machines, permitting the vastly cheaper manufacture, of articles like watches, clocks, and firearms; the

sewing machine, dating effectively from about 1850, between when and 1876 about 2,000 patents connected with it were granted in the United States. The pneumatic caisson in engineering, the centrifugal pump, tunneling and drilling machinery, and the use of compressed air in connection with them; scales and elevator machinery, gang and circular saws, and sawmill machinery generally, about the only new departure dating from since that time being the use of the hand saw on a large scale; turning machinery, particularly Blanchard's spoke lathe for turning irregular forms; general woodworking machinery for planing mills and furniture factories, washing machines and knitting machines, the principal kinds of boot and shoe machinery, especially the McKay sewing machine, which, between 1861, when it was perfected, and 1876, had made 225,000,000 pairs of shoes in the United States alone; the Westinghouse air brake and its various adaptations, electroplating, lithography and photolithography, optical instruments, musical instruments, ice machines, the growth of india-rubber manufacture, the Goodyear vulcanizing process, dating from 1844; machinery used in sugar refining and in paper, porcelain, and glass manufacture, stereotyping and electrotyping processes, Bruce's and other type-casting machines, folding and addressing machines, the Gordon job press, and the Adams, Campbell, Walter, Bullock, and Hoe perfecting printing presses.

A consideration of this most remarkable progress establishes beyond question the fact that labor-saving appliances so far from being a legitimate cause of falling prices are naturally consistent with a general rise. Indeed, when the bondholder urges that prices ought to fall because labor-saving machinery has been invented and the capacity of a day's labor to produce wealth is thereby increased, he does no more nor less than to insist that he ought to be the sole beneficiary of a progress for which he deserves no credit, and to improvements to which nothing whatever is due him, and that he whose genius, labor, and toil has perfected an appliance which enables a commodity to be produced at an expense of less human effort, deserves no share in the benefit conferred upon mankind thereby. [Applause.]

To illustrate: A man is engaged in the business of making shoes at a time when it requires two days' labor to make a pair of shoes. He borrows a thousand dollars of some fortunate individual, who contributes to the happiness of mankind by watching his fellow-man toil. Before this money becomes due the maker of shoes has, by the application of his skill, genius, and industry, perfected a machine which enables his workmen to make a pair of shoes in one day. When the note becomes due the money lender says, "You can now make a pair of shoes in one half the time you could when I loaned you the money, therefore you must give me the price of twice as many shoes."

Put in this way the argument of the contractionist seems absurd enough, but it is no more absurd than the general argument of the gold-standard advocate that improved machinery ought to produce a corresponding fall in prices.

But, Mr. Chairman, our opponents are very ingenious in inventing new excuses for the maintenance of the gold standard.

They have to admit that low prices are a national calamity, because there is no other excuse for the policy of a protective tariff except the desirability of promoting better prices. They are forced by overwhelming evidence to admit that the present low prices are not due either to overproduction or labor-saving machinery, but chiefly to a contraction of the volume of primary money resulting from a diminution of the quantity of paper money and the adoption of the gold standard by the principal commercial nations. They dare not take a bold, manly stand, and declare that the gold standard is desirable for this country, because the latest national platform of principles adopted by them at St. Louis condemns the gold standard, and promises to restore bimetallism by an international agreement.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we on this side of the Chamber have no objection whatever to international bimetallism, and believe that an international agreement might be speedily secured if the Government were under the control of an administration which really wanted to secure such an agreement. I do not mean to imply that all Republicans are insincere about this matter. On the contrary I believe there are many eminent men in the Republican party who sincerely deplore the existence of the gold standard and who are honestly desirous of securing bimetallism in the way promised by the St. Louis platform, but unfortunately the Republican party is not, to-day, under the control of these men, but of men and influences which are just as much opposed to bimetallism by international agreement as by independent action.

The evidences of this fact are now so overwhelming that it can not longer be seriously disputed. So many sincere bimetalists have abandoned the Republican party during the last two years that the gold monometallists are now in complete control of its organization, and will continue to control it until that party ceases to exist. [Applause on Democratic side.]

Not daring, however, to openly espouse the gold standard and denounce bimetallism, they take refuge behind the bare assertion that this country must submit to the gold standard because we can not restore bimetallism alone, and this brings us face to face with the question involved in the final objection,

CAN THE UNITED STATES RESTORE BIMETALLISM BY INDEPENDENT ACTION?

This depends upon the capacity of this country to increase the demand for silver and at the same time diminish the demand for gold. Any nation in the world whose people transact any business whatever with money can, to some extent, increase the demand for either metal by adopting it as its money standard, and, to the same extent,

can diminish the demand for the other metal by rejecting it. Portugal is now on the gold standard. If Portugal should abandon gold as money and adopt silver as her standard, can anyone doubt that the demand for silver would be somewhat increased, and the demand for gold somewhat diminished, and that, as a necessary consequence, the price of silver, measured by gold, would advance somewhat?

Any Republican who has any doubt whatever of the correctness of this conclusion can remove it by consulting that great repository of useful information, the Republican Campaign Text-Book for 1896. On pages 152 and 153 the proposition is stated as follows:

All buying and selling is simply barter. Money is sold for wheat as truly as wheat is sold for money. The relative amount exchanged in the open market depends on the law of supply and demand.

Gold and silver are exchangeable products as truly as wheat and calico, and their relative value depends on the same law of supply and demand. Whatever the supply, both are as valueless as sand where there is no demand.

The demand for gold and silver in the civilized world is for use (1) in money and (2) in arts and manufactures. The relative amount of these, as far as can be stated, are as follows:

Estimated amount of gold and silver in the world used in the arts and coinage during the year 1896.

	The arts.	Coinage.	Total.
Gold, coining value.....	\$60,766,000	\$142,234,000	\$203,000,000
Silver, coining value.....	39,710,000	186,290,000	226,000,000
Total.....	100,476,000	328,524,000	429,000,000

The effect of closing the mints of India to silver and thereby diminishing the demand for silver is well stated in the Republican campaign text-book for 1894 as follows:

The price of silver July 1, 1892, was 88 cents, the highest price attained during the fiscal year. The closing price on June 30, 1893, was 65 cents—a difference of 23 cents per ounce. The average price for the year was 84½ cents. Late in June, India closing her mints to the coinage of silver, the price declined from 88½d. to 30½d., which was equal to a decline of 8½d., or about 17 cents.

The fall of 17 cents per ounce in the price of silver occurred in four days' time.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as the foregoing extracts are from Republican Bibles, I assume that no Republican will dispute the correctness either of the facts or the conclusions. If India, by closing her mints to silver, could so far diminish the demand as to cause a fall of 17 cents per ounce in four days, is it unreasonable to suppose that by reopening them she could cause a corresponding advance in the price of that metal? Is it unreasonable to suppose that two Indias could produce a greater effect than one?

But, Mr. Chairman, it is demonstrable by the simplest mathematical calculation that four Indias could have restored silver to the value of \$1.2929 per ounce at that time, or that five Indias can do it now.

Not long ago Sir Henry Hucks Gibbs, governor of the Bank of England, was asked the direct question whether England could restore the parity between gold and silver by opening her mints to the equal coinage of the two metals, and he replied without hesitation, "Any great commercial nation can do it."

Why does Sir Henry say any great "commercial" nation? Because, Mr. Chairman, it is the commerce of a country which creates the demand for money. China and India are great in population; Russia is great in naval and military power, but none of them is great commercially. None of them produces or consumes any considerable proportion of the world's products, and consequently they transact only an insignificant part of the world's business.

None of these nations is of sufficient commercial importance to be included by Mr. Mulhall, even with Spain, in his catalogue of great nations. Such nations do not and can not create a great demand for money, Mr. Chairman, because they do not transact much business with money, and it may be conceded for the purpose of this argument that none of them, nor even all of them combined, could create a sufficient demand for silver to restore it to a parity with gold by opening their mints freely to its coinage, though such action on their part would greatly lessen the disparity between the metals.

Either France, Germany, or England could, however, in the opinion of this eminent English economist, restore the parity between gold and silver by admitting them on equal terms to its mints.

But where is the United States in this catalogue of great nations? You, Mr. Speaker, in a burst of patriotic eloquence, have shown that, measured by the production and consumption of manufactured goods, we are equal to one-third of the civilized earth and are five times as great as Great Britain, with all her vaunted and overvalued greatness. Manufactured goods, Mr. Chairman, include the steel and iron, copper and lead, gold and silver, zinc and tin, cotton and wool, linen and leather of which they are made and the machinery and fuel it takes to produce them.

In addition to this we have already shown that of the great staples, cotton, copper, steel, iron, and lead, we produce considerably more than one-half as much as all the rest of the world combined. But production and consumption do not alone measure the volume of a nation's commerce, nor the demand which the people of that

nation create for money. Where producer and consumer are neighbors their exchange of commodities can be effected with comparatively little money, and the money is in use only a short time.

This feature of commerce is commonly referred to as the efficiency of the money unit. But when, as in this country, producer and consumer are thousands of miles apart the case is entirely different. Before any exchange can take place the commodities must all be reduced to a common denominator—money; and this money is in use a considerable length of time; then freight and insurance must be added. These elements greatly augment the volume of money required by the people, and this increase is measured by the transportation of a country.

This is where we shine, for does not the total tonnage of all the railroads in the world outside this country, added to the total water traffic of the earth, our own included, lack 60,000,000 of tons of equaling the annual tonnage of our railroads alone?

When we consider the foregoing facts, does it not become apparent that we are more than one-third of the commercial world and that we create more than one-half as great a demand for money as all the balance of the world combined?

We have heretofore shown that five Indias could restore the parity between gold and silver, but, commercially speaking, Spain is considerably greater than India, England is more than five times as great as Spain, and we are more than five times as great as England, and still our opponents tell us that we must submit to a ruinous financial policy until we can get the consent of some puny power on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

For shame! Why don't they come out boldly and proclaim that they are for the gold standard, first, last, and all the time, because the bondholders want it? Why don't they say, as the London Times frankly says, "We like things cheap; the cheaper the better"? Why don't they throw off the cowardly mask of hypocritical cant about international agreement? They are just as much opposed to international bimetalism as they are to free coinage.

Take another view of the situation. Seventy-five per cent of all the people of this earth to-day transact their business with silver, and these 75 per cent do one-third of the world's business, the other two-thirds being done with gold. As there is twice as much business done with gold as with silver, the demand for gold is twice as great as the demand for silver, and its exchange value is therefore twice as great; but if this country were to abandon the use of gold and take direct to silver monometallism, would not two-thirds of the world's business be then done with silver and only one-third with gold?

Would not the demand for silver be twice as great as the demand for gold, and its exchange value be twice as great as the exchange value of gold? And if the United States could thus raise silver to a premium of 100 per cent over gold is it not preposterous to talk about our inability to restore it to a parity with the yellow metal?

But if there were the slightest room to doubt our ability to restore silver to a par with gold by independent action, no candid man pretends that there is any doubt about the ability of this country, aided by France and the Latin Union, to do so, and our opponents have long known that the aid of these countries could be secured at any time by giving them a trifling advantage in our markets through the medium of discriminating tariffs.

Such action as this even you, Mr. Speaker, advocated in your interview with the reporter of the London Fortnightly Review only a short time ago. It has been in the power of the Republican party to enact such legislation at any time since Congress assembled. If there were even enough bimetalists in that party to force a bill to be reported to the House they could secure its passage by the aid of the bimetalists on our side of the Chamber.

But Wall street is so completely in control of the Republican party as to prevent even the consideration of any such legislation; and yet that party unblushingly puts forth the miserable pretense that it favors bimetalism wherever it can catch votes by so doing, while in districts strongly inoculated with the virus of gold monometallism Republican leaders point with pride to the fact that the Administration deliberately discredited the Wolcott commission, and by the active interference of Secretary Gage made the success of that commission impossible.

It is believed by many that President McKinley at heart disapproved this disgraceful act of his Secretary, but he has not dared to openly disavow the treachery of Mr. Gage nor dismiss him from his Cabinet.

But suppose that this country should pass a free-coinage law and we found ourselves unable to restore or maintain the parity between gold and silver at the present legal ratio by such law. What would happen then? Our opponents say that gold would be driven out of circulation here; that we would go to a silver basis—to silver monometallism—that all our gold would leave the country—and go to Europe, and that no one would use gold in the transaction of his business here because there would be a premium on it.

This is the worst that could happen. But how would all this affect us? We are, as heretofore shown, one-half of the gold-using commercial world, and if one-half the world suddenly abandoned the use of gold would not the demand for gold be greatly decreased and its exchange value correspondingly diminished? Would not gold be made more abundant and easier to get in Europe, where our

surplus products are sold? And would not the gold price of these surplus products greatly advance, and is not an advance in price the very thing that the Republican party promises to promote by protection? Is not every advance in price now hailed by the disciples of the "Advance Agent of Prosperity" as a glad omen, an indorsement of their political prescience, a demonstration of the wisdom of the Dingley bill? Let us diminish the demand for gold, diminish the exchange value, and have better prices all along the line.

But they tell us this would be "national dishonor;" that we are under "moral" obligation to pay in gold debts originally payable in lawful money, gold or silver. But we are certainly not under any moral obligation to make it impossible for our people to get gold with which to discharge their debts. Suppose we continue to pay in gold. It will not take so much wheat, nor corn, nor cotton, nor "the sweat of toiling slaves" to buy the gold.

The bond will not command so much of these things as it does now, and that is the exact objection and the only objection the gold monometallist has either to free coinage or international bimetalism, and he is really opposed to the latter more than to the former because he knows that international bimetalism at 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 (the only international ratio possible) would reduce the purchasing power of gold fully 50 per cent, while free coinage at 16 to 1 would not reduce it quite so much (he pretends to believe not nearly so much). His real objection was stated by the London Times, "We like things cheap; the cheaper the better."

Commerce, an influential financial journal of London, in the leading editorial of June 10, 1896, speculated on the possible effects of the approaching elections in this country as follows:

Leaving the question of tariff for a moment, let us consider what a bimetalist America would mean for us. In the first place it will mean an immediate premium upon United States exports. The effect of coining silver at the proposed ratio would, in all probabilities, bring about a great "boom" in manufactures of all kinds. Wages would rise considerably, but the experience of other countries goes to show that they would not rise in proportion to the advantages which exporters would derive who sent their goods to a gold-using country, to wit, the United Kingdom.

The manufacturers of the States would not be quite in the same position of vantage as the agriculturists of the Argentine, nor the exporters in India, but they would have sufficient leverage over the manufacturer here to turn the scale in every trade where now there is a doubt which way the market trends. In tin plates, many kinds of machinery, including some of the very heaviest, in leather, and in many sundry manufactures where the British producer can with difficulty hold his own, the effect of the change would be decisive. Then this policy is also a bribe to the farmer. American-dead meat (live cattle being prohibited), wheat, and all farm produce suitable for exportation would come over in greatly augmented quantities, for the difference in exchange would mean such an addition of profit that an immense stimulus would be given all along the line.

As to silver mining, all that can be said is there would be a great rush. The dimensions of the movement would depend upon many things impossible to foresee. These anticipations of what has become possible are not—be it remembered—based on mere theory. We know already too well what to expect from foreign traders in a country where silver is the standard currency. India, Japan, and Argentina are all bearing witness to the insidious effects on British trade of conditions similar to those now in perspective in the United States.

The writer affects to believe that free coinage would not restore silver to par with gold, but clearly shows how the very disparity, if it should exist, would benefit us. A "great boom" in our manufactures would, of course, injure Great Britain, but why should we object? No Republican can claim that this would be immoral, for does not he try to "boom" them by a tariff against England?

It is time to shell these political guerrillas out of the woods, make them come out into the open and boldly declare the policy they secretly promote, viz, low prices and the gold standard. The Republican party is to-day the only organized political exponent of this vicious policy.

The history of the world shows that falling prices have always been to industrial prosperity what a pestilence is to the public health. Nothing ever has been, nothing ever can be, so productive of poverty, misery, and despair to the producers of wealth as an appreciating monetary standard. The people who prate the longest and loudest about "national honor" seem to think that the Government is under no obligation of honor toward its producing classes, its honest toilers. They may be robbed and plundered with impunity and no obligation of honor is violated. Honesty is due only to him who either by good fortune or overreaching has placed himself above the necessity of toil.

What we need in this country is a little less cant and a little more courage; a little less hypocrisy and a good deal more patriotic Americanism. Americans can, without abandoning becoming modesty, be proud and eloquent eulogists of their native land instead of sniveling apologists for the fact that it is not entirely like England. A nation which possesses a commercial and industrial power five times greater than its greatest competitor ought to be the clearing house of the world. It ought to set the pace for all other nations, and would do so if a little of the blood of '76 were injected into the social and political organism. Why don't our statesmen open their eyes to what the people of this country have done and can do, instead of indulging in irrational prophesies as to what it can not do?

We are in possession of the grandest natural empire upon which the sun ever shone; an empire whose developed resources are the wonder of the world, and to the possibilities of whose undeveloped resources imagination dare not set a limit; a domain extending from

ocean to ocean and almost across two zones, giving our people the most magnificent commercial advantages, and almost every variety of soil and climate; broad plains and sunlit valleys, whose fertility is bursting the granary and the wine press; gigantic mountain ranges whose ribs of adamant hide untold stores of coal and iron, copper and lead, gold and silver, and the majesty of whose forests wealth is proclaimed in every port where commerce rears a mast.

For more than thirty years this glorious empire of sea and land has been possessed in absolute peace and tranquillity by the most intelligent, industrious, progressive, and enterprising people on the face of the earth, and yet to-day they are poor. Most of them are grievously oppressed by debt. Millions of them are to-day hungry, cold, and wretched. Why is this so, Mr. Chairman? Something must be wrong.

We have seen that they once prospered and got out of debt even while bearing the burdens of an awful war, to the maintenance of which they freely gave their wealth and the flower of their youth and manhood. Why have they become poor during a period of profound peace, when every consideration of reason would suggest that they should be increasing their wealth instead of their debts?

Let them once awaken to their strength, burst the fetters now crippling every limb of industry, and they may again be free. Let them once become aroused to their own power and greatness, and there will be no more senseless twaddle about "leading commercial nations." There could be no more fitting opportunity for the people of this country to utter a new declaration of independence than on this day, the anniversary of the birth of Washington, freedom's foremost champion. I am not an admirer of the offensive braggart who, in season and out of season, boasts of this "great and glorious country," but every patriotic American should hold in utter contempt the sniveling cynic who devotes his time to explaining that we can not have a wholesome financial policy unless we get somebody's consent. I say, Mr. Chairman, with these advantages, with these powers, we can say to Europe the people of the United States will lead and you must follow. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

APPENDIX.

