

THE SILVER QUESTION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. DAVID B. HILL,
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1893.

WASHINGTON.
1893.

SPEECH
OF
HON. DAVID B. HILL.

Mr. HILL (a Senator from New York) having obtained unanimous consent to address the Senate on the subject of silver bullion purchases—

Mr. HILL said :

Mr. PRESIDENT: At the outset of the present session of Congress I introduced a bill to repeal unconditionally the silver-purchase and Treasury-note issue clauses of the act of July 14, 1890, named after the eminent senior Senator from Ohio "the Sherman law."

By the passage of that act two and a half years ago I was inexpressibly shocked and alarmed. Immediately, in the next month but one, four months before my election to a seat in the Senate, I went to our commercial metropolis, and there publicly taking issue against the principles and the policy embodied in that law began the endeavor to arouse a public sentiment which should demand its repeal.

REPEAL OF THE SHERMAN LAW.

First in Brooklyn, then in New York, again in my own town of Elmira, and twice in the capital city of Albany, during the period since the passage of that enactment, I have persisted to that end. Instead of silence and apathy there is now, in the State for which I speak, unanimity. Repeal of the Sherman law is even prayed for because it blocks the threshold of fiscal reform by those who denied its priority.

The questions involved in repeal of the Sherman law are such as take the first rank in all civilized nations. They are of supreme importance to the city of New York, the State of New York, and the United States. They are national indeed, but their conditions and scope are international. Argument thereon may be terse; it can not be brief; it need not now be partisan.

Because I wish to avoid taxing the Senate's courtesy, and also to hasten beyond any partisan utterance, I will subjoin to the stenographer's notes, with the permission of the Senate, two or three appendixes which I prefer not to read, because arguments still deemed cogent are encumbered with some partisan matter and some ancient history which I dare not cancel for fear of garbling the record. These will, I trust, be excused by magnanimous opponents.

THE RECORD OF NEW YORK.

The personal record is a matter of no importance. But the subsequent action of the people of the United States of both parties has made the twice repeated approval, by the people of the State of New York, of a course which I had the honor to advise,

following their own best precedents, a political record beyond personal or partisan significance.

For the hard-money Democrats (thus widely and again more widely indorsed), who have upheld the time-honored financial principles and directed the policy of their party in the State of New York for the last two decades, and who direct it now, in their last two State conventions condemned our present gold monometallism, condemned our present drift to silver monometallism, and demanded repeal of the Sherman law in the interest and to the end of free bimetallic coinage.

This is now become a record of long renown.

Such gold and silver money, indeed, in stable parity, the only money named by name in that Constitution which is our supreme law, or sanctioned by its great authority and by our continuous use and practice for eighty years thereunder from 1792 to 1873, now more than ever is the only money basis at once stable, safe, and sufficient (with gold certificates and silver certificates) for our immense expanding superstructure of corporate or private currencies and circulating credits.

It is not for local, State, or sectional reasons that the city and State of New York with unanimity now back their Democratic representatives in asking repeal of the Sherman law.

NEW YORK AND THE UNION.

The stake of New York in the peace and prosperity of the Federal Union is immense. Her population is one-tenth the population of all the States. Her metropolis is the metropolis of the whole country. Her valleys are the great highways of the West to the waters that wash the harbors of the world. Her port is the chief entrepôt of the foreign commerce of the United States, whither mostly come those commodities of foreign origin that we consume, which purchase all those commodities of domestic origin that we sell abroad. Our merchants advance the bulk of taxes, which are there collected on foreign commodities, and which are finally paid all over the country in a higher price at the point of consumption.

The enterprise of New York finally distributes throughout every other State of the Union employment for much intrusted foreign capital, and from her own accumulated wealth; commercial credits which are no small causing part of our colossal domestic exchanges; and permanent loans upon the structures, the railways, the farms, and the factories whereby out of the capital of the East is ceaselessly begotten the multiplying enterprises and vaster wealth of the greater West.

New York among her sister States is foremost in manufactures as well as wealth, foremost in resources by them to be borrowed, and foremost as a market by them to be supplied. She is the terminus of their roads, the portal of their sea routes, the central ganglion of their interstate commerce and their foreign trade. How just, then, how stringent, her need of a gold and silver dollar in stable parity.

But this central financial and commercial function, allotted to the Empire State by the providence of God and the good will of a nation, is out of all proportion to the political power assigned to her. Federal laws even more than State laws rule in this field

of our special activity. Congress controls our commerce and our currency. In Congress, New York's 6,500,000 citizens have just the weight of Nevada's 40,000 citizens when the Senate consents to pass a law or refuses to repeal one. New York's tenth of the total population of the Union in that case has one forty-fourth its political weight.

NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM AND BOTH NATIONAL PLATFORMS.

Yet the interests of New York are none the less strictly identical with the interests of the whole sisterhood of States. Her central and commercial function in their vast industrial unity is the clear statement and full proof of that identity; and the most pregnant political acts of the United States have often had, as in this signal instance, their matrix and their mold in the previous acts of the Empire State.

The first ulterior consequence of the action of the Democrats of New York and of its decisive popular approval at the polls, was seen at Minneapolis, where there was no talk of sundering New York Democrats from their brethren of other States on the gold and silver question. The Republican national convention declared fealty to "bimetallism" themselves.

The next ulterior consequence of the action of the hard-money Democrats of New York was seen at Chicago, in the accordance with the Albany and the Minneapolis platforms, upon this great article, of the platform of the national Democratic convention.

After the conventions came the voting on the 8th day of last November.

Then indeed was the desire of New York ratified in the decision of the Union that our Federal tariff taxation should be reformed with an eye single to revenue, and the Sherman law repealed.

But I am not speaking, and it will now be manifest that I am not speaking, as a partisan.

My reference now is not to those two mandates then issued from the nation's ballot-boxes with the decisive majority weight of our popular sovereignty; rather do I refer to that still greater mandate first proposed in the last two Democratic platforms of the State of New York and ratified in the popular vote, next adopted in the platforms of both our great national parties, and then issued forth from all our ballot-boxes on the same day, with the moral weight of substantial unanimity—the mandate of free bimetallic coinage.

THE PEOPLE'S GREATER MANDATE.

Of that momentous decision, not even with State pride, not even with partisanship, not even with personal elation, would I speak.

It was a large deliverance which has neither embittered nor will embitter the hopes of the West or the prudence of the East.

It was a large deliverance accomplished by the patriotic concord of two political parties whose concord and whose strife weave the purple of our country's greatness.

Too long had the silver dollar and the gold dollar been abandoned to inequivalence.

Too long had we been pursuing false ineffectual remedies for

that act of 1873 which disabled our silver money for use in foreign payments.

But, when the rotten paper legal tender mill had been again set grinding, it was high time for partisans who are patriots to unite for restoring that coinage system maintained from Washington and Jefferson's day to Lincoln and Grant's day, until, in the black and midnight darkness of our rag money era, abolished without public debate, knowledge, or consent.

And when, following upon the colossal continuous silver purchases of the Bland-Allison law, redoubled silver purchases under the Sherman law did not prevent a doubled disparity of silver and gold, it was high time for all to recognize and remember that free bimetallic coinage at a right ratio is the sole cause and means of a stable parity of gold and silver known to the history of civilization.

THE GOLD AND SILVER PLANKS OF BOTH NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

I will hand to the stenographer the New York platforms, but I will read the gold and silver planks, in full, of the Republican and Democratic national conventions. The Republican national convention said:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallicism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

The Democratic national convention said:

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

FREE BIMETALLIC COINAGE.

Both political parties by their authorized delegates in the same words demand—

the use of both gold and silver as standard money.

In identical language both political parties demand—

the maintenance of the parity of the two metals—

and that, too, by "legislation."

One platform sums up in the pregnant word "bimetallicism" what the other platform correctly describes as—

the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal.

These two resolutions, rather this joint resolution of both our great political parties, confirmed by 10,000,000 ballots and closing a long debate, is the crowning mercy, in the providence of God, of our great memorial year.

Since the adoption of the last three constitutional amendments touching slavery, civil rights, and suffrage, no such event, of moral import, far scope, and teeming consequence, has taken place in this Republic of the New World as the union of the Democratic and Republican parties in 1892, both adopting as a party plank return to the principle and policy of free bimetallic coinage.

We shall yet be purged of the worst dregs of the havoc of war.

How and by what means to proceed to execute the people's will, with all circumspection and with no delay, it is the function of Congress—it is the function of none other than Congress—to deliberate and decide.

And Congress is now in session.

THE FIRST STEP—REPEAL OF THE SHERMAN LAW.

It is my duty to the city and State of New York to ask in their behalf the immediate unconditioned repeal of the Sherman law as the relief they now pray for, who desire a session of financial calm in place of the widespread fear of an imminent or approaching monetary panic.

It is my duty to the Democratic party now to confirm, having so long advised its choice of means to an end, of a route to the goal of free bimetallic coinage.

It is a higher duty, considering the state of opinion in the Senate, with respectful deference to my colleagues of both parties, in whose hands are wisdom and decision, here to advance and substantiate one controlling reason for repeal—that it is a necessary, safe, and, for to-day, sufficient step toward free bimetallic coinage.

THE ARGUMENT FOR REPEAL.

I. In the first place I will try to show the fatal contrariety between silver purchases and a free bimetallic coinage law.

II. Second, to indicate these features of our Treasury finance, money stock, and business condition, as well as that nature and function of money, which may explain why repeal of the Sherman law will stop the vast shrinkage of all our currencies and induce their natural enlargement far beyond any monthly silver-purchase accretions.

III. Third, to show the law of the parity of gold and silver as maintained for eighty years by free bimetallic coinage, and the law of those divergences from parity which the absence of free bimetallic coinage has entailed for the last nineteen years;

IV. Fourth and finally, to indicate precisely why and how mere repeal of the Sherman law, stopping silver purchases and leaving the now dislocated gold money and silver money of the world to the full shock of these divergences from parity, will arrive at once to the mark aimed at, and may be expected to remove the only foreign obstacle to the restoration of free bimetallic coinage and its permanent parity of gold and silver.

This is indeed an excessively long programme; but it follows the complexity of a subject which has world-wide commercial,

legal and historical relations. Speech would now be frivolous, in my opinion, and most unworthy of this high tribunal and our joint commission, if it did not go to the root of the whole matter.

REJECTED ARGUMENTS.

I can not offer to the Senate on behalf of the State of New York every argument for repeal which is thought good enough for the instruction of her Senators, by the gods, half-gods, and godkin who assume our morning and evening tutorage.

Offscouring of the earth myself, and a most miserable sinner, I would not for the World in these Times speak profanely of those divinities. I merely say that in prescribing repeal they have not thought fit to be cogent. But the Senate will kindly consider how busy they are.

In their supervision of the literature of all nations and the sewage of New York; in their care of orthodoxy at Rome and Russia, and of divine revelation for good and true Presbyterians; in their guidance of the moral character and political principles of Prince Bismarck, the other statesmen of Europe, the London County Council, the Emperor of China, Sultan of Morocco, and Queen of the Sandwich Islands; in their criticism of our Federal, State, and municipal governments, and Tammany Society, according to the best of British principles and the purest of personal antipathies; in the selection of candidates for President, statesmen for the Cabinet, and the missing word for newspaper lotteries, these superior beings forgot our poor requirements. In fact, they fob us off with arguments that will not do.

The Senate must excuse this seeming neglect. Such omniscience is often blind in one eye. Perhaps they were busy smoothing our road to heaven with some supplement to the Ten Commandments.

Who knows that they have not been fabricating, to distribute through the Post against the return of the cholera, a pill that shall "lock up the bowels of mankind through forty degrees of latitude."

I will mention a few arguments for repeal from these superior beings, which we must reverently dispense with.

Probably they are good enough for Lord Westbury's black beetles, but they are not good enough for me to indorse over to the Senate.

1. THE PIG METAL ARGUMENT.

They talk of silver as a "pig metal," and of free coinage as a new kind of cholera.

If fact, silver is the only price-marking, payment-making, money-metal possessed by three-fourths of all mankind. Its free coinage has never ceased.

Silver is also that money metal in universal use, either alone under free coinage, or as subsidiary coin, or as a basis of fiduciary paper in conjunction with gold, or as circulated by deposit certificates; and its free coinage in conjunction with the free coinage of gold in a rated parity was custom and law in Europe and the United States for three-fourths of the present century, not to mention centuries past.

That is the "pig-metal" argument for repeal of the Sherman law. The Senate need not mind that.

2. THE CHEAPNESS OF PRODUCTION ARGUMENT.

They talk of the cheapness of silver production by new finds and new processes, as if nobody had ever found a gold nugget in five minutes that made him individually rich, and as if the working expenses of exploration always return more than their cost.

The annual increment from all mines to the total silver stock from all past ages is less than 1 per cent. The output continuing as great, the percentage falls as the mass grows.

They talk as if prices varied with the annual output of silver, instead of being proportionate to the aggregate mass of silver and gold. They talk as if the cost of this yearly output controlled the cost or money function of that mass.

That is the "cheapness of production" argument. An absurdity. The Senate can scratch it out.

3. INUNDATION; 4. TONNAGE; 5. INFLATION ARGUMENTS.

They talk of inundation from the silver of other countries, especially Asia, as if the people there had no payments to make, or had some other money metal to make payments with, and as if there could be profit to the inundator before parity, or profit after parity.

They talk of "tons" of pig metal as if our silver tons, like our gold tons, had not circulation by means of deposit certificates, and as if "dimes" and "quarters" in the hands of 65,000,000 people, not to mention piasters and rupees and what not in the hands of 1,480,000,000 people, should not come to "tons" in the total.

They talk of "inflation" by silver, and deny inflation by red-dog and wildcat currency. Yet the latter is peculiarly liable to inflation and its holder to loss, while silver money shares with gold money under free bimetallic coinage, incapacity to be inflated. It is their supreme merit, and more, their unique merit.

All such draggle-tailed advocacy of repeal of the Sherman law in this place, I fear, by delaying repeal, would but bring silver monometallism more and more within the limits of a reasonable fear.

