

THE SILVER BILL.

A COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS OF THE VOICES ON IT AND
OTHER FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. THOMAS C. McRAE,

OF ARKANSAS,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1890.



WASHINGTON.
1890.

S P E E C H
OF
HON. THOMAS C. McRAE.

The House having under consideration the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (H. R. 5381) directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes—

Mr. McRAE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I thank my friend from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] for the opportunity to briefly state some of the reasons why I will not vote for the adoption of this report, for the passage of the bill reported by the committee of conference. With some amendments I would give it my vote, but no amendment is allowed, and so we are required to vote as a whole upon an entirely new and distinct measure from either the House or Senate bill, with only two hours of discussion on a side. Even this little time was extorted from the majority. The gentleman in charge of the bill sought to prevent any discussion by demanding the previous question on the adoption of the report at the time he presented it. Here is our situation: The House passed a bill providing for the purchase of \$4,500,000 worth of silver bullion each month to be paid for in certificates redeemable in silver bullion. The Senate amended this so as to give free coinage. A conference was ordered. Both bills have been discarded and a new one prepared, said to be the product of that distinguished gentleman whom I can not name in this presence, but who did more than any other one man to accomplish the demonetization of silver in 1873. He is one of the managers on the part of the Senate. He voted against free coinage in the Senate, and in the face of a majority of 17 for it in the body he was expected to represent in the conference, he abandoned the Senate bill without a struggle and agreed to the one now under consideration under which we can never have free coinage and by which the United States is placed upon a gold basis. The House bill contained a provision that required free coinage whenever the price of silver should appreciate to \$1 for 371.25 grains pure silver. This is not in the conference bill. Why? Because it was the evident intention of the gentleman who wrote the bill to prevent free coinage under any and all circumstances.

Silver is to be reduced to a commodity and hereafter not to be used as money. The gold bugs of the East and the silver kings of the West, it appears, have come to an understanding that we shall have the gold standard upon the condition that the United States will "purchase silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month at the market price thereof, not exceeding \$1 for 371½ grains of pure silver." Here is a market for the bullion of the silver kings. They are to be paid for their bullion in Treasury notes redeemable in "gold or silver coin," at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. Mark the language.

Now, all who are familiar with the Treasury management under the present and past Administrations know that all holders who apply for redemption will be given the option of gold or silver, as are the bondholders and the holders of the present notes, and thus sustain the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law," as is expressly declared in the second section of this bill. Why this statement in the body of the bill, if not to authorize the payment of gold until silver comes to a parity with gold? That policy has for many years controlled the Treasury Department. The creditors have been allowed to say what money they should be paid in. I understand this provision to mean that the United States will force a parity by purchasing all the silver bullion in the United States and preventing the further coinage of silver money.

Why should the Government purchase silver as a commodity, simply to store it? If the purpose is to enrich the silver-miners and bullion-owners, then this bill may accomplish it. But I am not concerned about them, nor for silver as a mere commodity. I want more money for the people. They demand it and they want a bimetallic currency. They will never consent to abandon silver as money and adopt the single gold standard. It is high time that their will should be expressed in the form of law. If this bill becomes a law I fear that the business of the country will be done upon a gold basis, and in that event it may be the means of perpetuating our national debt. Such is certain to be the result if the Secretary of the Treasury should, in the exercise of the discretion vested in him, redeem the notes in gold, for it is not possible to issue the notes provided for under this act until the maturity of the bonds and then redeem both notes and bonds in gold.

The result will be that the Secretary of the Treasury will sell bonds for the gold under the act of January 14, 1875. But some gentleman may say that the bonds are redeemable in coin, and we can pay them in silver. But by the terms of the third section of this bill the coinage of silver will cease July 1, 1891, except for the redemption of the Treasury notes therein provided for, and if they should, as they may, be redeemed in gold there will be no silver coined for any purpose. Just think of a Government with over \$300,000,000 of interest-bearing debt, some of it redeemable September 1, 1891, in coin, deliberately discontinuing the coinage of silver and issuing other promises to pay—demand notes—that may have to be paid in gold, for silver bullion that must be stored in the Treasury and can not be coined for general use.

The able gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CONGER] says that "this is a Republican measure" and with a great flourish of trumpets and with much satisfaction declares that every important financial measure in this country, with one single solitary exception, has been a Republican measure. I have heard this claim made at different times by all the leading Republicans on this floor. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY] and his colleague [Mr. GROSVENOR], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON], and many others I might mention have made the same claim. As the gentleman from Iowa warms up on this subject amid the applause of his party associates, he names some of these laws. Here is what he says:

The resumption act was the child of Republican parentage. The national-banking act, which gave us the best system of banking that has ever been known or conceived of in the civilized world, was of Republican enactment. Every single one of the legal enactments that have helped to give us the credit we enjoy to-day, which makes us the richest and most powerful nation of the world, has been furnished by the Republican party: and this measure will be given to the country, I am happy to say, by Republicans. [Applause on the Republican side.] It was agreed upon in conference by Republicans only. It was passed

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in yonder Chamber only by Republican votes, and I suspect that it may pass here only by Republican votes. It will then go where it will be signed by a Republican President, and from there it will go to a country which in November next will give such a Republican indorsement that many of you gentlemen will not be found here to pass upon the next silver measure that may come before Congress. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the measures mentioned by the gentleman were Republican measures and this is a Republican measure. Let there be no misunderstanding about this. With these admissions and upon the record we will go to the people.

These are the laws by which the people have been robbed and oppressed; these are the laws of which they now complain and from which they wish relief. The gentleman tells us that the Republican party is responsible and entitled to credit for the issue of the greenbacks; but he fails to tell us why they were not made receivable for duties on imports. He ought to explain why the United States dishonored its own bills.

The people believe that it was done at the demand of the bankers and gold bugs in order to create a demand for gold. This was a deliberate effort on the part of a Republican administration to make a legal tender in private transactions of a currency that the Government would not receive in payment for import duties. There is no wonder that it depreciated. Pending the consideration of the bill in the Senate, Mr. Doolittle, a Democrat, moved to amend it so as to make the notes a legal tender in payment of all public debts and all private debts thereafter contracted, which was rejected. The gentleman thinks the national-banking act gave "us the best system of banking that has ever been known or conceived of in the civilized world." The best for whom? Not for the people, but for the bankers and bondholders. Why should the Government, after it had entered upon a system of issuing legal-tender notes, delegate such powers to the corporations?

The people believe this was done so as to give the banks control of the volume of currency. That was the effect, and they have used it for all it was worth. They have acquired a capital equal to nearly one-half of the money in circulation in the United States, but the great body of the people have been made poorer. At the demand of these corporations the contraction resolution of December 18, 1865, was passed, so as to increase the purchasing power of money. The greater part of the depreciated Treasury notes were retired and interest-bearing bonds issued for the purpose of making a basis for bank currency. It was the declared purpose of the Republican administration to retire all of them, and this was only prevented by the election of a Democratic House. They put a stop to it.

THE CREDIT-STRENGTHENING ACT.

Not satisfied with purchasing interest-bearing, non-taxable bonds with Treasury notes worth from 40 to 60 per cent. less than par, the bondholders demanded that the bonds be made payable in coin. This was done by the act of March 18, 1869, and \$600,000,000 were added to the burdens of the people. Bankruptcy of merchants and business men followed; farmers became involved in debt; laborers were denied employment, and the country became filled with tramps. Next came the act of July 14, 1870, known as the act for the refunding of the national debt. By the refunding of the untaxed, gold-interest-bearing bonded debt for a long term, without the option of payment on the part of the Government, the people have been compelled to pay to these same bondholders and bankers a premium on the bonds as high as 30 per cent. The gentleman rejoices that our bonds are at a premium. Who pays this premium? The people. How are they benefited?

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I am unable to see the wisdom of legislation that would make the Government pay a premium on its bonds. Here we have been for several years with a large debt and a Treasury full of money, but unable to pay it on the debt. Up to this time we have paid over \$300,000,000 of premium. A business man who would so arrange his affairs would be counted a fool. The bonds being refunded and made payable in gold, the next thing to be done was the demonetization of silver, and finally the resumption act authorizing the destruction of all Treasury notes. It also required the destruction of fractional currency and the issue of silver coin to take its place. This required the issue of bonds with which to purchase the silver bullion for coinage. Silver has been partially remonetized and \$346,000,000 of Treasury notes have been saved to the people by the efforts of the Democratic party.

Take this record, covering a period of less than fifteen years, of class legislation in the interest of the money power, and show me anything in the interest of the great body of the people. What is there to be proud of? I assert that during the Democratic administration no class legislation was passed. Yes, I go further, and assert that no act not in the interest of the whole people was ever allowed to pass while the Democrats held the House. This bill, as I believe, is nothing more nor less, as the gentleman from Missouri has stated, than an effort on the part of the money power, which appears to dominate this Administration, to demonetize silver after the next Presidential election and put us upon a gold basis. The papers of the East declare that it means a gold basis and so do gentlemen in the Senate.

Mr. MILLIKEN. What evidence has the gentleman of the statement that he now makes, that the money power dominates this Administration?

Mr. MCRAE. I want no more evidence than that it has done substantially what the money power has demanded as to this and other matters.

Mr. MILLIKEN. Very little evidence satisfies some people.

Mr. MCRAE. You may think there is very little evidence, but there is enough to satisfy me and enough to satisfy the people. Look at the methods adopted to pass the bill; the minority of this House denied the right of amendment. See the attempted reference of the bill when it came from the Senate. See that first by one rule and then by another we are denied an opportunity to vote upon the question of free coinage. Hear a Republican Senator [Mr. TELLER], as I am reminded by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], rising in his place in the Senate and stating that the organization of this House was dominated by the money power, and that the free-coinage bill was defeated at its demand. Everybody knows that this bill is a compromise forced upon us by a threatened Presidential veto. Why this threat? It is an insult to Congress that the Executive should make any such threat, and it ought to be resented by a positive and emphatic vote for what we want.

Mr. MILLIKEN. If the gentleman will permit me again, I will say that I have never heard of any such threat, and if he has, his ears must have been where things are heard that do not occur. I do not believe that any threat has ever come to this House from this Administration of a veto of any measure.

Mr. MCRAE. If you will read the speech of the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. PERKINS] and a number of other speeches made upon this floor during this debate and at the other end of the Capitol, you will see that such is the case. We have our duty to perform, and we should do it regardless of the Executive.

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Mr. MILLIKEN. Those gentlemen who made such assertions in their speeches may have been right or they may have been wrong.

Mr. McRAE. Certainly, and I may be right or I may be wrong, but I state my belief and conviction and I submit this record and the facts, and will be content to let the country say whether I am right or wrong. We shall soon come to a vote, and no doubt this bill will be passed, but it will not satisfy the people, it will not satisfy the country, and I am sorry that any party in this free Republic would so far forget the interests of the people as to suffer itself to be dictated to in any such way. The people are considering the present evils and they demand that we shall deal with them so as to give immediate relief. They realize their depressed condition and they want fair treatment. They have asked Congress to give them more money. They have petitioned for the free coinage of silver, and now you give them a bill which is an insult to them, a bill which puts it in the power of the Secretary of the Treasury, at a very early day in the future, to do just as he pleases with silver.