The following appendix contains extracts from the final report of the royal commission appointed by Parliament in 1893 to inquire into the causes of agricultural depression in Great Britain.

This commission, originally consisting of seventeen members, selected from among the most eminent statesmen and political economists of Great Britain, was in session one hundred and seventy-seven days, inquiring laboriously into the condition of agriculture, not alone in Great Britain, but elsewhere.

The extract immediately following is the closing portion of the final report, which was signed by 10 out of the 14 members of the commission who acted, 3 appearing to have taken no part in the proceedings.

The second extract is from the memorandum of Sir Robert Giffin, who is esteemed by political economists the world over as the ablest champion of gold monometallism.

The third is from the memorandum of Sir R. Lacey Everett, an eloquent champion of bimetallicism. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the remarks which I have had the honor to submit to the House, no American citizen who desires to acquire accurate information concerning the depression in agriculture can afford to dismiss the matter contained in this appendix without careful study:

[Page 163, Royal Commission on Agriculture.]

(23) From all the remaining countries which we have referred to, with the exception of the Argentine Republic and India, comes reports to a similar effect. All of them complain in a greater or less degree of agricultural depression, which in each case is attributed to precisely the same cause, viz, the fall in the price of agricultural produce.

(24) From India, however, no such complaints are heard. On the contrary, in reply to the inquiries we have addressed to the Government of India, we receive the following information:

"In India as a whole, apart from the present famine, the condition of agriculture during the last ten years has been flourishing. The breadth of land under cultivation has extended; the number of stock is larger; the rental and revenue from land have grown; the exports of agricultural produce has advanced."

In answer to the question, "Why is India exempt from the agricultural depression which has been so general in other countries, and what is the reason which accounts for it?" we are told, "The prices of agricultural produce have not fallen." It is also stated that the great extension of railways partly accounts for the prosperity during the last ten or fifteen years.

The explanation which is offered for the steadiness of agricultural prices in India, as compared with the heavy fall which has occurred in England, is as follows:

"The maintenance of silver currency in India may have been an important factor in steady prices, and so contributing to agricultural prosperity in India. If there had been a gold standard of money in India prices of produce might have fallen, in sympathy with gold prices in England."

It is also pointed out that while India, if freights were low, would be likely to send wheat to England, if prices ruled generally in London as high as 23 shillings a quarter, India wheat could hardly have come to Europe at the prices of 1893-1896 but for the low freights and the exchange value of the rupee being so far below the odd par of ten rupees to the pound sterling.

The following statement as to the flourishing condition of Indian agriculture are supported by statistics and by tables showing the course of prices in India during the last thirty years, which are published in the appendix.

In these statistics are given the results of recent valuations of rental of lower Bengal for the purpose of local rating (Road Cess. Act). They show an increase of rental between 1873 and 1895 of 19 per cent in the twenty-two years.

(25) Again, from Argentina the information which we have received is of a similar character. It will be found in the report prepared by Mr. Arthur Peel, second secretary of the legation at Buenos Ayres, on "The agricultural and pastoral industries of Argentina," dated May 14, 1895, in the report of Consul Bridget from Buenos Ayres, dated November 24, 1896, and in the evidence of Mr. Seth Taylor, Mr. Harris, and Mr. de R. Brett, as well as in that of other witnesses.

From Mr. Peel's report it appears that Argentina alone, among the countries referred to, is free from agricultural depression as understood in the United Kingdom. Her capacity for the production of cereals and the area of land suited to this branch of industry appear to be practically unlimited, and, for the reasons adduced by Mr. Peel, she does not suffer in the same degree as other countries from the fall in prices.

It is stated in his report that the farmer in the Argentine Republic can grow wheat at a profit and sell it in London at 20 shillings a quarter, and that he is enabled to do this by the high premium on gold. In fact, the higher the premium on gold the lower the price that he can afford to take, an advantage which makes him more or less independent of the market, and enables him to undersell his rivals in all parts of the world.

(26) These views as to the effect of gold premium are strikingly confirmed by Mr. Taylor and Mr. Harris, both of whom are gentlemen of the widest experience in the corn trade of the world, and by Mr. de R. Brett.

(30) With this evidence before us, it appears to us that the information that we have received from the Argentine Republic is of crucial importance to the British farmer. We have dwelt upon it at some length, because, if it is to be relied upon, and we see no cause to doubt it, it points to that Republic as probably the most dangerous competitor to the farmer of this country in the future. Her capacity for boundless production on the one hand, coupled with the fact upon the other that the prices at which she can export at a profit are regulated not by the market, as with us, but by a higher or lower premium on gold in the Republic, appear to us to be factors of most formidable import in the future of foreign competition to British agriculture.

(31) In view of the foregoing information, and taking Germany and France as typical of the most highly protected countries, it must be admitted that the results which are disclosed in these reports are not encouraging to the advocates of a policy of protection.

Whether and how far the agriculture of those countries has been aided, and depression has been mitigated, by the imposition of these duties we have no means of forming an opinion.

But it is impossible to study the admirable reports we have received without coming to the conclusion that in their case, at all events, protection has not afforded them security against severe agricultural depression.

(33) From these reports it is abundantly clear, whatever may have been the case at home, that, with the exception of South America and India, the chief producing countries of the world have been suffering, like ourselves, from agricultural depression.

(34) It appears to be more or less general in Europe and in the Australasian colonies, and to be especially severe in parts of the United States of America, where the condition of the farmer is stated to be as bad or even worse than it is in the United Kingdom, and from each and all of them comes the same complaint, viz, of a fall in prices, which has been for the most part continuous and progressive over a long period of years.

(35) For this complaint, so widespread, so unanimous, and so prolonged, it seems to us, proceeding as it does from both protected countries and countries which adopt free trade alike, that, apart from foreign competition, there must be some other and some general cause which is common to them all; and such a cause, it is suggested by many of the witnesses, may be found in the great monetary changes which were made in certain countries in Europe and in the United States of America in 1873 and 1874.

(36) Prior to that period, although free trade had been established for nearly thirty years, and foreign imports had been constantly increasing, English agriculture had enjoyed for many years a period of unequalled prosperity, culminating, it may be said, in 1874; and it certainly is a singular coincidence that from the moment when these changes began to take effect agriculture in this country, with no other special change in her condition, should become the subject of severe and prolonged depression.

It is even more remarkable, perhaps, that among all the different countries whose conditions we have examined, the only two who have not suffered from depression, due to a fall in prices, and of whom it can be said that their agricultural condition is flourishing, are countries either with a silver or a paper currency, like India and the Argentine Republic.

(37) The nature of these monetary changes and the mode in which they are alleged to have affected agriculture have been placed before us by several witnesses whom we have examined, and the evidence we have received shows that public interest has been aroused and is spreading in agricultural circles on this subject.

(38) We were much impressed by the clearness and ability with which our colleagues, Mr. Everett, Professor Foxwell, and others, explained to us their views upon "the monetary question," and it will be convenient, we think, to summarize the evidence on this point as briefly as we can.

(39) The contention of the witnesses has been generally as follows: Prior to 1873 the mints of the United States of America, of France, and the countries belonging to the Latin Union in Europe, viz, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, and Greece, were open to the unlimited coinage of silver as well as gold—that is to say, if either silver or gold were brought by anyone to any of these mints, and the metal answered the required test, they were bound by law to return it to the bearer coined into full legal-tender money at the fixed rate or price per ounce.

Gold, roughly speaking, was to be coined at the rate or price of £3 17s. 9d. per ounce; silver at the rate of 5 shillings per ounce, making the ratio between the metals 15½ to 1; and all this mass of metal, coined, silver as well as gold, became at once, by law, available for the discharge of debt to an unlimited amount; and it was in this way that the volume of legal-tender money in the world was steadily increased year after year, by silver as well as by gold.

(40) These were the main provisions of the bimetallic law which the witnesses allege had the following results:

(a) It gave to silver, as far as the law was concerned, a position of equality with gold; and the law created an unlimited demand for silver precisely as it now creates an unlimited demand for gold.

(b) All the silver in the world possessed a value, thus conferred upon it by law, as "potential money" equally with gold wherever it could be found.

(c) Except within very narrow limits, the relative value of the metals never varied, but remained practically steady for a vast number of years prior to 1873, no one possessing silver being willing to part with it for a lower price than could be obtained from any of the mints, which were bound by law to take it.

(d) Although the law itself was limited to the countries referred to, the operation of the law was universal, and all the business and the commerce of this country and the world was conducted under its influence and full effect.

(41) That was the position as regards the metals prior to 1873. But in that year and in 1874 the position was entirely changed by the passing of measures hostile to silver in the United States and the European countries, which effected, as the witnesses affirm, probably the most remarkable monetary revolution that the world has seen.

The change began by the attempt of Germany, who up till then had had a silver standard, to convert it into a gold one.

(42) Following upon the action of Germany, the mints of the other countries we have named were closed to the free coinage of silver in 1873 and 1874. Silver was thus deposed from the position which up till then it had occupied in conjunction with gold. It was deprived of the right of free coinage, which was first limited and then discontinued altogether, and the bimetallic system ceased to exist.

(43) Two results of the first importance to agriculture, it is pointed out, have followed upon this monetary revolution:

(a) The appreciation of gold.
(b) A wide divergence in the old relative value of the metals.

The first result has been explained as follows: Gold and silver combined, both of them being used as standard money up till 1873, were the "measure of value" until that date. Since 1873 that function has devolved on gold alone.

"The measure of value" being thus contracted, the prices of all things measured by it have contracted also, and prices therefore generally (measured in gold) are upon a lower level than they were. In other words, the purchasing power of gold has increased, which means the appreciation of that metal.

(44) The second result has followed naturally upon the first, because, gold having appreciated while silver has remained practically constant, the necessary consequence has been a divergence between the old relative value of the metals. It is alleged that silver has remained constant because in countries with a silver standard, like India before the closing of her mints, there has been little or no change in the prices of commodities—i. e., the purchasing power of silver had practically remained the same.

(45) This divergence in the old relative value of the metals has steadily widened since then, until the ratio between gold and silver to-day is somewhat like 30 to 1, instead of 15½ to 1, which it used to be before.

It is this divergence, the witnesses maintain, which explains the fact that the producer in silver-using countries is able to send wheat to England at a profit, at 20 shillings a quarter, or even less.

(46) The mode in which it operates was explained to us by the following illustration:

Supposing that a sovereign will exchange for 20 rupees, where formerly it exchanged for 10, because the rupee has fallen from 2 shillings to 1 shilling; it follows that, although the gold price of wheat may have fallen very largely, quite possibly from 40 shillings a quarter to £1, the Indian grower selling at that price will still be getting 20 rupees a quarter for his wheat.

If silver prices have remained the same in India, his 20 rupees will purchase for him as much and are worth to him as much as they were before, and he is thus enabled to take a gold price for his wheat, which means disaster to the English farmer, but which makes no change in his position.

(47) The same argument, it is urged, holds good with regard to wheat from Argentina, with this difference—that the currency in Argentina is paper instead of silver, neither of which have been subjected to appreciation like gold; and it is emphatically affirmed by the witnesses that it is in reality by this "currency cause" that the market price of wheat is being artificially depressed in countries with a gold standard like England.

(48) It was also pointed out with reference generally to countries such as Argentina with a paper currency that the reestablishment of silver would tend, in any case, to reduce the premium on gold, and that the substitution of silver for paper as the basis of their currency was one of the advantages which might be expected from the restoration of a practically stable ratio between gold and silver.

(49) The general effect of the evidence on this point may be summarized, we think, as follows:

Agriculture has suffered and is suffering severely from both of two results which have followed on the monetary changes which have been referred to.

First. From the general fall in prices, which is expressed in the term "appreciation of gold;" and

Second. From the divergence in the value of the metals, which gives an artificial advantage to producers in silver-using countries.

(50) Further confirmation of the views which we have cited with regard to the effect of monetary legislation upon prices will be found in the interesting series of historical facts which were given in evidence by our colleague, Mr. Everett. They relate to a number of different periods prior to 1873, during which great changes occurred in the prices of commodities.

The changes he showed were accompanied by agricultural depression or prosperity, according to the rise or fall in prices, and he traced them in each case very clearly to monetary causes.

The evidence on this point is included in the minutes of evidence, questions 18794 to 18878.

It embodies a concise and most interesting review of the position of the agricultural interests in Great Britain during the present century, and although it can hardly be quoted in full within the limits of a report, it will, in our opinion, well repay perusal, and deserves most careful consideration.

Mr. Everett's evidence on this point, we may add, is supported by the testimony of Sir John Bennett Lawes, who told us that the return to gold payment in 1820-21, by causing a great fall in prices, "had an immense effect on agriculture at the time."

(51) Again, our attention has been called to the report of the royal commission upon the depression in trade and industry, published in 1886, of which the late Lord Idlesleigh was the chairman.

In paragraph 72 in the final majority report signed by Lord Idlesleigh and 17 out of the 23 commissioners, the following expression of opinion with regard to the effect of the appreciation of the standard of value was pointed out to us:

"We desire to give it a leading place in the enumeration of the influences which have tended to produce the present depression."

So strongly were they impressed with the importance of this question to the interests of trade and agriculture that they recommended its more complete investigation by a body of experts, and the royal commission upon gold and silver was appointed for that purpose.

(52) In the report of that commission, published in 1888, to which our attention has also been directed, they came to conclusions of the first importance bearing upon this question. They unanimously agreed—

1. That the maintenance of the ratio between the metals, which was practically stable for many years prior to 1873, was due to the operation of the bimetallic system;

2. That the great divergence in the relative value of the metals which has occurred since then must be traced to legislation and the closing of the mints; and

3. That the maintenance of a ratio, which experience has shown to be possible in the past, would, under the necessary conditions, be practicable in the future.

(53) The views were embodied in the following paragraphs: 192 and 198, final report, Part I, and paragraph 107 of the same report, Part II.

"Now, undoubtedly the date which forms the dividing link between an epoch of approximate affinity in the relative value of gold and silver and one of marked instability is the year when the bimetallic system ceased to be in full operation; and we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the operation of that system 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, viz. 15½ to 1.

"The action of the Latin Union in 1873 broke the link between silver and gold, which had kept the price of the former, as measured by the latter, constant at the above legal ratio; and when this link was broken, the silver market was open to the influence of all the factors which go to effect the price of a commodity.

"We think that in any condition fairly to be contemplated in the future, so far as we can forecast them from the experience of the past, a stable ratio might be maintained if the nations we have alluded to were to accept and strictly adhere to bimetalism at the suggested ratio.

"We think that if in all these countries gold and silver could be freely coined and thus become exchangeable against commodities at the fixed ratio, the market value of silver as measured by gold would conform to that ratio and not vary to any material extent."

(54) These paragraphs were signed by all the twelve commissioners; but two of them, while admitting in a subsequent memorandum that the ratio adopted might be maintained for a considerable time, expressed their doubt whether any given ratio could be permanently maintained.

(55) So far we have dealt with the evidence which points to monetary changes as a prominent cause of agricultural depression; but we have also examined witnesses who differ from that view, the chief of whom have been Lord Farrer and our colleague, Sir Robert Giffen.

(56) Lord Farrer was vehement in his repudiation of the views which had been urged by the bimetallic witnesses, and the evidence he gave in reply to their contentions may be summarized as follows:

He began by disputing the allegation that gold had appreciated, objected to the term, and affirming that "it was nonsense to talk of a general appreciation of gold" when many things (including labor) which are measured in gold have risen and not fallen; and he cited in support of his views Prof. Erwin Nasse, Professor Falkner, and Mr. Carroll Wright, official statisticians of the United States of America, and the report of the committee of the Senate of the United States on wholesale prices, dated March 3, 1893.

(57) This argument, however, in our judgment, is refuted by the evidence, both of Sir Robert Giffen and Professor Foxwell.

(58) Lord Farrer denied that agriculture was suffering from causes connected with the gold standard. He differed from the view that the English producer is injuriously affected by the divergence in the relative value of the metals, and he further maintained that prices generally had not been affected by either of these two causes.

He asserted that bimetalism was impracticable, and that the ratio between the metals could not be maintained.

(59) Lord Farrer was also responsible for the following statement: (1) That the abandonment of the gold standard would be a cruel and wicked robbery of labor, and (2) that it was little less than wicked to attempt to persuade poor farmers that they would be better off by giving them more counters, by which we understand him to mean an increase in the supply of money.

(60) We were unable to follow very clearly the reasoning by which these latter conclusions, which appear to us to be conflicting, were supported.

If prices were not affected, as the witness has contended, by any change in the standard or in money, we do not understand why a reversal of these changes now should inflict any robbery, "cruel" or otherwise, on labor.

If, on the other hand, such a policy would tend toward a rise in prices, we do not perceive the wickedness of attempting to persuade the farmer that he would benefit thereby.

(61) With regard to the remaining allegations of the witness, which we have enumerated, the effect of his evidence was diminished by the fact that many of these contentions were more or less in conflict, as it seemed to us, with the purport of a number of different statements contained in various paragraphs of the final report of the gold and silver commission, to which the witness had attached his name as a member of that body, and some of which we have already quoted.

(62) The evidence which we received from Sir Robert Giffen was in some most material respects entirely opposed to that of Lord Farrer. So long ago as 1873 he told us that he had anticipated a general fall in prices, and had indicated his opinion in his writings at that time that a fall was approaching, and, as a matter of fact, it occurred very shortly after 1873—a fall, we may observe, which has greatly occupied the public mind since then, as well as the mind of this commission. He was, we believe, among the first of the students of this question to call attention to the fact that the fall which then began was to be accounted for to some extent by a relative contraction of the standard of value, as compared with the period just before 1873.

(59) Again, we find in 1882, from the evidence of the Duke of Richmond's commission upon depression in agriculture, which we have had before us, although the subject appears to have entirely escaped the observation of the commissioners at that time, that the same witness directed the attention of that commission to the fact that the fall in prices, which was still proceeding, was to be accounted for by the same cause, viz. "the scarcity of gold, which had been felt for the last ten years or so—ever since the German Government began to take steps to have a gold coinage."

(60) In the interesting evidence which he has given to this commission very similar opinions are expressed.

Agricultural depression, by general admission, being mainly caused by the fall in prices of agricultural produce, the average fall in agricultural prices, as in the prices of other commodities, is attributed by the witness chiefly to the contraction of money—in this case of gold—that contraction being due, in his opinion, to an increased demand for gold, which again is ascribed by the witness partly to the change from a silver to a gold standard by Germany in 1873.

(61) Up to this point there appears to be but little, if any, difference of opinion between the views of Professor Foxwell and Sir Robert Giffen.

