

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD COKE,  
OF TEXAS,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Tuesday, April 26, 1892.

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WASHINGTON,  
1892.



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THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

Mr. COKE. I ask that the resolutions of the Senator from Alabama on the subject of silver coinage now on the table be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolutions will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. Resolutions by Mr. MORGAN, directing the Committee on Finance to make examination and report to the Senate certain information in relation to currency and coinage.

Mr. COKE. Mr. President, the restoration of silver to the right of free coinage in the mints of the United States on an exact equality and the same terms and conditions with gold and its use as full legal-tender money by the Government and people of the United States is, and has been since 1877, demanded by a vast majority of the people of the United States in every form in which their desires and wishes can find expression. Bills for this purpose have repeatedly been passed through both Houses of Congress, against all the power of the executive branch of the Government exerted to suppress them; and the Executive veto, when all other methods of opposition and obstruction have failed, has been unhesitatingly interposed.

The Democratic party of this country is especially committed to the support of this great measure through the action of the State conventions in more than thirty of the States of the Union, containing nearly two-thirds of the entire population of the country, and by the votes and advocacy of from three-fourths to nine-tenths of the Democrats in the two Houses of Congress whenever, until this session of Congress, free-coinage bills have been before them. In addition, there has always been a considerable and respectable minority of the Republicans who have earnestly coöperated and voted with the Democrats in behalf of the measure. This great preponderance of public opinion, desire, and sentiment has up to this time been defeated and held in check by the combined money power of Europe and America, which finds in both countries the surest method of holding in servitude the masses of the people and appropriating the avails of their labor to be through a contraction of the volume of the circulating medium in which values must be measured.

Since 1873, when Mr. Ernest Seyd, a German-English banker and an alleged agent of foreign bankers and bondholders in aiding to effect the demonetization of silver, was in this country,

and when Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, who had the bill for this purpose in charge in the House, said: "Ernest Seyd, of London, a distinguished writer and bullionist who has given great attention to the subject of mints and coinage, is now here, and after examining the first drafts of this bill made various sensible suggestions which the committee accepted and embodied in the bill," the efforts of that class, then so efficiently served in this country by Mr. Seyd, have been constant, unremitting, and zealous in cooperation with the same class in the United States in resisting, obstructing, and up to this time defeating the remonetization and free coinage of silver so urgently demanded by the great body of the American people. The leading papers of this country for months past have teemed with all sorts of articles and arguments in opposition to free coinage.

Extracts from foreign papers against silver remonetization, evidently printed in Europe to influence public sentiment in this country, have been published and republished broadcast throughout the United States by our papers. The wires of all the telegraph lines have been burdened with every conceivable sort of literature, without reference to its truth or falsity, in the same interest. The mails have been loaded with printed and written matter of both foreign and domestic production in the same line of opposition to silver coinage. In short, Mr. President, we have in the last twelve months witnessed the most powerful, exhaustive, and vindictive assault, becoming more intense every day as this session of Congress has been approached, and made regardless of expense or truth by the concentrated capital of Europe and America on the free-coinage sentiment of our people.

The great mass of the plain people of this country, whose labor creates its wealth, whose valor sustains its flag, and whose patriotism preserves and perpetuates its institutions, dispersed in the pursuit of their avocations over a continent, without organization or concentration, either of which in the very nature of their surroundings seems impossible, are the victims of this unholy and wicked conspiracy to prevent the restoration of silver to its ancient full money power; because to do this would break the great gold monopoly, which gives to the comparatively insignificant number in possession of that metal absolute control on their own terms over all the products of labor. Our people vote right. They make good county and district and State platforms declaratory of their will, and elect State and Federal officials pledged to carry them out in administering their governments. They demand in every way they know how, and have done so for fifteen years, the free and unlimited coinage of silver; yet through parliamentary legerdemain, legislative hocus-pocus, and "ways that are dark and tricks that are (not) vain," they are defrauded of their rights, cheated out of the fruits of their victories at the polls, and left naked in the hands of their oppressors, until the time rolls around for another canvass and election, when the same performance has been repeated and the farce of "How not to do it" has been reenacted.