6. "DISHONEST MONEY" ARGUMENT.

They decry silver as "dishonest money," but instead of learning the cause of its old parity with gold and the way to restore it, are dumb while greenback demand debt is issued and re-issued as a legal tender; and are blind to see that they may cheat or be cheated, unless the legal-tender quality is never given by law to any other money than the product of free bimetallic coinage—the coin money of the Constitution—because that then establishes as the great money-measure the aggregate mass of extant silver and gold, a quantity incapable to be appreciably diminished or increased within the lifetime of any man's debt.

They decry silver as "dishonest" money and call themselves Reformers who never yet have raised a broom in any club, in any court, in any party convention, to sweep off into back-yard dirt and rubbish those records of judicial dishonor which dared derive out of the granted powers "to coin money" and "to borrow money" the never-granted power to debase money with floods of public debt.

7. THE ARGUMENT BY ARROGANCE, FROM TYCOON TO BLACK BEETLE.

Lastly I will pitch overboard the "black beetle" argument which imputes to American silver miners, their Senators, and the West at large a graded inferiority proportioned to their distance from the eastern Olympus in Nassau street.

Any commodity State in the Union, had it been a money-metal State, would have fought as hard, as relentlessly, for redress of a monstrous disparagement inflicted upon its product as upon silver by the act of 1873, disabling it for its immemorial use as a money remittance abroad and for melting without loss.

I do indeed think the silver-State Senators have made too little use, for their own sakes, of that theory of money which the world owes to an event without precedent in history, the cessation of free bimetallic coinage, and to the immense discernment and genius of Cernuschi, who also gave the word "bimetallism" to our language and every solid argument to our great cause.

For my own part I shall have nothing to say on that subject which I have not learned from his pamphlets, unless it is error of my own. But if the money-metal State Senators are open to some criticism there, how much more we, or some of us, from the commodity States, who should have better learned our affected interests at the best source.

There is no commodity State in this Union whose pecuniary interest is not at least as great in the stable parity of gold and silver as the interest of any money-metal State, though a less obvious interest.

That is not all. Every commodity State whose export product competes in Europe with products from India, such as wheat and cotton, has a direct pecuniary interest in the stable parity of gold and silver incomputably greater than the pecuniary interest of any money-metal State.

The demonstration was communicated by Mr. Cernuschi to Mr. Secretary Manning, and was well employed by him in his second report. It has been discussed by the experts of the royal gold and silver commission and the experts of Europe, and not one syllable of that demonstration has yet been shaken.

The interest of New York in the gold and silver question, as I have shown, is identical with the interest of every other State. But the real community of interest between the money-metal States and every other State is likewise undeniable.

8. THE CYCLOPS ARGUMENT.

There are just two more bad arguments for repeal that I had nearly forgot to mention; the argument that repeal of the Sherman law will lock us up in gold monometallism and bolt the door with poor Mr. Knox's fatuous work, the act of 1873.

That is the blind-in-one-eye argument, showing that the Olympians have really been too busy to notice the joint resolution of both parties—the people's mandate of free bimetallic coinage.

9. THE PICTORIAL ARGUMENT.

My very last discard is the pictorial argument for repeal, which the Senate will please pardon, for, although it is not good enough for them, it satisfied an excellent economist whose name I will keep secret.

With immense illustrations these newspapers picture the silver

output as Amazon, Orinoco, Mississippi, and Ganges all in one devastating flood.

Well, this, then, to educate our masters.

Every ounce of silver extant on the earth now, the total accumulation since their progenitors were apes or angels, as the case may be, if carried to the Acropolis at Athens and melted in one block, would not half fill the famous Parthenon.

SILVER PURCHASES VERSUS FREE BIMETALLIC COINAGE.

I shall now try to show the fatal contrariety between Treasury purchases of silver and a free bimetallic coinage law. If the proof holds, the Senate has reason enough to stop them finally.

One broad, considerate judgment ought in justice to bespoken of the first Treasury silver purchases, by any competent critic of them.

There was sincere hope that the silver might help us out in fulfilling our two pledges, the pledge to redeem the greenbacks in specie, and the pledge to pay them in specie.

There was a bold, patriotic purpose in buying and minting silver, even if that purpose overlooked that purchase means price, that price means commodity, and that treatment of silver as a commodity was derogation from its intrinsic rank as a money metal. Gold has no price in the United States, having free coinage. But silver has price. Silver purchases are a Government consent to prolong its derogation.

But above all, the Treasury silver purchases were anomalous and without precedent. So was the cessation of free bimetallic coinage in 1873. No such thing had ever happened before, and the attempted redress was not more anomalous than the error. But that excuse for them fell when their failure was undeniable. This is true of the Bland-Allison law. Much more is it true of the wanton legal-tender expansion and the silver-purchase impotence that were made bedfellows in the Sherman law, with the vain promise of a new-born parity of silver and gold.

Purchases were continued after being proved ineffectual; and another new-fangled legal tender was added to that promissory debt currency which the United States Supreme Court, before it reversed its own decision, rightly adjudged unconstitutional. I return from this digression in the past to my argument that silver purchases never can promote their professed object.

THEIR FATAL CONTRARIETY.

Gold is not purchased by the Government. It has free coinage into full legal-tender money for the people who bring it, and no matter how much. If melted, it has free recoinage into the same amount of full legal-tender money again, without loss.

Those great populations which now as ever maintain the free coinage of silver, do not purchase silver, in our fashion, by government. It is coined for the people, whoever brings it and no matter how much, just as gold-coining nations deal with gold. If the silver is melted for other uses, it loses nothing of its value, for it is assured of recoinage into the same amount of full legal-tender money again without loss.

Is it not clear then that our silver purchases are the polar opposite of free silver coinage? But they are worse than opposite;

they are effective contraries to free bimetallic coinage whatever their amount and whether minted or not.

If minted, as by the Bland-Allison law, they make a local accumulation of nonexportable money.

If they are not minted, but measure Treasury note issues, as by the Sherman law, they likewise make an accumulation of non-exportable money. Too great accumulation of such money must surely extrude gold, which is now our only exportable money.

PURCHASES DO NOT MONETIZE.

Silver purchased, even if coined, monetizes no unpurchased silver, and if not coined monetizes none at all.

Free coinage of silver is not the purchase of an ounce of silver. Nor is free coinage of gold the purchase of any gold. The function of free coinage is to effect the monetization of all, but not by the purchase of any.

Now, there is about the same aggregate of gold money as of silver money in existence. The free coinage of silver has never ceased, and will not cease, so far as human beings can now foresee. The free coinage of gold has never ceased and will not cease.

Nations may shift and change. This mint may be closed to gold, as the mints of India once, or that mint may be closed to silver, as the mint of Germany was.

But what ceased on the earth in 1873 was not free gold coinage, was not free silver coinage.

What ceased in 1873 was free bimetallic coinage, to wit, the free coinage of silver and the free coinage of gold at the same mint in a rated parity.

The two free coinages, elsewhere going on separately, lost their virtual conjunction due to the two free coinages which till then had gone on actually conjoined in one mint and one law.

Lost thereby was the parity of gold and silver.

A specified weight of gold, having free coinage into one monetary unit, no longer retained its former stable equivalence with $15\frac{1}{2}$ times its weight of silver having free coinage elsewhere into another national monetary unit.

If the monetary unit had been bimetallic, thereafter the parity of the franc in silver and the franc in gold, the parity of the silver dollar and the gold dollar was but a local parity, lost in the crucible.

PURCHASES INEFFECTUAL FOR PARITY

Silver purchases have not so much as even a tendency to lay the foundations of universal parity between the silver dollar and the gold dollar; for their renewed parity is impossible except, as before, concurrently with the parity of all gold and all silver, which parity not only depends upon the monetization of each by the offer of free coinage to each, which has always gone on somewhere, but also upon the rated parity of both by the free coinage of both at a fixed weight ratio, to wit, upon free bimetallic coinage which ceased in 1873.

What earthly relation has the purchase of silver to its parity with gold?

What earthly relation has the purchase of gold to its parity with silver?

The two halves of the money of the world, the gold half and the silver half, together constitute the great money measure of mankind—(though now for nineteen years dislocated by the novel absence of free bimetallic coinage)—the one great bimetallic money measure standing over against the total inventory of their wealth.

PURCHASES FRUITLESS IF MONEY WERE MONOMETALLIC.

So that if all silver were put out of existence and the gold doubled, the money measure would be the same, the convenience of it vastly less. Subdivisional small payments would everywhere require paper certificates. But free coinage of all gold would constitute the whole of the yellow money metal the perfect money measure for mankind. All might not be brought for coinage. All could be. All would be taken out of the category of commodities and raised to the uniform level of the monetization.

Now, what could gold purchases do, gold being the sole money metal, except transfer ownership?

So if all gold were put out of existence and the silver doubled, again the money measure would be the same and the convenience less. But free coinage of all silver would constitute the whole of that white metal the still perfect money measure of mankind. All would never be brought for coinage. All could be. Enough would be brought for all payments to be made, and standard bullion would be as precious as the same weight of coin, for all would be taken out of the category of commodities and raised to the uniform level of monetization.

What now could silver purchases do, silver being the sole money metal, except transfer ownership.

PURCHASES FRUITLESS IF MONEY BIMETALLIC.

Instead of \$8,000,000,000 of gold with no silver, and instead of \$8,000,000,000 of silver with no gold, mankind has a better, a bimetallic money; in round numbers, say \$4,000,000,000 of silver and \$4,000,000,000 of gold—a bimetallic money, although for the moment lacking their ancient legal correlation.

What now is it conceivable that gold purchases or silver purchases can do, by transfer of ownership, more than in the monometallic cases I have imagined, when the money of mankind is bimetallic?

How can purchases of one money metal repair the lack of legal correlation of the two money metals? Whence could come a rated parity of both save by competent conjoined free coinage of both, to wit: free bimetallic coinage?

THE FREE BIMETALLIC COINAGE FUNCTION.

Excepting a comparatively small amount in the arts and industries, all this gold is in monetary use and has free coinage somewhere. Likewise all this silver is in monetary use, and has free coinage somewhere.

Wherever free coinage of either metal exists, the metal of the coin loses nothing in the crucible. It can be recoined into the same money with no loss. This is just as true of silver as of gold, under free coinage régimes. Liquid in the crucible or solid in the coin, the weight and worth of the money metal remain identical.

But what have silver purchases to do with that effect of free coinage?

Nothing.

What have silver purchases to do with that effect of free bimetallic coinage, which, besides establishing equality in crucible or coin for each of the two metals separately, also in all payments, establishes, at a ratio of weight, parity for both?

Nothing.

It is for these reasons that I would respectfully ask the Senators of the silver-producing States to consider whether a just view of the particular interest of their constituents, whom they so loyally represent, will not be soonest reached among all who do not mine silver, by the disassociation of that money-metal output from every government relation first, and finally, from every government relation except that which as with gold should alone subsist in the United States, namely, free bimetallic coinage.

MONETARY DIFFICULTIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

I pass on now to consider from the domestic side our own especial monetary difficulties entailed by the past and present operation of the Bland-Allison law and Sherman law. They are serious. I shall not magnify them. I shall analyze them.

Payment is the function of money. Economy in effecting payments is the purpose of all the good private substitutes and representatives of money.

No part of the circulating medium is used to circulate for the sake of circulating. It circulates to effect payments, one after another, then others and others and so on endlessly, wherever commodities and services are bought and sold. It is the form of wealth which few keep to enjoy. If kept it is to be ready for use in payments and meanwhile may lose interest. To all other satisfactions it is ministerial.

The operation of the Sherman law can be better understood if we bear in mind those two normal parts of the circulating medium with which the business of highly civilized communities is carried on, by payments made. There is the actual money basis of coin at the bottom and a vast private superstructure of representative or substitute currency and circulating credits, bank notes, commercial paper, bills of exchange, acceptances, checks, and these again represented and rerepresented in the record of bank deposits and clearing-house exchanges.

It is every man's business to take care of his own debts and his own credits in this private part of the circulating medium, conforming them to the general coin-money measure.

It is no part of the business of government to do more than provide that solid money basis by free bimetallic coinage, nor to inject its own debts into the circulating medium, and by their bulk, irrelevance, and uncertain parity to imperil with alien risks and irresponsible inequities the certainty of private payments and the safety of private enterprise.

COIN-MONEY BASIS; CIRCULATING CREDITS SUPERSTRUCTURE.

The most recent computation which I can find of the proportion between that foundation and that superstructure in the business of the United States, makes the cash but 7.48 per cent

of the circulating medium. An analysis which excluded from the cash all but gold and silver coin or their representative certificates, would doubtless apportion more than 96 per cent to that elastic part of the circulating medium.

Elasticity in the money measure is its worst fault. Elasticity in the volume of circulating credits safely founded upon the stable money measure of silver and gold, is as natural as breathing, and indispensable to commercial prosperity.

That vaster volume varies with the seasons. For instance, every fall buyers of our farmers' crops need funds in currency capable of distribution in small sums among many sellers. Besides this annually recurrent increase, other variations of other kinds occur, dependent upon states of business, states of the public mind, and circumstances sometimes of foreign, sometimes of domestic origin.

These can not be predetermined, nor even conjectured. They can safely be let alone, to rise and fall in perfect freedom, when the money measure, gold and silver, is neither dislocated by the absence of free bimetallic coinage nor debased with improper forms of legal tender.

HOW THE UNITED STATES TREASURY ENDANGERS PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Our present legal unit of value is 25.8 troy grains of standard gold, called dollar. With that money measure, at need, at will, every item in the huge superstructure, by whomsoever owned, must conform and be exchangeable. In the private business of the people of the United States there is, at the present time, no lack of such conformity. As a whole, and certainly in your commercial metropolis, the business doing is safe and prudent. But wrongly intermingled with the private business of the country are the obligations, the payments, and the parties due under acts of Congress and to be performed and maintained by the Federal Treasury. These are onerous and difficult, yet upon their successful continuous execution depends the vastly larger volume of private business for its safety.