We know what the Treasury discretion has done for silver in the past. Nobody who is familiar with the record of the Treasury Department on this subject for the last five, ten, or fifteen years can have any doubt as to what will be the result of this bill if it becomes a law. Every certificate-holder will be paid in gold. There is no question about it. And now here we are. The coinage of silver to be stopped, and discretion to be given to the Secretary of the Treasury to pay in gold, and do just as he pleases, and the people are placed again at the feet of Wall street. Hereafter it will only be necessary for the financiers of the East to control the Treasury Department.

So we see, Mr. Speaker, that the Republican party is wholly responsible for all the bad financial legislation of the last twenty-five years of which the people have complained. It exempted the national bonds from taxation, organized the national-banking system and extended the charters when they expired, contracted the currency in the interest of the bondholders, and changed the contract so as to make interest payable in gold and the bonds payable in coin, and after refunding them interpreted coin to mean gold. It demonetized silver in 1873 and has ever since stubbornly resisted all efforts to remonetize it, and now, when the party is in control of all the departments of the Government, it has deliberately suppressed the known will of the people upon this question by methods that ought to disgrace any legislative body. I desire to review the record of the two parties upon those questions, so that the country may understand the hypocritical pretenses of the Republican party in offering the country this bastard bill in answer to the demand for a bill for free coinage.

For so much of the record as refers to laws prior to June, 1878, I refer to the following extract from a speech made by Senator KENNA when he was a member of this House:

TAXATION OF THE BONDS.

On the 28th day of June, 1862, the question of concurring in Senate amendments to an act creating bonds, etc., was before the House. Mr. HOLMAN, a Democrat, offered the following provision:

"Provided, That nothing in this act shall impair the right of the States to tax the bonds, notes, and other obligations issued under this act."

Sixty-three Democrats voted for this righteous amendment and not one voted against it. Of the Republicans, only 8 voted "ay" and 77 voted "no." Thus the Republican party defeated in the House the proposition to tax the bonds.

NATIONAL-BANK SYSTEM.

In February, 1863, the bill was pending for the charter of the national banks. The vote was taken in the Senate on the 12th and in the House on the 27th of that month. The bill involved the inauguration of a system which is as cordi-

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ally hated by the masses of our people as ever was a measure hostile to their interests. On its passage in the Senate the Democrats voted "ay" 2 and "no" 12, which was six to one against the system. In the House the Democrats voted "ay" 3 and "no" 42, making fourteen to one against it. But who passed this bill and created the national banks? In the Senate the Republicans voted "no" 9, "ay" 21, constituting a majority of more than two to one in its favor. In the House the Republicans voted "no" 22 and "ay" 75, making over three to one in its favor. Thus the Republican party foisted upon the country the national-bank system.

SUPPLEMENTAL BANK BILL.

On April 18, 1864, what is known as the supplemental national-bank bill was before Congress. It was a repetition of the evils of the charter act and was intended to foster and perpetuate the national-bank system. The Democrats voted in the House, 65 solid, "no." The Republicans voted "ay" 80 and "no" only 1. In the Senate the Democrats voted, 7 solid, "no." The Republicans voted "no" 2 and "ay" 30. Thus the Republican party passed this objectionable act. On the same day, when Mr. Arnold offered in the House a resolution to provide for taxing State banks, Mr. Randall, a Democrat, offered to amend by providing for the taxation of national banks.

Notwithstanding that Samuel J. Randall, who is now Speaker of this House, stands and stood then among the first parliamentarians on the continent, on this resolution to tax national banks, a Republican Speaker, in the interests of the money power, arbitrarily ruled him "out of order." Every member familiar with the history of this body knows how potent is the voice of the Speaker for weal or for woe. On this occasion it was invoked for the defeat of a righteous measure, and thus the Republican party, through its Republican Speaker, denied even a hearing of the cause.

In March, 1869, when the "act to strengthen the public credit," which ought to have been entitled an act to swindle the people, came up for consideration, debate was cut off. Although it declared the currency indebtedness of the country to be payable in coin and added \$500,000,000 to the public debt, it was passed under the "previous question"—the "gag law"—and debate was denied. It was a gigantic fraud. On its passage in the House only 1 Democrat voted "ay," while 34 voted "no." Only 12 Republicans voted "no" and 96 voted "ay." In the Senate the Republicans voted, "no" 7, "ay" 42. The Democrats voted solid "no." While this measure was pending in the Senate, Mr. Thurman, a Democrat, moved to add that—

"Nothing herein contained shall apply to what is commonly called 5-20 bonds."

These bonds were payable in greenbacks, and this act was to make them payable in coin. It was to avoid the consummation of that outrage upon the people that Mr. Thurman offered his amendment. The Democrats voted solid for it. The Republicans voted "ay" only 6 and "no" 31. Thus, without amendment, in all its original injustice, the Republican party passed this odious act. On March 29, 1869, Mr. Morgan, a Democrat, offered a resolution to exempt salt, tea, coffee, sugar, matches, and tobacco, and to tax the bonds.

This resolution was defeated. The Democrats voted "ay," solid 39; the Republicans voted solid "no," 104. Thus the Republican party in the House, by unanimous vote, again defeated an effort to tax the bonds.

In 1870 the act was pending which provided for funding the greenback bonds into coin bonds and which robbed the people of \$500,000,000.

The Democrats of the House voted solid "no," 54. The Republicans voted "no" only 2 and "ay" 139! In the Senate the Democrats voted solid "no." The Republicans carried it, and thus the Republican party is responsible for the wrong which resulted from this iniquitous measure; and when the Houses divided and a conference committee was appointed to consider the differences upon this bill, Mr. Brooks arose in his seat and told the Republican Speaker, Mr. Blaine, that the conferees were "all on one side" and that the minority was not represented. Having "set up" the committee, the Republican Speaker contemptuously replied "It is not essential that it should be." In July, 1870, when SHERMAN'S proposition was pending to increase the national-bank circulation \$54,000,000, as usual in all these aggressive measures the previous question was demanded and debate refused. While the Democrats voted "ay" only 4, and "no" 44, the Republican party passed this bill. On June 14, when that same bill was pending, Mr. Randall, a Democrat, offered a substitute which proposed to take up the national-bank notes and issue \$300,000,000 in greenbacks in their stead. On this measure the Democrats voted "no" only 6 and "ay" 41. The Republicans voted "ay" only 10 and "no" 105. Thus this proposed issue of greenbacks was defeated in the House by the Republican party.

At the same time Mr. Morgan, a Democrat, offered a substitute which provided for repealing the national-bank act and the substitution of \$400,000,000 in greenbacks, with full legal-tender qualities, for the national-bank notes. The Democrats voted "no" 11, "ay" 34, or over 3 to 1 for the substitute. The Republicans voted "ay" only 3 and "no" 116. Thus the Republican party in the House defeated also this proposed financial reform.

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On the 31st of January, 1870, Mr. McNeely, a Democrat, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the national debt should be paid in strict compliance with the contract, whether it is made payable in gold or greenbacks; that the 5-20 bonds are payable in greenbacks or their equivalent, and we condemn the policy of the Administration which is squandering millions of money by buying such bonds at a high rate of premium when the Government had the clear right to redeem them at par."

To this honest, fair interpretation of a contract in behalf of a people who were already overcast with the shadow of impending financial panic only 3 Democrats could be found to vote in opposition, while 34 voted in its favor. Of the Republicans only 1 voted for it and 119 members of the Republican party laid it in its grave.

On the 17th day of January, 1870, Mr. McNeely made another effort in behalf of greenbacks. He offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency be, and they are hereby, instructed to report at an early day a bill providing for withdrawal from circulation the national-bank currency and for issuing instead of such currency Treasury notes, usually known as greenbacks."

On this resolution looking to financial reform the Democrats voted "no" only 2 and "ay" 53. The Republicans voted "ay" 1 and "no" 112. Thus the Republican party in the House slaughtered this further attempt at honest currency.

In 1872, after the policy of the Treasury had been well defined, when the Secretary was day after day allowing the bondholders to rob the people by treating the 5-20 bonds as coin bonds and negotiating them in defiance of the contract of their creation, which made them payable in currency, the following resolution was presented:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this House the Secretary of the Treasury in negotiating the loan authorized by the act of July 14, 1870, has neither increased the bonded debt nor incurred an expenditure contrary to law."

At the time this resolution was offered the policy of the Treasury Department was daily augmenting our national debt. It was daily fastening upon us that system which has since so cursed the country. This resolution gave emphatic approval to this whole ruinous policy, and invited and approved in advance the mischievous course which has since been pursued. It passed the House by a strict party vote. The Democrats voted solid 86 "no." The Republicans voted "ay" 110, and thus the Republican party gave formal and official sanction to a line of policy which has scattered business calamity broadcast over the land.

In 1873 the act demonetizing silver was passed. The country has been made aware of the manner in which this nefarious measure was smuggled and bulldozed through without even being read. Its contents were not known, the yeas and nays were not called on its passage, and hence the vote of members is not entered on the Journal. The RECORD does show, however, that Mr. Hooper, a Republican, moved to suspend the rules and pass the bill. He had it in charge. He knew its contents. He knew it struck silver down and destroyed the double standard of our fathers. The RECORD therefore shows that a Republican had charge of the bill, and by a motion to suspend the rules cut off debate and force it to a vote. But the RECORD shows more. It shows that this giant swindle had been submitted to the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, the Republican director and controller of finances, and was by him approved. The RECORD on this point is as follows:

"Mr. MERRIAM. Has this bill been submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury? And, if so, does it meet his approval?"

"Mr. HOOPER, of Massachusetts. It has been submitted to him, and he not only approves it, but strongly urges its passage."

Thus Mr. Speaker, this monstrosity, this unmitigated villainy, which struck down silver when it was higher in the market than gold, simply to make "money scarce" and increase the burdens of the country, was manipulated and carried through by a Republican member of the House, under the full sanction and support of the Republican Secretary of the Treasury. Passed, as the bill was, under suspension of the rules, without debate, and not even read, there is no evidence on earth that any living man knew it demonetized silver except the Secretary and member I have named.