Mr. President, this thing has gone on until it has become decidedly monotonous. The people are not going to stand it always without calling to an account not only individual legislators, but the political party which, with a majority sent here charged

with the duty of passing a free-coinage bill, lacks either the wit or the will to pass one. There are times when it is said "patience ceases to be a virtue," and that time may be unfortunately nearer at hand than some seem to suppose. Certain it is that for fifteen years the great majority of the people of this country, with the most zealous and strenuous efforts they could make for the passage of a free-coinage bill, have been repeatedly balked and defeated by a combination small in numbers but powerful in wealth and resources and influence.

The executive department of the Government, in all its branches, from Hayes's Administration to Harrison's, including Cleveland's, has been most thoroughly and completely under the control and influence and dictation of the great capitalistic combination which has just scored another victory against the people on the silver issue. All these administrations made bitter, savage war on silver, and left no means untried to discredit and break it down and debase it. Nobody knew how Mr. Cleveland stood on the silver question until after he was elected, and he commenced to war on it before his inauguration in a letter addressed to a committee of members of the House of Representatives (one hundred of them) who were deputed to confer with him on the subject.

All of these administrations, from the President down to the lowest reporting official of the Treasury Department, in messages and reports denounced silver coinage, urged its abandonment, denounced the \$346,000,000 of legal-tender notes as a debt of the Government which should be paid and the notes taken out of circulation, retired and cancelled, although not a cent of interest runs on them; advising the country that gold and national bank notes should be our only circulating medium, with subsidiary silver coin for purposes of change. This is the feast to which our people were invited in response to their oft-repeated demand for free silver coinage, for a perpetuation of the legal-tender note issue, and such other increase of circulation as could be made in view of the money famine under which they were suffering.

No bolder or more audacious defiance of the popular will has ever occurred in the history of any government, whether Republican or monarchical, than for nearly fifteen years has marked the course of the executive department of this Government in its dealings with the silver question. The power of the British-American syndicate of bankers and bondholders, which in 1873 accomplished the demonetization of silver, and since that time has fought its restoration with all its tremendous resources, has proved stronger than the people. Secure in the renomination of President Harrison by the Republican party, and of his hostility to the free coinage of silver, if he should perchance be re-elected, this combination is now giving its undivided attention to placing at the head of the Democratic ticket a name which, like that of President Harrison, is backed by a record which of itself is a guaranty that free silver coinage will be an impossibility if he should become President.

All the powers and resources of this great combination are being strained to their utmost tension for the accomplishment of this great purpose. Democrat, Mugwump, and Republican in

this combination meet and cooperate with the utmost heartiness on common ground for the attainment of this end. It would seem that Republicans ought to be content with dictating the nomination of their own party; and when they insist on participating in the selection of a Democratic candidate that Democrats should remember that the rule is good in politics as in war, that what their adversaries desire them to do is exactly what they should not do.

With the moral force inherent in the Presidential office, the veto power and that which comes from executive patronage, all secured against free coinage of silver, whether the President to be elected in November next be Democrat or Republican, the work commenced in the demonetization of silver in 1873 will be secure at least for four years more from the 4th of March next. This accomplished, the victory of the banking and bondholding syndicate of Europe and America will have been won, and these underground workers and manipulators of our politics will be content, with their grip tightened on the throats of the agricultural people of the country, to rest from their political labors utterly indifferent as to whether a Democratic or Republican President is elected, to give to each party a liberal campaign fund, and to retire to Europe and enjoy their vacation. Those Democrats (and it is to be hoped there are but few) who propose to seek relief through the organization of a third party are pursuing an *ignis fatuus*.

I can imagine no worse or poorer disposition a Democrat can make of himself than to abandon his party to go into such an organization. There is no room and never has been room in this country for but two great political parties. All efforts (and there have been many) to organize third parties have been miserable failures. Whenever they have attempted to be anything more than mere political guerrillas, hanging on the flanks of the two great contending parties which have controlled this Government since its foundation, they have been crushed out of existence in the shock of battle between the two; not one has ever survived a brief and profitless and troubled existence; their membership has disbanded and been absorbed in one or both of the two great parties. There has not in the history of the country been but one solitary exception.

All have gone that way, leaving no monument in the institutions or policies of their time, and are remembered only as temporary and evanescent disturbers of normal political conditions. The Democrat who leaves his own to join a third party because silver has not been remonetized and financial stringency has not been relieved, neutralizes and destroys himself as a political factor; and, to the extent that his action can do it, weakens and breaks down the only party capable of resisting the Republican policy of perpetuating the single gold standard, destroying silver as money, and investing national banks with the power and privilege of furnishing the country with its paper currency subject to expansion or contraction at their will.