The disbursements of the Federal Treasury amount annually to \$460,000,000, including \$26,000,000 of interest upon funded debt. These disbursements are to be made, of course, in dollars of conformable parity with the legal gold unit of value, and if not made in dollars so esteemed by the payee, or (if tested, however suddenly and numerously) so found in every case to be convertible with gold dollars, the consequences to the Treasury itself and to the business of the country at large would become disastrous.

The Treasury can only disburse its receipts; but while it can make no discrimination among the various so-called dollars of its receipts when itself is the payee, it can not resist discrimination made by those whom it pays, except at the fatal cost of disparagement to the dollars of every kind except that kind which it withholds when called for.

The gold certificates and the silver certificates present no difficulty. They are not a legal tender. They are alike and most meritorious in calling for nothing but the coin deposit which the Treasury holds safe until so called for.

National-bank notes present no difficulty. They are not a

legal tender. They will conform to the gold unit of value, if the Treasury performs its obligations.

THE UNITED STATES TREASURY'S TASK OF PARITY.

But the ability of the Treasury to make satisfactory payments from its very miscellaneous receipts, at the stated intervals upon its funded debt, and in its daily disbursements apart from those to its civil, military, and naval servants, and its pensioners, depends upon its ability to maintain the local parity of our local law, between our legal gold dollar unit of value, and all other so-called dollars of legal tender. Except these other dollars are equal to and convertible with the gold unit of value at the unstinted will of the holder, the words "unit of value" lack meaning, or the application of the word "dollar" by Congress elsewhere is not a case of integrity.

However widely questioned, however rudely tested, parity with the gold dollar and legal unit of value must be maintained by the Secretary of the Treasury for three other kinds of so-called dollars; and of one, the silver dollar, he is not at liberty to support the parity by free coinage.

1. Silver purchases minted since March 1, 1878, \$416,412,835.
2. Silver assignats issued under the Sherman law since July 14, 1890, \$125,000,000.
3. Demand notes, unpaid since 1863, redeemable in specie since January 1, 1879, \$346,681,016.

All these \$888,000,000 are a legal tender of some sort, with perhaps an exception that I need not now discuss.

The legal tender endowment in no way discharges the obligation to maintain their parity with the gold unit of value.

Had the silver dollars been with gold the outcome of free bimetallic coinage they would not be the instance of imparity for export or nonmonetary use that they are; they would be the vehicle itself of parity.

Such their imparity has therefore varied from 100 cents to 64 cents.

The debt dollars can in no way surely escape the risk of imparity, and variable imparity—past variations have ranged between 35 cents and 100 cents.

Widely questioned, rudely tested, how can parity of \$888,000,000, all incapable of use in payments to foreign countries, be preserved with the gold dollar unit of value.

Obviously in but one way. By the ability of the Treasury to verify and vindicate that parity with the gold unit of value by paying this or that on call, at the creditor's choice, and redeeming where redemption is pledged.

What are the resources of the Federal Treasury?

RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES TREASURY FOR PARITY.

It has a moderate working balance of ten to twenty million gold dollars, which last month ran down to near \$8,000,000.

It has the \$100,000,000 gold reserve allotted to maintain the continuous redemption of 346,000,000 greenback dollars, and the authority to increase the funded debt in order to maintain the continuity of that particular redemption.

Not 5 per cent of its customs receipts at New York during the last ten days of December were in gold or gold certificates. I

do not suppose the proportion was nearly as much from its internal revenue.

And that is all.

Four years ago the Treasury had in gold \$218,000,000. Our gold basis has since dwindled by a hundred million dollars. During the last two and a half years, under the operation of the Sherman law, one hundred and twenty-five millions have been added to our debt-made-money demanding to be kept in parity with the gold unit of value, and by the operation of the same law, nigh fifty millions a year is the measure of the increase of that difficulty, with no increase of our gold resources.

WHERE CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OCCUR.

That private part of our circulating medium which I have called the superstructure from its relation to the coin basis is the part where contraction first takes place or expansion. It shrinks when for any cause enterprise slackens. Distrust and fear operate a shrinkage, confidence and security operate an enlargement, compared with which, whatever silver-purchase laws, and even free-coinage laws may do to enlarge the circulating medium is unimportant, arithmetically speaking, for these laws do but touch the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent coin basis. Men's hopes and fears operate upon the 92 per cent thereon dependent for stability and validity. By restoring confidence and hope in respect to the money basis, repeal of the Sherman law will create new private currencies daily, to a degree utterly dwarfing its own present monthly, mechanical accretions. There is no need of finding any substitute for these minor accretions. The vaster shrinkage will stop.

THE GREAT SHRINKAGE—HOW IT WORKS.

Revival of the Bland-Allison law would keep up the shrinkage.

The Sherman law is undermining the power of the Treasury to continue the discharge, if not of our debts, of our equally honorable parity obligations, is rending asunder into separable fragments our money basis, and is operating an enormous shrinkage upon the business of the country and its total circulating medium.

One result of the distrust aroused by such increasingly difficult parities, the blight of enterprises, the dread of disaster, and the consequent shrinkage has been the forcible extrusion and export of gold. What other part of our currencies is exportable? And there is no way to make people use much more currency than is needed to effect payments. Kept, it loses interest. Its function is to pay and to pass on, paying again. But the blight of enterprise prevents hundreds and thousands of occasions for payments from arising which otherwise would employ and retain larger amounts of currency in fuller circulation.

HOW IT EXTRUDES GOLD.

Distrust operates not only at home but abroad. Foreign investors instead of leaving here as usual, with mutual profit, some good part of their quarterly or annual dividends for reinvestment, direct their bankers here to remit, and of course much of that remittance can only be in gold. Sales too of our best securities are ordered under the influence of the same distrust and much of the remitted proceeds goes in gold. Thus the export and ex-

trusion of the only exportable part of our money has both a local and a general cause. Every influence of contracting circulations and every influence of exported gold, acts and reacts, so that finally the trouble may touch a crisis and the Federal Treasury itself (involved so needlessly) be powerless except to inflame the cause and postpone the cure.

All this is now proceeding in the presence of a deficit in the relation of our taxes to expense, an increasing drain from pensions, which the natural growth of taxes can not keep up with, and the dread of a monetary panic universal.

A premium on gold would enhance every difficulty thus described, and would hurry us forward to silver monometallism, to which our approach should at once be stopped by repeal of the Sherman law, because from an exclusive silver basis we would have far less power to promote a general return in Europe to free bimetallic coinage.

Such, as it seems to me, is the nature of our monetary danger and difficulty regarded chiefly on the domestic side.

EIGHTY YEARS OF PARITY. NINETEEN YEARS OF DISPARITY.

I have now, finally, only to consider the history of our eighty years of perfect parity of gold and silver, accomplished by free bimetallic coinage, and our last nineteen years of disparity during the absence of such coinage, in order to show by the light of that history why and how the mere repeal of the Sherman law may be expected to promote a return to that parity.

Gold is now by law the standard money metal in the United States. Silver is not. Both political parties say that it shall be: that both shall be.

The coinage of gold into full legal-tender money is free to everybody, as it has been since 1792, while the coinage of silver into full legal-tender money, which was free to everybody from 1792 to 1873, has not been free since 1873.

These are dates familiar to the Senate. I sometimes think these dates and two great facts concurrent with these dates, if figured on a chart and hung up in the banks, post-offices, railway stations, and newspaper offices of Europe, would end the gold and silver question, happily, forever.

During those eighty years from 1792 to 1873 gold and silver, at a prevalent ratio of their free bimetallic coinage, had everywhere a stable parity. Write it as 100=100. Such a certain, fixed, greater weight of silver, and such a certain, fixed, and lesser weight of gold were equivalent to each other in any market. The coin of either metal lost naught of its value by melting in the crucible. Competent mints were open equally to their free coinage and recoinage, at the same weight ratio, into the same money.

PARITY AND PEACE. DISPARITY AND DISORDER.

Those eighty years were years of perfect parity between silver and gold.

On the 6th of September, 1873, free bimetallic coinage ceased. No matter how or why. The simple fact is enough.

During all the nineteen years from 1873 to 1893, free bimetallic coinage has nowhere been renewed.

These nineteen years have been years of monetary chaos throughout the world.

Our own dollar of gold and dollar of silver, tested by melting in the crucibles, have exhibited unstable divergence from their previous parity (100=100) in common with the silver and the gold of both hemispheres. Four dates will suffice to show the range of these convulsions of disparity.

RANGE OF CONVULSIVE DISPARITY.

Starting from the long stable parity of 15½ weights of silver and 1 weight of gold, throughout the century until 1873, we can measure the subsequent disparity either as a depreciation of silver or as an appreciation of gold. Four dates suffice:

Year.	Silver dollar.	Gold dollar.
1873	100	100
1889	72	100
1890, August 19	94	100
1892, December 25	64	100

The same facts precisely, as they look where silver had free coinage but gold not, appear in the next table:

Year.	Silver dollar.	Gold dollar.
1873	100	100
1889	100	139
1890	100	106
1892	100	156

Add to the record that these nineteen years of violent divergence, variable divergence from parity have no precedent in the whole history of civilized man.

Slightly different contemporaneous ratios of parity in this nation's mintage and that nation's mintage?

Yes; and consequent interchanges of the money metals between this nation and that. Thus the United States lost all their gold before 1834 and all their silver after 1834.

Slowly widening ratio of parity, general in the course of ages? Yes.

But convulsions of disparity, universal world-wide convulsions of disparity in the absence of a fixed ratio of parity prevalent under the free bimetallic coinage of some powerful nation?

Never before 1873.

Again I say, numberless years of free bimetallic coinage and the stable parity of silver and gold.

Nineteen years of no free bimetallic coinage, and no parity of silver and gold—on the contrary, utterly unprecedented and violent disparity.

Such are the recorded facts. Such is history.

RIISING, FALLING HOPE OF FREE BIMETALLIC COINAGE.

The most instructive fact I find in the nineteen-year record of convulsions is that they have diminished and contracted toward the previous parity simultaneously with the rising hope of free

bimetallic coinage to be resumed by the United States and have widened further and further away from the previous parity concurrently with the fading of the hope of free bimetallic coinage to be resumed by the United States.

I am merely stating a historical fact. Look at the figures of the four dates. Observe also that those recorded relations at four dates, of the melted silver dollar and the melted gold dollar, are exactly the same of all the gold and silver bullion of the old world and the new.

In one twelvemonth their disparity contracts toward the previous parity, from $72=100$ to $94=100$, *pari passu* with the growing hope. Then, after the date of the Sherman silver purchase law, as the hope of free bimetallic coinage by the United States has been fading out of men's minds, further and further away from parity, wider and wider stretched the divergence from parity, of the whole gold stock and the whole silver stock of all nations, tested by the crucible.

From $94=100$ the disparity widened, till now, in this our slough of despond, it is $64=100$. The weights of the silver dollar and the gold dollar meanwhile unchanged, their disparity, in the crucible has come to that.

If the hope and the despair of free bimetallic coinage by the United States did so much, what would our actual return to free bimetallic coinage do?

NOT COST OF PRODUCTION VARYING.

A second and a third instructive fact I find in this record. There has been no such up-and-down in the general average cost of the annual money-metal output. The varying disparity is irrelevant to any change in the "cost of production."

I commend that instruction to those political economists who neglect to comprise in their great science the science of money.

NOT SUPPLY AND DEMAND VARYING.

Moreover, there has been, as the Mint Director's reports show, no decreased supply of silver, or increased supply of gold, corresponding to and explaining the small 6 per cent disparity of 1890.

There has been, on the other hand, as the Mint Director's reports show, in the next two years no increased supply of silver or decreased supply of gold corresponding to and explaining the huge 36 per cent disparity of 1892.

But the general hope and expectation of free bimetallic coinage to be resumed by the United States, has so arisen and so fallen.

The supply and demand law, which applies to commodities and to the fluctuations of their prices, is obviously irrelevant to the money metals and these sudden convulsions, toward parity and away from parity.

NOT USE VARYING.

One other instructive fact appears in the record of these last nineteen years of convulsions due to the dislocation of silver money and gold money, which were once as closely linked as if the one bimetallic money of mankind were one monometallic money.

There has been no corresponding increase or decrease of use

of either money metal to explain the law of their varying divergence from parity during dislocation.

Therefore when Mr. Secretary Foster crossed over to arrange a monetary conference to discuss "increased use of silver," he might well have said "better use of gold and silver."

The gold and silver of the world are always all in use somewhere, somehow, and mostly in monetary use, actually effecting payments daily, or measuring the various representatives and substitutes by which, economizing money, mankind effect payments.

There is national monetary use of silver; there is international monetary use of silver.

There is national use of gold and international.

Not increased use of either money metal is our need; but correlated use.

DISLOCATED USE VERSUS CORRELATED USE.

That great aggregate money measure, so conveniently divisible, of the wealth of mankind, consists, as I have said, of about \$1,000,000,000 worth of silver money plus say \$1,000,000,000 worth of gold money. Neither of the two moieties now dislocated is disused or fails to contribute some support to the current range and present plane of all commodity prices.

Does the world's gold stock count for nothing in the silver price of wheat and cotton in Asia? Is the silver price of wheat and cotton in India out of all relation to the silver price of other commodities and services there?

Does the world's silver stock count for nothing in the gold price of wheat in Duluth and of cotton in New Orleans? Are the prices of wheat and of cotton here irrelevant to the price of a day laborer's toll in San Francisco or New York?

The phenomenon is dislocation of two parts of one money measure; not disuse, actual or possible, of either part.

THE THREE GREAT KINDS OF DISLOCATED USE.

Free silver coinage in many mints has continued throughout these nineteen years, and in many other mints free gold coinage. But how should separate free coinages do the work of free bimetallic coinage for eighty years—the work of parity?

Our own fifteen-year concubinage of purchased silver and free-coinage gold—how should that restore their married state, how should that prevent their divergence from parity attaining its present maximum?