We come now to that prince of destroyers, the resumption act of 1875. Like other similar acts, it was passed without debate. Discussion was cut off. The vote in the Senate stood Republican "ay" 32, "no" only 1. The Democrats voted solid "no." In the House the Republicans voted only 24 "no" and "ay" 136, making more than five to one in favor of this great crime against the prosperity and happiness of the country. The Democrats voted solid 74 to defeat it. In the Senate even Carl Schurz complained that he had "found the bill on his table to-day for the first time, and had not had time to read it or inform himself intelligently of its contents." In answer to this appeal for opportunity to understand this important measure John Sherman, the present Republican Secretary of the Treasury, rose in his place in the Senate and boldly declared that

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he would "press the bill to its passage from that hour forward." Evidences that he kept that promise faithfully and too well are found in the blasted homes and fortunes and hungry women and children from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

These, Mr. Speaker, are the leading financial issues upon which the two great parties have divided. They mark the line between the money sharks on the one side and the people on the other. The Republican party had the President and both branches of Congress during all that time. At the very threshold of the system Mr. Stevens declared to his Republican associates on the floor of the House: "We are introducing new practices all around. We are making one currency for the people and another for other purposes."

And, sir, that policy was pursued from 1862 to 1875. The Republican party pursued it. With a determined purpose, with unrelenting vigor, with a singleness of object that no human appeal could divert and no human misery deter, the Republican party went madly on in this desperate financial career and never did it call a halt until confronted by a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress!

It is a part of the financial history of the country, demonstrated by the record, that all the wicked legislation which has racked this country to the very verge of revolution—the whole of it—every act and deed, was consummated when the Republican party had control of every department of the Government. It is also true that not one single act of which the people complain was ever passed after the Democrats acquired control of the House. It is equally true that not one single act of relief was ever enacted until the popular uprising of 1874 gave to the Democrats control of the House of Representatives. And, Mr. Speaker, it is a matter to be remembered to the everlasting credit of the Democratic party that it encountered and vanquished at the first onslaught that gigantic money power to which the Republican party has been for years as the plaything to a child! The first Democratic House in August, 1876, raised the banner of financial reform by the passage of a bill to repeal the resumption act.

The Republican vote on the passage of that bill stood "ay" only 9 and "no" 56, or over six to one against the repeal. The Democrats voted "no" 29 and "ay" 97, more than three to one in its favor. The bill passed the House by Democratic votes, and thus the first battle against the Shylocks was left to be turned against the people by the Republican Senate which failed to pass the bill. There the matter stood when the great political contest of 1876 came on. The result of that election returned a Democratic majority to the House of Representatives, while the Senate is still Republican. Those who have observed the proceedings since we assembled here will bear witness to the earnestness of the warfare that has been waged for financial relief. As early as November 5, 1877, we passed the bill to remonetize silver.

The Republicans, driven at last by a public sentiment which had twice routed them at the polls, yielded to this measure a fair support. They voted "no" 24 and "ay" 67; not quite three to one. The Democrats voted "no" 10 and "ay" 97, or nearly ten to one in its favor. But when this measure to restore the dollar of our fathers was sent by a Democratic House to a Republican Senate it was there amended and emasculated until its value was well-nigh destroyed, and finally vetoed by a Republican President. On the 23d of the same month the bill to repeal the resumption act passed the House. On this repeal the Republicans voted "ay" 28 and "no" 92, more than three to one against it. The Democrats voted "no" 29 and "ay" 104, more than three to one in its favor. This act was sent to the Republican Senate, and there a Rip Van Winkle sleep of seven long months has held it fast.

On the 29th day of April the bill was passed forbidding further retirement of greenbacks.

The Democrats voted on this measure "no" 7 and "ay" 104; the Republicans voted "ay" 73 and "no" 28. Many of them voted with the avowed reason that it would not interfere with the resumption act, and it is equally understood in well informed circles that the Republicans who favored the bill in the Senate did so upon the same ground. Add to what I have enumerated the bills which have been favorably reported at this session by a Democratic committee, the bill to authorize the issuing of certificates for silver bullion, and the bill to substitute greenbacks for bank notes, and you have a fair, epitomized history of the financial legislation of the last sixteen years. In giving the status of the political parties, I have given the result of my own individual researches; I have investigated the subject; I have examined the record, and I speak what I know.

The following I take from a speech I had the honor to make in this House on the 16th day of May, 1888, and I have carefully analyzed the votes and believe the statements to be correct. I have counted all who are not Democrats as Republicans:

CRAFO EXTENSION BILL.

When this bill was under consideration, Mr. Buckner, a Democrat, moved to fix the time for the payment of the bonds at ten instead of

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twenty as recommended by the Republican committee, and on a yeand-nay vote it was lost. The yeas were 91, nays 116. Of the yeas 79 were Democrats and 12 Republicans; nays, 98 Republicans and 18 Democrats.

Mr. BLAND, a Democrat, and now a member of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, moved a substitute for the committee bill which provided for issuing Treasury notes for bank notes. This would have given the country a better currency without the aid or intervent on of the banks, but would have deprived the bank corporations of their power over the currency, and so the substitute was not agreed to, by a vote of 71 yeas to 138 nays. Of the yeas there were 68 Democrats and 3 Republicans; nays, 119 Republicans and 19 Democrats. Afterwards, on the 10th day of July 1832, the bill passed the House by a vote of 110 yeas and 79 nays. Of the yeas there were 99 Republicans and 11 Democrats; nays, 76 Democrats and 3 Republicans.

LEGAL-TENDER QUALITY OF SILVER DOLLAR.

Mr. Fort, on the 9th of December, 1878, moved to suspend the rules and pass a bill declaring the standard silver dollar a legal tender and preventing any discrimination against it, and failing to get two-thirds it failed by the following vote: Yeas 151, nays 89. Of the yeas there were 106 Democrats and 45 Republicans; nays, 73 Republicans and 16 Democrats.

GREENBACKS RECEIVABLE FOR DUTIES.

Mr. Wood, a Democrat, January 15, 1879, moved to pass a bill making United States notes receivable for duties on imports, and it passed— yeas 153, nays 43. Of the yeas there were 108 Democrats and 46 Republicans; nays, Republicans 31, Democrats 12.

INTERCHANGEABILITY OF GOLD AND SILVER COINS.

On February 3, 1879, Mr. WHITTHORNE, the distinguished and faithful Democrat, moved to suspend the rules and pass a bill to provide for the interchange of gold and silver and to prevent discrimination against either, and it was disagreed to; yeas 101, nays 136. Of the yeas there were 89 Democrats and 12 Republicans; nays, 100 Republicans and 36 Democrats.

GREENBACKS AND REFUNDING.

On April 5, 1880, my good Democratic friend, General Weaver, moved to suspend the rules and pass the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this House that all currency, whether metallic or paper, necessary for use and convenience of the people, should be issued and its volume controlled by the Government, and not by or through the bank corporations of the country; and when so issued should be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this House that portion of the interest-bearing debt of the United States which shall become redeemable in the year 1881, or prior thereto, being in amount about \$732,000,000, should not be refunded beyond the power of the Government to call in said obligations and pay them at any time, but should be paid as rapidly as possible and according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, the mints of the United States should be operated to their full capacity in the coinage of standard silver dollars, and such other coinage as the business interest of the country may require.

This motion was lost by a vote of 85 yeas to 117 nays. Of the yeas there were 84 Democrats and 1 Republican; nays 90 Republicans and 27 Democrats.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER AND SUSPENSION.

April 8, 1886, when the bill for the free coinage of silver was under consideration the following amendment was offered:

That unless meantime, through concurrent action of the nations of Europe with the United States, silver be remonetized prior to July 1, 1889, that then

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and thereafter so much of the act of February 23, 1873, entitled "An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character," as authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver bullion and cause the same to be coined, shall be suspended until further action by Congress.

The amendment was lost by a vote of 84 yeas to 201 nays; of those voting yea there were 51 Republicans and 33 Democrats; nays, 130 Democrats and 71 Republicans.

The bill for free coinage was then rejected by a vote of 126 yeas, nays 163. Of those voting yea there were 96 Democrats and 30 Republicans; nays, 95 Republicans and 68 Democrats. But, Mr. Chairman, this is only part of one chapter of the legalized crimes of the Republican party against the people. On the financial issues we see that the Democratic party has stood by the people in opposition to all those measures of the Republican party that have brought so much suffering to the poor and so much wealth to the rich.

We see how the record has been made step by step, and see how by degrees the wealth has gone from the masses who create it to the few cunning manipulators of Wall street and tariff barons of New England. The Democratic party has, as is shown by this record, been instrumental in restoring the silver dollar, stopping the further retirement of the greenbacks that the Republicans had said by solemn statute should go; providing for gold and silver certificates, the one and two dollar greenback bills, and during the last Congress in passing through the House a bill for fractional currency. There is much in this record to make Democrats feel proud of their party.

I now refer the House to the following extract from a speech made in this Hall by the able advocate of free coinage, Mr. BLAND, on the 29th day of August, 1888:

To show more conclusively that the Democrats are the best friends of silver coinage, I will give a history of the two parties on that subject. The Democratic party never demonetized silver as long as it had power in this Government, but maintained its free and unlimited coinage from 1792 till 1873. In 1873 the Republicans, being in a large majority in both Houses of Congress and having the Executive, prohibited by the law of February, 1873, the further coinage of the standard silver dollar. Now, in December, 1876, the House passed a bill giving free coinage to silver. The House was Democratic. The Republican Senate never acted on the bill. Again, in November, 1877, I moved to suspend the r' s and pass a free-coinage bill.

Here is the vote:

VOTE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES NOVEMBER 5, 1877, ON MOTION OF MR. BLAND TO SUSPEND THE RULES AND PASS SILVER BILL (H. R. 1033).

[In the affirmative—164.]

DEMOCRATS—97.

Aiken,	Cravens,	Hamilton,	Martin,
Atkins,	Culberson,	Harris, Henry R.	McKenzie,
Banning,	Crittenden,	Harrison,	McMahon,
Bell,	Cutler,	Hartbridge,	Mills,
Bicknell,	Davis, Joseph J.	Hartzell,	Money,
Bland,	Dibrell,	Hatcher,	Morgan,
Blount,	Dickey,	Hewitt, G. W.	Morrison,
Boone,	Edes,	Herbert,	Muldrow,
Bouck,	Elam,	Hooker,	Pridemore,
Bridges,	Ellis,	House,	Rea,
Buckner,	Evins, John H.	Huntou,	Reagan,
Cabell,	Ewing,	Jones, James T.	Rice, A. V.
Caldwell, J. W.	Felton,	Kenna,	Riddle,
Caldwell, W. T.	Finley,	Knapp,	Robbins,
Candler,	Forney,	Knoff,	Robertson,
Carlisle,	Franklin,	Ligon,	Saylor,
Chalmers,	Fulfer,	Luttrell,	Scales,
Clark, John B.	Garth,	Lynde,	Shelly,
Clark, John B., jr.	Giddings,	Mackey,	Singleton,
Cook,	Glover,	Maish,	Slemmons,
Cox, S. S.	Goode,	Manning,	Smith, William E.

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Sparks,	Townshend,	Williams, J. N.	Young.
Springer,	Turner,	Willis,	
Steele, W. L.	Vahee,	Wright,	
Throckmorton,	Waddell,	Yeates,	

REPUBLICANS—67.