Sir Robert Giffen, however, differing in this from Professor Foxwell, expressed the view that owing to the great increase of gold production in the Transvaal and elsewhere a period of rising prices might not be far off. He was also of the opinion that the appreciation of gold was not chiefly due to legislation, and upon other important questions arising in the evidence upon this subject he was opposed to the views of Professor Foxwell.

He denied that the proposals put forward by the bimetallic witnesses were practicable, and even if practicable he affirmed they would be inexpedient and undesirable. He held that there was no experience to show that governments could regulate the price at which the two commodities, gold and silver, would exchange with each other, and that even if legislation was carried for that purpose there was no assurance that people or communities would abide by it.

(62) We also understood him to dispute the view that the stability of the ratio prior to 1873 was due, as alleged in the unanimous report of the gold and silver commission, to the operation of the bimetallic law, or that a ratio could be maintained by legislation in the future, and he was strongly of opinion that nothing which has happened in the fall of prices pointed to the necessity or expediency of any change in our standard money.

(63) In the foregoing paragraphs we have tried to summarize the evidence upon both sides of the question, whether and how far agricultural depression is to be ascribed to monetary causes, and we now proceed to state the opinions we have formed.

(64) But in doing this we must observe that, in our judgment, this is a question for investigation by a body of experts rather than by this commission. We shall not attempt to formulate, nor do we think it any part of our duty to suggest any

plan or definite proposals with regard to it, and the opinions we express are submitted with becoming diffidence on a highly controversial and complicated subject.

(65) But after considering the whole of the evidence which has been adduced on both sides of the question, we are unable to resist the following conclusions: If it be true that an increase of money raises prices, and a diminution lowers them—and we are not aware that anyone disputes that proposition—then it seems to us that prices must to some extent have been affected by the changes which resulted in the closing of the mints to silver, and that a prima-facie case has been established in support of that contention.

Neither do we think that the views which have been urged upon us with regard to the effect of the divergence of the metals in the case of articles like wheat, for instance, which are exchanged between gold and silver using countries, have been successfully disputed; and upon both these points we are supported in this report by the unanimous opinion of the members of the gold and silver commission, who expressly refer to the disadvantage under which the English grower of wheat for the time is placed, as compared with the Indian producer.

(66) We concur in this opinion. We believe that the producer in the silver country does enjoy an advantage over his competitor in England. That he is enabled, by the fall in the exchange, to take a lower price for wheat without detriment to himself than his competitor in England; and that pending a general adjustment of prices, which has not yet occurred and which may be still remote, that advantage must continue.

(67) We also think that the price of wheat in England is being, and has been for several years in consequence, artificially depressed; and all that we have said on this point applies with equal force to countries with a currency of paper which has not been the subject of appreciation like gold.

(68) If the evidence on these points is of any weight at all, and it seems to us that it is impossible to ignore it altogether, it would probably, to some extent, account for the abnormal fall in the price of wheat which we have seen in recent years with such disastrous consequences to ourselves and to many other countries in the world; and we regard it as a matter of grave importance to the future of the agricultural interest which calls for serious attention.

(69) Throughout the course of this inquiry it has been made abundantly clear to us, first, that the gravity of the agricultural situation over wide districts in many parts of England can scarcely be overrated, and, second, that the cause which lies at the very root of the trouble is the heavy, and for the most part in the progressive, fall in the prices which we have witnessed now for many years.

(70) It is true that there has recently been a tendency to a rise, especially in the case of wheat, with regard to which the advance was sudden, rapid, and considerable, and we greatly fear that in the main it must be traced to the loss through drouth of the entire wheat crop over vast areas in India, and to the coincidence of shorter crops than usual in some of the other great wheat-producing countries of the world.

And when it is remembered that India, with the exception of Russia and the United States of America, was until quite recently the largest wheat-exporting country in the world, and is now importing that commodity for her own requirements, it is not difficult to account for the considerable rise which so suddenly and rapidly occurred.

But in all the information which we have before us we are unable to find anything which points to the conclusion that the recent rise in prices will be permanent in character, and in the case of wheat it has already been succeeded by a considerable fall.

(72) Notwithstanding the view which we have taken with regard to prices, we are aware, of course, that the localities exceptionally favored by reason of situation of climate or soil—where the land is of superior quality, or where, for instance, a large part of the farm consists of grass and the labor bill is small, or, again, where it is specially suited to dairy farming or to market gardening, with convenient access to a market—farming in such cases may still be conducted at a profit. It is likewise true that for the best and most desirable holdings in the more favored localities there is, and probably always will be, a demand. But these are, unhappily, the exceptions and not the rule.

(73) On the other hand, it is our duty to state as plainly and emphatically as we can that in those vast districts—in the eastern, the southern, and some of the midland and northern counties, to which we have referred at length in the earlier part of our report, and where depression has been the greatest—a recurrence of the prices which prevailed until the autumn of last year, and, still more, any further fall, would assuredly result in a condition of general ruin and disaster which we can not contemplate without dismay.

(74) If we are right in these impressions, it becomes a question of supreme importance to consider and ascertain by what means and from what quarters it is possible that relief can be obtained.

(75) We have considered the question of protection, but for the reasons we have given we confess we are not sanguine of remedy in that direction.

(76) We have also made a number of recommendations upon a variety of matters, which have been summarized in the report that we have signed, all of which appear to us to be good and desirable in themselves, but it is not contended that they affect the question of depression, which has been due to a collapse in prices.

(77) There only remains, so far as we can judge, the question whether, and how far, relief is possible by a reversal of the monetary policy, to which so many of our witnesses attribute the disaster which has fallen upon agriculture. But a change in this direction could only be accomplished by an international arrangement.

(78) What should be the terms of the arrangement, and to what extent this country should engage in it, either directly or by her Indian possessions, it is not for us to say. Indeed, it is a question which involves such grave considerations and affects so many and such diverse interests that we hesitate to pronounce an opinion upon it. But we are persuaded that it is a subject of the gravest interest to the agricultural future of this country.

(79) We do not suggest that the gold standard should be abandoned in this country, but we think that if a conference of the powers was assembled, and that their deliberations resulted in an international arrangement for the reopening of the mints abroad and in India, and the restoration of silver, either wholly or partially, to the position which it filled prior to 1873, it would be of the greatest benefit to the industry of agriculture.

(80) With the object, therefore, of promoting such a conference, we think that Your Majesty's Government should heartily cooperate with foreign powers and thereby give effect to the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons on the 26th day of February, 1895, which we desire to indorse.

(81) We think that if an international arrangement for the purposes which we have specified was arrived at, the long-continued fall in prices, which is the admitted source of agricultural trouble, would be checked, and that if there should be any future movement in the course of prices they would tend to rise rather than fall.

(82) We make this recommendation, after a prolonged and careful consideration of the grave question which has been referred to us, because we are unable to perceive the signs of any spontaneous and permanent change in this direction, and we see no other prospects of arresting that constant and progressive fall in prices which, by universal admission, has been the cause which lies at the root of agricultural depression.

All of which we humbly submit for Your Majesty's most gracious consideration.

HENRY CHAPLIN.
WALTER H. LONG.
R. NIGEL F. KINGSCOTE.
CHARLES ISAAC ELTON.
OWEN THOMAS.

C. N. DALTON.
ROBERT LACEY EVERETT.
JOHN GILMOUR.
WILLIAM C. LITTLE.
CHARLES WHITEHEAD.

JUNE 25, 1897.

[Memorandum by Sir Robert Giffen, page 173.]

Having given evidence myself before the commission regarding the fall of prices in the last quarter of a century, and against bimetalism as a remedy for agricultural depression arising from that fall, I have no desire to comment in this report on the evidence given by other witnesses on the same subject, and I believe there is no occasion to do so. It may be of some use, however, seeing that the commission as a body has not dealt with these matters, if I make a short statement of my views as to the present position of the discussions regarding them.

First. It is a great misfortune, I consider, that some monometallists, as appeared in the course of the evidence before this commission, have refused, and still refuse, to recognize the general fall of prices in the last quarter of a century as being, in economic language, an appreciation of gold and as being explained by the contraction (as compared with a previous period of expansion) which commenced about the year 1873. The facts are all beyond dispute, and if language is only used with the ordinary meaning, as employed by economists like Adam Smith and Jevons and many others who have discussed historic changes of prices, no one would say for a moment that there has not been an appreciation of gold in the last twenty-five years, and that this does not necessarily involve, dealing with the matter historically, a contraction of gold.

The second observation I have to make is on the difference in the rates at which the decline of prices since 1873 has progressed at different dates. The decline was at a much greater rate in the beginning of the period than it has been in recent years. This fact is referred to in the above report, but important conclusions are to be drawn from it, and I believe, therefore, it is important to emphasize it.

If we take Mr. Sauerbeck's index number, which is perhaps the most convenient for such discussions, we find that if we divide the period since 1873, after which the fall of prices took place, into five-year intervals, we get the following table:

Index number at beginning and end of following periods.

Period.	Begin- ning.	End.	Fall.	
			Amount.	Per cent.
1873-1878.....	111	87	24	21½
1878-1883.....	87	82	5	6
1883-1888.....	82	70	12	14½
1888-1893.....	70	68	2	3
1893-1897 (four years).....	68	62	6	9

Thus the extent of the fall has been much less lately than it was at the beginning of the period, and although the fall is still material, especially as we reckon by percentages which take into account the smaller prices from which the decline lately has been reckoned, it is obvious also that we are no longer in the presence of the catastrophic changes which marked the beginning of the period. There is a relaxation in the decline, and there have at times been appearances of a new start upward commencing. Apart from other explanations, this is in accordance with what theory would have led us to expect. A general change of conditions, such as occurred about 1873, tends to bring about adjustments at once; there is a change of level, and then the subsequent movements are less violent.

[Memorandum by Mr. R. Lacey Everett on (I) Past agricultural depression, and (II) The cause of the great fall in prices, page 190.]

I.—PAST AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION.

The present depression in agriculture, unhappily, is not without a precedent. In an earlier part of the century a depression very similar to the present was experienced. It set in soon after 1819 and continued until 1838. A abundant materials exist to enable us to judge of its severity and cause. The agricultural literature of that period, periodical and other, is full of references to it. Cobbett, in his Rural Rides, gives graphic pictures of it. The subject was continually coming up in debates in Parliament through those years.

The House of Commons appointed committees to inquire into it, the first of which sat in 1820, 1821, and 1822, the second in 1833, and the third in 1836. The House of Lords appointed a committee, too, for the purpose in 1837. The last two committees did not, that I can find, report. The first two did; and in their reports, and in the volumes of evidence which all four committees published, a wealth of matter is available to the researchers of the student of the agricultural history of those times. Many of us, also, too, have heard old men of past generations describe their remembrances of them. Farmers in great numbers then went into bankruptcy. (Alison, the historian, says half did.) Farms, even good farms, went begging for tenants. Laborers in thousands were out of employment, wages went down to starvation point both in villages and towns, for town industries were as depressed as agriculture; and machine breaking, incendiary fires, and general increase of crime bore witness to the depth of the misery of the people.

"The farmer bankrupt, the landlords in the way to be expatriated, many of them gone, the laborer without employment, the shopkeepers without custom," such is the picture drawn by E. S. Cayley, a well-known Yorkshire member of Parliament, and a high agricultural authority, in a speech in the House of Commons on June 1, 1835. Some study of the records of those times will well repay those who can find time to turn to them now when again severe depression has overtaken agriculture.

It will be found in such a study that there was a general agreement at the time as to the cause of the depression. Then, as now, it was due to a great fall in prices. The price of wheat, for instance, during the first twenty years of the century (1800 to 1819, inclusive) averaged 88 shillings a quarter, but during the next five years only 57s. 2d., and in 1822 it fell to 44s. 7d., and in 1835 to 39s. 4d. It was this enormous change in price levels which caused the trouble. On this all witnesses and authorities will be found to agree.

There is a widespread impression to-day that a general fall in prices is a great blessing, especially to the poorer classes. It is worthy of note that during the second twenty years of this century the nation did not by any means find it so, and least of all did the working classes. The much lower prices, though no doubt beneficial to some, such as placemen, pensioners, and the "dead-weight" classes generally, brought great industrial depression, want of employment for the poor, increase of crime, and widespread misery to the country as a whole.

There is also a strong impression to-day, at least among the farmers, that protection can insure prosperity to agriculture. But, as a matter of fact, the long depression following 1819 was all under protection, and not under light duties

like 5 shillings a quarter, such as are sometimes talked of now, but under very heavy duties indeed. During the first fifteen years of the century, though there were corn laws, wheat came in practically free. In 1815 fresh corn laws were enacted under which it was not allowed so to enter when the price was under 80 shillings a quarter; when below that price prohibitory duties, averaging some 20 shillings a quarter, were exacted. Yet, as we have seen, the price in 1822 dropped to 44 shillings and in 1835 to 39s. 4d.

Nothing is more astonishing to the modern student of those times than to find that the imposition of the corn laws was followed by a period, not of higher, but of much lower price levels. During the first fifteen years of the century, with practical free trade, the average price of wheat was 89s. 8d.; in the next twenty-five years, all under the corn laws, the average was only 62s. 8d., or nearly 27 shillings a quarter lower.

The committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1820, reporting in 1822, said: "The ruinously low price of agricultural produce at this moment can not be ascribed to any deficiency in the protecting power of the law. Protection can not be carried further than monopoly."

What, then, was the cause of the great fall in the price levels.

With our modern ideas formed from England's present situation we might be inclined to answer, "Return to peace after the long war." The student will not, however, find that cause prominently put forward in the discussion of the time, for it must be remembered that during the past century we were an exporting country, generally growing more than we needed at home; during much of the time we actually paid bounties to encourage the export of wheat; they were payable into the present century if prices fell low enough. War on the Continent of Europe during the last century, as Arthur Young and others have clearly pointed out, lowered prices here by closing against us our foreign market. We were very nearly a self-feeding country during most of the time of the great French war which closed in 1815.

Then, as now, all sorts of reasons were given for the fall in prices, such as abundant seasons, warehousing of grain, overproduction, etc. Titles were complained of, too, and the burden of rates and taxes. The burden of these last two on agriculture was relieved to the extent of £8,000,000 a year. Yet still the distress went on.

But the largest amount of intelligent opinion will be found arrayed in support of the view that a change in money laws had brought the fall about, and that it was in fact mainly due to a large contraction in the supply of legal-tender money caused by the return to cash payment.

In 1797, on the outbreak of the war, the Bank of England was authorized to discount cash payments and to issue small notes of £1 and £2, which were inconvertible, and were made by law full legal tender. Gold nearly disappeared out of circulation. Till 1819 these notes were the principal money in the country. As they were plentifully issued prices rose. When by the act of 1819, cash payments were ordered to be resumed, and the precious metals, instead of the notes, became the measure of value again and the only legal discharge for debt, a great contraction in the supply of money and of credit built upon it took place. The natural consequence of this was that henceforth a larger quantity of other commodities had to be given in exchange for a certain quantity of money. Money rose in value, and other things measured by it fell.

I append extracts, which I could have multiplied indefinitely, which show the weight of authority by which this opinion was supported.

The committee of 1820-1822 in their report said:

"Your committee, however, can not but ascribe a proportion of the depression in prices * * * to the measures which the restoration of our currency had rendered necessary, * * * an effect which has been aggravated * * * by the endeavors of the other countries to revert to a metallic currency simultaneously with ourselves. They deeply lament the derangement which the fluctuations of the last fifteen years in the value of the currency has occasioned in all the transactions of life, together with the individual loss and suffering unavoidably produced by the return to a fixed standard."

They also said:

"The departure from our ancient standard, in proportion as it was prejudicial to all creditors of money and persons dependent on fixed incomes, was a benefit to the active capital of the country. And the restoration of the standard has been, in its turn, proportionally disadvantageous to the productive classes of the community, and also attended with embarrassment to the landowner having mortgages and fixed charges to meet—fixed when land bore a higher value in reference to the impaired value of money."

Before the committee of 1833 evidence such as follows was given:

Mr. Joseph Sandars, corn merchant, Liverpool, said:

"During the depreciation of currency from 1797 to 1819 there was a period of very unusual prosperity among the farmers; the bank restriction act of 1797 was reversed in 1819, and we have seen a descending scale. * * * I think agriculture has not reached the bottom of that scale."

"The distress was very materially aggravated by the act of 1826, which repealed the act of 1822, again permitting the issue of one-pound notes."

Dr. Henry Burgess, secretary of the committee of country bankers, said:

"If the metal, which is standard, becomes scarce, that will produce an alteration in prices."

"The acts of 1816 and 1819, taken together, established a lower range of prices permanently. [NOTE.—The former changed our standard from silver to gold.] "The act of 1819 was the main cause of the fall in prices, as well agricultural as manufacturing."

"Nine out of ten of the great manufacturing works in Lancashire," he had been told, "had changed hands through insolvency. The witnesses examined before that act [of 1819] was passed were mainly persons concerned with commercial affairs in London, such as exchange brokers, loan contractors, and London bankers. Many of these had interests directly opposite to the interest of the productive classes."

John Langhorn, banker, Berwick-on-Tweed, said:

"No relief would be afforded to the farmer except through the relaxation of the currency."

"The distress of 1816 was removed by increased issues."

"The distress of 1819-1821 was relieved in 1823, 1824, and 1825 by increased issues."

[NOTE.—This was by Lord Londonderry's act of 1822, temporarily restoring the issue of the one-pound notes.]

"He looked upon the raising of the standard by the act of 1819 as an act of naked injustice."

Lord Ashburton (Mr. Baring) said:

"Price is regulated by the demand and supply of the article to be measured, and also by the value of the article of which the measure is made. Price is a certain portion of that metal (or other article) which is established by law as the measure of value."

Richard Spooner, M. P., banker, said:

"I consider the main cause of the present depressed state of agriculture to be the low price occasioned by our monetary system."

"The price of everything is regulated by the quantity of circulating medium." Before the House of Lords committee of 1837, Mr. John Lewin, a large farmer and miller, near Wickham Market, Suffolk, said:

"We have always had better prices when the currency has been expanded, and when it is contracted it is lower. * * * I have watched for twenty years the

bank circulation; the issue of country notes expanded and contracted with it. [Banking was free then.] When the Bank of England has increased its issue, our prices have gone up; when they have been contracted, our prices have gone down."

Mr. Pattison, M. P., a governor of the Bank of England, was asked, "How do you account for the great fall in prices since 1820?" He said:

"It is owing to the change from a paper to a joint metallic and paper circulation."