Local parity of its gold coin with its silver coin, upheld severally throughout each of the once bimetallic states of Europe and America, including the United States—what could that do to restore international parity to the outlying metals, or how enable the local parity of national coins anywhere to stand the test of the crucible?

THE ONE ONLY RIGHT MONETARY USE OF GOLD AND SILVER.

Everything has been done except the old, the only thing. Coupling at a fixed ratio, the two free coinages, that of gold and that of silver, long created their perfect parity; while it continued parity continued; when free bimetallic coinage ceased, parity ceased. The gold half of the world's money was dislocated from the silver half. When their coupling in a competent free

bimetallic coinage shall be renewed, their stable parity will be renewed.

There is no reason in history or science to suppose that anything can establish parity of the two money metals except the free bimetallic coinage which created and maintained their parity.

There is no reason in history, science, or common sense to call it an "experiment" or to fear it would fail.

The most perfect and unfluctuating parity of gold and silver ever known, a parity stable and prevalent within any nation using both metals and between all nations using either or both, owed origin and efficacy to the free bimetallic coinage law of one nation and one alone. There was trepidation in the souls of two or three good men when California and Australia gave up their new gold to merge with the old silver and gold of mankind, but there was no trepidation in that parity.

Neither national nor international free bimetallic coinage is an "experiment," for it is history that each has kept stable the parity of gold and silver throughout the world.

FREE BIMETALLIC COINAGE.

I have said nothing as yet upon our choice between endeavor toward free bimetallic coinage independently, or with foreign cooperation.

Obviously the choice is quite indifferent provided that our free bimetallic coinage independently were successful in making prevalent everywhere one ratio of parity between all gold and all silver.

Free bimetallic coinage executed in the mints of one nation must be effective internationally by the prevalence of its ratio universally or it has no reason for existence.

UNIVERSALLY EFFECTIVE.

It must be competent free bimetallic coinage, actually making our silver in the white dollar everywhere equivalent to the gold in the yellow dollar and *vice versa*. It will not do to fail of parity on either side even in the way we failed when before 1873 our gold dollar being worth 100 our silver dollar was worth 103.

Some fool might be Secretary of the Treasury and not know that the trouble was a conflict of mint ratios.

I say competent free bimetallic coinage, for it is as sure that Switzerland could not alone maintain it for all the world as that France did.

INDEPENDENTLY.

My own personal conviction is clear that with adequate preparation, revised laws, and competent administration and friendly administration, independent free bimetallic coinage would be within the power of the United States to establish and maintain; and for my own part I should far prefer that solution, with no entangling foreign alliances or agreements, to any international arrangement whatsoever.

We do not half realize the overwhelming power of the United States. To have survived the finance of the last thirty years is proof of our stupendous resources and our independent power. Merely to have lived through two and a half years of the Sherman silver-purchase and Treasury-note issue law without an ac-

tual smash; just to have escaped without our farmers and planters bleeding to death by the postponement of free bimetallic coinage is proof enough what adequate preparation, revised laws, and competent administration might have achieved for us and for all the world in that behalf.

I regret this delay profoundly, but we can not shut our eyes to facts.

Would that the Columbian anniversary might have been celebrated by that world-wide demonstration of our independent power.

To those who can perceive what Mr. Gladstone has called the unseen and higher objects of human endeavor, even the vast assemblages and the multifarious collections of the Chicago Fair, would in comparison have appeared like a children's crowded garden and baby playhouses filled with toys.

Until recently I cherished a hope of that inspiring exhibition of our unseen power, and then wrote these words:

Our great Republic halts upon the threshold of her noble destiny, distrusts her capacity to compete in her own markets or in foreign markets for primacy in the commerce of the world, and tightens the fetters of her tariff; misdoubts her power to reunite the two uncoupled international currencies of the world in a rated stable parity, and piles up new loads of disparaged unexportable silver. Surely it behooves the foremost nation of the world to shake off this bondage of fears and put forth her peaceable invincible strength.

But that hope is at present a vain hope.

The reduction of net gold in the Treasury by a hundred million dollars during the last four years from \$218,000,000 in 1888 to the bare \$100,000,000 gold reserve for the \$346,000,000 greenbacks and a small working Treasury Department balance; the addition of \$125,000,000 to our paper legal-tender debt since July, 1890, concurrently with the like reduction of our gold basis; the absence of a single dollar in gold to uphold, if it were widely questioned and rudely tested, the local legal parity of \$416,412,835 silver dollars coined since March 1, 1878, with the gold unit of value established by the law of 1873, constitutes a financial record, improvident, incapable, and beyond all words disgraceful to any civilized nation—how much more to this mighty people able to be rich and powerful beyond compare.

WITH FOREIGN COOPERATION.

Coming at the tail of thirty years of like detestable finance it excludes the present possibility of the United States alone undertaking independently to establish and maintain a free bimetallic coinage, except at the expense of some increase of gold bonded debt, which, instead of insuring our future prosperity by the solid inauguration of free bimetallic coinage, is now threatened as another costly sacrifice to stave off the cumulative perils of the Sherman law. Moreover, to free bimetallic coinage by international agreement we are now shut up by the action of both political parties in nominating two candidates, and by the election of one, who had previously avowed their approval of free bimetallic coinage, subject to the condition of foreign cooperation.

I consider that the people of the United States are as much bound by their own act now to the prior effort for obtaining for-

eign cooperation as they are bound by the joint resolution of the two parties together to press forward to the common goal.

ONLY ONE FOREIGN OBSTACLE TO FOREIGN COÖPERATION.

The sole obstacle to foreign coöperation is Great Britain.

Our delegates to three monetary conferences, and our special commissioner to the three great powers, in 1885, all have brought back concurrent testimony that France and Germany regard the coöperation of Great Britain as *sine qua non* to their coöperation in free bimetallic coinage, and that Great Britain hitherto has seen, and as yet sees, no reason to change her policy.

It is therefore obvious that the occasion for monetary conferences with European powers is past, and that the time for action suited to influence Great Britain has arrived.

GREAT BRITAIN—CONFERENCES USELESS—EFFECTIVE ACTION.

Conferences have sufficiently published the bimetallic theory which has conquered the assent of the few great monetary experts of all nations, and which is unpopular in Great Britain, because for three or four generations free silver coinage has been discontinued in London, whereas it is popular and approved in the United States from its easy and successful working in practice during three-fourths of the whole period of the life of our nation.

To Englishmen who say that a free bimetallic coinage law can not fix the rated parity of silver and gold, we have answered: For eighty years it did. To Englishmen who say that silver mines are more prolific now, and so the adopted parity could not be kept, we have replied: The total bimetallic money measure is all silver plus all gold, joined in a rated parity; is inappreciably enlarged by the small annual increment from both metals; is indifferent to the proportion arriving from either output; and received a greater increment for years from the gold of California and Australia, which was merged in the bimetallic money mass without disturbance of the parity and with boundless advantage to mankind; so that any possible increase of the silver output is wholly beneficent, at first to miners but vastly more to the producers of commodities: is equally sure of merger in the money mass, and if its present dislocation were ended by the renewal of free bimetallic coinage whereby the greater gold increment was received without disturbance of the parity (because the gold monometallists of to-day who were silver monometallists then were prevented from boycotting gold), it would end nineteen years of commercial depression and monetary disorder and in like manner renew the prosperity and arouse the enterprise of the world.

It is therefore not a military invasion and a burning of her capital that should now be prepared for Great Britain by the United States, by ceasing from conference and taking action to constrain her coöperation in free bimetallic coinage. On the contrary it is the invasion of Great Britain and Europe with a message of peace and good will.

By means of free bimetallic coinage the United States were able to confer upon all nations the boundless benefits of the gold of California. By means of free bimetallic coinage we shall be

able to confer upon all nations in the same manner the unbounded benefits of the silver and gold of Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming, Idaho, New Mexico, and Arizona.

The time for conference, I say, is past. The time for independent action is come, unless the Senators from the money-metal States propose not only to abstain, as they must, from independent free bimetallic coinage, but also to abstain as they need not from such independent action by the United States as will entail free bimetallic coinage by international cooperation.

REPEAL OF SHERMAN LAW—THE ACTION NEEDED.

Repeal of the Sherman law is the only action in my opinion needed, to test and fulfill the endeavor to reach free bimetallic coinage by the route of international agreement.

That is the point upon which all I have said or shall say converges.

We shall not have endeavored to establish cooperative international free bimetallic coinage until we have stopped all Treasury silver purchases.

We shall not have put forth one arm of our power until we have repealed the Sherman law unconditionally.

It is the actual influence and probable effect in Great Britain of our unconditional repeal of the Sherman silver-purchase law that I am now to ask the Senate to consider.

EFFECT IN GREAT BRITAIN OF REPEAL

From the date of the adoption of the French ratio of free bimetallic coinage, making 15½ weights of silver and 1 weight of gold, when coined, legal tender for payment of an identical sum, from that date, 1785, down to the cessation of free bimetallic coinage in the last mint then open to it, September 6, 1873, the gold in British sovereigns and 15½ times its weight of silver in Indian rupees were everywhere equally acceptable in payments. Never during that period was there one instant of these nineteen year long convulsions of disparity between silver and gold, not even amid the shock of tumbling thrones and contending empires.

Rippling fluctuations in that bimetallic parity, few and slight, wherever they occurred, were to be explained as identical with, or analogous to, the rippling fluctuations in the differing contemporaneous values of identical weights of pure gold on the two sides of the Atlantic to-day. Free gold coinage does not prevent these. Free bimetallic coinage had no concern to prevent those. They have all been tracked, tabulated, and explained by the masters of foreign exchange.

The gold in our eagle is one day worth more in London than in New York by some small percentage. It is exported. The gold in a sovereign is on one day worth more in New York than in London, by some small percentage. It is imported. But there is a fixed limit to these mere ripples of fluctuation. It is the limit of the cost of transfer, freight, insurance, brokerage. The variations in the diverse value of the same monometallic coins, though identical in weight and fineness, on the two sides of the Atlantic, or between any two foreign markets, are always tethered by the cost of transfer hither and thither.

Precisely the same ripples of fluctuation occurred to silver and

gold during their free bimetallic coinage, and just so were they tethered, no matter how complicated in the commercial exchanges between monometallic nations or between these and bimetallic nations.

Such is the record in Hamburg, London, and Paris, with every flutter in quotations fully accounted for.

GREAT BRITAIN'S FANCIED INDEPENDENCE.

In 1816 Great Britain stopped the free coinage of silver in London while continuing there the free coinage of gold. But the value of gold sovereign and silver rupee underwent no new variation. At the cost of transfer, sometimes high, if collection and transfer were difficult, sometimes low, but always tethered, silver had often to be got for a foreign remittance by the British merchant. But the free bimetallic coinage of France maintained the gold of the sovereign and the silver of the rupee in the same fixed parity as that in which her own franc of gold and franc of silver were maintained.

The silver in the rupees that were equivalent to the gold in the sovereign always weighed fifteen and a half times as much. Fluctuations of exchange were correspondent in the two metals and were precisely likewise tethered. This long history of the stable parity of gold and silver due to free bimetallic coinage in France British merchants ascribed at last to the British constitution, British commerce, the nature of things, relative intrinsic value, cost of production, supply and demand.

GREAT BRITAIN'S ACTUAL DEPENDENCE.

When the real cause, free bimetallic coinage, ceased in 1873, and thereupon rippling exchange fluctuations were swallowed up in the violent convulsions of two dislocated, disjoined, monometallisms, the British merchant and banker continued to apply their misapprehensions of the cause of the old order of things to the facts in the new order.

Just as now, they imagine Americans want something else from free bimetallic coinage than equivalence of silver dollar and gold dollar, equivalence of silver franc and gold franc, equivalence of 10 rupees or so and one gold sovereign; so then they believed the stable parity of silver in the rupee and gold in the sovereign from 1816 to 1873 (as recorded in the rippling fluctuations of the Indian exchanges), and which parity was identical with the parity of the silver franc and the gold franc, to be due to something else than the sole cause of that parity, the free bimetallic coinage of France.

I fear that our silver purchases only confirmed their illusions, only made them hug tighter their pound sterling fetich.

Insular, they mistook their entire dependence on French coinage legislation for independence of all the world.

Provincial, whilst yet conducting the greatest single part of the world's commerce, they clung to the concomitant of great prosperity as if the concomitant had been its cause.

But perhaps it is not quite becoming for us to cast reproaches. I have heard it contended that our protective tariffs which have been the concomitant of our prosperity were its cause.

It is enough to say that Englishmen at that time perfectly jus-

tified the recent description of them by Mr. Gladstone saying that—

no race stands in greater need of discipline in every form, and among other forms, that which is administered by criticism vigorously directed to canvassing their character and claims.

Certainly no person of that insular and hidebound race had the sense to appreciate the great discernment of Mr. Disraeli when in the very year of the cessation of free bimetallic coinage he publicly said:

Our gold standard is not the cause but the consequence of our prosperity. It is quite evident that we must now prepare ourselves for great convulsions in the money market, not occasioned by speculation or any of the old causes which have been alleged, but by a new cause with which we are not sufficiently acquainted.

MOVEMENT OF BRITISH OPINION.

After nearly twenty years of needless suffering it turns out the world moves a little. Public opinion advances slowly in Great Britain as here. Increasing numbers of British statesmen, all Ireland, the leaders among the farming class in England, Scotland, and Wales, the manufacturers and merchants of Lancashire, all who buy or sell between England and India, and all Indian civil servants, are leavening the lump of English opinion.

Out of a revenue collected from the people of India in silver, the Indian Government has to make very heavy annual payments in London, fixed in gold, the burden and amount increasing in an almost geometrical progression therefore with every increase of their disparity.

The Indian exchanges of course follow with exactly equal step the distending or the diminishing divergences of gold and silver.

When with the rising hope that the United States would independently restore free bimetallic coinage, this divergence of gold and silver has diminished, then the approach of the rupee and the sovereign to the rate of their old parity has consoled so many sufferers, in Great Britain, that they have ceased to clamor for the permanent and effectual relief that can only be afforded by the cause of that fixed parity, free bimetallic coinage.