Aldrich,	Deering,	Lathrop,	Sapp,
Baker, John H.	Dunnell,	Marsh,	Sexton,
Brentano,	Ellsworth,	McKinley, jr.	Stewart,
Brogden,	Foster,	Monroe,	Stone, John W.
Browne,	Gardner,	Neal,	Stone, Joseph C.
Bundy,	Haskell,	Oliver,	Strait,
Burdick,	Hayes,	Pacheco,	Thornburgh,
Cain,	Hazelton,	Page,	Tipton,
Calkins,	Henderson,	Patterson,	Townsend,
Cannon,	Hubbell,	Phillips,	Van Vorhis,
Caswell,	Hunter,	Pollard,	Welch,
Clark, Rush	Humphrey,	Found,	White, M. D.
Conger,	Itner,	Price,	Willets,
Cox, Jacob D.	Jones, John S.	Rainey,	Williams, C. G.
Cummings,	Kelfer,	Randolph,	Williams, Richard
Danford,	Keightley,	Robinson,	Wren.
Darrall,	Kelley,	Sampson,	

[In the negative—34.]

DEMOCRATS—10.

Covert,	Hart,	Schleicher,	Wood.
Gibson,	Hewitt, Abram S.	Stephens, Alex.	
Hardenberg,	Morse,	Swann,	

REPUBLICANS—24.

Bacon,	Clafin,	Frye,	Norcross,
Ballou,	Cole,	Hendee,	Peddle,
Blair,	Davis, Horace	Joyce,	Powers,
Brewer,	Denison,	Leonard,	Reed,
Briggs,	Eames,	Lindsey,	Rice,
Chittenden,	Field,	McGowan,	Ward.

This bill went to the Republican Senate, where the free-coinage feature of the bill was stricken out and a limited coinage provided for, as the following proceedings will show:

"IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, February 15, 1873.

"The Senate having under consideration the bill of the House (H. R. 1098) to authorize the free coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character, the following amendment was agreed to:

"And the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion, at the market price thereof, not less than \$2,000,000 worth per month, nor more than \$4,000,000 worth per month, and cause the same to be coined monthly as far as so purchased into such dollars. And any gain or seigniorage arising from this coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury, as provided under existing laws relative to the subsidiary coinage: *Provided*, That the amount of money at any one time invested in such silver bullion, exclusive of such resulting coin, shall not exceed \$5,000,000."

"It was determined in the affirmative—yeas 49, nays 22." (See Senate Journal, second session, Forty-fifth Congress, page 202.)

The vote in detail is follows:

[In the affirmative—49.]

DEMOCRATS—16.

Barnum,	Eaton,	McDonald,	Ransom,
Bayard,	Johnston,	McPherson,	Sailebury,
Butler,	Kernan,	Merrimon,	Wallace,
Davis of W. Va.	Lamar,	Randolph,	Whyte.

REPUBLICANS—33.

Allison,	Christfanev,	Ingalls,	Plumb,
Anthony,	Conkling,	Kellogg,	Rollins,
Blaine,	Dawes,	Kirkwood,	Sargent,
Booth, Anti-monop.	Dorsey,	McMillan,	Teller,
Bruce,	Edmunds,	Matthews,	Wadleigh,
Burnside,	Ferry,	Mitchell,	Windom.
Cameron of Pa.	Hamlin,	Morrill,	
Cameron of Wis.	Hoar,	Oglesby,	
Chaffee,	Howe,	Paddock,	

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[In the negative—22.]

DEMOCRATS—18,

Armstrong,	Davis, Ill.	Hereford,	Thurman,
Bailey,	Dennis,	Jones, Fla.	Voorhees,
Beck,	Eustis,	McCreery,	Withers.
Cockrell,	Garland,	Maxey,	
Coke,	Grover,	Morgan,	

REPUBLICANS—4.

Conover, Jones of Nevada, Saunders, Spencer.

On the passage of the bill as amended, see Senate Journal, second session, Forty-fifth Congress, page 209.

[In the affirmative—48.]

DEMOCRATS—25.

Armstrong,	Dennis,	Jones of Fla.	Thurman,
Bailey,	Eustis,	McCreery,	Voorhees,
Beck,	Garland,	McDonald,	Wallace,
Cockrell,	Gordon,	Maxey,	Withers.
Coke,	Grover,	Merrimon,	
Davis of Ill.	Hereford,	Morgan,	
Davis of W. Va.	Johnston,	Saulsbury,	

REPUBLICANS—23.

Allison,	Conover,	Kellogg,	Plumb,
Booth, Anti-monop.	Dorsey,	Kirkwood,	Saunders,
Bruce,	Ferry,	McMillan,	Spencer,
Cameron of Pa.	Howe,	Matthews,	Teller,
Cameron of Wis.	Ingalls,	Oglesby,	Windom.
Chaffee,	Jones of Nev.	Paddock,	

[In the negative—21.]

DEMOCRATS—7.

Barnum,	Kernan,	McPherson,	Whyte.
Bayard,	Lamar,	Randolph,	

REPUBLICAN—14.

Anthony,	Conkling,	Hoar,	Sargent,
Blaine,	Dawes,	Mitchell,	Wadleigh.
Burnside,	Edmunds,	Morrill,	
Christiancy,	Hamlin,	Rollins,	

It will be noted that on the Allison amendment, which was an amendment striking free coinage out of the House bill and substituting a limited coinage, there were 33 Republicans voting for the amendment and 16 Democrats.

Against this amendment and in favor of the free-coinage bill were, Democrats 18 and only 4 Republicans. Among the 18 Democrats voting to retain free coinage in the bill is found the name of the Old Roman, now Democratic nominee for Vice-President, Allen G. Thurman.

The next vote of importance on this question was in the House of Representatives in the Forty-ninth Congress, when the following proceedings were had :

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, April 8, 1886.

[See House Journal, first session, Forty-ninth Congress, pages 1192 to 1195, inclusive.]

The House then proceeded, under the special order of the 16th ultimo, as modified on yesterday, to the further consideration of the bill of the House (H. R. 5690) for the free coinage of silver, and for other purposes.

After further debate thereon,

Mr. BLAND, by unanimous consent, withdrew the motion submitted by him on yesterday to recommit the said bill to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

Mr. DRIBBLE submitted the following amendment in the nature of a substitute, namely:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following, namely:

"That unless meantime, through concurrent action of the nations of Europe with the United States, silver be remonetized prior to July 1, 1889, that then and thereafter so much of the act of February 28, 1873, entitled 'An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,' as authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver bullion and cause the same to be coined, shall be suspended until further action by Congress."

And then, the hour of 5 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m. having arrived, the Speaker, under the previous order of the House, declared the previous question to be in operation.

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The question being first upon the said amendment submitted by Mr. DIBBLE, and being put, namely, Will the House agree thereto? it was decided in the negative, yeas 84, nays 201, not voting 88.

The yeas and nays being desired by one-fifth of the members present, those who voted in the affirmative are—

Adams, George E.	Dingley,	Ketcham,	Rockwell,
Allen, Charles H.	Dowdney,	Lehbach,	Sawyer,
Arnot,	Dunham,	Lindsley,	Scott,
Atkinson,	Ely,	Long,	Scranton,
Baker,	Ermentrout,	Mahoney,	Seymour,
Bayne,	Evans,	McAdoo,	Shaw,
Beach,	Everhart,	McComas,	Sowden,
Belmont,	Farguhar,	Merriman,	Spooner,
Bingham,	Findlay,	Millard,	Spriggs,
Bliss,	Gallinger,	Milliken,	Staalnecker,
Bound,	Gibson, Charles H.	Mitchell,	Stewart, John W.
Boutelle,	Green, Robert S.	Muller,	Stone, Eben F.
Bunnell,	Groat,	O'Neill, Charles	Storm,
Burleigh,	Harmer,	Parker,	Strait,
Campbell, Felix	Haynes,	Payne,	Swope,
Campbell, T. J.	Hemphill,	Pheips,	Viele,
Cole,	Hewitt,	Pindar,	Wadsworth,
Collins,	Heistand,	Pulitzer,	Wait,
Davenport,	Hires,	Randall,	Weber,
Davis,	James,	Ranney,	West,
Dibble,	Johnson, Fred. A.	Reed, Thomas B.	Whiting.

Democrats, 83; Republicans, 51.

Those who voted in the negative are—

Anderson, Chas. M.	Davidson, R. H. M.	Hopkins,	Outhwaite,
Anderson, John A.	Dawson,	Houk,	Owen,
Ballentine,	Dockery,	Howard,	Payson,
Barbour,	Dorsey,	Irion,	Peel,
Barksdale,	Dougherty,	Johnston, James T.	Perkins,
Barnes,	Dunn,	Johnston, Thos. D.	Perry,
Barry,	Eden,	Jones, James H.	Peters,
Bennett,	Eldredge,	King,	Plumb,
Blanchard,	Eilsberry,	Kleiner,	Price,
Bland,	Felton,	Laffoon,	Reagan,
Blount,	Fisher,	La Follette,	Reid, James W.
Boyle,	Fleeger,	Laird,	Richardson,
Brady,	Foran,	Landes,	Robertson,
Breckinridge, C. R.	Ford,	Lanham,	Rogers,
Breckinridge, W. C.	Forney,	Lawler,	Romeis,
Brown, William W.	Frederick,	LeFevre,	Rowell,
Brown, Thomas M.	Fuller,	Little,	Ryan,
Brumm,	Funston,	Loe,	Sayers,
Buchanan,	Gay,	Louttit,	Seney,
Burnes,	Geddes,	Lovering,	Sessions,
Burrows,	Gilfillan,	Lowry,	Singleton,
Butterworth,	Glass,	Lyman,	Skinner,
Bynum,	Glover,	Markham,	Smalls,
Cabell,	Goff,	Martin,	Snyder,
Caldwell,	Green, Wharton J.	Matson,	Springer,
Campbell, James E.	Grosvenor,	Maybury,	Steele,
Candler,	Guenther,	McCreary,	Stephenson,
Cannon,	Hale,	McKenna,	Stewart, Charles
Carleton,	Hall,	McKinley,	St. Martin,
Catchings,	Halsell,	McMillin,	Stone, Wm. J., Mo.
Clardy,	Hammond,	McRae,	Struble,
Clements,	Hanback,	Miller,	Symes,
Cobb,	Harris,	Moffatt,	Tarnsey,
Comstock,	Hatch,	Morgan,	Taulbee,
Conger,	Heard,	Morrill,	Taylor, Ezra B.
Cooper,	Henderson, D. B.	Morrison,	Taylor, John M.
Cowles,	Henderson, John S.	Morrow,	Taylor, Zach.
Cox,	Henderson, Thos. J.	Murphy,	Thomas, Ormsby B.
Crain,	Henley,	Neal,	Thompson,
Crisp,	Hepburn,	Neece,	Throckmorton,
Croxton,	Herbert,	Oates,	Tillman,
Culberson,	Herman,	O'Donnell,	Trigg,
Curtin,	Hill,	O'Ferrall,	Tucker,
Cutcheon,	Hitt,	O'Hara,	Turner,
Daniel,	Holman,	O'Neill, John J.	Van Eaton,
Davidson, Alex. C.	Holmes,	Osborne,	Wade,

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Wakefield,	Weaver, James B.	Wilkins,	Woodburn,
Ward, James H.	Wellborn,	Willis,	Worthington.
Warner, A. J.	Wheeler,	Wilson,	
Warner, William	White, Alexander C.	Wise,	
Weaver, Archib'd J.	White, Milo.	Wolford,	

Democrats, 180; Republicans, 71.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. REAGAN moved to reconsider the vote last taken, and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table; which latter motion was agreed to.