A Democrat who desires to accomplish these results by strengthening and building up the Republican party can not do so better than by making a political nonentity of himself in the so-called third party. The American farmer, of all the men in this coun-

try, has the most direct and vital interest in the free coinage of silver and the expansion of the volume of our circulating medium. They of all living men are the greatest sufferers from the Republican financial policy of contraction. Western and Southern Democratic representatives in the two Houses of Congress are now and have always been practically a unit in favor of the free coinage of silver. To give free coinage and full money power to silver means to double the metallic basis for paper and all credit money, to double the coin basis for all banking purposes, and make possible double our note and paper circulation, every dollar of it redeemable in coin at the will of the holder. It means to make silver float all paper and as much of it as gold floats, whether Treasury and bank notes, or checks, drafts, or promissory notes. It means a per capita circulation of money equal to all the requirements of this country, its business, and commerce. And these results mean a return of prosperity to the country, good prices for crops, good wages for labor, and a fair valuation for all the products of labor.

One hundred millions of dollars of gold are stored in the national Treasury as a redemption fund for \$346,681,016 of legal-tender greenback notes, and has proved ample for the purpose. Speaking in round numbers, \$1 in gold thus floats \$3.50 of legal-tender paper money. On the 1st day of April there was in the Treasury \$354,063,617 of standard silver dollars, standing as a redemption fund for \$325,141,186 silver certificates in circulation, being more than \$1 in silver for every dollar of outstanding paper. Every dollar of this silver is full legal tender. It will pay debts, buy property, and perform all the money functions performed by gold.

Silver certificates are preferred to gold coin because more convenient to carry and equally acceptable in business transactions; yet the policy of our Government, forced upon the country and maintained by the Republican party, makes the gold dollar float more than three and a half times as much paper as the silver dollar is permitted to float. When silver was demonetized in 1873 it outvalued gold 3 cents on the dollar—it took 103 cents of gold to buy 100 cents of silver. With free coinage we will have no more of the much derided "70-cent dollar." Silver bullion will become exclusively a money metal, will be no longer a mere commodity, and will go to the mints and be coined into legal-tender dollars. The gold monopoly will be broken.

Gold, now increased in value 33 per cent by legislation against silver, will by the undoing of that legislation fall, and for the same reason silver will rise, and the two metals will come together in substantial parity. These are the results which Western and Southern Democrats are endeavoring to achieve, and which will be imperilled to the extent they can do it by such Democrats as leave their ranks to go into a third party. If Western and Southern Democrats and the minority of the Republicans who are laboring with them for the accomplishment of these great ends, will stand firm and continue to wage an aggressive and energetic war on this line against the domination of the British-American syndicate which through the power of money and overshadowing wealth is aiming for their own aggrandize-

ment to reduce our agricultural people to the level of European serfs, victory will crown their efforts.

Pertinacity, constancy, and courage are always necessary to the accomplishment of great reforms. Faint-heartedness, indecision, factional divisions, and impatience never yet won a victory; while determined purpose and unity of action in pursuit of the right never fails. Our achievements since 1878 give assurance of ultimate success. Over the most determined resistance of the executive branch of the Government, and in spite of the utmost efforts to prevent it of the same class of people who are opposing us now, we arrested the cancellation, retirement, and destruction of the greenback notes and saved to the country \$346,681,016 of that currency, which is admitted to be the best paper money in the world.

We have now in the Treasury and in circulation or represented by silver certificates \$412,535,360 of coined standard silver dollars, issued under the Bland act of 1878 and the act of 1890, with a monthly addition under the latter act of 4,500,000 ounces of silver of the coinage value of nearly \$6,000,000, represented by Treasury notes which go into circulation. The greenback notes and the silver thus saved to the circulation of this country, together constitute a full half of all the money in circulation on the first day of this month (April), as shown by the Treasury report of that date. The Bland act of 1878 was passed over the President's veto, and the act of 1890 was thrown as a tub to the whale by the opponents of free coinage in order to appease popular clamor when hotly pressed by the advocates of that measure. They would gladly have escaped without making any concession at all.