When with the falling hope of its renewal by the United States the divergence of gold and silver has increased, and the rupee and the sovereign have parted wider and wider from the rate of their old parity, then the sufferers have made themselves heard again, and have stirred up the mass of their fellow-citizens to attention and sympathy.

LIMIT TO INDIAN TAXATION, TO BRITISH SUFFERING.

The cause of free bimetallic coinage has made strides in Great Britain just in proportion as silver has parted farther from its former minratio with gold. The silver incomes have contracted and the annual gold debt of India to England has been a heavier burden to the taxpayers of Hindostan, exacting larger sums in their only money, silver, while silver was diverging farther from gold. The evidence is uniform and irresistible that the limit of tolerable taxation in India, the limit of endurable suffering in Great Britain on the part of those affected by the dislocation of the gold money and the silver money of the British Empire is already reached.

Repeal of the Sherman law will certainly abandon Great Britain

to the untempered shocks of the two dislocated monometallisms and their utter lack of legal correlation. In that event the instruction will appear and be plain, which our silver purchases have so long concealed, that the rupee sovereign dislocation is kindred, common, and concurrent with our silver dollar and gold dollar dislocation, with the dislocation of the silver money and the gold money of all nations.

PARTICULAR EFFECT OF REPEAL.

I have now only to make clear why repeal of the Sherman law, why independent action by the United States, abandoning at last the two dislocated free coinages to the unmitigated shocks of an utter absence of legal relation, will arrive to the address of Great Britain with any especial and particular force.

It is certain that the present monetary disorder will not thereby be increased in Germany, France, or any other European nation, nor (leaving aside the silver miners) in the United States.

How is Great Britain especially exposed, how is she exposed as no other nation of the world is exposed, to the consequences of repeal of the silver-purchase law?

IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Here is the fact, well known to all the Senate, but upon which our reflection should now most deeply dwell.

Many mints, as I have said, are now open to the free coinage of silver. Many mints are now open to the free coinage of gold. But in no other one kingdom, in no other one State, in no other one empire, only in the British Empire, do there now coexist the two separate free coinages—the free coinage of silver as at Calcutta into full legal-tender money and the free coinage of gold as at London into full legal-tender money.

Neither there nor elsewhere are the two free coinages coupled in a free bimetallic coinage. But there and there alone exists, in one empire, the free coinage of two metallic monetary units, the gold sovereign and the silver rupee, actually unrelated and without legal parity fixed by law.

The lost parity of gold and silver within and between all nations is the universal monetary disorder. It is international everywhere. In the British Empire, with its two unrelated free coinages, the disorder is worse; it is intestinal.

THE INTERNATIONAL DISORDER IS INTESTINAL.

Some action by Great Britain, if we repeal the Sherman law, at once becomes unavoidable.

Other European nations can take their time. Not so Great Britain.

If the Sherman silver law is repealed the United States Treasury will have no new difficulty. It will be relieved of its greatest danger, the danger of a run on its gold. The silver already coined will be kept in its merely local and national parity (412.5 troy grains of silver equaling 25.8 troy grains of gold) just as easily when the white metal is worth no more in the crucible than 33 cents as now when it is worth but 64 cents. It will not be melted; it will merely remain, as now, impossible for a foreign remittance. It will remain for a little longer so many metallic assignats.

But that which we can endure and which France and Germany

can endure Great Britain could not endure, for the reason that she alone is giving free coinage in one empire to two metallic monetary units not related by law.

Her condition will at once become intolerable because of the immediate wider and wider disparity and the convulsive disparity of Indian silver money and British gold money.

Her intolerable condition will also admit of instant relief and complete relief, but in no way under heaven save by the resumption of free bimetallic coinage.

INTOLERABLE BUT AT ONCE REMEDIABLE.

The choice of Great Britain will be between two courses, one of instant complete relief, the other of delay and disaster, increasing and remediable finally in just one way. For gold money will not cease to be the principal money basis of the colossal superstructure of private currencies in Great Britain; and silver will not cease to be the chief currency of that vast Indian possession, comprising more than one-seventh of the population of the globe.

GREAT BRITAIN'S CHOICE AFTER REPEAL.

1. Great Britain can invite the United States to consider a cooperative resumption of free bimetallic coinage.

Stable parity of gold in the sovereign and silver in the rupee, of the silver franc and the gold franc, of the silver dollar and the gold dollar, will be the result.

2. Great Britain can stop the free coinage of silver in Calcutta with recognized peril to her Indian Empire. For such is the warning of more than one of her recent viceroys.

Face to face with that unavoidable choice, in my belief Great Britain will choose promptly and choose wisely.

Until by repeal of the Sherman law we bring Great Britain face to face with that unavoidable choice choosing can be shirked.

I have detained the Senate far too long, but I had no wish to deal with anything less than the whole theme in its chief bearings; and I hope I have been terse since I could not be brief.

One word more. At present there is no other route to free bimetallic coinage than this international route. Inaction for long will be very costly to our silver producers and will close many mines.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The hour of 1 o'clock having arrived, it is the duty of the Chair to lay before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (S. 2068) extending relief to Indian citizens, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANDERSON. Having charge of the bill that is the unfinished business, I ask that it be temporarily laid aside so that the Senator from New York may continue his remarks.

Mr. HILL. I will finish in about five minutes.

Mr. MANDERSON. At the close of the remarks of the Senator from New York, I shall be very glad to finish the consideration of the unfinished business.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nebraska? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from New York will proceed.

FOR SILVER MINERS, REPEAL THE PRICE OF FREE BIMETALLIC COINAGE.

Mr. HILL. But I would rather proclaim aloud than hide the fact that the silver producers by repeal of the Sherman law must prepare to endure for a season diminished returns for their output.

That price must be paid, I fear, to explode the false idea of our own and foreign gold monometallists that our sincere desire for a great monetary reform is a mere job of American silver miners.

That price must be paid, I fear, to shatter the one foreign obstacle in the one path not now closed toward free bimetallic coinage, namely, the international path.

That price must be paid, I fear, to bring home to British business and bosoms that there is no escape from her intestinal disorder except by restoring what France alone long gave to all nations—free bimetallic coinage—one money of two metals, one parity, and international monetary peace.

That price must be paid, I fear, to allay and remove the discontent, the just and grave discontent of our farming and planting fellow-citizens. I have explained its cause. It is the obscure but causing cause of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist party.

Two and a half years ago, when the act was passed by the Senate, it met with the opposition of every vote upon this side of the Chamber. If the question had been presented the next day whether the law should be repealed there can be no question that all Senators upon this side of the Chamber would have voted for the repeal. I think nothing has taken place from that day to this to furnish a reason why all of us on this side of the Chamber at least may not vote in favor of a repeal of the act which it was then thought should not be placed upon the statute book.

Since that time the supreme council of our great Democratic party has met and one of the first planks in the platform is that the Democratic party stands pledged to the repeal of the Sherman law. I think the party should live up to its pledge. I know there will be some revulsion, I know there will be some discontent, I know that silver-miners' interests will be disturbed; but, as I said, that price must be paid, I fear, to wreck forever the efforts of any rapacious gold monometallists who would fain double the debts of our people by discarding half the money measure, on the pretense that there is probably too much silver under ground and that the only quite universal money metal is just the one to get rid of.

That price must be paid, I fear, since the money metals are farther diverged from their old parity to-day than ever they were before the silver Senators consented to put their virgin metal into unholy alliance with the rag-money tramp, so tarnishing her good name.

If the Senators from the money-metal States at the present session of Congress, with sacrificing and disinterested thought for the general welfare of the whole people of the United States, shall unite to repeal at once the Sherman law, they will compel persistence by both parties in behalf of free bimetallic coinage and its perfect parity of the silver and gold dollar, they will

surely reestablish the people's right, conclude with the people's favor, and survive in their remembrance.

I submit the matter to be appended to my remarks.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The matter referred to will be printed, if there be no objection.

APPENDIX A.

THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION'S PLATFORM ADOPTED FEBRUARY 22, 1892 (INCLUDING THAT OF 1891 ON THE GOLD AND SILVER QUESTION AND THE SHERMAN LAW).

The Democratic party of the State of New York, in convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to the great cause of tariff reform and to the whole Democratic faith and tradition, as affirmed in our national platforms from 1876 to 1888, as well as in our State platforms, concurrent with the opening of Governor Tilden's brief and the close of Governor Hill's long, thrice approved, and alike illustrious service in the chief magistracy of the Empire State.

NEW YORK STATE PLATFORM, 1874.

"First. Gold and silver the only legal tender; no currency inconvertible with coin.

"Second. Steady steps toward specie payments; no step backwards.

"Third. Honest payment of the public debt in coin; sacred preservation of the public faith.

"Fourth. Revenue reform, Federal taxation for revenue only; no Government partnership with protected monopolies.

"Fifth. Home rule, to limit and localize most jealously the few powers intrusted to public servants, municipal and Federal; no centralization.

"Sixth. Equal and exact justice to all men; no partial legislation; no partial taxation.

"Seventh. The Presidency is a public trust, not a private perquisite; no third term.

"Eighth. Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened."

NEW YORK STATE PLATFORM, 1891.

"We now, as then, steadfastly adhere to the principles of a sound finance. We are against the coinage of any silver dollar which is not of the intrinsic value of every other dollar of the United States.

"We therefore denounce the new Sherman silver law, under which one-tenth of our gold stock has been exported, and all our silver output is dammed up at home as a false pretense but actual hindrance of return to free bimetallic coinage, and as tending only to produce a change from one kind of monometallism to another.

"We therefore unite with the friends of honest money everywhere in stigmatizing the Sherman progressive silver-basis law as no solution of the gold and silver question, and as a fit appendix to the subsidy and bounty swindle, the McKinley worse than war tariff, the Blaine reciprocity humbug, the squandered surplus, the advancing deficit, the defective census and falsified representation, and the revolutionary procedures of the billion Congress, all justly condemned by the people's great uprising last November (1890)—a verdict which, renewed next year (1892), will empower Democratic statesmen to guide the people's councils and to execute the people's will."

The Democrats of New York recall with proud memory the inflexibly sound finance of Governor Tilden, who not only administered the State government with frugality, but who also, with unequalled ability and unflinching resolution, demanded a thorough reform of tariff taxation, and likewise, with a statesman's energy and foresight, assailed the shameless degradation of our greenback currency and led the Democratic party in pushing on the compulsory Republican advance to a current coin redemption, if not also to that coin payment of the same, whereto, as well, "the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged."

The Democrats of New York refer with grateful pride to the inflexibly sound finance of Governor Hill, who by efficient economy throughout his long administrative career has accomplished the practical extinction of our State debt, has faithfully urged with a powerful and practiced advocacy the nation's release from the bondage of unequal, unnecessary, and unjust taxation, imposed by the tariff of 1883, and the repeal of the superadded impositions of the two McKinley laws; and likewise with a statesman's energy and true foresight of the 70-cent dollar pushing for birth in the body of the

Sherman silver law, has taken up the people's cause, assailed the Republican degradation of the people's silver money, and led the advance of the Democratic party of New York with unflinching steps to that solid ground of high justice and equity upon which they stand to-day, absolutely without discord or division in this behalf. "demanding" with him "that every dollar coined in these United States shall be the equal of every other dollar so coined, and demanding the redress of their present shameless inequality."

APPENDIX B.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

[FROM THE ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR DAVID B. HILL UPON THE "THE PRINCIPLES OF JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY," AT THE DEDICATION OF THE JEFFERSONIAN BUILDING IN BROOKLYN, ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1890, AND TOUCHING THE SHERMAN LAW.]

The new monetary legislation of Congress, as exemplified in the recent silver act, redoubles the latest, repeats the earliest, and perpetuates the worst of those errors which for nearly thirty years have made unsound finance a daily national instruction and honeycombed the Constitution with Republican law. Instead of executing the granted power to coin the people's gold and silver into money, instead of effecting its circulation by gold and silver certificates strictly representative of coin, dollar for dollar, this Republican Congress has now managed, without the excuse of war or the pretense of necessity, to add another new-fangled legal tender to that promissory debt currency which the United States Supreme Court, before it was packed to reverse its own decision, rightly adjudged illegal.

After twelve years' failure by compulsory Treasury silver purchases to promote free bimetallic coinage at home or abroad, the Republican party is trying to deceive the people by the claim of having settled what it calls "the silver question." The assumption is as unwarranted as it is deceiving. The recent legislation of Congress is merely a temporary expedient. It will give permanent satisfaction nowhere. It puts a heavier strain upon our resources than free bimetallic coinage without foreign cooperation would do and obstructs our progress towards that end which we all desire to reach—the free coinage of gold and silver under a proper international ratio.

In order to give internationality to our ratio, 16, it would be necessary to obtain beforehand the concordant votes of all the states of the European continent and the simultaneous recoinage of the gold francs, the gold marks, the gold florins, the gold rubles, while the single vote of Congress in favor of the general European ratio, 15½, and the recoinage of a single piece, namely our silver dollar, should be sufficient for realizing everywhere an identical bimetallic ratio. Congress persists in making sixteen gold dollars weigh the same as one silver dollar, while 15½ is the monetary ratio between gold and all the enormous stocks of silver coins existing in France, in Holland, in Spain, in Austria, in Germany, and in Russia.

Congress thus with blundering incompetence actually prepares either a future conflict of mint ratios, such as twice already swept the United States clean of its monetary metals, first of gold and then of silver, or else it casts away to foreign hands that large profit incident to the recoinage, which, either here or in Europe, must precede to make possible free bimetallic coinage at one ratio on both sides of the Atlantic.

In one act a Republican Congress has thus usurped a more than doubtful power, which, if lawful, it has worse than unwisely used; has repulsed a popular demand for restoration of our monetary unit, which till 1873 was bimetallic, with free coinage alike to silver and to gold, and has interposed new hindrance to a single and fixed weight ratio of parity for the gold and silver of the world's commerce, which is a rational solution of the silver question if commerce remains international and universal.

APPENDIX C.