The question then recurring upon the engrossment and third reading of the bill, and being put, namely, Will the House agree thereto? It was decided in the negative—yeas 126, nays 163, not voting 34.

The yeas and nays being desired by one-fifth of the members present, those who voted in the affirmative are—

Anderson, John A.	Forney,	Lowry,	Sessions,
Ballentine,	Frederick,	Markham,	Singleton,
Barksdale,	Funston,	Matson,	Skinner,
Barnes,	Glass,	Maybury,	Snyder,
Barry,	Goff,	McMillin,	Springer,
Bennett,	Green, Wharton J.	McRae,	Stewart, Charles,
Bland,	Hale,	Miller,	St. Martin,
Brady,	Halsell,	Morrill,	Stone, Wm. J., Mo.
Breckinridge, C. R.	Hammond,	Morrow,	Symes,
Brumm,	Hanback,	Neal,	Tarsney,
Burnes,	Harris,	Neece,	Taulbee,
Bynum,	Hatch,	O'Ferrall,	Taylor, John M.
Cabell,	Heard,	O'Hara,	Taylor, Zach.
Caldwell,	Henderson, Thos. J.	O'Neill, John J.	Throckmorton,
Candler,	Henley,	Owen,	Tillman,
Carleton,	Hermann,	Payson,	Trigg,
Clardy,	Hill,	Peel,	Van Eaton,
Clements,	Holman,	Perkins,	Wade,
Cobb,	Houk,	Perry,	Warner, A. J.
Comstock,	Howard,	Peters,	Warner, William
Cowles,	Irion,	Plumb,	Weaver, Arch. J.
Crisp,	Johnston, James T.	Price,	Weaver, James B.
Croxton,	Johnston, Thos. D.	Reagan,	Wellborn,
Culberson,	Jones, James H.	Reid, James W.	Wheeler,
Curtin,	King,	Reese,	White, Alex. C.
Daniel,	Kleiner,	Richardson,	Wilkins,
Dawson,	Lafoon,	Riggs,	Wise,
Dockery,	Landes,	Robertson,	Wolford,
Dunn,	Lanham,	Rogers,	Woodburn,
Eldredge,	Lawler,	Ryan,	Worthington.
Ellisberry,	Le Fevre,	Sayers,	
Ford,	Louttit,	Seney,	

Democrats, 96; Republicans, 30.

Those who voted in the negative are—

Adams, George E.	Campbell, James E.	Farquhar,	Hiestand,
Allen, Charles H.	Campbell, T. J.	Felton,	Hires,
Anderson, Chas. M.	Cannon,	Findlay,	Hitt,
Arnot,	Catchings,	Fisher,	Holmes,
Atkinson,	Cole,	Fleeger,	Hopkins,
Baker,	Collins,	Foran,	James,
Barbour,	Conger,	Fuller,	Johnson, Fred'k A.
Bayne,	Cooper,	Gallinger,	Ketcham,
Beach,	Cox,	Gay,	La Follette,
Belmont,	Crain,	Geddes,	Laird,
Bingham,	Cutcheon,	Gibson, Charles H.	Lehbach,
Blanchard,	Davenport,	Gilfillan,	Lindsley,
Bliss,	Davidson, Alex. C.	Glover,	Little,
Blount,	Davidson, R. H. M.	Green, Robert S.	Long,
Bound,	Davis,	Grosvenor,	Lore,
Boutelle,	Dibble,	Groat,	Lovering,
Boyle,	Dingley,	Guenther,	Lyman,
Breckinridge, WCP	Dorsey,	Hall,	Mahoney,
Brown, William W.	Dougherty,	Harmer,	Martin,
Browne, Thomas M.	Dowdley,	Haynes,	McAdoo,
Buchanan,	Dunham,	Hemphill,	McComas,
Bunnell,	Eden,	Henderson, D. B.	McCreary,
Burleigh,	Ely,	Henderson, John S.	McKenna,
Burrows,	Ermentrout,	Hepburn,	McKinley,
Butterworth,	Evans,	Herbert,	Merriman,
Campbell, Felix	Everbart,	Hewitt,	Millard,

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Milliken,	Phelps,	Sowden,	Thompson,
Mitchell,	Pindar,	Spooner,	Tucker,
Moffatt,	Pulitzer,	Sprigge,	Turner,
Morgan,	Randall,	Stahinecker,	Viele,
Morrison,	Banney,	Steele,	Wadsworth,
Muller,	Reed, Thomas B,	Stephenson,	Wait,
Murphy,	Rockwell,	Stewart, John W.	Wakefield,
Norwood,	Romels,	Stone, Eben F.	Ward, James H.
Oates,	Rowell,	Storm,	Webb,
O'Donnell,	Sawyer,	Strait,	West,
O'Neill, Charles	Scott,	Struble,	White, Milo
Osborne,	Scranton,	Swinburne,	Whiting,
Outhwaite,	Seymour,	Swope,	Willis,
Parker,	Shaw,	Taylor, Ezra B.	Wilson.
Payne,	Smalls,	Thomas, Ormsby B.	

Democrats, 70; Republicans, 93.

So the House refused to order the said bill to be engrossed and read the third time.

Mr. James moved to reconsider the vote last taken, and also moved that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table; which latter motion was agreed to.

It will be observed that in the vote to suspend coinage above given there were in favor of the substitute suspending coinage—Republicans 51, Democrats 33. On the original bill providing for the free coinage there were—Democrats 93, Republicans only 30. This latter vote was at that time a fair test of the sentiment and standing in the House and in the country on the subject of free coinage, that is, at least three to one in favor of the Democrats, or three Democrats to one Republican in favor of the free coinage of silver.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Thursday, June 5, 1890.*

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am instructed by the Committee on Rules to report back a substitute for the resolution referred to that committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

"The Committee on Rules, to whom was referred the accompanying House resolution of March 31, 1890, in relation to the bill H. R. 5331, have considered the same and beg leave to report the following substitute:

"Resolved, That upon the passage of this resolution the House proceed to consider House bill 5331, and said consideration shall continue until Saturday, June 7, when the previous question shall be considered as ordered at 3 o'clock p. m., on the bill and pending amendments, and that the House meet at 11 o'clock on Friday and Saturday next."

Mr. MCKINLEY. Upon that I demand the previous question.

Mr. BLOUNT. I hope the gentleman from Ohio will allow me to offer an amendment.

Mr. PETERS. What is the bill?

Mr. MCKINLEY. It is the silver bill.

Mr. BLOUNT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Ohio allow my amendment to be offered?

Mr. MCKINLEY. I can not yield to have an amendment offered.

Mr. BLAND. I would like to have the amendment of the gentlemen from Georgia read for information.

Mr. BLOUNT. I hope the gentleman will consent to have it read.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I ask for the previous question.

The question was put; and the Speaker announced that the "ayes" seemed to have it.

The SPEAKER. The question is upon agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. BLOUNT. Mr. Speaker, there are forty minutes under the rule for debate, and I want to use twenty minutes on this side. Does the gentleman from Ohio desire to occupy the time now?

Mr. MCKINLEY. Not at this time.

Mr. BLOUNT. You cut off the usual debate on the tariff question. You prohibited this House from voting on hundreds of amendments to the tariff bill in the interest of the people; and now when this question comes up, a question which is pressing upon every one, in relation to the use of silver as money in this land, you meet us with a proposition which denies to the minority the right to make any amendment to these bills.

I submit that that is not fair; that it is a wicked and shameless outrage on the minority, on fair discussion, on fair debate, on proper deliberation. It takes from this body the bare right to even vote upon a great question like that of the free coinage of silver. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And, sir, I trust that those on the majority side of the House who seem to fear the veto of the President of the United States and who would join us in voting for free coinage and making it the law of the land if it were not for the President of the United States realize that they are in a pitiable situation. The Secretary of the Treasury is denouncing in official reports the "72-cent dollar," the silver

dollar. The President of the United States is in accord with him, and both are in accord with Wall street. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Ay, sir, in the presence of the President, in the presence of the enemies of free coinage, many on the majority side of this body quail, tremble, are powerless, are driven to trample down the rules of this House, the right of debate, and the right of amendment. Mr. Speaker, it is a humiliating sight for an American citizen. It is a humiliating situation in the eyes of any man born and bred under the teachings of English and American law. I know not what other record we shall make here, but, thank God, our terms of office are not eternal. If the legislative department of the Government, if the Executive of the United States is yielding to the influence of the money power, there is amongst the masses of the people a power, and a consciousness of power, to dictate and enforce legislation in their interest. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And you gentlemen on the other side of the House who propose to adopt this rule and force it upon us, think not that this screen which has been put about you to conceal your action from the people whom you are falsely representing here will suffice.

Mr. Speaker, how much time have I left?

THE SPEAKER. The gentleman has nine minutes left.

Mr. BLOUNT. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND].

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have no question whatever in my mind that if there was a fair opportunity for debate and amendment of this bill a large majority of this House would be found in favor of the unlimited coinage of silver. I suppose there is no doubt in the House or in the mind of any member of it that that is the fact. In order to prevent that fact from appearing upon the records of this House it is proposed, by a gag rule, not only to gag the Republican members of this body who are in favor of free coinage, but also nearly the whole Democratic party here, because, with about fifteen or twenty exceptions, all of us on this side of the House are in favor of free coinage.

Mr. Speaker, it was agreed in the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, it was the understanding in that committee when the bills were reported, that the free-coinage bill, the substitute that has been reported here by the minority, should be voted upon in this House. That would have given fair play, a fair opportunity for intelligent legislation. But now, sir, I am informed by the gentleman from Georgia [M. BLOUNT] that this order prevents not only the offering of an amendment like the proposition for free coinage, but any other amendment that may be required to perfect the bill, unless it comes from the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, who, up to this hour, has shown his hostility to every other bill than a measure coupling with it the demonetization of silver by permitting bullion to go out of the Treasury as fast as it comes in.

Now, gentlemen who are in favor of free coinage can have a vote on that question by voting down this order, and I want the country and this House to understand, and I want it to go into the record here, that every gentleman who votes for this order votes against free coinage, votes to gag this House and prevent it from passing upon the question of free coinage, and I dare gentlemen to face their constituents on that proposition. You gentlemen from the mining States, you gentlemen from the West, whose people are demanding the free coinage of silver, I appeal to you. You know that a vote to pass this order gags your own voices and your own votes upon this question, and your constituents shall know it.