With a President friendly to free silver coinage, or, if not friendly, who would not have used the power of that great office to suppress and defeat the will of the people, there has not been a session of Congress since 1877 which would not promptly have passed a free-coinage bill. The Western and Southern Democrats, with a patriotic band of Republicans (the same who saved the South from the odious and infamous force bill), have moved and engineered this progress toward the restoration of silver and the expansion of the volume of our circulation. No other or greater difficulties or obstructions can confront us in the future, in advancing on the same line than have been overcome in the past in securing what we now have.

What must the people of the South and West do? Must they sit supinely and see all the products of agriculture falling every day when they are already below the cost of production, without making some effort to save themselves from ruin and bankruptcy? In 1872 cotton was worth 19 cents; to-day it is worth only 6 cents. Wheat was worth \$1.47 per bushel; to-day it is worth 85 cents, notwithstanding crop failures throughout Europe and famine in Russia. Corn was worth 70 cents per bushel, and to-day is worth 41 cents; these great staples having fallen regularly with silver since its demonetization in 1873.

I read here a short table prepared from official statistics of foreign commerce for 1891, and the report of the Director of the Mint for 1890 on Production of Metals, by Hon. JO ABBOTT, of Texas, and used by him in an able speech on the silver question

delivered in the House a few weeks ago, which shows beyond doubt or controversy the relation between the fall of silver and the fall in the prices of our great agricultural staples, and will add that I have verified the figures and find them absolutely correct:

Fiscal year ending June 30--	In the home markets.			Silver per fine ounce (calendar year).*
	Cotton per pound.	Corn per bushel.	Wheat per bushel.	
	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>		
1872 -----	19.3	70	\$1.47	\$1.32
1873 -----	18.8	62	1.31	1.29
1874 -----	15.4	72	1.43	1.27
1875 -----	15.0	85	1.12	1.24
1876 -----	12.9	67	1.24	1.15
1877 -----	11.8	54	1.17	1.20
1878 -----	11.1	56	1.34	1.15
1879 -----	9.9	47	1.07	1.12
1880 -----	11.5	54	1.25	1.14
1881 -----	11.4	55	1.11	1.13
1882 -----	11.4	67	1.19	1.13
1883 -----	10.8	68	1.13	1.11
1884 -----	10.5	61	1.07	1.11
1885 -----	10.6	54	.86	1.06
1886 -----	9.9	50	.87	.99
1887 -----	9.5	48	.89	.97
1888 -----	9.8	55	.85	.93
1889 -----	9.9	47	.90	.93
1890 -----	10.2	49	.83	1.04
1891 (at close of) -----	6.0	41	.85	.90

\* The coining value of an ounce of pure silver is \$1.29.

There is no controverting figures like these. Since 1873 the circulating money of this country has been based on the single gold standard, while prior to that time it was based on both gold and silver, these two money metals being practically equal in volume. All paper money, notes, checks, drafts, bills of exchange, in a word all forms of paper representing credit, having been ultimately redeemable in gold and silver, and the values of all property, labor, and the products of labor having been measured by the combined volume of the two metals and the paper and credit superstructure they would maintain; when silver (constituting one half of the metallic basis on which this great paper and credit system was built) was demonetized and the whole system was left standing on gold alone, the paper money and all the forms of paper representing credit, the values of all property, of labor and the products of labor, naturally and necessarily had to undergo a process of contraction in order to be adjusted to the new and narrower basis of credit and the new and shrunken measure of value.

Silver deprived of money functions and debased to a mere commodity, fell in value, and with it went down all other commodities, while gold went rapidly up, so that 66 cents of gold will now buy as much of anything, especially of agricultural products, as 100 cents of that metal would have bought before silver was demonetized. The holders of gold and bonds, whether national, State, railroad, or municipal, and those having fixed in-

comes, thus reaped enormous profits in the increased value conferred on gold; while debtors who had to pay in gold, and owners of all other property values, were correspondingly oppressed. This is the work of the European bond and gold holders and bankers, aided by their American allies, who prate and talk and bellow in chorus about the dishonest silver dollar, about inflation and repudiation, and characterize as revolutionary and communistic the honest efforts of the people to undo, as far as it now can be done, the robbery which has been perpetrated on them.