GOVERNOR HILL'S FAREWELL SPEECH, AT THE BANQUET TENDERED HIM BY THE DEMOCRATIC OFFICERS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, UPON THE EVE OF HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR, AT THE KENMORE HOTEL, ALBANY, DECEMBER 31, 1891—THE POLITICAL ISSUES FOR 1892 DISCUSSED, AND THE SUGGESTIONS OF HIS ELMIRA SPEECH REITERATED.

Mr. Chairman, State officers, and friends, these are the times that try men's souls. The hour of parting from the comrades of a long and arduous labor has come.

Never again quite the same group.

New commands summoning one or another of us to a distant field, to a new service.

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Never again the same shoulder to shoulder and touch all around.
A link broken; the group changed.

It is not times of strife—either physical, moral, or political—that test men's fortitude. Most men take to contention like babies to their mother's milk. Of course, there are some who prefer placid lives. I have heard of men calling themselves scholars and believing themselves in politics who hate nothing so much as the bolsterous high seas that keep American freedom salt and pure.

But most of us, I am afraid, measure our solid comfort by the contentions which absorb our active powers; and unless we found ourselves, now and then, standing dauntless and unwearied, knee-deep in a jungle of the shafts of calumny (political calumny) and the broken arrows of bowmen who had missed their mark, I suppose we should have the sensation of discomfort and complain of cold feet.

No; I can not believe it is times of peril or of strife that try men's souls. It is parting from the tried and true comrades of a long day that wrenches the heartstrings.

* * * * *

At Elmira, taking your Saratoga platform for my commission and my chart, countersigned as it is with the great seal of the Empire State—taking that platform of yours which so grandly, so wisely insures the firm union upon the high safe ground, of all Democrats, East and West, North and South—I endeavored to apply its precepts to the present political situation.

I called attention to the fact that the purpose of the leaders of the billion Congress, in all their revolutionary procedures, had been to lift their revolutionary legislation for many months, and, if possible, for years, beyond the reach of popular reversal.

I called attention to the fact that the overturn of the billion Congress by an immense popular uprising, by the election of 237 Democratic Representatives out of 393 would not enable one new line to be written by the present Congress in the Federal laws.

But the acts of the billion Congress are now a part of the Federal statutes. There they stand, flagrant—in-olerable. The Senate, or the House, or the Executive, can prevent change. Two of the three being Republican, actual lawmaking to redress Republican wrongdoing is doubly barred. No repeal, no change except what perfectly suits the Republican wrongdoer.

The House can compel frugality in current appropriations. Speaker CHRIS, Judge HOLMAN, and all our good Democrats in both Houses will see to that.

But Mills bills, Morrison bills, single bills, general bills, repeal bills, all alike, are sure to be halted at the Senate threshold and slaughtered in committee.

Why?

Because Republicans, though quite as powerless as we, now to pass new laws, can sit still, do nothing, yet keep, at least till the 4th of March, 1893, all they got by the acts of the billion Congress—and the chance of saving thereafter their main booty, saving their tariff for protection's sake in place of a tariff for revenue only, with protection incidental, saving their bounty and subsidy principle, saving their reciprocity humbug, which is but a scheme to expand State socialism and substitute the restrictive bargains of diplomats for the world-wide commerce of freemen.

It is a bad lookout. Time runs on, and they counted on time to root their policy in business dislike of change, and to give those wrong-doings the air of rightful precedents.

What are we going to do about it? You and I and every Democrat in Washington is asking himself that question. The Fifty-second Congress has assembled, is at length organized, and in a very few days its policy will have been fixed, its work begun.

Since any Democratic legislation proposed by the House is sure of defeat in the Senate or White House, is a wiser course open than that Democrats shall first send up for defeat what will cost the Republican party final overthrow in the next Congressional and Presidential elections?

Now, let us hold fast to the great facts, and pivot our policy on those.

Here is one fact.

Democratic legislation by this Fifty-second Congress is quite impossible.

Plebald legislation of course is possible; I have no interest in that.

Here is another fact. It is the largest fact with which our great leaders in Congress have to take account.

The people's verdict last year upon the billion Congress and all its works becomes utter nullity and empty wind, unless the people of the United States, unbedeviled, unfooled, stick to their work, again come together at the ballot boxes, and again next November thunder forth the same just verdict.

The purpose of my speech in Elmira was to fix public attention upon the size of those two facts.

For if their size is generally seen no Democrat will wish to resist their controlling importance.

What follows:

Shall the people's verdict on the billion Congress have execution or not?

Shall the Democratic party, by keeping before the people the billion-Congress issues of 1890, nothing else and nothing less, keep for the people power to add to their verdict of 1890 its execution in 1892?

How can that best be done?

Call the problem a tactical problem, if you like; but the philosophy of practical politics in a popular government is to make your issues plain, simple, single, if possible; then keep them clear and unconfused, and let the sovereign people judge.

Therefore, at Elmira, I suggested this course:

1. Pass no free-coinage bill; pass only needful appropriation bills, enforcing economy.

2. Grapple to undo the worst work of the billion Congress. Demand repeal of the Sherman silver law and the two McKinley laws.

No small issues, no untimely issues, no new issues, no other issues.

Grapple to undo the work of the billion Congress. Put the country and its silver laws and its tariff laws back where they stood before our party's misadventure in 1888 and before the infamous Republican revolution.

Demand this and demand nothing but this, and keep on demanding this, in Congress, in our State conventions, in our national convention, and throughout the canvass till sundown next November 8.

Now, gentlemen, wiser men will suggest wiser advice.

But it was thought in the little city of Elmira that this advice of mine was wise enough.

For in Elmira, as here in Albany, we are nearly all of one mind as to what will happen throughout New York State next November if such advice had the good fortune to be approved by the united wisdom of our Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Doubtless, they can and will do far better. But that would be good enough. Naturally anything so novel as that suggestion encounters competition, question, and criticism.

And to these, with your indulgence, I will give respectful attention.

But it has already, I rejoice to say, received the most important, the most valuable, and the most significant indorsement which it ever could receive from any quarter.

No Republican, no Mugwump journal has honestly put my speech before its readers, while all denouncing it, some with misrepresentations which its perusal would have prevented and its printing exposed.

* * * * *

D. It is objected against my Elmira argument to pass no free coinage act—that an act might go through the Senate and the White House providing free coinage is confined to the American silver output. A New York journal reports that this policy has been agreed upon and will certainly become law. Before that agreement becomes universal I would beg leave to suggest that the scheme in its phrasing pretends a compromise, but contains no provision for any one element of the actual problem. Even, as a dodge to provide free coinage labels "good enough till after election," it underrates the sense of American voters and their contempt for insincerity and cant.

We can take defeat or success on any issue when the time comes to raise it. We will take no share in humbugging and disguised issues.

If it is possible that any candid students of our monetary difficulties favor free coinage of the American silver output, then I will observe that like the gold monometallists, they have yet to learn what mankind's actual money measure now is.

Skipping the alphabet of monetary science, too many men have been rattling away on the silver question without once opening their eyes to ask what is the money measure now in use and for uncounted years in use by mankind.

It happens now to be a dislocated, disjointed money measure; but what is it? What stands over against the total inventory of man's exchangeable wealth and measures it? What is it, which, with its own homogeneous and divisible parts, measures the divisible and various parts of that wealth?

It is all the gold of the world plus all the silver of the world. That is the fact, make what theory you like about it.

Coining is the division of the measuring aggregate.

Weight is the method of the measure.

Monetary units of various nations differ in weight, but equal weights make equal payments.

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Free coinage, as full legal tender, offered to all the metal, is adoption of the whole measuring aggregate.

Mint ratio, in bimetallic coinage, is the coupling of the two money metal aggregates, the 94 per cent of silver, the 6 per cent of gold, in one mass, in one aggregate, so that large payments may be portable yet small payments possible.

That one great mass or aggregate is the accumulation of many generations of men. It grows, but slowly.

The annual addition from all mines of both metals is less than 1 per cent of the mass.

As the mass grows, the increment percentage lessens yearly.

The total mass of both metals, the aggregate money measure, would not half fill the famous Parthenon at Athens.

Dispersed over the world, it can neither be inflated nor contracted by legislation.

For all nations it is a perfect money measure, or rather until 1873 it was such, while a competent free coinage of the two metals in the same mint at a fixed ratio, established and maintained their union in a bimetallic parity, and by the prevalence of that ratio in all lands, made one money of all coinages in the commerce of mankind.

Has mankind lost forever that great money measure because, unwittingly in 1873, a coupling of the two metals, of the two free coinages in one free bimetallic coinage ceased?

Certainly not. The great money measure which stands over against the total inventory of man's wealth and measures it is dislocated, but it has not ceased to exist.

Vastly larger populations, vastly larger commerce, are on the silver side of the dislocation than on the gold side.

I have said before, and I say again, that many mints around the world now already, as heretofore, provide abundant free coinage for silver.

And many mints around the world, now as before, provide abundant free coinage for gold.

The trouble is not the total cessation of either of the two free coinages, the free coinage of silver, the free coinage of gold.

The trouble is the cessation, the absence of their link. No mint since 1873 has provided a free bimetallic coinage.

More or less free coinage of either metal here and there does not touch the trouble, does not repair the dislocation.

Competent recoupling of the two existing free coinages of the world and of the two existing monetary stocks is the very heart of the matter. Anything else is irrelevance.

Free coinage extended only to the American silver output is a proposal parallel to the British blindness which fancies the actual money measure of the world to be gold.

But free coinage offered to all silver, like free coinage offered to all gold, remains an element always hereafter indispensable to the renewal of their old historic coupling. Nothing less is the actual money measure than all of both metals. Nothing else is at fault but their recent dislocation.

Free coinage offered to less than all the silver of all the world, even though offered to so large a large part of the small percentage of annual increase as the output of American mines, is frivolous, as a like limit of the offer of free coinage to the American gold output would be.

When American silver-miners can cease long enough from their selfish insistence upon the compulsory purchase of their metal as a protected commodity and learn how to assist in restoring its former rank as a money metal, of which 371.23 troy grains shall everywhere be equivalent to 23.22 troy grains of gold, our gold dollar, nobody will begrudge their receipt of 129 cents for every ounce. Until then they can be thankful if they can sell to the United States Treasury at 95 cents an ounce.

What instructed man, what clear-headed statesman can believe that free coinage of the American silver output would make the silver dollar of 371.23 grains as good as the gold dollar of 23.22 grains by the test of the crucible?

For, melt a million silver dollars and take the bullion to the mint. It would not have free coinage again into as many dollars. It would not be a verified part of the American output. It would be rejected at the mint. It could only be sold like foreign bullion at the market rate, and the loss at the price of the day would be more than a quarter on every silver dollar.

I said at Elmira, and I say again, that New York will not follow the lead of Nevada.

I say again that New York Democrats care nothing for the Republican silver Senators and their protected commodity.

New York Democrats will never support any Federal money legislation save that which promotes the nation's return to the best money ever known

to mankind, namely, "gold and silver the only legal tender," as Tilden's platform said in 1874, and these united at a fixed ratio in free bimetallic coinage; with paper currency, which is a deposit certificate of either coin.

But New York Democrats to a man, and many an honest Republican besides, will follow Mr. BLAND, the chairman of the House Committee on Coinage, with their respect, their admiration, and their support, if he will now lift the banner of repeal of the Sherman law, renewing for the present the Bland law (which bore his name but not his approval) until the Democratic party, next November, shall be commissioned to undertake some better and final disposition of the whole subject.

Anybody that likes may say that I am speaking as a tactician, as a partisan, as a politician now. I should regret to be quite incompetent in either character, if need were. But at this point I will ask anybody who is deaf to words of mine to look at the red light hung up by Mr. George S. Coe in the January Forum. Mr. Coe is the most respected, experienced, and able bank president in New York. There is no politics in his article. I neither indorse nor discuss it. But let any man read between its lines who has been led by keeping Republican company to think the thought that New York can long live under the Sherman law.

I tell you it is impossible. I tell you New York will hail Mr. BLAND with gratitude if he will demand the replacing of the Sherman law by the Bland law.

Let the Democrats of the Fifty-second Congress propose repeal of the Sherman law and the McKinley laws, and the revival of the laws they superseded, and let the Republicans then concede or refuse repeal; either way the people's cause surely triumphs.

That Democrats can not pass a repeal is no demerit in the tactics.

The effort for repeal is an adequate, concise, intelligible expression of Democratic resistance to Republican revolution.

It sums up in one act every Democratic vote, faithful in opposition and united in repeal.

It affords some true measure of that deliverance we intend, and, by the favor of God, will yet bring to pass.

No trivial, no untimely, no dividing issues for the New Year.

Shall the mad work of the billion Congress—the two McKinley laws, the Sherman silver basis law—stand solid, unscathed, and unrepealed?

Or shall the people's will prevail?

New York responds: Repeal! Repeal!

APPENDIX D.

SPEECH OF HON. DAVID B. HILL AT THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION, HELD AT ALBANY, FEBRUARY 22, 1892.

FELLOW-DEMOCRATS: Your committee, summoning me to this presence, have apprised me of that unanimous vote which will make known your approval of me to the authorized representatives of the Democracy of the United States and be recorded in the annals of our national convention.

With what terms shall I acknowledge this official act, my fellow-Democrats, which, instead of pointing to some new, untried career, might amply reward and crown the labors of the longest life.

From that great cardinal whose "Lead, kindly light" has touched the hearts of all Christendom let my gratitude humbly borrow this worthier response than I myself could ever frame to the great Democracy whom you represent.

"My respect for them obliges me to submit myself to their praise as to a grave and emphatic judgment upon me, which it would be rude to question, unthankful not to be proud of, and impossible ever to forget."

The reawakening of the Democracy all over our land is the most auspicious sign of the times.

When the people of France rose against oppression a hundred years ago, it meant revolution, a change of rulers, and a social earthquake.

When the Democracy of America rise, it means an upheaval at the ballot box, a change of their servants and political reform.

This is true Democracy. This Government of, by, and for the people.