Now go on the record if you dare to do it.

Here is an order that cuts off all amendments of that sort, that gags this House; and every gentleman representing a free-coinage constituency who votes for this order votes to gag himself, votes against free coinage, and he ought to stand condemned as utterly unfit to represent a people who favor that measure. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And the people will remember him. A man who has not the manhood and the independence to stand up against this gag rule is an unfit Representative for intelligent people who want free coinage. [Applause.]

I speak of those Representatives who while they have declared themselves in favor of free coinage are willing to gag themselves against it on this floor. [Renewed applause.] Their record will be made on this roll-call. Gentlemen, you can not escape a vote for or against free coinage by this gag order, because a vote for it is a vote against free coinage; and we shall ascertain when that vote is announced who it is that is willing to deny this House a vote on this question after his people have sent him here with the expectation that he would vote for free coinage, and while his constituents are petitioning him to-day to vote for it. For the people hold this question, as I have always held it, far above party or party considerations, and they expect you to act independently upon it; for it is not a party measure except as you undertake to make it a party measure by gagging members on this side of the House against debate and against fair amendment.

Now, as I stated in the beginning, it was the understanding of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures when these bills were reported that when

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this measure should come up in the House a free-coinage bill should be pending and should be voted upon.
[Here the hammer fell.]

* * * * *

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, my colleague [Mr. CANNON] states that during the time that the Democratic party had possession and control of legislation in the House of Representatives no bill remonetizing silver and granting the free coinage of silver had passed. In this he is entirely mistaken. The House did pass a free-coinage bill in the Forty-fifth Congress (November 5, 1877), which went to the Senate, and there the amendment was put upon it by a Republican Senate which limited the coinage to not exceeding four millions, or less than two millions a month, and we were forced to accept that as a compromise measure on the demand of the Republicans. [Applause on the Democratic side.] That bill was vetoed by a Republican President and was passed over the veto. The bill then passed is the existing law.

But I wish to call the attention of the House to the effect of the resolution now offered by the Committee on Rules, in view of the recognition which the Speaker has in his power under it. The parliamentary situation amounts to this simply, that no amendment can be offered, no recognition will be given to those favoring the free coinage of silver, and no opportunity will be given of presenting that question fairly before the House. Under the resolution as presented, no amendments except those suggested by the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures will be entertained by the Chair or be in order for consideration.

This resolution is so framed as to prevent this side of the House, as well as the minority on the other side of the House—for, gentlemen, you will have to take the "gag law" yourselves, as well as this side, on this question, if you adopt this proposition—it is so framed that no amendment is to be allowed in which the friends of the free coinage of silver can present their views for a fair vote in this House, and the members on this side, as well as the members from the Northwestern States on the other side of the House, are completely gagged and cut off from that opportunity.

Against this I enter my solemn protest and denunciation. This action is intended to prevent the representatives of the people from carrying out the demands of the people on this question, and the constituents of those who vote for this resolution will repudiate them at the polls for their action. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was put; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 120, nays 117, not voting 90; as follows:

YEAS—120.

Adams,	Craig,	La Follette,	Reyburn,
Allen, Mich.	Dalzell,	Laws,	Rife,
Atkinson, Pa.	Darlington,	Lind,	Rockwell,
Atkinson, W. Va.	Dingley,	Lodge,	Rowell,
Baker,	Dolliver,	Mason,	Russell,
Bayne,	Dorsey,	McComas,	Scull,
Beckwith,	Dunnell,	McCord,	Simonds,
Belden,	Evans,	McCormick,	Smith, W. Va.
Belknap,	Farquhar,	McDuffie,	Smyser,
Bergen,	Finley,	McKinley,	Snider,
Bingham,	Flick,	Miles,	Stephenson,
Bloss,	Flood,	Milliken,	Stivers,
Blount,	Frank,	Moffitt,	Stockbridge,
Brewer,	Gear,	Moore, N. H.	Struble,
Brosius,	Gifford,	Morey,	Swaney,
Brower,	Greenhalge,	Morrill,	Taylor, E. B.
Browne, Va.	Hall,	Morse,	Taylor, Ill.
Buchanan, N. J.	Hansbrough,	Mudd,	Taylor, Tenn.
Burrows,	Harmer,	O'Donnell,	Thomas,
Burton,	Haugen,	O'Neill, Pa.	Thompson,
Butterworth,	Henderson, Ill.	Osborne,	Turner, Kans.
Caldwell,	Henderson, Iowa	Payne,	Van Schaick,
Cannon,	Hitt,	Payson,	Wade,
Caswell,	Hopkins,	Perkins,	Walker, Mass.
Cheadle,	Houk,	Pieklor,	Wickham,
Clark, Wis.	Kennedy,	Post,	Williams, Ohio
Cogswell,	Kerr, Iowa	Raines,	Wilson, Ky.
Coleman,	Ketcham,	Randall,	Wilson, Wash.
Cdmstock,	Kinsey,	Ray,	Wright,
Conger,	Lacey,	Reed, Iowa	Yardley.

Republicans 119, Democrat 1.

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NAYS—117.

Abbott,	Dargan,	Lester, Ga.	Robertson,
Alderson,	Davidson,	Lewis,	Rogers,
Anderson, Kans.	De Haven,	Magner,	Rowland,
Bankhead,	Dockery,	Mansur,	Sayers,
Barnes,	Dunphy,	Martin, Ind.	Seney,
Bartine,	Edmunds,	McAdoo,	Shively,
Barwig,	Elliott,	McCarthy,	Skinner,
Biggs,	Ellis,	McClammy,	Springer,
Blanchard,	Enloe,	McClellan,	Stewart, Tex.
Bland,	Featherston,	McCreary,	Stockdale,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Fitch,	McRae,	Stone, Ky.
Brickner,	Flower,	Montgomery,	Stone, Mo.
Brookshire,	Forney,	Moore, Tex.	Tarsney,
Brown, J. B.	Fowler,	Morgan,	Tillman,
Brunner,	Funston,	Morrow,	Townsend, Colo.
Buchanan, Va.	Goodnight,	Mutchler,	Tracey,
Buckalew,	Grimes,	Oates,	Tucker,
Bynum,	Hatch,	O'Ferrall,	Turner, Ga.
Candler, Ga.	Hayes,	O'Neill, Ind.	Vandever,
Caruth,	Haynes,	O'Neil, Mass.	Vaux,
Chipman,	Heard,	Outhwaite,	Walker, Mo.
Clancy,	Hemphill,	Owens, Ohio	Washington,
Clarke, Ala.	Henderson, N. C.	Parrett,	Whitthorne,
Clunie,	Herbert,	Paynter,	Wike,
Cobb,	Hermann,	Peel,	Willcox,
Connell,	Holman,	Perry,	Williams, Ill.
Cooper, Ind.	Kelley,	Pierce,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cowles,	Kilgore,	Quinn,	
Crisp,	Lane,	Relly,	
Culbertson, Tex.	Lanham,	Richardson,	

Democrats 106, Republicans 11.

So the resolution was adopted.

Mr. BLOUNT, a Democrat, who voted for the resolution, did so in order to move a reconsideration.

The vote was recapitulated.

Mr. BLOUNT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to change my vote.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the name of the gentleman.

The name of Mr. BLOUNT was called, and he voted "yea."

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

Mr. BLOUNT. I move to reconsider the motion by which the resolution was adopted.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. BLOUNT. On that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 124, nays 118, not voting 85; as follows:

YEAS—124.

Adams,	Clark, Wis.	Harmer,	Moffitt,
Allen, Mich.	Cogswell,	Haugen,	Moore, N. H.
Atkinson, Pa.	Coleman,	Henderson, Ill.	Morey,
Atkinson, W. Va.	Comstock,	Henderson, Iowa	Morrill,
Baker,	Conger,	Hill,	Morse,
Banks,	Craig,	Hitt,	Mudd,
Bayne,	Dalzell,	Hopkins,	O'Donnell,
Beckwith,	Darlington,	Houk,	O'Neill, Pa.
Belden,	Dingley,	Kennedy,	Osborne,
Belknap,	Dolliver,	Kerr, Iowa	Payne,
Bergen,	Dorsey,	Ketcham,	Payson,
Bingham,	Dunnell,	Kinsey,	Pickens,
Elias,	Evans,	Lacey,	Pickler,
Brewer,	Farquhar,	La Pollette,	Post,
Brosius,	Featherston,	Laws,	Raines,
Brower,	Finley,	Lind,	Randall,
Browne, Va.	Flick,	Lodge,	Ray,
Buchanan, N. J.	Flood,	Mason,	Reed, Iowa
Burrows,	Frank,	McComas,	Reyburn,
Burton,	Gear,	McCord,	Rife,
Butterworth,	Gest,	McCormick,	Rockwell,
Caldwell,	Gifford,	McDuffie,	Rowell,
Cannon,	Greenhalge,	McKinley,	Russell,
Caswell,	Hall,	Miles,	Scull,
Cheadle,	Hansbrough,	Milliken,	Simonds,

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Smith, W. Va.	Strubie,	Thompson,	Wickham,
Smyser,	Sweeney,	Vandever,	Williams, Ohio
Snider,	Taylor, E. B.	Van Senaleck,	Wilson, Ky.
Stephenson,	Taylor, Ill.	Wade,	Wilson, Wash.
Stivers,	Taylor, Tenn.	Walker, Mass.	Wright,
Stockbridge,	Thomas,	Watson.	Yardley.

All Republicans.

NAYS—118.

Abbott,	Crisp,	Lanham,	Rogers,
Alderson,	Culberson, Tex.	Lester, Ga.	Rowland,
Anderson, Kans.	Dargan,	Lewis,	Sayers,
Bankhead,	Davidson,	Magner,	Seney.
Barnes,	De Haven,	Mansur,	Skinely,
Bartine,	Dockery,	Martin, Ind.	Skinner,
Barwig,	Dumphy,	McCarthy,	Springer,
Biggs,	Edmunds,	McClannay,	Stewart, Tex.
Blanchard,	Elliott,	McClellan,	Stockdale,
Bland,	Ellis,	McCreary,	Stone, Ky.
Blount,	Enloe,	McRae,	Stone, Mo.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Fitch,	Montgomery,	Tarsney,
Brickner,	Flower,	Moore, Tex.	Tillman,
Brookshire,	Forney,	Morgan,	Townsend, Colo.
Brown, J. B.	Fowler,	Morrow,	Tracey,
Brunner,	Funston,	Mutehler,	Tucker,
Buchanan, Va.	Goodnight,	Oates,	Turner, Ga.
Buckalew,	Grimes,	O'Ferrall,	Vaux,
Bynum,	Hatch,	O'Neal, Ind.	Walker, Mo.
Candler, Ga.	Hayes,	Outhwaite,	Washington,
Caruth,	Haynes,	Owens, Ohio	Wheeler, Ala.
Catchings,	Heard,	Parrett,	Whitthorne,
Chipman,	Hemphill,	Paynter,	Wike,
Clancy,	Henderson, N. C.	Peel,	Wiley,
Clarke, Ala.	Herbert,	Perry,	Willcox,
Clunie,	Hermann,	Pierce,	Williams, Ill.
Cobb,	Holman,	Quinn,	Wilson, Mo.
Gonnell,	Kelley,	Reilly,	Wilson, W. Va.
Cooper, Ind.	Kilgore,	Richardson,	
Cowles,	Lane,	Robertson,	

Democrats 109, Republicans 9.