Mr. E. S. Cayley, member of Parliament for Yorkshire, said: "My firm conviction is that the necessary consequence of Mr. Peel's bill was to reduce the price of wheat in this country from 80 shillings to 40 shillings."

Sir James Graham, in a speech in the House of Commons, on a motion to forbid the circulation of Scotch one-pound notes in England in 1828, said:

"The gentlemen opposite had contrived to reduce the price of corn lower than it had been since the Revolution. The miracle was produced by a very simple process, namely, that of tampering with the currency, from which the landlord is sure to be the first to suffer. The value of money was heavily increased, while all the contracts remained at their nominal amount. The change bore down the amount of the landlord's receipt for his produce, while all the fixed charges and incumbrances on his estate were increased. He was forced to pay in a currency 30 per cent higher than that in which he had borrowed, and the consequence was that he must retrench, abandon the hospitality and liberality of his ancestors, and live like a niggard and degraded man, and squeeze his tenants like an oppressor, or the moneyed man walked in and took possession. A decrease in the quantity of money is the first step in the high road to ruin."

Earl Stanhope, in the House of Lords, in 1830, in the debate on the address, said: "To what is the universal distress owing? It is to be ascribed to the erroneous basis on which our currency has been placed since 1819. Prices have not fallen in agricultural produce only. The depression has been continuous and universal ever since the act of 1819 was passed, and especially since the suppression of the small notes took effect in the beginning of the last year. [Note: They were finally called in in 1829.] Such a universal and continued depression can be ascribed only to some cause pressing alike upon all branches of industry, and that cause is to be found in the enormous contraction of the currency which has taken place."

In the debate on the distress of the country in March, 1830, Mr. Western, M. P. for Essex, afterwards Lord Western, said:

"It was to the change in the currency that we were to attribute our distress."

Mr. Hudson Gurney said:

"To me it seems perfectly clear that the one and only source of all our difficulties, and of all the distresses that press so large a portion of our population to the earth, is the affair of money; the great and unconceivable error of making gold their only standard."

Mr. Atwood said:

"The conduct of the Government respecting the currency had operated as a confiscation of the property of the landed man for the benefit of the moneyed man."

Sir F. Burdett spoke of—

"The fatal bill of 1819. Subsequently to the measure there was a motion for a committee by the honorable member for Suffolk (Sir T. Gooch), which was obtained, and a partial relief was obtained for the existing distress by the issue of one-pound notes." (Lord Londonderry's act.)

He mocked at the worship of the "golden idol," and said:

"They sacrificed the agricultural interest, the shipping interest, and the commercial interest to the public creditor, to placemen, and to pensioners."

The famous William Cobbett said:

"The real cause of all the agricultural difficulties of England was the change which had taken place in the value of money. Therein lay the true source of the national misfortunes. * * * The original moving power by which their distress had been occasioned was the well-known currency measure of Right Hon. Baronet Sir R. Peel, near him" [of 1819].

Daniel O'Connell said:

"There was such a place as Ireland; agricultural distress was as great, if not greater, in that country than in England. They had been during the debate wholly forgotten. The remedy proposed by the noble lord (relief of taxation) was only like clipping or paring the thorn in the field. One remedy, the only sure remedy, was passed over, namely, one that would have the effect of mitigating the horrors of the gold currency bill. If no one else would, he would put in his claim for that scheme, which was better than all the other schemes he had heard that night proposed."

On Cayley's motion for a silver standard on June 1, 1835, O'Connell said again: "A more destructive bill, than that of 1819 had never been introduced. There never had been a bill more fatal to this country or so fatal to Ireland. There was no pressing necessity for that measure. It appeared to him to have been concocted in insanity, and for no other purpose than to make a mighty experiment on the power of human suffering, to see what weight it would bear. He remembered persons having valuable interests in lands leased to others who had also interests, and all were swept from the face of the land by the effect of that bill as by a plague or pestilence."

"The moneyed interest had a strong motive for upholding the present system."

Mr. Wodehouse said:

"All other remedies would prove utterly ineffectual. He had been one of the committee that had sat in 1822 upon agricultural distress, and he had been one of a small minority who were opposed to the adoption of their report on the ground put forward by Mr. Huskisson, that it did not sufficiently take into account the altered value of money. He was convinced that the present state of the currency had already done incalculable mischief, particularly to those connected with agriculture, and still threatened to overwhelm them with immeasurable ruin."

The last quotation I will give is from Lord John Russell, on the corn laws. In 1843 he said:

"In 1815 a new policy was adopted and 80 shillings was established as the price at which foreign corn might be admitted. An important change, however, occurred in 1819 which really affected the price of corn. The attempt to keep up the price of corn at 80 shillings entirely failed; for the right honorable baronet, in 1819, introduced a change in the currency and restored the standard of value. What was the effect? Why, five years before 1820 wheat averaged 80s. 9d., while in five years after 1820 it averaged only 57s. 8d."

"It was not an alteration in the corn laws that produced the alteration in price; it was the change in the monetary system."

Jevons, the well-known modern author of Investigations in Currency and Finance, says, writing of these times:

"Money rose 140 per cent in value in those years; prices fell 60 per cent."

There is thus an overwhelming weight of evidence to the effect that the long depression which afflicted agriculture (and industry generally) after 1819 was caused by the contraction of the supply of legal-tender money which followed the act of that year.

The revival of agriculture and its long run of prosperity from 1853 to 1878 was coincident with a great increase of legal-tender money, the result of the wonderful gold discoveries in California and Australia, the largest discoveries of the precious metals in the history of the world.

The present distress follows a great contraction of money, due to legislation restricting the former free supply of legal-tender money from both the precious

metals and limiting it only to one, which limitation began in 1873. This has produced a contraction similar in character to that of 1819 which suppressed the one-pound notes. Then the notes were suppressed; now it is one of the precious metals. And there is every reason to fear that this last contraction, if persevered in, will cause a continuous corresponding lowering of price levels as long as it lasts.

How can it be otherwise? Throughout the last century, when prices rested upon both the precious metals, a fairly steady level was maintained. The increase of the two precious metals about corresponded with the increase of the commodities they had to measure. In future, under the new restrictive arrangements, the increase of commodities will have the increase of only one metal instead of the two to balance it, and that one the most capricious and uncertain in its supply. It therefore looks to be almost absolutely certain that the new restrictive policy, if persevered in, condemns agriculture and other industries permanently to that condition of depression which continually falling prices necessarily bring in their train. A new benumbing influence has been set in motion by law to check industry by making it unprofitable.

II.—THE CAUSE OF THE GREAT FALL IN PRICES.

It is to be noted that the great and continuous fall in prices, which we are unanimously agreed is the main cause of the present depression, has not been confined to articles of agricultural produce. The index numbers devised by political economists to register the movement of the wholesale prices of commodities generally show that the fall in the value of agricultural produce is but a part of a general downward movement in price levels. The index numbers, as given by *The Economist*, in which the prices of twenty-two articles are grouped, is, for the average of the ten years ending with 1873, 3,036, and for January 1, 1897, 1,950.

Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers, based upon forty-five principal commodities at the prices they fetched from 1867 to 1877, and calling that price 100, show the following results:

1867 to 1877.....	100	1885.....	72
1874.....	102	1886.....	69
1875.....	96	1887.....	68
1876.....	95	1888.....	70
1877.....	94	1889.....	72
1878.....	87	1890.....	72
1879.....	83	1891.....	72
1880.....	82	1892.....	68
1881.....	85	1893.....	68
1882.....	84	1894.....	63
1883.....	82	1895.....	62
1884.....	76	1896.....	61

Both index numbers, it will be seen, show an enormous fall. The history of recent centuries will be searched in vain to find any parallel for so great, continuous, and general a fall in price levels.

It is to be noted further that this fall is still continuing, the last year being the lowest of the whole series.

The above tables show that we are witnessing a change in the value of money, as measured by commodities, of a very remarkable character. It has had no parallel, I believe, since the sixteenth century. The change was then precisely in an opposite direction, and was accompanied with great industrial activity, just as this is with depression.

My object in this memorandum is to show how the change passing under our eyes is being brought about. That of the sixteenth century was brought about by natural causes, by an enormous increase in the production of the precious metals. The present, it will be seen as we proceed to study it, is being brought about by artificial means, by legislation in the nature of "protection," by legislation restricting not indeed the output, but the use for monetary purposes of one of the two precious metals.

We are witnessing an experiment which has never been tried in the world before, viz, of making one precious metal do the work of valuation which has always been done hitherto by the two in conjunction.

The fall in prices so calamitous to the agricultural and other productive industries, and to indebted persons and nations, can be traced directly to a departure from the old policy of freedom and equality in the treatment of the two precious metals and to the adoption in its place of a new policy of "protection" to one of them. This new form of protection has been more far-reaching in its effects, more subtle and cruel in its operation on certain classes, and more prejudicial to agriculture and other industries—especially to agriculture—than any legislation of modern times. It has really, in fact, as we shall see, created the depression which afflicts agriculture to-day in gold-standard countries all around the world.

The article chosen to be "protected" is just that one of which everybody has need, and which no one can do without, viz, money. The new policy has borne its natural fruit. As the area of its operation has extended, the husbandman in the Old World and the New, in Great Britain, in Ireland, on the Continent of Europe, in our colonies and in the United States of America, has found himself compelled to give more and ever more of his produce to buy the money with which to pay his way. Whether toiling on arable land or tending flocks or herds on prairies or pastures, he has found his reward for his industry continually shrinking. He has seen many other men's wages increasing or stationary, while his reward for his toil has been steadily getting less and less. Engaged in the oldest, the largest, and the most necessary of all callings, an invisible but irresistible power keeps snatching away his legitimate profits, until, groaning with misery, he does not know which way to turn to escape from his hard lot. His difficulty is not with the seasons, it is not with the soil, it is not with his crops.

The earth is as fertile and nature as bountiful as they used to be in the days of his prosperity. His difficulty is with price. Nothing that he can produce comes to any money; this is the complaint on every agriculturist's lips. The curse of continually falling prices dogs his heels whether he produces wheat, or wool, or maize, or cotton, or sugar, or meat. If, unhappily, he is in debt, if he has a mortgage on his farm, despair is upon him as he finds more and ever more of his produce necessary to meet each pound of his indebtedness. He can not adjust his outgoings to his continually shrinking income.

This constantly increasing difficulty in obtaining money is exactly the effect to be expected from the policy of limiting the supply by "protection."

The express object of that policy as applied to any article is to raise the value of it. Well have the moneyed classes, the inaugurators of the new policy of "protecting" money, succeeded in their object. They have so raised its value by restricting its supply that the husbandman has to give two bushels of corn nearly for the money which he used to be able to buy with one. They have cruelly reversed the position as described in the old parable, "How much owest thou thy Lord?" "An hundred bushel of wheat (when I incurred my debt)," answers the farmer of to-day. "Take then thy bill and write two hundred" (not fourscore), says the mortgagee, the tax collector, the owner of leased land, and the money-lender of to-day.

The cruel effect of this new form of "protection" is to be seen to-day in the east of England—once the paradise of agriculture—in ruined farmers, neglected fields, tenantless cottages, and empty mansions. Also in complete collapse in the value of the land. Thousands of once prosperous families have been reduced to want. Mortgagees, once independent men, easily able with old price levels to meet their obligations, have been crushed; mortgagees have sustained heavy

losses, the clergy are impoverished; hospitals, almshouses, colleges, benefit societies, and numberless families, whose incomes arose from land, are being plunged into ruin. Such are the fruits of the new policy of "protecting" money (gold).

How has money been "protected?" The method has been as simple as it is unjust. It can be explained in a few words. Prior to 1873 the supply of money of the precious metals was free, alike from silver as from gold. By a series of legislative changes made by many great nations, beginning with Germany, a ring of protection has been put about gold, and the other precious metal has been excluded from its world-old free competition with it. The restriction thus introduced has, of course, raised the value of money in all countries where gold is standard, so increasing the burden of debts and lowering the prices of other commodities measured by money.

The whole subject of money, unfortunately, is a very intricate one, which few people have time or inclination to study. And it is much better understood by financiers interested in raising its value than by the toiling classes, who suffer from the forcing down of the prices of their produce when its value is raised. Our commission will not have sat in vain if its report attracts attention to this supremely important subject and to the mischief of the new form of "protection" which has been now introduced, not by landlords, but by money lords.

Part II of our final report, which I have had much pleasure in signing, deals largely with the above monetary change. I cordially agree with its contents, but I am so strongly impressed with the greatness and injustice of the change created by the introduction of an entirely new monetary system into the world, and by the far-reaching consequences which will continue to flow from it if unaltered, that I have ventured, at the risk of some agitation, to add the further remarks which follow. They represent the result of much reading and thought on an intricate but supremely important subject, and they will, I hope, make more clear to some who read them the cause of the remarkable changes passing under our eyes, some of which have led to the inquiry in which we have been engaged.

Three facts full of interest as bearing upon the present situation have been clearly established in the evidence which has been laid before this commission:

First. That there have been great changes in the general level of prices in previous times.

Second. That in each case where such changes have continued over a considerable period they have followed a large alteration in the supply of legal-tender money.

Third. That such alteration preceded and is accompanying the present fall.

As to the first point, soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, a rise of prices set in, which continued progressing for a full century such as the present fall is progressing. This rise carried the price of wheat from 8 shillings or 9 shillings a quarter, the price at which it stood at the beginning of her reign, to from 40 shillings to 45 shillings; the price of a fat ox from 30 shillings to four or five times that amount, and other commodities in proportion. It is the opinion of all historians and political economists who have discussed the point that this remarkable and phenomenal rise was due to the enormous addition made to the stock of precious metals in Europe, first, by the plunder of newly discovered America, and, second, by the discovery and working of the famous silver mines of Potosi, which were opened in 1545. Jacob, in his well-known work on the precious metals, says: "The annual supply of the precious metals became twenty-fold what it was at the beginning of the century. At the end of the century the stock had increased fivefold, and all prices were quadrupled."

This is a very notable instance of an extraordinary change in the level of prices, and due unquestionably to a monetary cause.

The increased annual supply of the precious metals continuing, the higher range of prices thus climbed to through the course of a century was maintained on the average—if any group of years be taken together—with great steadiness through the next century and a half down to 1797.

SECOND GREAT RISE.

We now come to another remarkable upward movement. The second great rise accompanied an abundant issue of inconvertible paper money.

In 1797 this country suspended cash payments, which were not returned to till 1821. The average level of prices during this long period—in which inconvertible notes were our legal-tender money, and they, instead of the precious metals, were the measure of value in Great Britain—was very much higher than in the previous century. Previous prices were something like doubled again. This is the second noticeable great change in price levels.

The bullion committee which sat during this period, namely, in 1810, presided over by Francis Horner, and on which William Huskisson and Mr. (afterwards the famous Sir Robert) Peel sat, in their report said, "An increase in the supply of the precious metals raises prices all over the world." And they point out that large issues of inconvertible legal-tender notes in any country have the same effect in it. They say that the average amount of Bank of England notes in 1798 was £13,334,000, while in 1809 it had risen to £19,000,000, and country issues had increased in proportion (country banks had an unlimited right of issue then). They further say the increase in the general paper currency in 1809 was probably little short of the amount which in any one year since the discovery of America had been added to the circulating medium of the whole of Europe. This, in their judgment, had much to do with the higher level of prices under the reign of the paper money.

Thus the second great change in price levels, equally with the first, had a clear monetary cause.

ELIZABETH TO VICTORIA.

It is worthy of note, in passing, that from the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, right down to the birth of Queen Victoria, in 1819, a period of two hundred and sixty-one years, the movement of prices, whenever its general level was changed, was on the whole continuously upward. This surely is a complete answer to those who say that in progressive communities the natural movement is toward "cheapness." It is really, as we shall see, quite a different cause that produces lower price levels when they occur.

FIRST GREAT FALL.

Next, a remarkably great fall in price levels calls for our attention—the fall spoken of in the first part of this memorandum.

This fall began soon after the passage of the act of 1819, under which cash payments were to be resumed in 1821. The one-pound notes, which for more than twenty years had been the principal money in circulation in this country, were made convertible at will, and were presently called in. A great contraction of legal-tender money, and of credit built upon it, thus took place. A very heavy fall in prices followed these changes, which the corn laws of 1815—excluding foreign wheat while the price was under 80 shillings a quarter—were quite powerless to prevent. The level of prices during the ensuing year was very much lower than in the previous period. The average joint price of a quarter of wheat, a quarter of barley, and a quarter of oats added together, during the twenty-two years of the suspension of cash payments, namely, from 1798 to 1819, inclusive, had been 158s. 8d. In the ensuing twenty-seven years, from 1820 to 1846, inclusive (the last being the year in which the corn laws were repealed), the average joint prices of the same articles had fallen to 113s. 8d.

The effect on prices which followed the return to cash payments was anticipated by some of the foremost men in England at the time. On May 19, 1819, when the proposed return was under discussion, the first Sir Robert Peel, the founder of

the family, presented to the House of Commons the following petition from merchants and bankers of London and warmly supported it in a speech:

"Your petitioners have reason to apprehend that measures are in contemplation with reference to the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England, which, in the humble opinion of your petitioners, will tend to a forced, precipitate, and highly injurious contraction of the currency of the country. That the consequences of such a contraction will be, as your petitioners humbly conceive, to add to the burden of the public debt, greatly to increase the pressure of the taxes, to lower the value of all landed and commercial property, seriously to affect and embarrass both public and private credit, to embarrass and reduce all the operations of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, and to throw out of employment a great proportion of the industrious and laboring classes of the community."

This forecast was but too faithfully fulfilled in the experience of the nation during the next quarter of a century. Agriculture, with which we are specially dealing, was in very great distress through all the earlier part of that period, as we have already pointed out.

This was the first notable great fall in the level of prices in modern times. Thus, in reviewing the past, we find that large additions to the volume of money have produced great and continuous rises in the general level of prices, and a large contraction produced a fall.

FREE TRADE AND THE GREAT GOLD DISCOVERIES.

In further confirmation of the fact that price levels depend chiefly on money supply, it is instructive to notice that the prices of grain during the first thirty-one years following the repeal of the corn laws in 1846, were, on the average, very little below what they had been during the thirty-one years in which the corn laws were in force. The average joint price of a quarter of wheat, a quarter of barley, and a quarter of oats added together—from 1815, when these laws were imposed, to 1846, when they were repealed—was 119 shillings; during the next thirty-one years, all under free trade, it was 112s. 3d. The agricultural world was filled with alarm when the corn laws were taken off, and their repeal was followed by a few years of very low prices; but, as a matter of fact, after thirty-one years of free trade in England, agriculture looked back on a quarter of a century of unbroken prosperity, its longest period of unbroken prosperity in the century.