I read here from the Economic Crisis, an able work on economic subjects, by Mr. Morton Frewen, of London. He says:

It may indeed be affirmed without fear of contradiction, the legislation arranged in the interest of a certain class, first by Lord Liverpool in this country, and again by Sir Robert Peel at the instigation of Mr. Jones Loyd and other wealthy bankers, which was supplemented recently by simultaneous anti-silver legislation in Berlin and Washington at the instance of the great financial houses. This legislation has about doubled the burden of all national debts by an artificial enhancement of the value of money.

The fall of all prices induced by this cause has been on such a scale that while in twenty years the national debt of the United States quoted in dollars has been reduced by nearly two-thirds, yet the value of the remaining one-third, measured in wheat, in barley, or bales of cotton, is considerably greater; is a greater demand draft on the labor and industry of the nation than was the whole debt at the time it was contracted.

The aggravation of the burdens of taxation induced by this so-called "appreciation of gold," which is no natural appreciation, but has been brought about by class legislation to increase the value of gold which is in few hands, requires but to be explained to an enfranchised Democracy, which will know how to protect itself against further attempts to contract the currency and to force down prices to the confusion of every existing contract.

Of all classes of middlemen, bankers have been by far the most successful in intercepting and appropriating an undue share of produced wealth. While the modern system of banking and credit may be said to be even yet in its infancy, that portion of the assets of the community which is to-day in the strong boxes of the bankers would, if declared, be an astounding revelation of the recent profits of this particular business; and not only has the business itself become a most profitable monopoly, but its interests in a very few hands are diametrically opposed to the interests of the majority. By legislation intended to contract the currency and force down all prices, including wages, the price paid for labor, the money owner has been able to increase the purchase power of his sovereign or dollar by the direct diminution of the price of every kind of property measured in money.

For twelve years the prophecies of the authors of silver demonetization, that ruin and disaster would follow a renewal of silver coinage, prophecies reiterated time and again by our Presidents, their Cabinet officers, and especially the Secretaries and other officials of the Treasury Department, have been falsified and disproved; yet these same people continue to croak them in as dismal a key as ever. They predicted that \$50,000,000 was all the country would absorb, and we have now \$412,535,360, either in certificates or actual silver coin in circulation. Silver, they said, would drive gold from the country, and we have by official estimate \$500,000,000 more gold in the country than we had when coinage of our silver dollars commenced in 1878.

If any other experience is needed, France with her \$700,000,000 of silver and \$900,000,000 of gold, the two interchangeable and circulating without friction at parity, presents a conclusive refutation of the argument that free coinage would drive gold out of the country or raise it to a premium. And it will be remembered that the relation of silver to gold coin in France is that 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  of the former to 1 of the latter, while in this country it is 16 to 1—a difference of 3 cents more silver in our dollar than that of France.

The nations of the earth which use concurrently gold and silver money, according to Mr. Edward Atkinson's report to the State Department in 1887, had in circulation in 1885 \$2,463,002,000 of gold, and by the side of and at parity with it, \$1,738,114,000 of silver. British India and the Asiatic countries using silver alone are not included in the estimate.

In these facts is found a complete answer to the argument that with free coinage our country would become the "dumping ground" for all the silver in the world. The ratio between silver and gold in France is the same as throughout Europe, and the silver coin throughout Europe passes interchangeably and at par with gold. European silver coin could not be brought to this country except at a heavy per cent of loss in addition to the 3 per cent discount it would meet here in competition with our own silver coin. Why bring it here to be discounted when it is as good as gold at home in Europe and doing duty and needed there as money?

The alleged overproduction of silver is purely imaginary. The silver production of the world is estimated to be annually from \$135,000,000 to \$150,000,000, and of gold from \$90,000,000 to \$110,000,000. The Director of the Mint estimates that \$18,105,901 of gold and \$9,231,178 of silver, went into the industrial arts in the United States alone during the year 1890, and reports that the amount of these metals going into the arts is increasing rapidly every year. According to this statement, the aggregate of gold and silver going into the arts annually and increasing each year is \$27,337,079 in this country.

I have no estimate as to the consumption of these metals in the balance of the world in the industrial arts, but of course it must be very much greater in the aggregate, possibly many times as much as that used in our country. Some idea may be found from these facts of the annual addition to the world's stock of money after the demand of the industrial arts for gold and silver has been supplied. It was estimated in 1886 by the Director of the Mint that \$46,000,000 of gold were consumed in the arts, leaving only fifty or sixty millions for money purposes to meet the increasing annual demands of the business of the world. And it may be added that by common consent and admission the gold production of the world is now and has been diminishing for some time.