When you see the farmers arousing and allied, when you see all the federations of labor stirring, when you see in every State the great Democratic party up and afoot, it means that the reign of plutocrats is nearly over and the bright day of Democracy is approaching dawn.

The use of political parties is to promote the expression of the people's mandates.

The function of statesmen is to frame and execute the same by just and equal laws.

The Democratic party has this proud record. It is swift in its responses to the people's needs. It makes choice of safe and wise statesmen to fix the statutory landmarks of the people's progress and release their energies to an ever larger liberty.

Democracy is progress. Liberty is its vital air. Constitutions and laws are the voluntary, self-imposed safeguards of Democracy.

The Sherman silver law now transforms the Federal coinage power of silver and gold into an instrument for the gradual expulsion of our gold, for the establishment of an exclusive silver basis, and for the permanent reduction of every American dollar by 30 per cent or more below the level of its true value during the whole period of our free bimetallic coinage from 1792 to 1873.

Shall such a law stand?

There has been no such legislation for freemen since Cromwell called the law of England "a tortuous and ungodly jumble."

The demand for repeal of these edicts of the billion Congress has extorted from Republican leaders their published purpose to refuse repeal.

The admission is of great importance.

It is fresh evidence that I do not press too far the charge of disobedience to the people's overwhelming mandate.

On top of the old wrong of Treasury purchases of a money metal disparaged and demonetized out of its ancient historic bimetallic parity, behold this greater wrong—the pouring floods of paper debt made legal tender, concurrent with an actual decrease of its gold redemptive basis.

The Sherman law, worse than the old greenback law, increases monthly our promissory paper debt payable in gold, but does not at all increase our gold resources; so that Treasury officials are actually preparing the public mind for an increase of gold-bonded debt to guard us against coming disaster and disaster.

I share every solicitude of the New York Chamber of Commerce.

Under Secretary Foster's interpretation of the Sherman assignats as a gold debt, the very silver bought and buried by the Treasury is a mere measure of the flood of assignats, not a means of their payment, such as every silver certificate has, in the coined silver of the Bland-Allison law.

The Sherman law can not be omitted from the Democratic party's indictment of the billion Congress.

It was not omitted from the people's verdict in 1890. It will not be omitted from the people's reiterated verdict in 1892.

Remember, too, the squandered surplus, the advancing deficit.

Remember the nation's uprising against a thousand million dollars of biennial taxes into the Treasury vaults, plus the more immeasurable plunder legalized into private cash boxes.

Upon these very issues made by the wicked work of the billion Congress, which to-day is unrepealed, which to-day is operating "undivided and unspent," let us seek a renewal of the people's verdict, and so an immediate execution of the people's will.

Let us advance to relentless war against the whole immense revolution in our money, in the sum and methods of Federal taxation, wrought in recklessness (desperation, with trick, chicane, and fraud, to escape popular reversal and repeal.

New York will lead where Democrats will follow; or New York will follow where Democrats lead.

APPENDIX E.

THE ISSUES FOR 1892.

[Speech of Governor David B. Hill, at Elmira, N. Y., December 4, 1891.]

The Democrats of New York stand fast for sound finance. They demand that every dollar coined in the United States shall be the equal of every other dollar so coined.

They demand more. They demand that every silver dollar coined hitherto or hereafter shall be the equal of the present gold dollar, our present unit of value, weighing $25\frac{1}{4}$ troy grains of standard gold, and not one cent, not one mill less worth than that gold dollar.

President Harrison, by the profusion of his pledges, admits that the silver dollar is not now equal to the gold dollar. That is true. Melt the silver dollar to-day and you make a loss. That has been true since 1873, when free bimetallic coinage, the free coinage of both metals into the same monetary unit in one competent national mint, ceased.

President Harrison proposes no plan for making the silver dollar equal to the gold dollar; Secretary Blaine proposes none; Secretary Foster none.

No Republican leader, convention, platform, or press offers any plan whatever to redress that present inequality.

DEMOCRATIC VERSUS REPUBLICAN FINANCE.

The Republican party, standing fast for bad finance, upholds and applauds the Sherman silver law of 1890, which perpetuates that present inequality, every year adding over fifty millions to our present stock of nigh five hundred millions of unexportable silver.

The Democrats of New York and the whole Union now stand united in denouncing the Sherman law, and demanding that every silver dollar shall be, by every test, in the mint, in the melting pot, in the market, here and throughout the world, equal to the present gold dollar.

Such is now the difference between the Democratic and the Republican parties on the gold and silver question—the honest money question.

The Republican party remains the 75 cent silver dollar party.

The Democratic party asks to be empowered to make the silver dollar as good as the present gold dollar, and keep it so.

NEW YORK WILL NOT FOLLOW NEVADA.

The Democrats of New York can not accept the lead of the silver State Senators. Free silver coinage would satisfy them. But free bimetallic coinage is the one thing needful. Colorado and Nevada may be content to pass over from our present gold monometallism to the silver monometallism which Sherman's silver act assuredly entails, but the Democrats of New York in their platform condemn the shifting from one monometallism to the other monometallism; we firmly mark the insufficiency of either gold monometallism or silver monometallism; we firmly pronounce for that which is better than the free coinage of either metal singly; we pronounce for the free coinage of both; we pronounce for the free coinage of gold coupled with the free coinage of silver; we denounce the Sherman law as a false pretense and artful hindrance of a return to free bimetallic coinage.

THE NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION'S GREAT WORK.

The action of the Democrats of New York at their Saratoga convention is, in my humble judgment, the most pregnant, the most momentous, the most far-reaching action which has been lately taken by any political body.

Then and there, our great Democratic party the country's sole dependance for deliverance from billion Congresses, from political desperadoes and corruptionists, was rescued from division and disaster. Then and there the Republican party was doomed to defeat.

NEW YORK'S DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Let us read the Federal plank in New York's Democratic platform and then review the facts with which that platform dealt.

Here it is, all of it:

"The Democratic party of the State of New York in convention assembled renews the pledges of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and, as regards national issues, reaffirms the doctrine of the national platform of 1884 and 1888, indorsed by the popular votes in those years, and so overwhelmingly ratified by the popular verdict in the Congressional elections of 1890.

"We now, as then, steadfastly adhere to principles of sound finance. We are against the coinage of a silver dollar which is not of the intrinsic value of every other dollar of the United States.

"We therefore denounce the new Sherman silver law, under which one-tenth of our gold stock has been exported and all our silver output is dammed up at home as a false pretense but artful hindrance of return to free bimetallic coinage, and as tending only to produce a change from one kind of monometallism to another.

"We therefore unite with the friends of honest money everywhere in stigmatizing the Sherman progressive silver-basis law as no solution of the gold and silver question, and as a fit appendix to the subsidy and bounty swindle, the McKinley worse-than-war tariff, the Blaine reciprocity humbug, the squandered surplus, the advancing deficit, the defective census, the falsified representation, and the revolutionary procedures of the billion-dollar Congress, all justly condemned by the people's great uprising last November, a verdict which, renewed next year, will empower Democratic statesmen to guide the people's councils and to execute the people's will."

Now let us review the facts in our political situation with which that platform dealt. Let us go back three years.

* * * * *
THE FREE BIMETALLIC COINAGE QUESTION—A FEW FACTS.

Let us now look closely into the facts regarding the free bimetallic coinage question. It is only facts to which I would just now call your attention. Their extraordinary force has not been considered by the press of either party. They are immensely important. Their sequence is important.

I do not think they have received due attention even from those mug-

wump journals which for two years have been with daily predictions keeping the silver issue out of our politics, and at last, on the eve of our Saratoga convention, informed their readers that the two party platforms on that issue would decide this State election in New York, and then, for the first time in their lives, published the speech of Governor Hill on that subject in Brooklyn September, 1890, just before he was bidden to carry his conclusions to Washington.

These are the facts which were before our Saratoga convention.

The United States Senate, on the 14th of January, 1891, passed a free bimetallic coinage bill. For that bill every Democratic Senator present voted, if not paired, in its favor, except one from Delaware.

After fifteen years of debate, all these, our party's chosen men, studious, upright men, voting upon their honor, their conscience, their intelligence, voted thus.

I refer you to the World and Tribune Almanacs for proof that the voting of our Senators, which followed the very general, almost universal, assent to the principle of free bimetallic coinage, was also in loyal compliance with fresh instructions from their constituents, and with a popular demand exceeding party bounds.

Preparing for the elections of the present Congress, last fall, a year ago, Democratic conventions in nearly all the greater States west of New York, from the headwaters of the Ohio to the Pacific coast, had just voted, without dissent, in favor of the country's return to the free coinage of silver as of gold.

Republican conventions in those States in some cases indorsing that demand, in all cases declined to oppose it. Their dissent, if any, was disguised or withheld.

I refer, among others, to the great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Oregon, and California, besides West Virginia, the Carolinas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas, not to mention the chief silver-mining States. (World and Tribune Almanacs for 1891.)

In the elections following, as I have already said, a small Republican majority of 15, distended to 24 in the Fifty-first Congress, was converted into the astounding Democratic majority of 237 out of 332 members in the Fifty-second or present Congress.

Such was the people's mandate, such the response of the Democratic Senatorial body.

I am aware that last February this action on the part of the Democratic Senatorial body was questioned by some of our fellow-citizens, but I am not aware how, as between the people of those States and those their servants, such pledges given and received before election could be neglected after election, either honestly or loyally.

CRAFTY REPUBLICAN SCHEME TO ESCAPE DEFEAT IN 1892.

Another set of facts was before our Saratoga convention, and was faced with courage and skill.

I come now to the point of exposing before you the crafty scheme adopted last winter by the defeated Republican leaders as their only chance to keep the executive branch of the Federal Government in their own hands next year, despite such an overwhelming popular rebuke.

Many Western Republicans, both in the Senate and the House, shared the conviction which is so nearly unanimous among Democrats.

But there they were, down, flat, victims of a great people's wrath in the Congressional elections of 1890, and plotting escape from its logical completion in the Congressional and Presidential elections of 1892. What to do?

They determined to try and detach New York Democrats from their fellow Democrats on a single question, to try and carry New York next year for a Republican President, on a cry against free-silver coinage, the vote of New York being indispensable to Democratic victory.

TO DIVIDE NEW YORK FROM OTHER DEMOCRATIC STATES.

For this reason they concerted a policy of prevention and delay. For this reason they smothered the Senate coinage bill in committee, refusing to let it come to a debate in the House. For this reason their Speaker's partisan rulings; for this reason bolsterous threats of the President's veto.

For this reason they called a halt in their own party ranks, moving steadily toward free bimetallic coinage.

For this reason all their press stopped denouncing the Bland-Allison act, and began lauding the doubled absorption by the Treasury of the total output of American silver mines.

For this reason they set up the Mint Director to utter his now falsified prophesies of a progressive rise of silver in consequence of the Sherman silver act. Silver has ever since fallen.

For this reason the Republican leaders persisted in their false treatment of silver, not as a money metal like gold but as a favored commodity. Treatment which is naturally inviting rival claims from owners of other commodities for Government purchase as a currency basis, a deadly doctrine that already returns to plague its inventors.

For this reason they got up in Eastern cities; but not in Western, public meetings to go into fits of fright over the consequences of free coinage, where every speaker took pains not to forecast the sure silver basis outcome of the present Sherman law of 1890. Of course they enticed a few unwary Democrats to appear as convulsionists at these scarecrow festivals, otherwise the fraud would have been too palpable.

For this reason they sent their ex-Secretary of the Treasury, who had denounced the Treasury silver purchases of the Bland-Allison act, the flattered author of the more than doubled purchases of the Sherman silver law, to go up and down the Ohio valleys one day denouncing free coinage and predicting woe, the next day promising that his law would put up silver and fetch us all safely to the free-coinage ratio at last.

For this reason the Republican leaders promised the very large body of free-coinage Republicans, it is believed, that there shall be no Republican veto of a free-coinage bill after the elections of 1892, and procured their surferance for delay until then.

For this reason, too, if not also in the selfish hope that Sherman's law will entail a silver monometallism, the silver State Senators have been placated and are now dumb.

For this reason were these things done—to divide, if possible, the Democrats of New York from their fellow-Democrats, snatch the Presidency in 1892, and so retaining veto power over the acts of a Congress Democratic after 1893, prevent repeal of the McKinley acts, prevent revenue reform, prevent currency reform, and keep the Republican teredo ever honey-combing and rotting the timbers of the Democratic Constitution of these United States.

HOW NEW YORK DEFEATED THE REPUBLICAN SCHEME.

The Federal plank of the Saratoga platform was adjusted to that difficult and dangerous situation.

To begin with, New York Democrats, of course, stand fast for sound finance, and they say so with the first breath they uttered in Saratoga.

Do not fail to remember that all our financial troubles for the last quarter of a century down to this very hour are the direct consequence of Republican laws, Republican blundering, Republican incompetency, Republican bad finance.

Democrats stand fast for sound finance; and our convention in the platform which they built four square to all the winds that blow raised their standard high and unanimously declared, first, that the silver question is not alone a silver question, but is a gold and silver question, a question of honest money. They harked back to their platform of 1874, upon which Samuel J. Tilden was elected governor of the State of New York.

"Gold and silver the only legal tender."

"No currency inconvertible with coin."

They harked back to the national platform of 1876, upon which Samuel J. Tilden was elected President of the United States, which demanded specie payment of the greenback debt, and compelled at least a current specie redemption of that unlawful debt-made-money.

The New York Democrats stand fast for the principles of sound finance, as they stood fast under Seymour against the rascally repudiation of New York Republicans twenty-odd years ago, as they stood fast under Tilden against the wretched rag baby greenback politics of Republican misguidance sixteen years ago.

New York Democrats therefore denounce the Sherman silver act of 1890 as no solution at all of the gold and silver question. It heaps up increasing impediments to the solution of that question by free bimetallic coinage, professed by almost all to be the goal to which at last we must attain.

I say "almost" all, for I do not wish to deny the numerical existence of a morning and an evening Mugwump in New York, who profess to be gold monometallists with nothing but subsidiary fractional silver, but never yet have had the wit to discover that they are bound to demand the sale of our four hundred million full legal-tender dollars, or else have never had the candor to confess it.