So the motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The regular order has been called for.

Mr. HEARD. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry, or rather to a matter of information. I was not in the House when the order under which we are about to proceed was read; and I ask the Chair for information now as to when it will be in order to offer amendments, if any are to be offered, to this bill. If at 3 o'clock on Saturday the previous question is to be considered as ordered, when will it be in order, if at all, to offer amendments to the bill?

The SPEAKER. It will be in order after the bill has been read.

Mr. HEARD. That is just what I wanted to know.

Mr. SPRINGER. When will it be in order to have a vote on them?

The SPEAKER. The regular order is called for and the bill will be read.

Mr. SPRINGER. I demand the reading of the bill at length.

Mr. BLOUNT. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will hear the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. BLOUNT. Does this debate proceed under the hour rule?

The SPEAKER. The debate proceeds under the hour rule.

The bill (H. R. 5381) authorizing the issue of Treasury notes on deposits of silver bullion was read.

* * * * *

Mr. CONGEE. I desire to offer a substitute. I move to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill just read and substitute what I send to the desk.

Mr. MCCOMAS. And I desire to offer an amendment to be pending as an amendment to that substitute.

The SPEAKER. The proposed substitute will first be read.

Mr. ROGERS. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry. I would like to know whether the amendment now offered is a bill which members can send for and obtain. I observe it is a long bill; and I would like to know whether we can get it.

The SPEAKER. That is not a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. ROGERS. I hope the gentleman who offers the amendment will give us that information. Is this amendment a bill which we can get by sending to the document-room?

Mr. CONGEE. You can get it; but there are some amendments to it.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that it will be printed in the RECORD of to-morrow morning.

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Mr. BLAND. I object to undertaking to debate a proposition which we have no opportunity to examine.

The SPEAKER. It will be read to the House. The Clerk will report the substitute offered by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. CONGER].

The Clerk read the proposed substitute, as follows:

"Substitute submitted by Mr. CONGER, namely: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of \$4,500,000 worth in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States to be prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury, in such form and of such denominations, not less than \$1 nor more \$1,000, as he may prescribe, and a sum sufficient to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

"SEC. 2. That the Treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be redeemable on demand, in coin, at the Treasury of the United States or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and when so redeemed may be reissued; but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding any time than the cost of the silver bullion then held in the Treasury purchased by such notes; and such Treasury notes shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such notes when held by any national-banking association may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve: *Provided*, That upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury may, at the discretion and under such regulations as he shall prescribe, exchange for such notes an amount of silver bullion which shall be equal in value at the market price thereof on the day of exchange to the amount of such notes presented.

"SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall coin such portion of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

"SEC. 4. That the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act shall be subject to the requirements of existing law and the regulations of the mint service governing the methods of determining the amount of pure silver contained, and the amount of charges or deductions, if any, to be made.

"SEC. 5. That so much of the act of February 28, 1878, entitled 'An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,' as requires the monthly purchase and coinage of the same into silver dollars of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, is hereby repealed.

"SEC. 6. That whenever the market price of silver, as determined in pursuance of section 1 of this act, is \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, it shall be lawful for the owner of any silver bullion to deposit the same at any coinage mint of the United States, to be formed into standard silver dollars for his benefit, as provided in the act of January 18, 1837.

"SEC. 7. That upon the passage of this act the balances standing with the Treasurer of the United States to the respective credits of the national banks for deposits made to redeem the circulating notes of such banks, and all deposits thereafter received for like purpose, shall be covered into the Treasury as a miscellaneous receipt, and the Treasurer of the United States shall redeem from the general cash in the Treasury the circulating notes of said banks which may come into his possession subject to redemption; and upon the certificate of the Comptroller of the Currency that such notes have been received by him and that they have been destroyed and that no new notes will be issued in their place, reimbursement of their amount shall be made to the Treasurer, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, from an appropriation hereby created, to be known as "National-bank notes; redemption account;" but the provisions of this act shall not apply to the deposits received under section 3 of the act of June 20, 1874, requiring every national bank to keep in lawful money with the Treasurer of the United States a sum equal to 5 per cent. of its circulation, to be held and used for the redemption of its circulating notes; and the balance remaining of the deposits so covered shall, at the close of each month, be reported on the monthly public-debt statement as debt of the United States bearing no interest.

"SEC. 8. That this act shall take effect thirty days from and after its passage."

Mr. MCOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment to the substitute.

Mr. BLAND. I wish to offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland is recognized to offer an amendment, which will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Amend by adding to section 6:

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“And purchases of silver bullion shall be suspended while it is being so deposited for coinage.”

Mr. TAYLOR, of Illinois. I offer an amendment to the original bill.

Mr. BLAND. I offer an amendment to the amendment.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized to offer an amendment.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I have risen to offer an amendment.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the amendment proposed by the gentleman from Illinois.

The Clerk read as follows:

“Add to section 1 of the original bill: ‘Provided, That if the net amount of silver bullion received in accordance herewith and not paid out as hereinafter provided shall be less than \$2,000,000 worth in any one month, it shall then be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, during the succeeding month, at the market price, not exceeding, however, \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, an amount of silver bullion equal to such deficiency, and to issue in payment therefor Treasury notes hereinafter provided for.’”

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to offer an amendment.

Mr. O'DONNELL. Mr. Speaker, I offer a further amendment to the original bill.

The SPEAKER. The amendment of the gentleman from Michigan will be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

“Amend the amendment by striking out the word ‘two’ and inserting in lieu thereof the word ‘three.’”

Mr. CONGER was recognized.

Mr. BLAND. I desire to offer a substitute for the two amendments.

The SPEAKER. It will not be in order.

Mr. CONGER. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, when will it be in order—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa has been recognized.

Mr. BLAND. I rise to a question of order. There have been two amendments offered to the original bill. I now desire to offer a substitute for the two. That is certainly in order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. McCREARY. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BLAND. I want to know if it is not in order under parliamentary proceedings to offer a substitute at this time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri is not in order. The gentleman from Iowa in charge of the bill has been recognized.

Mr. BLAND. I rose to a parliamentary inquiry. I certainly have a right to an answer to my parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will examine that question when the amendment is offered.

Mr. BLAND. Then will the Chair recognize me to offer a substitute?

The SPEAKER. That is another matter altogether.

Mr. BLAND. Yes, evidently.

Mr. McCREARY. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa will proceed.

Mr. McCREARY. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Kentucky rise?

Mr. McCREARY. I have been trying for some time to make myself heard in order to secure recognition of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. But the gentleman will recognize the difficulty of obtaining recognition of the Chair when another gentleman has already got it. [Laughter.]

Mr. McCREARY. But I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. McCOMAS] offered an amendment to the substitute, and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. TAYLOR] offered an amendment, and then the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'DONNELL] offered a further amendment.

Now, my friend and colleague from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] desires to offer a substitute for one or all of the pending amendments, and asked recognition for that purpose. He rose in time and addressed the Chair. Other gentlemen were recognized. Now, I desire to know when it will be in order for his substitute to be presented and when will it be in order for an amendment to be offered from this side of the House.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks the gentleman from Kentucky understands the rules of the House to such an extent that it is impossible to instruct him further.

Mr. McCREARY. If there is anything in the rules of the House forbidding this, I do not know it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa will proceed.

Mr. McCREARY. Was the Speaker making his ruling on the resolution adopted by the House this morning?

The SPEAKER. Precisely.

Mr. McCREARY. Which, as construed, excludes us from offering amendments.

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman from Kentucky understands that, why does he ask the Chair for information? [Laughter.]

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Mr. MCCREARY. I wanted to get a ruling from the Speaker as to the order to be enforced.

The SPEAKER. If the question arises the Speaker will rule according to the rules of the House.

Mr. MCCREARY. The reason I asked was to get instructions from the Speaker on that point.

The SPEAKER. Then the Chair hopes the gentleman is satisfied with the instructions he has received. [Laughter.]

Mr. MCCREARY. They are not altogether satisfactory. [Renewed laughter.]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Friday, June 6, 1890.*

SILVER-BULLION CERTIFICATES.

The House, according to order, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 5381) authorizing the issue of Treasury notes on deposits of silver bullion.

Mr. MOORE, of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the bill we have under consideration is a sham and a fraud. The Republican party, in its platform for 1888, pledged itself to the restoration of silver as money. It said:

"The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver."

On that declaration the party rode into power. Every one of the co-ordinate branches of our federated States is in its hands. A Republican sits in the White House surrounded by Republican advisers. Forty-seven Republican Senators as against thirty-seven Democrats answer to roll at the other end of this building. Here there were one hundred and sixty-nine Republicans to one hundred and sixty-one Democrats, eight Republican majority as we came from the people, and I forget how many have been elected since by the committee of which I have the honor to be a member, through the efficient aid of the Speaker's eye and his ability as a counter. The party can give no possible excuse for not redeeming its pledge to the people by which it secured power, and yet a Republican caucus presents us this abortion and asks its acceptance.

I said, Mr. Speaker, the party could give no excuse for not redeeming its pledge. It has and could offer one which would have to be accepted as valid because it has the advantage of being true. The masters and owners of the Republican party will not permit it to legislate for the benefit of the people as against their interests. The money kings of Wall and State streets will not allow silver to be remonetized, because it would be one step, and a firm one, toward the redemption of the people from vassalage to them. The orders have gone forth from these money magnates that silver must not be remonetized; and the Republican party, first through its President and Cabinet and then in its joint caucus of Republican Senators and Representatives, meekly obeys, bows its neck to receive the foot of its master, and presents a bill that is a shame and a disgrace.

Mr. Speaker, the wonderful spectacle is presented in this House, that we are now considering a bill as a substitute which has been considered by no committee of this House; no member upon the Democratic side has ever seen it or its provisions, until this morning it is printed in the RECORD. Yet, sir, it is a bill proposing to change our whole financial system as it relates to silver—a mere Republican caucus bill.

Mr. Speaker, it is accompanied with a rule adopted by the majority at the moment of its introduction, that the previous question be considered as adopted, a vote to be taken to-morrow evening at 3 o'clock, without the right of any member to offer any amendment or to secure a vote upon the great question of the free coinage of silver.