Secretary Windom, in his report to the Fifty-first Congress, stated that there is no known accumulation of silver bullion anywhere in the world, and that all the silver coin in Europe is needed and employed there for money purposes. Our own country produces more than 40 per cent of all the silver mined in the world. This great product has been deliberately sacrificed, and the interest of the mass of our people, in opposition to their repeated and almost earnest protest, subordinated to a European policy, which was adopted for the purpose of maintaining there an aristocracy in the power to hold in subjection the common people through the influence of wealth in the hands of a few. Republican France, of all the European powers, stands most firmly by silver, and gives the most splendid illustration of its virtues as the money of the common people.

Like the other arguments against free coinage, the charge of

overproduction falls to the ground when confronted with the facts of silver production and consumption in the world, the necessity for it in view of the dwindling and decreasing production of gold, and the increasing necessity of the world for money. Instead of the ruin and disaster so confidently predicted as a consequence of the partial coinage of silver we now have, only the most beneficent results have followed; and it is frankly and freely admitted by some of the ablest opponents of silver coinage in the United States that our silver saved us in the recent perilous crisis from which we are just emerging, arising from scarcity of gold and an enforced contraction of the volume of money.

When gold left the country silver remained with us. And it is always true when we have both metals in circulation that one of them always remains; both never leave. When one flows out the other comes in to take its place and fill the vacuum. The two metals are the complement of each other. Neither performs its proper functions except when the other is also ready to perform its part. Either one of these metals enthroned alone as money becomes a despot—an instrument of monopoly. The other is needed to hold it in check and reduce what otherwise would be a destructive power to a condition of conservative beneficence.

These two metals during all the ages have been joined together in the service of civilization, commerce, and progress, and have never been divorced, except when greed for gain and lust for power by the few over the great mass of the people has prompted it. The production of these metals from the earliest times of which we have records has been varying, silver sometimes predominating and at other periods gold. Tables of the Director of the United States Mint show that from 1801 to 1820 the average yearly yield was 4 of silver to 1 of gold; from 1821 to 1840 the average annual yield was 2 of silver to 1 of gold; from 1841 to 1860 the annual average was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  of gold to 1 of silver; from 1861 to 1880 the average was nearly 2 of gold to 1 of silver; from 1881 to 1889 the average was one-sixth more of silver than of gold.

The most remarkable fact in the history of these metals is that an excessive production of either one of them has, in due time, invariably been corrected by an enlarged production of the other, so that, as stated in the speech of Senator JONES of Nevada, delivered in this body May 12, 1890, "the stock of both existing in the world (the product of all time) is estimated to be about equal, the production of the past five hundred years being set down as—gold, \$7,240,000,000; silver, \$7,455,000,000." If we accept the experience of the world from the beginning of time as the test of truth on this subject, we need not fear for the maintenance of the desired equality in the production of the two precious metals.

England found her great opportunity, and with the sagacious and far-reaching statesmanship for which her rulers are more distinguished than those of any other country on earth, seized and improved it, in the great crime of silver demonetization by the United States, the leading silver-producing country in the world. Her great dependency, British India, containing more than one-seventh of the entire population of the globe, of which by the recent census more than 40 per cent are engaged in agriculture, uses silver almost exclusively. Silver is the sole metallic money of India, and is unaffected in value by the fluctuations

of the prices elsewhere of silver bullion; and it is the current money, at its face value, in all business and commerce throughout that great and enormously populated empire.

British India produces largely both cotton and wheat. The cost of labor wages is lower in India than in any other country of the world, amounting to only a few cents per day, so that the two great staples named are produced at much smaller cost than in any other country. London is the great silver market of the world, as it is the world's market for wheat and as Liverpool is for cotton. Our own Government makes its monthly purchases of silver under the act of 1890, as it did those under the Bland act of 1878 until its repeal, by London quotations.