REPUBLICAN FAILURE COMPLETE.

New York Democrats, on the contrary, reject the gold monometallism of these Mugwump cranks and the silver monometallism to which the Sherman silver act and the silver State Senator's partisan politics are driving us. The New York Democrats take pains to say that they reject both monomet-

allisms, the British silver monometallism of India, the British gold monometallism of London, as a finality unworthy of this great Republic of the Western hemisphere, stretching out her left hand to the commerce of gold-coining Europe and her right hand to the silver-coining commerce of all Asia and the Isles of the sea.

New York Democrats standing fast for sound finance, therefore denounced false pretense, therefore denounced artful hindrance, of a return to free bimetallic coinage, and therefore appealed to the people to renew this year, and again to renew next year, their verdict, which will empower Democratic statesmen, not only to guide the people's counsels, but to execute the people's will.

The crafty Republican scheme to frighten New York from her devotion to sound finance, from her devotion to the hard money of Democratic faith and tradition, from her fidelity of the great doctrine of Jefferson—"The monetary unit must stand upon both metals," and to the seventy-odd years' practice of the United States thereunder; that crafty scheme has failed.

The Democratic party is now a unit for free bimetallic coinage, and New York has refused to be disjoined from the hard-money doctrine professed by the Democratic senatorial body, and supported by the Democratic party in all the great States of the West and South.

INTRINSIC VALUE.

What is the test of "intrinsic value" in a gold dollar?

This is the test:

That melting it shall make no loss.

Twenty-three and twenty-two hundredths troy grains of pure gold first coined at the Mint into a dollar, then melted in the crucible, lose not a cent's worth of value.

What is the test of "intrinsic value" in a silver dollar.

The test is the same:

That melting it shall make no loss.

Three hundred and seventy-one and a quarter troy grains of pure silver, first coined at the Mint into a dollar, then melted in the crucible, lose by the change many cents' worth of value.

The silver dollar of Allison, the silver dollar of Sherman, can not now abide the test of intrinsic value. It can not pass the ordeal of fire.

What is the test of equality between the dollar coined of gold and the dollar coined of silver?

Here, too, the test is the same.

That both alike, after being coined at the Mint and then melted in the crucible, shall equally make no loss.

Why does gold abide every test?

At the United States Mint, the coinage of gold into dollars, 23.22 troy grains weight of it in each, is free to all the gold of all the world.

Why did silver from 1792 to 1873 abide every test?

At the United States Mint, the coinage of silver into dollars, 371.25 troy grains of pure silver in each, was then free to all the silver of all the world.

Free coinage given to gold, while free coinage was withdrawn from silver in 1873, established the varying inequality of the dollar in silver to the dollar in gold.

Free coinage given to both, free bimetallic coinage, will reestablish their ancient and unvarying equality, attested by the Mint, the market, and the crucible.

Did ever anything but free bimetallic coinage, down to 1873, make our gold and silver dollars equal by every test? Did ever free bimetallic coinage, down to 1873, for one hour fail to make the silver dollar equal to the gold dollar, whether at mint or crucible, or in any market in the wide world?

GOVERNOR HILL'S COMMISSION AND CHART.

The Democratic platform of New York marks out my path. It is my commission and my chart. I shall heed its purport and conform to its directions. For it is countersigned and sealed with the seal of the Empire State.

And I regard it as the highest honor of a long career devoted to the service of the State, that my fellow-citizens, besides approving by my own election twice and by the election of my honored successor, the last seven years executive conduct of its affairs, and besides sending me to the Federal Senate immediately after my public denunciation, in Brooklyn a year ago, of the Sherman silver law, and my declaration then in favor of free bimetallic coinage, next should have ratified that choice by reiterating, with a fresh emphasis, what I had there expounded as the principle and policy of that greatest of Democrats, Thomas Jefferson, who said: "The monetary unit must stand upon both metals."

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SECRETARY FOSTER'S FALSE "PARITY" EXPOSED.

But to maintain a parity implies the existence of a parity. No parity exists between the two. Melt the gold coin and it can be recoined again and again, a gold dollar, for its private owner, because gold has free coinage, and 25.8 troy grains are the fixed weight of the gold dollar.

Melt the silver coin and it can not be recoined for its private owner. It can be sold to the Treasury but for 75 cents or less, because silver has not free coinage, though 412½ troy grains of silver are indeed the present weight of the silver dollar. The so-called "parity" of the Sherman silver law is a mendacious parity.

The very text of that law also speaks of "ratio" and of parity whatever the ratio. There is no free bimetallic coinage, therefore no ratio. The word "ratio" is a term which implies free coinage of two money metals in one and the same mint, as north implies south, as right implies left. "Ratio" is a term correlative to free bimetallic coinage and to the true, fixed, rated, equivalence or "parity" which only such a coupled coinage confers.

Using the term "ratio" or the term "parity" in respect to a free coinage of silver coupled with a coinage of gold not free, as in India; or in respect to a free coinage of gold coupled with a coinage of silver not free, as in the United States, is a misnaming.

There is but a mendacious parity between the silver dollar and the gold dollar, and the crucible mocks the false pretenses of "equality" by President Harrison and of "parity" by Secretary Foster.

NO BRITISH GOLD MONOMETALLISM FOR UNITED STATES.

I doubt if all the chambers of commerce, all the boards of trade, all the banks, and all the newspapers of the United States joined together could persuade the Fifty-second or any future Congress to stop compulsory treasury silver purchases or coinage in order to rest in British gold monometallism.

This is a monetary theory, accepted once, which has no longer an intellectual standing. It rested upon insular misapprehensions and has been debated into nonexistence among competent thinkers. From the insignificant circumstance that England stopped the free coinage of silver in 1816, it inferred the nondependence of the Anglo-Indian and other exchanges upon the steady bimetallic par maintained by the free coinage of the two metals in France.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S HIGH MISSION.

For this high mission the Democrats of New York joined hands with the Democrats of the West and South, willing to follow if they dare lead, ready to lead if they dare follow, pledged to purge the money of the United States of its paper legal-tender poison, pledged to make our silver dollars equal to the present gold dollar by every test, by the test of the market, by the test of the crucible, by the test of international currency alike for silver and gold throughout the world.

Apostles of the best money ever known to mankind, gold and silver at a fixed ratio of free bimetallic coinage, will not be shut out, I venture to think, from the Democratic church when it assembles next summer and when they ask its great commission to proclaim that evangel, to spread that good news, and to undertake that noble work.

BUT NO NEW ISSUES NOW—REPEAT 1890 IN 1892.

I admit with candor that the repeal of the two McKinley acts would only land us where we were before our great misadventure three years ago.

I admit that the tariff of 1883 offers a large field for revenue reform.

But that is now white beside this later black—this revolutionary and un-constitutional legislation, which buttresses the Government partnerships of our privileged classes, and issues the people's taxes in bribes for new defenders of the system.

I admit frankly that no repeal of the two McKinley acts can override the President's veto and become law.

My answer is that to pivot our politics on the issues of 1890 is itself an immense political achievement which will assure to the Democrats of the Fifty-second Congress our victory in 1892 and a nation's gratitude.

It abandons outworks indeed, but it summons the sovereign people to recover from Republican revolutionists the citadel of power.

So, too, I admit that the Bland-Allison act of 1878 is indefensible. But it shows white beside the blackness of the Sherman silver law. It purchases silver, and Treasury purchases of silver can not be defended. Free bimetallic coinage would purchase neither silver nor gold, but would monetize both in their old rated true "parity." Yet the repeal of the Sherman silver law and the revival of the Bland-Allison act would so far promote free bimetal-

lic coinage as to slacken our speed toward a silver basis—toward silver monometallism, and give time to escape that outcome. Moreover it would abolish the last new-fangled legal-tender paper, which is both unconstitutional and unnecessary.

Our silver certificates and our gold certificates which are not and never have been a legal tender, and which, as experience proves, need never be a legal tender, are a perfect paper currency, or rather will become a perfect paper currency whenever the intrinsic value of the coined silver dollar, like the intrinsic value of the coined gold dollar, shall have been fixed in one ratio by a competent free bimetallic coinage. Such proper paper currency is no impediment.

But the merit of this demand for repeal like the demand for repeal of the McKinley acts is not that it can be carried through the Fifty-second Congress and through the White House, but that it keeps the issues of next November's elections where the billion Congress fixed them and fell one year ago.

As I would not seek to modify the tariff issue as made by the billion Congress, by the votes of Democrats in both Houses thereon and by the people's verdict thereon, so I would not wish to modify the silver issue as made by the billion Congress, by the votes of Democrats and by the people's verdict. Its evils which are in issue now.

Rightly shall we be tested and judged by our remedies hereafter. But until the people shall have confirmed last year's verdict next year, and commissioned a Democratic executive and a Democratic Legislature to put that verdict in execution, those evils are remediless.

A WORD TO WESTERN AND SOUTHERN FRIENDS.

In conclusion, I have a story to tell and a suggestion to offer. It is offered to any Western or Southern friends who feel less keenly than it is felt in the great part of our foreign commerce that the gold and silver question is a world question, not only a Federal or national question. Do not be impatient with our conviction in New York that every step toward free bimetallic coinage must be safe and sure, no step backward, but also no step forward that puts in one hour's jeopardy the peace and prosperity of your commercial capital and so of your country at large, for these are inseparable.

My suggestion is submitted with most respectful deference, to any Democrats who have firmly asserted by their votes their unflinching loyalty to the principle of free bimetallic coinage rather than any final judgment upon a group of laws or a plan of diplomacy best fitted to attain that end, and who would now repass the Senate's bill of last January in the hope of its escaping or overriding an executive veto. And to them I need not say that my suggestion, now that New York has spoken, is a friendly one.

I admit that last year the mere hope of free bimetallic coinage at the hands of Congress (not as ignorant persons say enlarged Treasury purchases of silver) lifted all silver in all markets, in all mints, in all banks, in all treasuries, throughout the civilized world, and not merely in the United States, from less than \$1 per ounce, to more than \$1.50 per ounce, \$1.20 per ounce being the point at which with free bimetallic coinage, price would cease and fixed ratio begin, thus surmounting two-thirds of its present legalized disparagement in countries formerly bimetallic.

In other and better words, throughout the world, all silver and all gold, unified by free bimetallic coinage so long, dislocated by its cessation in 1873, moved toward each other, while men's hopes of its competent renewal lasted, over two-thirds of the present breath of that dislocation.

SHIFT NOT THE BILLION CONGRESS ISSUES.

I admit that a well-planned, well-guarded, competent, free bimetallic coinage would instantly compass the whole breadth of that dislocation and renew and establish a right ratio of the two money metals.

But the menaced veto would probably prevent the recurrence now of that most extraordinary and instructive phenomenon which I have described and thus obscure its true significance.

Yet I would not shift the silver issue from an evil to its remedy. Let us deal with Mr. Sherman's domestic damming and drowning before we discuss his fears of foreign inundation from Indian bangles and China teapots after all silver in all nations stands, there as here, at the old historic rated level with gold, fixed by competent free bimetallic coinage.

NOR PASS A FREE COINAGE BILL—WHY?

And if I am told that the President would let pass that bill because no party leader would fling away the votes of States which upon other issues are assuredly Republican, but upon this issue more than doubtful, then I

must rejoin that in my humble opinion the success of free bimetallic coinage would then encounter an exposure to its worst hazard.

What is that hazard? My disrespect is profound for the current fears whipped up in the press and bank parlors for the last year or so. Men can trade in credits with no theory of money, as they can toast their feet before a fire with no knowledge of the laws of radiant energy. Their fears are a measure of the demoralization due to thirty years of wretched Republican monetary legislation. They are the natural outcome of that bad education which from Washington has so long accumulated behind demoralizing precepts the tremendous force of government example. Of course, the men and the journals who imagine the Constitution obsolete, who believe squandering the public money compatible with public prosperity, who think tariffs are not taxes, nor taxes of which but a fraction gets into the Treasury, who conceive that subsidies and bounties are equitable, who suppose paper debt can be a fair measure of labor and its wealth, who fancy redemption of that debt is the same or as good as the payment pledged—of course these blind followers of blind guides have lost their sense of sight and their ability to reason.

BUGABOOS.

Of course, they scream like frightened horses when those who see clear and think straight demand return to the abolished money of the Constitution and remind them of our prosperity under revenue tariffs and free bimetallic coinage before the war.

If the monetary peace of the world had not been perfect under many decades of free bimetallic coinage such groundless fears and ignorant objections might escape contempt and deserve confuting. These prophets of inundation, these dancing dervishes of inflation should go to school and learn the nation's history from 1792 to 1861. Gold and silver are the only money absolutely incapable of inflation; hence their supreme merit.

It is no such objections, no such hazard, that I have in mind. When Democratic men and measures are promoting the straightforward approximation of gold and silver to their old historic ratio, the silver dollar to the level of the gold dollar, as I dare to say they can and will, there will be no moment when business bugaboos can begin to be born.

But I have in mind a different hazard to the great cause of sound finance and honest money.

Finally, with all due deference, I can not withhold the expression of my personal conviction that any enactment to promote free bimetallic coinage requires larger circumspection and a more cautious avoidance of the conflict of mint ratios than any bill as yet proposed.

Whilst the free bimetallic coinage was in full operation, conflicting mint ratios could syphon out one of the money metals across a national boundary. Final identity of ratios among all nations coining both metals could have no less importance whilst free bimetallic coinage were getting reestablished. Every circumstance that might jeopard the experiment even by causing groundless fears, should be carefully removed.

Rather would I heedfully preserve from panic in New York even the "lamb's" of Wall street and the lunatics of Wards Island.

These are a few of the reasons why, as a Democrat—one among many—I would wish to pivot our canvass for the coming eleven months, both in Washington and throughout our land, upon issues made by the billion Congress and by the people's votes one year ago, but needing once again the people's votes in order to give any practical effect to their verdict against those giant wrongs.

And New York has cleared the field.