How is this to be explained? Singularly enough the great gold discoveries in California and Australia began in 1848, the last year in which the corn duties were collected (they expired January 31, 1849). So extraordinary was the yield from these new sources that the joint production of the two precious metals, which in the early part of the century had been only £2,000,000 annually, and which in the twenty years from 1820 to 1840 averaged only £7,200,000 annually, arose during the twenty from 1850 to 1870 to £33,380,000 annually, being between four and five fold increase. This enormous increase of new money was probably the chief factor in maintaining the price of corn at nearly the same level after the repeal of the corn laws as had prevailed under them. The prices of live stock, of meat, and of commodities generally, it is to be noted, rose very considerably during these first thirty-one years of free trade. In connection with this remarkable fact it is also interesting to recall words used by Richard Cobden on December 13, 1852, in a debate in the House of Commons. He said:

"It is sheer prejudice to say that as free traders we mean low prices for everything. What we want is abundance. We do not say that free trade necessarily brings low prices. It is possible with increased quantities still to advance prices, for it is possible that the country may be so prosperous under free trade that, while you have a greater quantity of everything than you had before, increased demand in consequence of increased prosperity may arise, so that the demand may be greater than the supply."

This prediction was largely verified by what actually happened, as we have seen.

MORE MONEY CREATES MORE DEMAND.

Apart from the stimulus which the freeing of trade gave to commerce and manufacture, the enormous inpouring of new money into the world's circulation, in quantities hitherto unprecedented, was the creation of a new and largely increased demand. That it was the new money rather than free trade which mainly produced the new prosperity is shown by the fact that the prosperity was enjoyed by protectionist nations as well as by free-trade Britain. Trade and agriculture thrived with new vigor in all civilized nations during the era of the great gold discoveries.

The experience of that period illustrated remarkably the truth of the teachings of David Hume, the eminent historian and political economist, who, writing in last century, said: "In every kingdom into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, everything takes a new face. Labor and industry gain new life, the merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skillful, and even the farmer follows his plow with great alacrity and attention."

The production of commodities of all kinds—agricultural and other—it is to be noted, increased at a greater rate between 1849 and 1872 than it has done since, yet prices rose very considerably. But since that time, with a less rate of increase of production, they have been almost continually falling. See the following striking diagrams, prepared by Sir Guilford Molesworth, K. C. L. E.: [See Charts No. 3, No. 4, and No. 5.]

OPINIONS OF ECONOMISTS.

Confirming the teachings of these striking diagrams, Sauerbeck also says: "The production of commodities between 1850 and 1870 increased 2½ per cent per annum, while prices rose 18 per cent. Between 1870 and 1885 they increased only 1½ per cent and prices fell 30 per cent."

These facts further confirm the teaching that great changes in price levels, where continuous, are the result of expansion or contraction in the supply of money. The following are a few samples of the opinions of political economists as to this fact:

John Locke said: "The lessening of the quantity of money makes an equal quantity of it exchange for a greater of any other thing."

Hume: "It is the proportion between the circulating money and the commodities in the market which determines the price."

Ricardo: "That commodities rise and fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible."

J. S. Mill: "That an increase of 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 would have no key to any of the others."

Sir Robert Giffen: "Viewing a long period dynamically, it is beyond all question that commodities are comparatively steady and only the money changes."

This being so, it will be seen that the high probability is established that any long-continued change in the level of prices such as is now taking place before our eyes will be found, if investigated, to be due to a monetary cause.

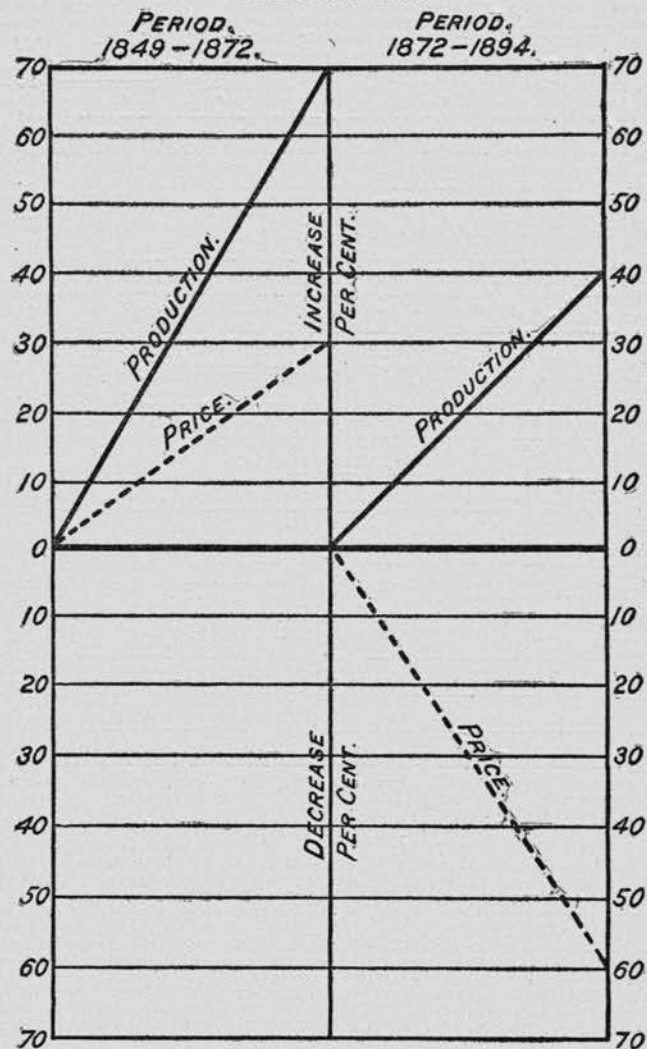
THE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE BEGINNING ABOUT 1873!

I will now describe briefly the extraordinary monetary changes which preceded the present remarkable fall in prices.

THE OLD MONETARY POSITION.

Prior to 1873 all the gold and all the silver in the possession of mankind, whether coined or uncoined, could be taken to the mints of the various nations to be received back by its owners, coined into full legal-tender money, 15 to 16 ounces of the silver coining into money of the same value as 1 ounce of gold. This

CHART No. 3.—Wheat.



arrangement while it lasted, and it had lasted for centuries, made the two metals throughout the world practically one for monetary purposes—it kept them married together. In giving evidence for the Bank of France before the Conseil Supérieur in Paris in 1870, Baron Rothschild said of this state of things:

"The simultaneous employment of the two metals is satisfactory and gives rise to no complaint. Whether gold or silver dominates for the time being, it is always true that the two metals concur together in forming the monetary circulation of the world, and it is the general mass of the two metals combined which serves as the measure of the value of things."

These last words aptly describe the principle which determines the general level of prices over any considerable number of years. That level rises or falls in some rough proportion to the relative quantities of the things to be valued and of the precious metals (where they are the legal-tender money) which value them. There is, as we have seen, substantial agreement among all political economists as to this broad principle. Here, not in inventions or absence of inventions, not in duties or absence of duties, is the real key to long-continued considerable changes in price levels.

An illustration may help to make this clear, and to make plain how great was the change which began in 1873.

Imagine a pair of scales. Down to 1873, for centuries, there had been in one scale the gold and silver in the possession of mankind, in the other the world's commodities of all kinds. The precious metals weighed and valued the commodities. The contents of the precious-metal scale had been added to by the yearly addition made to the stock of gold and silver from all sources, the commodities scale by the yearly increase of commodities accompanying the multiplication and ever-growing inventions and activities of mankind. A general level of prices, depending upon the proportion between the contents of the two scales, was thus established and maintained. From 1558, for a full century, money increased the fastest and prices rose. From 1820 to 1840 commodities increased the fastest and prices fell. From 1850 to 1873 money increased the fastest and prices rose.

THE NEW REVOLUTION.

About 1873 the following remarkable change of law and practice began: One nation after another—Germany, the Scandinavian nations, the United States, France and the nations which with her formed the Latin Union, and, after, Austria-Hungary, all closed their mints against the former unrestricted coinage of silver.

EFFECT OF THE POLICY.

One effect of this new policy was obviously to lessen in those countries the possible inflow of money of the precious metals into their money scale while the increase of commodities was continuing unabated. The increase of commodities was left quite free, while the increase of money was restricted. Thus was set in motion a new force, continually tending in these countries to lessen the proportion of money to commodities, and so tending to raise the value of money as to

CHART No. 4.—Cotton.

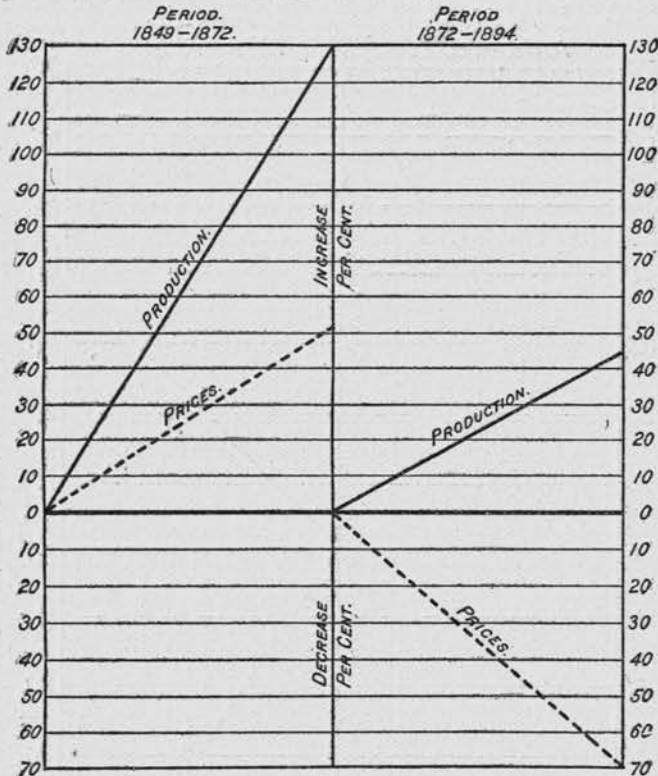
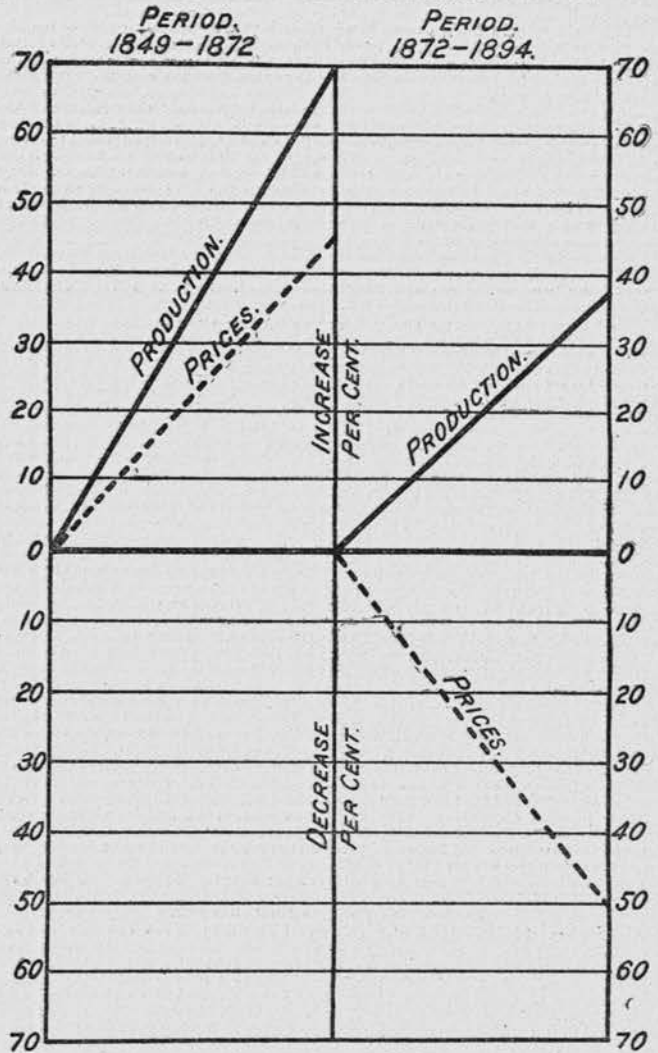


CHART No. 5.—General commodities.



lower the prices of commodities. This is one very important new element in the situation since 1873, and an element not natural, but purely and absolutely artificial.

FURTHER EFFECT.

But this was not near the whole of the change brought about by the new restrictions put upon the monetary use of one of the two precious metals.

Their most important effect was the alteration made in the former "standard," or measure of value, in which they wrought a quite revolutionary change. Until then, in the words of Baron Rothschild, already quoted, it was the general mass of the two metals combined which served as the measure of the value of things, silver being an undivided part of that general mass. Closing mints to silver excluded and so detached from the hitherto undivided mass of the two precious metals available for money a large part of the existing stocks of that metal. If detached, for instance, the silver of China and the far East, of India and of Mexico, etc., also all the new silver annually produced from the world's mines and the uncoined silver held in any form in every country.

This exclusion left as available money for gold-standard nations only the gold of the world and such silver coin as is allowed to circulate at its face value in gold-standard countries with it. The excluded silver is probably some half of the whole stock of that metal in the possession of mankind. The money scale, as we have seen, had held the whole stock of silver and gold. Now, speaking roughly, half the silver had been taken out of the money scale and transferred as a commodity to the other scale. This great contraction of the monetary mass, this altered proportion between commodities and the money which values them, supplies the key to the great fall in price levels which we have witnessed in all countries on the gold standard; and the increased production of gold in the last few years has not near sufficed to stop the growing disproportion thus created; hence the fall goes on.

It is said that all the gold in man's possession if melted into a solid block would form a cube measuring 22 feet each way, and the silver in like manner a cube 66 feet each way. Both these were in the money scale prior to 1873; now, half the silver cube has been taken out of the money scale and put into the commodity scale. It is easy to see that this extraordinary change compelled the commodity scale to go violently down—in other words, price levels to fall.

Nor is it easy to see what can save us from continual falling prices in the future while this new restrictive policy is persevered with, for the increase of commodities will have only the increase of one metal instead of two as formerly to counterbalance it.

Here is the essential difference between the old monetary system and the new one which has just been created. It is the most radical and far-reaching economic experiment as yet witnessed by mankind. The currency—the standard by which we measure value—has been tampered with in an unprecedented way. The effect of this tampering, which has raised the value of money and lowered proportionately the value of produce and property of many kinds, has been to sweep large classes of innocent people into ruin. It has also plunged heavily indebted nations into enormous difficulties. The measure of value, which, like measures of length or quantity, should be constant and invariable, have been quite altered, to the great injury of the indebted and of all who have to buy money with produce.

TWO NEW AND SEPARATE STANDARDS.

Silver and gold—the two precious metals—which from the earliest times had been linked together in human speech, and accepted as one common money by almost all nations, at ratios fixed from time to time by powerful governments, have now been completely divorced from one another. Their long joint reign has been ended.

Henceforth what had been once money has been divided into two. It is the most noticeable divorce the world has ever seen, the most far-reaching in its consequences.

The revolutionary change of law has completely altered the world's former "measure of value." Gold is now one "measure" of prices and silver is another, quite separate and independent. And since this change they have yearly diverged wider and wider from each other.

Facts show that this enormous change in the old "measure" of values is closely

connected with the extraordinary fall in prices, which has produced the agricultural distress into which we have been inquiring. For it is only in countries which measure prices by gold that the fall has occurred.

In Mexico, India, and the East, in fact wherever prices are measured by silver, there has been no notable change in price levels. Prices there measured, whether by the silver money of those countries or by silver bullion in London, are substantially as they were twenty years ago. An ounce of silver, for example, exchanges for about the same quantity of wheat, cotton, wool, or other commodity.

There seems, then, no legitimate escape from the conclusion that the fall in prices in gold standard countries has, in the main, been produced by a rise in the value of gold in relation to commodities which has taken place since its divorce from silver. The fall in prices is in fact the direct outcome of the remarkable monetary legislation we have described.

The effects which have followed that legislation are visible at a glance in looking at the lines on the chart annexed. [This chart is substantially the same as Chart No. 2.] The three lines upon it are three separate and independent records in the movements in the value of our money, viz, gold, as measured by other commodities. One shows the movement in it as measured by silver, one as measured by the "index number" as based on twenty-two leading commodities, and one on its movement as measured by wheat. The general parallelism of the three lines, it will be noted, is very remarkable. It seems impossible to believe that so remarkable a parallelism of movements over so many years can be a mere coincidence. That it is not a mere coincidence, but a delineation of cause and effect, is made absolutely certain when we study the chart and note the explanatory cause of each considerable movement in the lines. The descent of the lines upon it registers the fall in prices as measured by gold. The fall of commodities so measured is really a rise in the value of that metal, but shown in an opposite way.

[Footnote, page 77.—Prof. F. Max Muller, of Oxford, in a recent letter to the Times, says:

"Also weighing thousands of gold and silver coins, Professor Brugsch has shown that the ratio between gold and silver in the Egyptian coins was always maintained at 1 to 12½, while Dr. Brandes has shown that in Babylonia and all the countries which adopted the Babylonian standard it was 1 to 13½. * * * From the sixteenth century before Christ, or, if we restrict our remarks to coined money, from the seventh century before Christ to nearly our own times the appreciation of gold has not been more than 13½ to 15. We know that at various periods, for instance, at the time of the Persian wars, of the discovery of the East Indies, and of the conquest of America, there was a sudden influx of one or other of the precious metals. Yet the common sense of the great commercial nations of antiquity, in their anxiety to safeguard the interests both of their wholesale and retail traders, seem to have been able to maintain the respect for the relative value of silver and gold coin if safeguarded by the warranty of the State."

Thus we see that very soon after the adoption of the preferential policy toward gold that metal began to rise in value as compared with its old ally, silver. As the area of the preferential policy spread the rise increased, and as gold arose in

value other things measured by it fell with a general parallelism very striking to see.

When in 1890 it was expected that the new monopoly created in favor of the gold would be broken by the return to free coinage of silver in the United States, the value of gold rapidly fell, as the lines in the diagram show. When the free-coinage measure was defeated and the Sherman Act substituted, up went the value of gold again.

Then, in 1893, when our Government closed the Indian mints and the United States soon after repealed the Sherman Act, gold bounded up again faster than ever; and, as a rise in the value of this metal caused a fall in the value of all other commodities measured by it, the extraordinary fall in prices on the diagram is explained. The descent of those lines show the fall shown due to the increasing value of gold. The rise, where it occurs, shows the temporary depreciation of that metal and the consequent rise in prices. The teaching of these facts is irresistible, we venture to think, to an unprejudiced mind.