Silver, debased and cheapened by American legislation, flowing into the great London market, where it is the policy of the English Government to depress its price to the lowest possible point for the benefit of India, whither it goes and is absorbed in that great population within a small fraction of being four times as numerous as that of the United States, has given tremendous development to the production of wheat and cotton and the manufacture of the latter, indeed to all the business and commerce of India. The Suez Canal, shortening and cheapening the export route to the markets of the world, has also been a factor of importance in this advancement and progress of India.

Our great war tariff, superseded in 1890 by the still greater and almost prohibitory McKinley tariff law, being regarded as a declaration of commercial war against all the nations of the earth, they have banded against us and in a spirit of retaliation have for twenty years been striving in every possible way to render themselves independent of us. Of our exports to foreign markets 76 per cent are agricultural products, and it is upon these that this war of retaliation has been made with most crushing effect. Our cotton, wheat, corn, beef, pork, and all other products of the farm, are now met in the markets of the world with similar products from other countries raised by the cheapest labor in the world, with which they must compete, because the nations of the world have been compelled to foster these productions in other countries which will exchange and trade products with them rather than with the United States, which, by a prohibitory tariff, excludes foreign goods from our markets.

Thus our farmers, while being robbed in all they buy at home, at the same time are having the foreign market for their surplus well nigh destroyed by the tariff. Hear the advice given the wheat-raisers of the Northwest by the Finance Committee of the United States Senate. I read from Part I, Tariff Testimony Finance Committee, United States Senate, page 21, as follows:

The competition in wheat-growing which has been developed in India, South America, Australia, and in the British Possessions in North America is likely to make unprofitable the production of this cereal for exportation by our people, and to cause the wheat-grower of the Northwest to look to an enlargement of the certain and remunerative home market. This enlarged and profitable market can only be secured by increasing the number of people engaged in other than agricultural pursuits, and by furnishing to all increased employment without diminution of wages. To cripple our manufacturing interests and reduce the purchasing power of our workmen will result in augmenting the number of competitors in the field of agricultural production, and the increased supply could, in that event, only find a

market in Europe by enforced competition with India at ruinous prices. Wheat can now be laid down in Liverpool from the central provinces of India at as low a cost for transportation as from Chicago, and Indian wheat can be delivered in New York at less cost for transportation than from the wheat fields of Dakota.

It is for the highest interest of the American farmer that the number of our food consumers rather than of food producers should be increased, and that the general prosperity of all should be secured. It is true that the decline in prices of agricultural products has been very great, but the value of these when measured by the value of clothing, farming utensils, or other necessaries of a farmer's life, is much greater now than in any of the years preceding 1860.

Our tariff legislation furnished the incentive, indeed the compulsion, for the great development of wheat-growing in the countries named, and the demonetization of silver under the inspiration and manipulation of the British-American combination of bond and gold owners, furnished to India and South America, which use only silver money, cheap silver to infuse life and energy and enterprise into the business and agriculture of those countries by giving them an abundant money circulation. Wheat, says this committee, can be laid down in Liverpool from India at as low a cost of transportation as from Chicago, and can be delivered in New York from the same country at a less cost of transportation than from the wheat fields of Dakota.

Wheat is raised in India with labor costing only 7 or 8 cents per day; and if the cost of transportation is no greater from India to Liverpool than from Chicago to that point, and is less from India to New York than it is from Dakota to New York, it is very plain that the Finance Committee, if correct, has shown that we have not only lost our great foreign market for wheat, but are in danger of having our home market invaded; for we all know that our wheat-growers have to pay many times 7 cents per day for the labor which produces it. Cotton stands on precisely the same footing with wheat in respect to its production in and transportation from India and South America. That wheat is not so low as cotton in proportion is due entirely to the accident of short crops throughout Europe and famine in Russia, which usually is the source of large wheat supplies for Europe.

Before the demonetization of silver the wheat and cotton growers of the United States met no competition in European markets with India. India had never exported one bushel of wheat to England prior to 1874. The United States was at that time exporting to England 150,000,000 bushels yearly, and receiving for it usually \$1.20 per bushel. In 1889 the wheat exports of the United States to England had fallen to about 45,000,000 bushels, and the price to 90 cents, while those of India had risen from less than 200,000 bushels in 1874 to 50,000,000 bushels.