EFFECTS FORESEEN.

When, in 1870, the probable effect which might be expected to follow if the mints of France were closed against silver was being discussed in Paris, Baron Rothschild, continuing the evidence of which we have already quoted part, said:

"As an extreme consequence it might then be necessary to entirely demonetize silver. That would mean the destruction of a portion of the world's capital. It would spell 'ruin.'"

The effect in lowering the value of produce and property in all gold-standard countries which has followed the partial demonetization of this metal, testifies to the sagacity of this prediction.

By Lord Beaconsfield.

A speech of Lord Beaconsfield on the subject is also very noticeable. Speaking of the House of Lords on March 28, 1879, in a discussion on the depressed state of agriculture and trade, his lordship said:

"After the repeal of the corn laws there was considerable suffering among all classes; not merely in the agricultural classes, but in trade generally there was great discontent and dissatisfaction. * * * Suddenly, after three or four years, there was an extraordinary revival in trade, and a great elevation in prices. How did that occur? One of the most wonderful events in the history of the world happened—the discovery of gold in California.

"In 1852 £26,000,000 worth were poured into Europe, and when your lordships remember that the business of the world had been carried on until that time by an amount of gold which I believe never reached £6,000,000 a year, you can at once apprehend the effects of the discovery. In one year there came £36,000,000, and in five years £150,000,000 were poured into Europe. The effect of this was that prices were raised immensely.

"But a marvelous thing also occurred shortly after. There was a commission of all the great States of Europe, who took advantage of the holding of the exhibition at Paris to meet there with the consent of their Governments, to consider whether a uniform system of coinage could not be established, and that advantage ought to be taken of the gold discoveries to bring about this result.

"The Government of Germany, which had £80,000,000 of silver, availed themselves of the circumstances of which I have been speaking to substitute gold for their silver. * * * All this time the produce of the gold mines in Australia and California had been regularly diminishing, and the consequence is that while these large alterations in favor of gold currency have been taking place in the leading nations of Europe—notwithstanding an increase of population, which alone always requires a large increase of gold currency to carry on its transactions—the amount every year has diminished, and is diminishing, until a state of affairs has been brought about by the gold discoveries exactly the reverse of what they produced at first.

Gold is every day appreciating in value, and as it appreciates in value the lower become prices. This, I think, is one of the causes [of the depression] * * * and may lead to consequences which may be of a very serious character * * * It is not impossible that, as affairs develop, the country may require that some formal investigation may be made of the causes which are affecting the prices of the precious metals, and the effect which the change in the value of the precious metals has upon the industry of the country, and upon the continual fall of prices."

These are very striking words, when read in the light of recent events. The appointment of the gold and silver commission, in 1886, and the holding of several international monetary conferences, as well as the holding of several inquiries into trade depression and into agricultural depression, all called for by the fall in prices, are a significant commentary on Lord Beaconsfield's sagacity in foreseeing the far-reaching effects of the enormous monetary changes which were then beginning.

By Mr. Goschen.

On February 20, 1883, Mr. Goschen, in the House of Commons, called attention to the same subject. He said:

"I have asked myself * * * whether a portion of the agricultural depression * * * is not due to the fact that there is a fall in the price of almost all farm produce except cattle, butter, cheese, and similar commodities. From the inquiries which are now being made it appears there is, which can hardly be denied, a considerable appreciation in the value of gold, and that that appreciation in the value of gold has had a general effect on the value—on the prices—of almost all commodities, unless there are very special counteracting circumstances.

"The economists say that through the demonetization of silver in Germany and the resumption of specie payment in America some £200,000,000 have been absorbed; and therefore they come to the conclusion that a priori it will be likely that the value of gold will increase and that there will be a fall in the price of commodities. The next process is to examine the prices of commodities and see whether experience justifies that conclusion. Now, whether we take iron, cotton, wool, leather, or wheat, the same rule is found to extend over the whole range of commodities—the sovereign has appreciated in price; that is to say, we have to give a greater quantity of commodities for the same amount of gold.

"The reason why I have introduced the subject is that if the fact is so, then the farmer who raises a certain quantity of wheat, barley, oats, or whatever it may be, receives for them a smaller price; while on the other hand his debts for rent, etc., payable in gold, remain unchanged. * * * I admit the fact that the fall in price does not extend to cattle, sheep, butter, cheese [NOTE.—These have all fallen heavily since.] or to all the products of grazing farms, but that is because in that particular industry a fearful havoc among the flocks has counteracted the tendencies of natural causes and prevented that fall in price which is otherwise fairly universal.

"Other causes for the fall in value might be adduced, but I submit this special one for the consideration of the House and the public. If, as is undoubted, there has been a greatly enhanced demand for circulation through the flow of gold into the United States, Germany, and other countries, the natural consequence is that prices must fall. In short, just as the discovery of gold and its flow into this country gave a great temporary prosperity, increase in industry, and appearance of wealth, so a diminution in the supply relative to the demand must produce the opposite consequence. * * * I therefore invite honorable members on both sides to think out this great problem, which goes far deeper than the mere question we are now discussing."

In a speech made to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in June, 1885, Mr. Goschen further said on the same topic:

"The case seems to me to lie in a nutshell. * * * You have the decreased production of gold, you have the increased production of commodities, and you have the fall in prices which these two factors ought to produce. It ought to have produced it, and the fall is here; but somehow or other there are many persons who are furiously angry if people contend that there is any relation between the cause and effect."

We thus see that the fall in prices was anticipated by high authorities, and that they clearly connected it with recent legislative changes affecting "money," the standard by which we measure value.

COMMON-SENSE VIEW.

If we leave for a moment the testimony of experts, and study the question on the broad lines of plain, common sense, we are irresistibly led to the same conclusions as they have arrived at. Currency questions are unhappily singularly intricate and difficult in many of their aspects, but on their broad lines common sense is all that is required to understand them.

What are the leading facts of the situation?

The disease of agriculture is beyond all question the fall of prices.

What is the price?

In Great Britain we measure the price by one of the precious metals, viz, gold. Our "pound" is a piece of gold of a definite weight and purity (called sovereign). But gold is itself a commodity, and, like other commodities, its value changes with variations in supply and demand. The size of the sovereign, of course, does not change, but its value in exchange with other things alters.

Now, consider the change which has arisen in the demand for gold. Prior to 1873 the only nations having gold as their standard were England, with some of her colonies, and Portugal, representing a population at that time of under fifty millions. To-day (see speech of Sir John Lubbock in the debate on currency in the House of Commons, March 17, 1896), through the changes made by different nations, three hundred and sixty millions (or more than seven times as many people) have this metal as their standard. How can such an enormous addition to the demand for gold have failed to raise its value? And the more so because in the twenty years prior to 1889 the average annual production from the mines was actually less than it had been. In those twenty years it averaged under £21,000,000 a year, in comparison with over £25,000,000 in the previous seventeen years. Of this diminished amount it is estimated that £13,000,000 annually are consumed in the arts and £1,000,000 in loss and wear and tear.

This left only £7,000,000 a year to meet the demand for the East (where some millions of gold go yearly and do not appear again in the West) to supply the ever-growing needs of the original but ever-multiplying fifty millions of people using it before, and the entirely new demand of three hundred and ten millions of people besides! It is certain that these new conditions must have raised the value of gold enormously. Accordingly, if we measure it by other commodities, we find from the "index numbers" that it has risen in value (purchasing power) between 50 and 60 per cent. Sixty-one ounces of gold will purchase now at wholesale prices as much as 100 ounces would prior to 1873.

A rise in the value of gold must, of course, necessarily express itself in a general fall in the price of commodities measured by it, just such as we have been witnessing, but not necessarily in the price of all commodities equally or at the same time, as there may be counteracting circumstances, temporary or durable, affecting any particular commodity which are more powerful than the circumstances affecting gold.

A simple illustration of this is found in the case of hay, which, in 1893, owing to the extraordinary drought of that year, was temporarily so diminished in supply that it rose to more than double its previous price. The rise has since, however, been entirely lost by a return to ordinary seasons, and the price is now lower than before the rise. It is only by grouping commodities, as is done with the "index numbers," that the general movement of price levels can be correctly gauged. Exceptions are owing to exceptional circumstances, and in no way disprove the evidence afforded by the fact of the general movement.

It seems, then, quite impossible to doubt that the monetary changes made by so many nations in recent years, enormously increasing, as they have, the demand for gold, have had very great effect in raising its value, and consequently in causing a fall in general price levels as measured by it. The fact that gold is now divorced from the other precious metals has intensified this effect.

CONFIRMATORY FACTS.

A number of contemporary facts add their confirmation to the conclusion that gold has been rising in value.

Fixed charges of all kinds, as mortgages, leases, annuities, rates, taxes, wages, etc., have to producers, agricultural and other, been very much more difficult to pay; that is, it is more difficult to raise the same quantity of gold.

There is an almost universal unwillingness to take leases now; just the opposite of the state of things which prevailed twenty years ago. A lease is, of course, an agreement to pay a fixed quantity of gold yearly over a term of years.

Indebted nations, like Australia and India, have been in great difficulties. A strong anti-Semitic movement has sprung up on the Continent, being the outcry of the indebted against the growing burden of their debts, a burden increased enormously by the rise in the value of money.

There has been a great shrinkage in the value of many kinds of property, just such as a great rise in the value of the measure of value might be expected to produce.

Owing to the general and continuing fall in the value of produce and property, it is being found safer to hoard money than to use it.

Consequently, it is being withdrawn from circulation, and accumulates at the banks.

Investors, afraid of embarking money in producing articles, which keep falling in value, compete for gilt-edge securities, which are thus driven up to unprecedented prices, and interest falls.

All these contemporary facts are just such as might be expected to follow a great rise in the value of gold.

PROTECTION OF GOLD.

The monetary changes made have really amounted to a gigantic system of "protection" of gold. By excluding from free coinage the other precious metal, the old equal of gold, the world-old former free competition of the two money metals with one another has been destroyed. Over the area of many nations silver has been shut out artificially from its hitherto principal use, and a monopoly has been created for the yellow metal. Instead of prices resting, as they formerly did, upon the natural foundation of the joint production of the two precious metals, free from human manipulation, law has now stepped in to exclude one metal and to prefer and exalt the other.

The world-old standard of value—the joint mass of the two precious metals—has thus been tampered with as it never has been in the history of mankind before. All the nations within the area of this new "protective" policy have had their prices artificially forced down nearly one-half, to the cruel injury of the producing and indebted classes. Those which have continued on the old free lines, and with silver as their standard, have continued to enjoy the inestimable blessings of stable prices, and have been spared in their agriculture and other industries the great sufferings which we, in common with all gold-standard countries, have been and are enduring.

EXTENT BY WHICH THIS TAMPERING WITH OUR STANDARD HAS REDUCED PRICES.

The measure of the extent of the fall thus produced is to be found in the different price levels existing to-day in gold standard and silver standard countries, respectively. The evidence laid before us shows that agricultural produce (and commodities generally) have been exchangeable all through the fall in prices for about the same weight of silver as before the fall began. Of course, each ounce of this silver, if mints had not been closed against it, would have coined into just as many coins as ever—coins formerly equally legal tender with gold.

An ounce of silver coins into about 5 shillings. A bushel of wheat to-day (June, 1897) changes for about an ounce and a half of silver, so that if there were free coinage the bushel would to-day be worth 7s. 6d. But its price, measured by gold, is only 3s. 6d. Yes, it will be replied, but if free coinage were restored silver would immediately go up. No doubt it would, as measured by gold, and so would wheat. The chart has shown us how the two move almost automatically together.

The inference seems irresistible that but for the closing of the mints there would have been no considerable fall at all in the general level of prices. This being so—and we do not see how it is possible to escape from this conclusion—it is plain that it is the revolutionary new policy of closing the mints that is mainly responsible for the disastrous depression in agriculture into which we have been appointed to inquire.

It is true that England herself has made no change in her standard since 1816, when she changed it from silver to gold; but the anti-silver legislation of the Continent and the United States has had just the same effect on prices in England as if England had joined in that legislation, for the essential change which has taken place has been an enormous rise in the value (purchasing power) of money in all gold-standard countries, and England is among that number. From 1816 to 1873 England was saved from feeling any hurtful consequences from changing her standard from silver to gold. The action of France and other nations whose mints were open to both metals at a fixed ratio kept the two metals linked together as one. Gold and silver were undivided parts of one monetary mass.

The gold standard was a separate standard only in name. It is only since the other Western nations have followed England's example that the separation between the two metals has become really effective. Since then every fresh act of preferential legislation in favor of gold or of hostility to silver, whether emanating from Berlin, Washington, Paris, Vienna, or Calcutta, has effected the stability of England's standard, as the lines on the chart plainly show, just as if emanating from our own Parliament at Westminster.

It is the great rise in the value of gold due to the new preferential policy which has been pursued toward it, by whatever nation, which is mainly responsible for the phenomenal fall in price levels in all gold-standard countries. Of this there is the most overwhelming evidence.

DISASTROUS EFFECT OF THE RISE OF GOLD.

Under the influence of the great and continuing fall in prices thus caused, good corn-growing lands within 20 miles of London have been driven out of cultivation, just as Jacob tells us (see volume 4 of our evidence, Appendix A IX, page 531) the once fertile province of Campania, near Rome, was in ancient times under the influence of the long continued fall in prices which accompanied the contraction in the Roman supply of the precious metals in the century following the reign of Augustus.

The contraction which we have been suffering from, unlike that, is not due, as we have seen, to any natural and unavoidable causes; not, as that was, to any failure of the mines; but is entirely owing to human legislation, interdicting and restricting the old free use of one of the precious metals. The removal of these new restrictions and a return to the ancient freedom is therefore the obvious remedy to the existing depression, the real root of which is the continuing fall in prices. It is this fall which is the key to the ruinous condition of agriculture.

PREVIOUS AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION.

The numerous inquiries into the agricultural depression which was suffered after 1819 were fruitless as regards benefiting agriculture. Parliament had forbidden the currency part of the question to be dealt with, and, as this was the real root of the depression then, no dealing with other minor causes which they could recommend could be effective.

Our predecessors (the Richmond commission), who were appointed in 1879, and who reported in 1882, were equally unsuccessful. They made several recommendations, most of which have been carried out, but in spite of this we find the industry now very greatly more depressed than then.

They made no recommendation dealing with the real cause of the distress, viz, the fall in prices. That fall and the consequent suffering of the industry have become very much more acute now. This fall is the real disease. Unless its progress is arrested there can be no agricultural recovery.

This paper points out the plain and obvious cause of at any rate a large part of the fall. And unless that cause is dealt with arable cultivation in Great Britain must steadily diminish.

EXTENSION OF RAILWAYS AND TELEGRAPHS AND CHEAPER CARRIAGE BY SEA AND LAND.

Some witnesses have considered that these have had much to do with causing the fall. There have unquestionably been very great extensions of comparatively easy communication and very great reductions in charges and freights. Of this there is ample evidence.

If the fall in prices had been confined to importing countries, such as Great Britain, or had been heavier here than in exporting countries, there would have been much force in the contention that these cheaper facilities accounted for it; but the evidence given before us shows that the fall in prices has been quite as great in the exporting countries (always excepting the silver-using countries) as here. The new and increased facilities for sending their produce to foreign markets might naturally have been expected to tend to raise prices in exporting lands; but, inasmuch as their prices have fallen as much as ours, it is plain that lower freights, etc., do not account for the fall.

No doubt the increased facilities afforded by telegraphs, new railways, and improved sea carriage tend to equalize prices all over the world, but they in no wise account for a fall which extends equally over all gold-standard countries, whether importing or exporting.

The fall in prices has not extended to countries where silver is standard. If it were due to any of the causes we are now discussing, it is difficult to see why silver-standard countries should be exempted from it, as they certainly have been.

CURSE OF AN APPRECIATING STANDARD.

The great disadvantage at which producers in a country with an appreciating standard of value are placed, in comparison with producers who are fortunate enough to live where there is a stable standard, has been made very plain in our inquiry.

Since the great divergence between gold and silver following upon the changes of 1873 has been in progress, the producer in a silver country has been able to sell his produce for less and less gold, still keeping his own price in silver unchanged.

To such an extent has this proceeded that during 1895 wheat from India, for instance, could be sold here for half a sovereign, while returning to the Indian farmer as many silver rupees as he would have received prior to 1873 when selling the same quantity for a whole sovereign. In this extraordinary state of things, wherever this Indian wheat has come, to be sold at this reduced price, it

has filled with dismay producers in every gold-standard country. It could be sold at half its old price.

To meet this unnatural competition the continental nations have been driven to try to protect their producers by import duties. But in spite of the duties the fall has still proceeded, and has outrun the duties.

The competition of countries like the Argentine Republic, using inconvertible paper, has been still more formidable to our farmers. Owing to the great depreciation of that money in comparison with gold each sovereign taken here for their produce has at times changed into £3 10s (\$17.50) of their paper money. Wheat laid down here at 18 shillings a quarter thus returned 63 shillings to them; and in payment of taxes, labor, rent, etc., in Argentina this paper money goes nearly as far as ever. Articles imported from Europe to them have no doubt to be paid for by them at a much higher rate than before; but, as the Argentine farmer probably sells fifty times as much as he buys, he is greatly advantaged by this extraordinary state of things. And it is very noticeable that the enormous increase in production in Argentina did not begin till after the great rise in the gold premium.

The competition of Argentina is no doubt the most formidable which the British farmer has to meet. The greater the gold premium the more formidable is that competition to him.

Were the old policy of equal treatment of the two metals reverted to, and the volume of the world's international metallic money so increased, it would doubtless also lessen the gold premium in Argentina and make it easier for that country to get upon a metallic basis. Every step in this direction will lessen the unequal competition with which farmers in gold-standard countries now have to contend.

The above facts show that appreciating money, such as gold has been lately, is an enormous discouragement to agricultural producers. And they explain why it is that agriculture in gold-standard countries all over the world is in sore depression, while those with silver as their standard, or with inconvertible paper, have escaped.

Again the world is seeing the fact emphasized that expanding money brings agricultural prosperity and contraction of money depression.

And again it is made evident that the way, and probably the only way, to remove the present depression and to replace it by the former prosperity is to remove the new artificial restrictions put upon the full and free monetary use of silver, which restrictions, as we have seen, have been mainly responsible for bringing the depression into existence. Depression has been caused by "protection" and can only be cured by a return to "freedom." Free mints are the suitable companions of free ports. It is very notable how the closing of mints has stimulated the closing or partial closing of ports. To return to freedom of both is the better way. Legislation restricting the former free supply of money has caused the fall in prices and the agricultural distress, and legislation restoring that former free supply is the proper and only remedy.

The experience of the past affords good reason to believe that the expanding money supply which a return to free coinage would bring with it would be beneficial to all productive industries. Effects similar to those which followed the expanding monetary supply of the great gold discovery period, it may reasonably be expected, would follow a return by the principal civilized nations to the old free use of both the precious metals.

ROBERT LACEY EVERETT.

Mr. HARTMAN. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman may extend his remarks in the RECORD if he so desires.

Mr. JONES of Washington. In connection with that I desire to print some quotations on the subject connected with my remarks.

Mr. HARTMAN. Oh, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Montana? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield twenty minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON].

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, a few hours ago when we were discussing this bill and the able chairman of the committee from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] was discussing that portion of the bill relating to sending representatives to the Paris Exposition, I, in order to get some information, asked a question of the gentleman from Illinois, if these nine commissioners were appointed, might it not happen that they would be selected for their wealth instead of their capacity as business men; if it was not possible that the nine commissioners might be appointed whose purpose would be to go to Paris for the purpose of getting into the swim over there, and for social intercourse in order to cultivate the acquaintance of some lords and counts, and in order that they might work off some of their rich daughters? [Laughter.]

The gentleman from Massachusetts a little later seemed to take exception to that. His conduct later on seemed to indicate that he thought I was casting some reflections on him, and he entered a very earnest protest against anything in the shape of legislation that would seem to discriminate against the millionaire. He reasoned in his remarks that they were the most competent men to intrust with the affairs of the Government and in representing it abroad, etc. I will read you some of his remarks:

Mr. Chairman, I should like to know what is to be the result in this House of this criticism and condemnation and sneering and contempt directed toward any man who in developing this country, in making it rich and prosperous, has accumulated himself any part of the wealth which is absolutely necessary in order to enable him to do this thing which we all want done?

Indicating that the gentleman understands that the wealth of this country has been developed entirely by millionaires, and if it was not for these very rich people we should not have any country at all.

A MEMBER. What gentleman from Massachusetts are you speaking of?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. WALKER. Further on he says:

I am utterly ashamed of this constant haranguing to the effect that no man can be trusted who has any taxable property; that a man is contemptible and mean in proportion to the amount of his tax bills. It is time this thing were ended.

Indicating that the rich people of this country should occupy all high positions and represent the people abroad, because they

are the people that pay the taxes. It is within the knowledge of everyone here that the rich people of this country are the tax dodgers; that they are not the gentlemen that pay the taxes at all. Go to any large city, and it is the poor widow with her little home that is in sight, and the man whose property is in sight and can not shift his taxes, that has the burden of taxes in this country.

The gentleman from Massachusetts is engaged in making shoes and boots, and he is taxed, I suppose, upon that business; but he is fortunate in that, because he can shift the taxes onto the fellow that uses the boots and shoes [laughter]; so in the last analysis he is not the gentleman that pays the taxes.

Another argument he makes is that these men are fit to hold a high position because of their intelligence; that it is proven by their ability to accumulate wealth, and that that entitles them to fill any position. Because a man steals a railroad or wrecks a half a dozen and turns them into the hands of a receiver and makes a million of dollars, that is very good evidence that he should represent this nation abroad! Because a man gets control of the oil fields in this country and organizes an oil trust and levies tribute on every consumer of oil, that is conclusive evidence of his business capacity and entitles him to represent the country abroad! And so on all along the line.

Now, I wondered at first why the gentleman from Massachusetts was so sensitive about this matter, and so I thought I would read his history, written by himself, I presume, in the Congressional Directory. He goes on to tell where he was born, about his education, and finally he comes down and says:

Was engaged in boot and shoe manufactory until 1887, when he retired from business in Worcester; established the business of manufacturing leather in Chicago, Ill., in 1898, and was until recently a member of the firm carrying on that business under the firm name of Walker Oakley Company.

Well, it occurs to me that perhaps this is a part of the leather trust. The leather trust has levied a tribute on every consumer of leather in this country. In my country a hide taken off a steer that sells for a dollar, after it passes through the hands of the tanner and the leather trust, comes back there and costs \$15 or \$20. I do not wonder that the gentleman is sensitive at any suggestion to take away any special rights or privileges of the millionaires. Mr. Chairman, the people of this country are to-day contributing to the leather trust, and the naked toe of every little ragged child in all the country is evidence against the extortions of the leather trust. But that ought not to entitle these men who are enabled to manipulate legislation and get special privileges accorded them—that ought not to establish the fact that they are the only ones to represent this great nation of toilers at the Paris Exposition. On the contrary, it is abundant evidence that they are the men that ought not to represent this great people abroad at this Paris Exposition.

Following his record a little farther on, I find that he has been for many years one of the trustees of Brown University, of Newton, Mass., and of the Theological Seminary, etc. I believe it was the Brown University over which President Andrews presided. It was President Andrews who (in an unguarded moment, I presume) said something to indicate that he was in favor of destroying the monopoly of the national banks, of taking away from them the special privilege of controlling the currency of this country; and therefore the gentleman from Massachusetts raised his voice against allowing in a college of that kind, which was instructing the youth of the country, any utterances in favor of this pernicious doctrine that the people had any rights—any doctrine which did not teach that the protected interests of millionaires were the only ones that should be looked after at Brown University. So this is not the first time that the gentleman has made this manly protest against the "calamity howlers" saying anything against our wards, the millionaires. [Laughter.]

The gentleman, in the course of his remarks here to-day, said that if this thing goes on there will be a proposition to draft all our Congressmen from the poorhouses. I trust we shall never come to that condition; but it occurs to me that any country or nation that is producing millionaires on the one hand must naturally produce paupers on the other. And so you will finally come to a condition where you will be obliged to have a Congress, if you have any at all, of either millionaires or paupers.

As for me, gentlemen, I do not want to be brought to that condition. I want to adopt and follow out the line of policy which will bring us to a happy medium—to that condition of government which Jefferson dreamed of and hoped for—a condition, as he said, where there shall not be extremely poor nor excessively rich, but a country in which all men shall have equal rights before the law and equal chances in the race of life. And when we can establish such a condition, gentlemen, we shall get rid of the millionaires, and we shall get rid of the paupers to a great extent.

But never can that condition be reached, gentlemen, as long as this House and legislative bodies generally are granting to certain classes of citizens special privileges, giving them, for instance, a "corner" on leather, or giving them control of the currency of the country, or protecting the manufacturing interests to the

detriment of the communities who pay tribute to them. Those are the things that are raising up millionaires in this country.

Why, gentlemen, it is a well-known fact that in all the years that slavery existed in this country it never produced a single millionaire. It is only since the war—since those great commercial interests have been built up by special privileges at the expense of the people—that we have produced millionaires. And that is what I am protesting against. Ordinarily the millionaire is all right. I do not know that I blame him very much for taking advantage of the laws which the people have foolishly enacted for his benefit.

The gentleman from Massachusetts has been an honorable and useful citizen of this country. He does not belong to that class of millionaires who, having accumulated wealth, go over to Europe and spend their time in frivolous dissipation in the midst of the high-toned society there. He is one who has manfully stood up on this floor and battled for the interests of his class and his people. He has set a worthy example to those who, as soon as they have stolen their millions, have gone abroad.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Chairman, do I understand that the gentleman from Kansas would prefer to be a pauper rather than a millionaire? [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. No; the gentleman ought not to understand any such thing. But I am trying to discuss a question of right and wrong, a question in which the interests of the American people are involved, not any question personal to myself. What I would like or what I would personally desire ought not to cut any figure here when I am acting in my capacity as a legislator. I am here representing the people who pay tribute to those trusts and combines every day in the year. I am here as the representative of the people, to protect them against the encroachments of the "robber barons" of this country, and I will lift my voice against those trusts and combines at every opportunity. What I would like to be cuts no figure, I trust, in a discussion of this kind. I would not object—I will say this in passing—to being a millionaire at all. [Laughter.]

I do not believe there is any use in playing the hypocrite about that. But I would not want to be a millionaire at the expense of those who toil. That I am not a millionaire is evidence that I have not the inclination to take advantage of my fellow-men to rob and plunder them—to consume the substance of the people in order that I may become a millionaire.

Mr. PERKINS. And if the gentleman were a millionaire he would think there was some respectability in that class of our fellow-citizens?

Mr. SIMPSON of Kansas. I have no doubt I might lend an air of respectability to that class. [Laughter.] The gentleman from Iowa will no doubt recognize this long-felt want. [Renewed laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, as I said before, I have no particular complaint against the millionaire as an individual. He but takes advantage of the privileges that we have granted him by law. I would by the same process—through the medium of the law—take away from him these special privileges. For instance, I would take away from Brother WALKER in his capacity of president of a large bank and as one of the trustees of a savings bank, as I understand, his share of exercising a monopoly of the currency of the country that enables him with others to filch from the people their hard-earned wages. I would take away from Brother WALKER the privilege that he exercises, or did exercise through being connected with the leather trust of this country, of robbing the people who wear boots and shoes in order that he might become rich. The way to remedy these evils is not to complain of the millionaire, but to arouse and educate the people to a sense of their duty, so that their representatives coming to Congress will pass more bills which shall declare "be it repealed," not "be it enacted."

To my mind there is not to-day a trust or any other privileged body in existence that enables men to combine to plunder the people that does not rest upon law—law enacted with the acquiescence of the people themselves. Therefore the people are to blame. Therefore the remedy for the evil is not to find fault with individuals such as millionaires, but to find fault with the people whose ignorance of economic laws has led them to become the dupes of designing politicians, who have conferred special privileges through the exercise of the law-making power. Let us, then, educate the people up to a condition of mind where they will see how easy it is under our form of government, with the right to vote and the right to make laws for themselves, to repeal existing laws under which monopolies and special privileges have grown up—to take away the props upon which these things have rested.

Now, Mr. Chairman, when I began I did not expect to occupy even this much time. I have entered my protest against the gentleman from Massachusetts, who assumed that I was at war with millionaires and would deprive them of the opportunity to fill these positions as commissioners at Paris simply because they are millionaires. I do this because I believe the capacity and the

faculties that fit a man to become a millionaire unfit him in many respects to represent a free people in any capacity. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Will the gentleman from Texas give me ten minutes?

Mr. SAYERS. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALKER] ten minutes.

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SIMPSON] is exceedingly disturbed about the "leather trust," of the existence of which I simply know, but no leather that I was ever interested in was controlled by the leather trust. Furthermore, it is my judgment that the leather trust has lost rather than made money by making the combination. There are men about me whom, I have no doubt, are acquainted with the facts, but knowing nothing about the matter except what I have seen in the papers I am not able to inform the House on that subject.

Mr. Chairman, now a word with reference to my "pedigree," which appears in the Congressional Directory. I made it very short in the first Congress, and I was twitted therefor all over the country with being incapacitated to fill the positions to which the Speaker had assigned me, and so I extended it a little that I might not be twitted with not having filled any positions or knowing anything about banks and educational institutions. If the gentleman will go back to the Fifty-first Congress I think he will be satisfied with the modesty of the record.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say to this House and to the country that there has not been one dollar made, taking all engaged in it, out of the working people in this country in any industry that serves the masses of the people for more than thirty years—not one cent.

Take any five years, and take the cost of producing the goods on the first day of that five years, and the masses of the people have bought at retail the goods that have been produced, of every name and nature, during the whole five-year period, at less than they cost the manufacturer at the beginning of the five-year period.

A MEMBER (on the Democratic side). What has become of the manufacturers?

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Let me say to you that every dollar and every cent of the profit made by manufacturers has come out of nature. Let me say to you, Mr. Chairman, that inventions have been so rapid, contributed by the millionaire manufacturers to the masses of the people, in inventions and rearrangements and readjustments of machinery, to lessen cost and in combinations of plants to reduce the fixed charges to the unit of the thing manufactured, in the fixed charges—the plant and the machinery—these things have been so rapidly improved that prices have been reduced so fast that the masses of the people have got their goods at what would be the normal cost to the manufacturers but for the inventions of these very manufacturers who are damned from morning until night and from night until morning on the other side of this House.

I want to ask you whence come these tremendous strides that have been made in manufacturing? From where come the tools with which you agriculturists have tilled your soil, halving the labor cost of your products, unless they have come out of the brains of these manufacturers whom you only ridicule, curse, and denounce on this floor? From where come your railroads, your street cars; from where come all things that have made this country great in the great advance in its material things if not from putting into these things the very lives of our manufacturers, these things which serve the people—the accumulations of the millionaire? You say, "Does he not do this that he may increase his millions?" I say yes; but what is the final result in the law of nature, which controls the minds of men as it controls the abrasion of the rocks which make the soil on which we tread? They invest in these things, and their investments first depreciate to a total loss to them. You can hardly find a railroad that has not at some time been sold for practically nothing, the original stock, watered stock, and all having been cleaned out and going into the hands of the bondholders.

Mr. BARTLETT. Who are the bondholders? These same manufacturers.

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Who are the bondholders? They are men who have made money from manufacturing and other things, are they? Damn the bondholders? Yes; but the bondholders are made up of the millions of people in this country, who have their little accumulation, as well as the rich. Our savings banks, trust companies, insurance companies, that have the savings of the masses of the people, own most of them, but you make no discrimination. I stand on this floor and say to this House that you may search this country through, and if you find that I have made one dollar where other people have not made a hundred, I will restore a hundredfold; and so with all our manufacturers. And again, if there are any laws on the statute books that encourage trusts, that assist trusts, that make trusts and do

not point to the destruction of trusts, that give any countenance to unrighteous trusts, then why do you not bring in your amendments to those laws? Why do you not ask for their repeal? You can not put your hand on a single one of them or you would do it.

Mr. GREENE. We have got one bill in here for that purpose. Will you vote for it?

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Yes, sir; every time; and I will warrant every man on this side of the House will vote for it.

Mr. GAINES. Does not the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WALKER] know the Republicans in the Senate at the last extra session voted almost, if not quite, as a unit against an anti-trust amendment to the present tariff law?

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Oh, do not talk to me about a Senate that you now have and have had and are responsible for. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. GAINES. The Republican party have always voted in favor of trusts.

Mr. WALKER of Massachusetts. Now, look at the attitude of this man on the other side, who is evidently ready to denounce me. Why? Because I have contributed something to the development of my country. It is not for me to tell on this floor my doings. I have made no proclamation of them, but I am attacked on this floor, and I reply to you now that I have given away to educate your people down South—put into your educational institutions—more money than the whole of you Democrats altogether on that side ever gave to them. [Applause.]

You may go to work and figure up, every man of you, what you have contributed to educational institutions in the South, and I will show you that for every dollar you have given I have given two. [Applause.] Now, I am tired of this thing. I have a right to stand on this floor without being assaulted by the gentleman from Kansas or any other gentleman anywhere else for my occupation. I stand here in the integrity of an honest life. You have driven me to this personal statement. Now hide your heads in shame. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. SAYERS. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GAINES].

[Mr. GAINES addressed the committee. See Appendix.]

Mr. SAYERS. Mr. Chairman, as there is a remainder of time of half an hour, I believe, and no one to address the committee, I ask unanimous consent that general debate stand closed at 5 o'clock instead of half past 5.

Mr. CANNON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent that debate be now closed. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CANNON. I would be glad to have the first paragraph read.

The first paragraph of the bill was read.

Mr. CANNON. Now, Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. PAYNE, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 8428, and had come to no resolution thereon.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bills and joint resolution of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees as indicated below:

S. R. 108. Joint resolution providing for the printing of Bulletin 19 of the Bureau of Animal Industry, Department of Agriculture—to the Committee on Printing.

S. 3809. An act to amend "An act providing for public printing and binding and the distribution of public documents," approved January 12, 1895—to the Committee on Printing.

S. 707. An act for the relief of Ames & Detrick, of San Francisco, in the State of California—to the Committee on Claims.

S. 759. An act for the relief of William H. Crook—to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1016. An act for the relief of the Atlantic Works, of Boston, Mass.—to the Committee on War Claims.

S. 622. An act concerning sail vessels of over 700 tons—to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

S. 1985. An act granting to the State of Wyoming 50,000 acres of land to aid in the continuation, enlargement, and maintenance of the Wyoming State Soldiers and Sailors' Home—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 2003. An act to authorize the White and Black River Valley Railway Company to build a bridge across the Black River, in Arkansas—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 743. An act for the relief of Thomas Guinean, of Oregon—to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1149. An act for the relief of Avery D. Babcock and wife, of Oregon—to the Committee on Claims.

S. 2097. An act to grant to the city of Wilmington, Del., the use of certain real estate in said city on which is situated the building recently occupied for Federal purposes—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

S. 1446. An act for the relief of William H. Tibbits—to the Committee on ———

S. 1990. An act to require patents to be issued to land actually settled under the act entitled "An act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the peninsula of Florida," approved August 4, 1842—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 1945. An act for the relief of Mary A. Coulson, executrix of Sewell Coulson, deceased—to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1166. An act for the relief of John L. Rhea, executor of Samuel Rhea, deceased, and John Anderson, administrator of Joseph R. Anderson, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

S. 921. An act to regulate the use of the public parks and improved reservations in the District of Columbia under the charge of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

S. 1865. An act to extend the charter of the Franklin Insurance Company of the City of Washington—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. DANFORD. Pending that motion, I desire to give notice—

Mr. CANNON. Pending that, no notice can be given.

Mr. MAHANY. Regular order!

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman insists upon the regular order, the Chair will have to put the motion.

Mr. DANFORD. I trust the gentleman will not object; this is simply a request.

The question was taken; and the motion to adjourn was agreed to.

And accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATION.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a copy of a communication from the Attorney-General submitting a schedule of deficiencies in appropriations needed for sundry miscellaneous expenses, was taken from the Speaker's table, referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions of the following titles were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several Calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. CONNOLLY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 7337) for the removal of suits from the courts of the State of Texas to the courts of the United States in the State of Texas, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 511); which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred House resolution No. 196, reported in lieu thereof a resolution (House Res. No. 232) directing the Secretary of the Navy to furnish the House with information bearing upon the establishment of a Government armor plant, accompanied by a report (No. 514); which said resolution and report were referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the Committee of the Whole House, as follows:

Mr. HICKS, from the Committee on Patents, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 122) for the relief of the heirs at law of the late Duncan H. Campbell, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 508); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. JETT, from the Committee on War Claims, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 809) for the relief of Orin R. McDaniel, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a

report (No. 509); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. FENTON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 4953) to grant an honorable discharge to T. J. Murphy, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 510); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. BROWNLOW, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 1046) to correct the military record of James P. McGee, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 512); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 2080) to correct the military record of Edward P. Jennings, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 513); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. GIBSON, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 4314) to increase the pension of Moritz Tschoepe, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 515); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. CASTLE, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 3737) granting an increase of pension to Orlando J. Hopkins, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 516); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. DRIGGS, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 6209) to pension William Stephenson Smith, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 517); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. HENRY of Connecticut, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 666) granting an increase of pension to William H. Morgan, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 518); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. MIERS of Indiana, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, to which was referred the bill of the Senate (S. 139) granting an increase of pension to Florence W. Buskirk, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 519); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

Mr. GIBSON, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, to which was referred the bill of the House (H. R. 5384) for the relief of Jerome A. Stanton, a scout and master of transportation in the Seventh Corps of the armies of the United States, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 520); which said bill and report were referred to the Private Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SHAFROTH: A bill (H. R. 8488) to grant the arid lands of the United States to the respective States in which they are situated—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. WHEELER of Alabama: A bill (H. R. 8489) to grant land to the State of Alabama for the use of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama, for negroes, and the State Normal College, at Florence, Ala.—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. POWERS: A bill (H. R. 8490) donating cannon balls to the city of Burlington, Vt., for use in decorating Battery Park—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. OVERSTREET: A bill (H. R. 8491) to establish a military post at or near Indianapolis, Ind.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BABCOCK: A bill (H. R. 8528) to authorize the relocation and rebuilding of a pontoon bridge across the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien, Wis.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HOWARD of Alabama (by request): A bill (H. R. 8529) to promote the navigation of the air—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. GARDNER: A bill (H. R. 8530) in regard to a monumental column to commemorate the battle of Princeton, and appropriating \$30,000 therefor—to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. BENNETT: A joint resolution (H. Res. 161) for an investigation as regards obstructions in the Niagara River, in the State of New York—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HENDERSON: A joint resolution (H. Res. 162) to revive the grade of lieutenant-general in the United States Army—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. COOPER of Texas: A resolution (House Res. No. 230)

requesting and directing the Committee on Rules to report a rule setting apart a day during the month of February, 1898, for the consideration by the House of Representatives of House bill No. 2312—to the Committee on Rules.

Also, a resolution (House Res. No. 231) adopted by the Committee on War Claims requesting a day for the consideration of House bill No. 2312—to the Committee on Rules.

From the COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS: A resolution (House Res. No. 232) directing the Secretary of the Navy to furnish the House with information bearing upon the establishment of a Government armor plant—to the House Calendar.

By Mr. MAHANY: A memorial of the legislature of the State of New York, for the establishment of a military park along the Palisades of the Hudson—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the State of New York, protesting against any change in the postal service or delivery in the city of New York—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. HAGER: A memorial of the legislature of the State of Iowa, opposing the passage of a railroad pooling bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOTKIN: A bill (H. R. 8492) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Matlock—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8493) for the relief of Sarah E. Baker—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8494) granting a pension to Sarah E. Baker—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8495) granting a pension to James M. Long—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8496) granting a pension to William McCauley—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CURTIS of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 8497) granting a pension to Sarah A. Lyon—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8498) for the relief of Jason J. Jones—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8499) granting a pension to John W. Brown—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8500) for the relief of Regina Mayer—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DINGLEY: A bill (H. R. 8501) for the relief of Corydon G. Crafts—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8502) to correct the military record of William D. Mears—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. EVANS: A bill (H. R. 8503) for the removal of charge of desertion against Jake Henry, Company K, Thirteenth United States Colored Infantry Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JONES of Washington: A bill (H. R. 8504) for the relief of Edwin O'Shea—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MAHANY: A bill (H. R. 8505) for the relief of John Finn—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MERCER: A bill (H. R. 8506) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John P. Henderson, and to grant him an honorable discharge—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOODY: A bill (H. R. 8507) granting a pension to Elizabeth B. Manning—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. POWERS: A bill (H. R. 8508) granting a pension to Mary J. Dwinell, guardian of Emma Button, the insane and helpless daughter of Jonathan Button, late of Company K, Second Vermont Volunteers—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. PUGH: A bill (H. R. 8509) for the relief of M. H. Johns—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RICHARDSON: A bill (H. R. 8510) removing the charge of desertion from the record of Jordan H. Moore, Tenth Tennessee Infantry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SIMS: A bill (H. R. 8511) to pension Robert M. Reed—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8512) to remove charge of desertion against John Riggs, and to grant him an honorable discharge—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 8513) for the relief of the estate of R. Colvin, deceased, late of Taylor County, Ky., for supplies and stores taken by the military forces of the United States during the war of the rebellion—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8514) for the relief of Merrill Denham—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SPRAGUE: A bill (H. R. 8515) to increase the pension of William H. Savage—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 8516) to correct the military record of John Minohan—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8517) for the relief of Josephus Merritt—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Mr. WHEELER of Alabama: A bill (H. R. 8518) for the relief of J. R. B. Eldridge, of Madison County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8519) for the relief of Francis Wilkes, of Lauderdale County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8520) to pension C. C. Sheets—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8521) for the relief of the estate of A. J. Peacock, deceased, late of Jackson County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8522) for the relief of Theophilus C. Greenhill, of Franklin County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8523) for the relief of John B. Boggs, of Lauderdale County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8524) to reimburse Dew M. Wisdom—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8525) for the relief of John T. Lehman, of Lauderdale County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8526) for the relief of the estate of Vincent Armstead, deceased, late of Lauderdale County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8527) for the relief of William A. Watkins, of Lauderdale County, Ala.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BROWNLOW: A bill (H. R. 8531) for the relief of William Buttery—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8532) to correct the military record of Henry C. Coleman—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8533) to correct the military record of Robert B. Williams—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8534) to correct the military record of Daniel W. Ellis—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8535) granting a pension to George W. Gabey—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8536) for the relief of the estate of William J. Middleton—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8537) for the relief of Samuel Babb—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8538) for the relief of John G. Brown—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8539) for the relief of Joshua Richardson—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 8540) for the relief of Oscar Heath—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BABCOCK: Papers to accompany House bill No. 6162, to remove the charge of desertion against Robert V. Hancock—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BARNEY: Resolution of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, in favor of an international American bank—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee, Wis., relative to the suppression of ticket scalping—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BARTHOLDT: Protest of the Trades Assembly of Kansas City, Mo., against the passage of the bill prohibiting ticket brokerage—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of St. Louis, Mo., in support of certain bills now pending in the House, known as bills relating to labor, etc.—to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petition of manufacturing concerns of Kansas City, Mo., for the improvement of the Mississippi River—to the Committee on Levees and Improvements of the Mississippi River.

By Mr. BARTLETT: Resolutions of the Macon (Ga.) Chamber of Commerce, in favor of the passage of the anti-scalping ticket bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Malinda S. Persons, of Upson County, Ga., asking reference of her claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of Margaret Wall, of Henry County, Ga., requesting reference of her claim to the Court of Claims under act of March 3, 1883—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BELDEN: Two petitions of William D. Douglas and 125 citizens of Syracuse, N. Y., favoring the enactment of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the

admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BELKNAP: Papers to accompany House bill No. 1843, to correct and amend the military record of Capt. Alex. McDonald, of Company I, Seventeenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BINGHAM: Petition of W. T. Timmons, jr., and citizens of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation restricting immigration—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BRUMM: Petition of citizens of Schuylkill County, Pa., in favor of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. BULL: Resolution of the New England Milk Producers' Union, relative to the Interstate Commerce Commission—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. CATCHINGS: Resolution of Company A, Third Infantry, National Guard of Mississippi, favoring the passage of House bill No. 2876, to promote the efficiency of the militia—to the Committee on the Militia.

By Mr. CONNELL: Petition of the Methodist Preachers' Meeting, of Scranton, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation substituting voluntary arbitration for railway strikes—to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. CONNOLLY: Petition of Cigar Makers' Local Union, No. 38, of Springfield, Ill., against the passage of the bill prohibiting ticket brokerage—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, paper to accompany House bill No. 8336, relating to the claim of William D. Kurfiss—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CURTIS of Kansas: Petition of the United Presbyterian Congregation of Lyndon, Kans., for the passage of a bill to prohibit the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquors—to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. DAVIDSON of Wisconsin: Resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee, Wis., in favor of House bill No. 5359, known as the Loud postal bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee, in favor of the establishment of an international American bank—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee, in favor of the completion of the Nicaragua Ship Canal—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee, in favor of the passage of the so-called anti-scalping ticket bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, resolution of the Cigar Makers' Union, No. 329, of Fond du Lac, Wis., favoring the passage of the Lodge bill—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, resolutions of companies D, E, F, and H, of Ripon, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, and Manitowoc, of the Wisconsin National Guard, in favor of the passage of House bill No. 2876, to promote the efficiency of the militia—to the Committee on the Militia.

By Mr. DINGLEY: Protest of F. B. Nichols and 106 citizens of Bath, Me., against the passage of the Loud postal bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. DOLLIVER: Petitions of the Friday Club of Jefferson, Iowa, and Mrs. J. B. Lower and others, of Scranton, Iowa, favoring the passage of a bill to prohibit the sale of liquors in the Capitol and all Government buildings, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. ELLIOTT: Protest of J. B. Steele and citizens of Georgetown, S. C., against the anti-scalping bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FARIS: Petition of Xerxes C. Sparks and citizens of Terre Haute, Ind., in favor of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. FLETCHER: Resolutions of the Minneapolis Board of Trade, in favor of improving St. Joseph and Benton harbors, Michigan—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. GARDNER: Petition of citizens of Riverside, N. J., favoring the enactment of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, resolution of Moorestown Grange, No. 8, Patrons of Husbandry, of Moorestown, N. J., against the giving away of public lands—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, petition of Thompson B. Peance and others in the Government Life-Saving Service, asking Congress to enact legislation

for the relief and support of those of the service who are enfeebled by age or disabled by accident—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tuckerton, N. J., asking for the passage of a bill to forbid the sale of intoxicating beverages in all Government buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tuckerton, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting interstate gambling by telegraph, telephone, or otherwise—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tuckerton, N. J., in favor of the passage of the Broderick bill to raise the age of protection for girls to 18 years in the District of Columbia and the Territories—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. GIBSON: Petition of Abigail Herrin, of Silver Point, Tenn., for a pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GILLET of Massachusetts: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Hampden County, Mass., for the passage of a bill to further protect the first day of the week in the District of Columbia—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Hampden County, Mass., for the passage of a bill to prohibit the sale of liquors in Government buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GRAFF: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lacon, Ill., in favor of legislation to protect State anti-cigarette laws by providing that cigarettes imported in original packages on entering any State shall become subject to its laws—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lacon, Ill., praying for the enactment of legislation to substitute voluntary arbitration for railway strikes—to the Committee on Labor.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lacon, Ill., praying for the enactment of legislation to raise the age of protection for girls to 18 years in the District of Columbia and the Territories—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lacon, Ill., to prohibit the sale of intoxicating beverages in all Government buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lacon, Ill., praying for the passage of a bill to prohibit interstate transmission of pictures and descriptions of prize fights—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lacon, Ill., praying for the enactment of legislation prohibiting interstate gambling by telegraph, telephone, or otherwise—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HAGER: Petition of citizens of Pottawattamie and Shelby counties, Iowa, against the passage of any bill permitting railroad pooling—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, resolution of the Council Bluffs (Iowa) Medical Association, protesting against the passage of Senate bill 1552, known as the anti-vivisection bill—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, petition of citizens of Council Bluffs, Iowa, in favor of the passage of the anti-scalping ticket bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HENDERSON: Resolutions of the Twenty-seventh general assembly of Iowa, opposing the railroad pooling bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HICKS: Memorial and suggestions of Dr. G. B. Hotchkin, of Altoona, Pa., concerning: First, Government ownership of patents; second, the Patent Office as trustee for inventors; third, Government appraisers to assess royalties, etc.—to the Committee on Patents.

Also, memorial of Valley Grange, No. 878, signed by Alex. Coleman, master, and Dillie Cober, secretary, praying for a separate listing of land and improvement values of real estate in the next census—to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. JONES of Washington: Petition of J. J. Brumbach, L. A. Loomis, and other citizens of Ilwaco, Pacific County, Wash., favoring the enactment of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LENTZ: Paper to accompany House bill for the relief of David Parrott—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, paper in support of House bill for the relief of George S. Spurgeon—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of the Young People's Christian Union of Reynoldsburg, Ohio, favoring the passage of a bill to prohibit the sale of liquors in the Capitol and all Government buildings, and for

other purposes—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. LYBRAND: Petition of 100 citizens of Benton Ridge, Hancock County, Ohio, favoring the passage of a bill that will more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of the illiterate, criminal, and pauper classes—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. McCALL: Petitions of citizens of Montpelier, Vt., and Lebanon, N. H., for the passage of the monetary commission bill—to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. McCLEARY: Letter of the Endeavor Society of Breck School, Wilder, Minn., asking for the passage of a bill to forbid the sale of intoxicating beverages in all Government buildings—to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. McDOWELL: Sundry petitions of citizens of Dennison, Uhrichsville, and vicinity, in the State of Ohio, in favor of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States and the speedy passage of the Lodge bill—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MERCER: Petitions of the Peru Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Nemaha County, Nebr.; Red Ribbon Club of Lincoln, Nebr., and the State Normal School of Nebraska, praying for the enactment of legislation to protect State anti-cigarette laws by providing that cigarettes imported in original packages on entering any State shall become subject to its laws—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, resolutions of the Omaha Central Labor Union, in opposition to the so-called anti-scalping bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of Dumbarton Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, of Washington, D. C., urging the passage of a bill to prohibit the sale of liquors in Government buildings—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, resolutions of the board of county commissioners of Deuel County, Nebr., in favor of resurveying the townships in said county—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. MILLER: Petition of Joseph Rice and 26 others, W. E. Wishon and 20 others, Rev. G. M. Weiner and 30 others, D. E. Mathews and 55 others, all of Huntington; F. D. Stewart and 25 others, of Raven Rock; James A. Poteet and 55 others, of Barboursville, State of West Virginia, in favor of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. MIERS of Indiana: Paper to accompany House bill to correct the military record of Jacob Reinhardt—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, paper to accompany House bill to correct the military record of Sanford Graham—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, paper to accompany House bill to increase the pension of J. W. Bunting—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. NORTHWAY: Petitions of Flag of Our Union Council, No. 160, Junior Order United American Mechanics, and citizens of Ravenna, Ohio; E. T. Baker and 24 citizens of Andover; E. V. Hill and 25 citizens of Ashtabula County, Ohio, in favor of the enactment of legislation which will more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. OTEY: Petition of Osceola Lodge, No. 47, Knights of Pythias, of Roanoke, Va., indorsing House bill No. 6468, praying for a lease of public land from the Government for the establishment of a national Pythian sanitarium—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. OTJEN: Resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee, Wis., indorsing the Loud postal-reform bill—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. PAYNE: Petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Port Byron, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation to protect State anti-cigarette laws by providing that cigarettes imported in original packages on entering any State shall become subject to its laws—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PITNEY: Petition of Lizzie Leslie and 21 citizens of Butler; also sundry petitions of citizens of Rockaway, Hope, Madison, Hamburg, and other towns, all in the State of New Jersey, favoring the enactment of legislation which will more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Also, petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Butler, N. J., praying for the enactment of legislation to protect State anti-cigarette laws by providing that cigarettes imported in original packages on entering any State shall become subject to its laws—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petitions of the Methodist Episcopal churches of Succasunna and Washington, N. J., praying for the enactment of leg-

islation prohibiting interstate gambling by telegraph, telephone, or otherwise—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petitions of the Methodist Episcopal churches of Succasunna and Washington, N. J., in favor of the passage of the Broderick bill to raise the age of protection for girls to 18 years in the District of Columbia and the Territories—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petitions of the Methodist Episcopal churches of Succasunna and Washington, N. J., asking for the passage of a bill to forbid the sale of intoxicating beverages in all Government buildings, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

By Mr. POWERS: Papers to accompany House bill granting a pension to Mary J. Dwinell, guardian of Emma Button—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of the Jericho (Vt.) Literary Society, asking for the passage of a bill to forbid the sale of intoxicating beverages in all Government buildings, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana: Petition of Dr. G. W. McCaskey, of Fort Wayne, Ind., protesting against the passage of the bill restricting vivisection—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. ROBBINS: Two petitions of citizens of Redbank Township, Armstrong County, Pa., and citizens of Scottsdale, Pa., in favor of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SHOWALTER: Petition of the Junior Order United American Mechanics and citizens of Clarksville, Mercer County, Pa., favoring the enactment of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. SHERMAN: Petition of the board of managers of the Methodist Episcopal Orphanage of Philadelphia, Pa., in favor of the passage of a bill to suppress ticket brokerage—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STARK: Protest of L. W. Goodrich and 19 other citizens of Fairbury, Nebr., against the passage of a general bankruptcy bill—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, resolution of the Labor Federation of Omaha, Nebr., protesting against the passage of the so-called anti-scalping ticket bill—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, papers to accompany House bill No. 5803, to increase the pension of Rollin Tyler, of Odell, Nebr.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin: Resolution of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, in favor of legislation prohibiting ticket scalping—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STRODE of Nebraska: Petition of the faculty of Coteur University, of Nebraska, for the enactment of legislation to protect State anti-cigarette laws by providing that cigarettes imported in original packages on entering any State shall become subject to its laws—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TALBERT: Petition of citizens of Langley, S. C., in favor of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. TERRY: Communication of Allen N. Johnson, of Little Rock, Ark., asking for investigation and report as to the effect of irrigation in the volume of water in the Arkansas River—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. WADSWORTH: Petitions of the Woman's Christian Temperance unions of Ridge Road, Middleport, Ransomville, Olcott, Wilson, North Ridge, Dickersonville, Orangeport, and Niagara Falls Station, N. Y., for the passage of a bill to protect State anti-cigarette laws by providing that cigarettes imported in original packages on entering any State shall become subject to its laws—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WANGER: Four petitions of Isaiah Branim and others of Abington, Joseph M. Rutherford and others of Willow Grove, Elias Detwiler and others of Weldon and vicinity, C. H. Yates and others of Bucks County, all in Pennsylvania, in favor of legislation to more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WEYMOUTH: Petition of 75 citizens of Natick, Mass., in favor of the enactment of legislation which will more effectually restrict immigration and prevent the admission of illiterate, pauper, and criminal classes to the United States—to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. WHEELER of Alabama: Petition of Mrs. Susan A. Price, of Lauderdale County, Ala., asking reference of her claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.