An authority now before me states that while it had taken England fifteen years to increase her spindles from 150,000,000 to 250,000,000, India, with the aid of cheap American silver, has added 100,000,000 spindles in ten years. This of course was to spin India cotton, to the displacement of the same amount of American cotton. Sir R. N. Fowler is represented by the same authority to have said in a speech before the Colonial Board of Trade in London, in speaking of the British India silver policy:

If we continue this policy a few years longer we can ruin the wheat and cotton industry of the United States and build up India as the chief exporter of these staples.

Cheap breadstuffs and cheap cotton is what England above all else desires. Our farmers and planters have heretofore furnished English markets with these indispensable products; but our own Government has in its antisilver policy surrendered our high vantage ground to England and enabled her to hand over to her great dependency, British India, the export market for cotton and wheat, which under all the laws of trade, should have remained ours.

Mr. President, British India pays annually to the British Government a little more than \$72,000,000 on account of the expenses of the British Government in India. This is a debt which must be paid in gold or its equivalent in silver. It is always paid in silver, and is increased from 30 to 40 per cent by reason of the discount on silver when valued in gold; making the debt, when liquidated, amount to the neighborhood of 105,000,000 silver dollars. The greater the discount on silver, the larger the amount paid to the British Government every year in liquidation of it.

British merchants every week and month make payments of millions of dollars in India for purchases there, all in silver, and the cheapest silver brings to them, as it does to the British Government, the largest profits. British interests, which control the great London silver market, and the commerce as well of all the silver-using countries of the world, all find their most lucrative business with India in the cheapest silver; because when sent to that country and coined the money is of full face or coinage value and is the current money of the country. Besides, to cheapen silver cripples the productive power of the United States, the great rival of England, while building up and increasing the capacity of British India for the production of cotton and wheat for English consumption.

England will never surrender her power or her advantages in respect to this silver question voluntarily or unless forced to do it. She refuses now and has always refused to treat with other powers for a basis for bimetallic coinage. She knows her advantages and proposes to hold them. The other powers of Europe decline peremptorily all propositions looking to an international agreement for bimetallic coinage unless England joins, which it is admitted on all sides she will not do. So, Mr. President, the man who tells the country he favors free coinage of silver under an international agreement simply adopts a circuitous method of declaring that he favors the single gold standard and is opposed to silver coinage, because he knows that an international agreement is an impossibility.

Confined to the narrow and, as we have seen, diminishing margin of gold for the measurement of values since the destruction of silver money in 1873, the fall of prices which then commenced has been going on ever since, and continues yet day after day, and month after month. In many sections of the country, desperate efforts have been made to arrest this fall by means of "booms," which have always ultimately reacted with the most destructive effect. Our only hope of extrication from this condition (and nobody has proposed any other) is to reform the tariff, reduce it to a strictly revenue basis, and establish the freest trade possible between our country and the other nations of the earth, consistent with the collection of a sufficient revenue for the sup-

port of the Government; and to retrace our steps on the silver question, undo as far as can now be done the crime of its demonetization, and restore silver to free coinage and full money power, making it the equal before the law in all respects with gold.

These two great policies go hand in hand, are inseparably connected and bound together, and the success of both is indispensable to the national prosperity. We can expect no aid from Europe in restoring silver except from republican France. Aristocratic and kingly power, with the aid of its American dupes and allies, decreed for its own aggrandisement the destruction of silver money both in Europe and America, and will never voluntarily surrender what it has gained. The United States, when not half the power among the nations of the earth they now are, struck the blow which demonetized silver, and, if silver is to be restored, must lead the way with a bold and aggressive free-silver policy. This will accomplish what we desire, and nothing else will. If this Government will adopt free coinage, and boldly and honestly enforce it, Europe instead of ourselves will be begging for an international bimetallic agreement.

The solicitude of European gold and bond owners and brokers, which prompted them to send Mr. Seyd over here to aid in procuring the demonetization of silver when our unsuspecting people knew nothing about what was going on, and the fight they and their capitalistic brethren on this side of the ocean have been making ever since to retain the power then obtained, is conclusive proof of their opinion that this Government can control the silver question. No man has ever doubted this who is not an advocate of the single gold standard *per se*, and opposed on any terms to silver coinage. The power of this Government is fully equal to the greatest requirements of the occasion, and the highest and best interests of the people demand that it be exerted. Let our people be but true to themselves, continue without ceasing the agitation of this question, and exact the most rigid responsibility from all their representatives, State and national, for their action on this subject, and success is assured.