Why, I ask, is it necessary to put a gag in the mouth of the friends of free coinage of silver?

It is obvious that this rule has been invented and is now applied with great severity to thwart the representatives of the people, a majority of whom do, in good faith, propose to have free coinage of silver. You are afraid to give its friends upon your side and upon this side an opportunity to represent the people.

Hence this gag law and the decree of a Republican caucus to whip and coerce your dissentients into the most servile obedience!

These, sir, are the means used to commit this fraud and deception upon the people.

They demand that there shall be a greater volume of money. You and your party answer, "More taxes and less money;" for I say after repealing the law commanding the Secretary of the Treasury to coin \$2,000,000 a month of silver not one dollar will be coined under this bill and this Secretary.

Murder is fearful under any circumstances, calling forth the anger of Almighty God and the execration of mankind; but, sir, what should be said of it when committed in the household of friends and by those who kiss when they stab?

This is the sad fate of free silver, strangled and killed in this House by those who pretend to be its friends. Its murder is complete! The golden calf is now set up! And the American people are commanded to fall down and worship.

M'RAE

Mr. MCRAE. The question of money, its issue, the regulation of its value and the control of its volume, is perhaps the most important that the Congress of the United States has to deal with. It affects the interest of everybody, rich and poor, weak and strong. The course of legislation upon this subject has not been such as to satisfy the great body of the American people, but rather to convince them that it has been shaped in the interest of those who have fixed incomes and against the interest of the producers, wage-earners, and all who earn their living by labor, either in the field, shop, counting-room, or office. The condition of our monetary system at this time is such as should arrest the attention of the honest, thinking men of all parties and receive the most earnest consideration. As Representatives we should approach this question with caution, but at the same time with a fixed and determined purpose to do what is right without regard to what political party will be benefited by a proper settlement of it. It is a question that rises far above any party triumph. As one who loves our institutions and is desirous of having them transmitted to future generations, I beg the House to lay aside all partisan feeling and do what is right—what the people, our masters, have demanded of us, their servants, and what I know a majority of this Congress, freed from party dictation, is satisfied ought to be done—pass the free-coinage bill. This is what the people have asked for and that is what they have a right to expect, and they will never be satisfied until they get it. It is trifling with their interest to hesitate longer.

* * * * *

THE CRIME OF 1873 CONFESSED.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to pass from the pending bill back to the demonetization act of 1873. I have some new facts connected with its passage recently brought to my attention. In the first place, I desire to correct a statement which I made in the Forty-ninth Congress, touching the passage of that act through Congress. For a long time the people have been under the firm impression that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver was surreptitiously and secretly passed. I so stated in 1886. I made that statement because the President who approved the bill and many prominent men who were in Congress at that time disclaimed all knowledge of the demonetization feature. This has been accepted as the truth until recently.

But yesterday it was clearly shown by Senator SHERMAN, in his speech in the Senate, that such is not the fact. He has conclusively shown that it was a premeditated, well organized scheme on the part of the Republican Administration and the leaders of the party in the House and Senate at that time to strike down the silver money; that it was the policy of the Republican party to do exactly what was done. He wants it understood that he knew all about it. He wants the party to take credit for the act. The bill was drawn to conceal the intention from the few Democrats then in Congress. They struck down silver when it was at a premium and because it was at a premium; and now they have the audacity to declare that there was no mistake about it, that they intended to do it, that they were responsible for the legislation.

This bold confession is made at the other end of this Capitol by this distinguished Senator and contractionist at the very moment when his party friends here are asking for the passage of a bill that makes it possible for a Republican Secretary to accomplish the same result.

* * * * *

Give me your attention while I read a paragraph from the speech made by Mr. Hooper, a Republican, who had charge of the bill in the

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House. His remarks appear in the Congressional Globe, volume 89, page 2304, the date being April 9, 1873. In his speech made at that time explaining this bill Mr. Hooper said:

The bill under consideration is believed to contain all that is valuable in existing laws, with such new provisions added as appear necessary to those best acquainted with the subject for the efficiency and economy of the public service in the important department to which it relates. The bill was prepared two years ago, and has been submitted to careful and deliberate examination. It has the approval of nearly all the mint experts of the country and the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Speaker, here is the part to which I want to direct the special attention of this House and the country:

Mr. Ernest Seyd, of London, a distinguished writer, who has given great attention to the subject of mints and coinage, after examining the first draught of the bill, furnished many valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in this bill.

While the committee take no credit to themselves for the original preparation of this bill, they have given to it the most careful consideration, and have no hesitation in unanimously recommending its passage as necessary and expedient.

Great Heaven! Is it possible that this great crime against the American people now confessed was knowingly and willfully committed by the Republican Administration at the suggestion or dictation of this English banker? The following paragraph I take from a publication made by Mrs. Sarah E. V. Emery, of Michigan, quoted by her as having been published about that time:

In 1872, silver being demonetized in France, England, and Holland, a capital of \$500,000 was raised, and Ernest Seyd, of London, was sent to this country with this fund, as agent of the foreign bondholders and capitalists, to effect the same object (demonetization of silver), which was accomplished.

Here is what this lady says about this matter:

I will further add that I heard Hon. Gilbert DeLamatyr say that Judge Kelley told him that he (Kelley) saw the original draught of the bill for the demonetization of silver, and it was in Ernest Seyd's own handwriting.

Now, in the name of all that is honest and manly, is it possible that the Congress of the United States, at the suggestion of an English banker, whether he had money or not, whether he used it or not, was the means by which silver was struck down and so much suffering brought upon our people? If this be true you need not be surprised that the people look with suspicion on the scheme now pending. But let me say to you that if you strike it down again it will not be seventeen years before the people will know who did it and the reason why it was done. They have their eyes on you.

* * * * *

Reference has been made to the position of Mr. Cleveland on the silver question. He was not in accord with his party on this question, and you gentlemen know it. But he never sought to demonetize silver as has been asserted here to-day. He wanted the power to suspend the coinage in his discretion, leaving the outstanding circulation to be a legal tender under existing law, whereas the pending proposition looks toward the complete demonetization. He did not want to demonetize silver, as the Republican party did do and seek to do again by this bill. Gentlemen have referred to his record upon that question, but they forget the fact that a large majority of his party met him at the threshold of his Administration and silenced him by refusing to give him any discretion over silver. General Warner, Judge REAGAN, Mr. BLAND, and other gentlemen went to him as candid, honest Democrats, and informed him that he was not in accord with the party, and that his position could not be maintained before the country. He has long since seen his error.

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Mr. KERR, of Iowa. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. McRAE. Certainly.

Mr. KERR, of Iowa. Is it not a fact that his Secretary of the Treasury, fully a year, or within two months of a year, after this letter to Mr. Warner, reiterated and elaborated, with more force than Mr. Cleveland himself had done ten months before, the same identical doctrine?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, and that was about all he did or could do. The country did not indorse that report any more than Mr. Cleveland's utterances; and, so far as I am concerned—and I believe I can speak for a large majority of the Democratic party—Mr. Cleveland did not voice the sentiments of the Democracy on that question. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. And it was the greatest mistake he made, and the only one.

Mr. McRAE. Yes; it was the only great error of his Administration. We found our President not in accord with the majority of his party; and by a vote on this floor and by speeches and utterances elsewhere we so declared openly to the world. But your party stood by our President when he was wrong, and a large majority voted for suspension. Now, your President is wrong on the same subject, and yet you, unlike the Democrats, are standing by him also. You are always on the wrong side of this question. We will join you in opposition to this wrong. We will join you in passing a free-coinage bill regardless of whether your President is for it or against it, and I will guaranty you as many, yes, more votes for free coinage now than we gave for it then. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I guaranty if you will furnish as much as one-half of your votes that we will pass a free-coinage bill, if necessary, over your President's veto. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. KERR, of Iowa. Will the gentleman allow another question?

Mr. McRAE. Certainly.

Mr. KERR, of Iowa. Did the committee appointed by your late Speaker ever report a free-coinage bill?

Mr. McRAE. Yes, the committee reported such a bill adversely, in which report all the Republicans joined. A minority of Democrats made a minority report, and they got consideration; and, unlike the proceeding now inaugurated, the minority were allowed to have a vote on the bill in such shape as they saw proper to present it, a course which they are forbidden now to take under this tyrannical special order forced on us by your caucus and the majority of the Committee on Rules. That is the difference. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, again, I want to say that, while no free-coinage bill was passed during Mr. Cleveland's Administration, it is not true that any attempt was made in this House to prevent debate or defeat amendments. The Senate and President were both against free coinage. We knew it, and regretted it, but there was no help for it. There is nothing in Mr. Cleveland's official life that I regret so much as his treatment of silver. He gave the country an honest, clean, business Administration. But for his mistake on the silver question I would regard him as invincible before the people; and I firmly believe he would have been elected in 1888 by a large majority but for that mistake. Notwithstanding this he has a strong hold on the confidence of the people. They admire his candor, his industry, and his lofty courage, and sturdy honesty.

Mr. KERR, of Iowa. Is it not a fact that neither of your national platforms has ever declared by a single expression in favor of the free coinage of silver?

Mr. McRAE. Unlike the Republican party, the Democratic party

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never makes promises that it is unable to perform. [Laughter and applause.] Your party promised it, but now refuses to even allow a vote on it. You promised a great deal on silver, pensions, tariff, and civil service, and what have you done? We do not make promises we are unable to fulfill. When we make pledges we endeavor to carry them out. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Since the gentleman is so much exercised about Mr. Cleveland's position, I will say to him that it appears that a change has come over the spirit of his dreams since he wrote the letter read here to-day. In a recent letter addressed to a gentleman in Ohio, touching the demands of the Farmers' Alliance as promulgated by the St. Louis convention, which declared, among other things, for the free coinage of silver, he stated:

I have received your letter accompanied by a copy of the declaration of principles of the Farmers' Alliance. I see nothing in this declaration that can not be fully indorsed by any man who loves his country, who believes that the object of his Government should be the freedom, prosperity, and happiness of all our people, and who believes that justice and fairness to all are necessary conditions to its useful administration.

If, therefore, the last utterance of the illustrious ex-President is to be counted for anything, he is now in full accord with his party and with this great farmers' organization for free coinage. I trust that he did mean to avow his belief in free coinage, but, whether he did or not, the cause of silver will go on until the dollar of our fathers is restored to its proper place as a measure of value. No man, no set of men, no committee, no caucus, and no political party can longer resist the reasonable demands of the aroused outraged people.

I have noticed this reference to the position of Mr. Cleveland simply because I am satisfied that gentlemen on the other side expect when they go before the country this fall to undertake to deceive the people as to the position of the Democratic party and at the same time divert attention from the sham and fraud proposed by this bill. Now, there are some other people who profess to be Democrats, besides Mr. Cleveland, who have not done their duty in this respect. I am not here to apologize for them. The people will know in due time who they are. You have many such in your party and we have a few in ours. The path of duty for us as honest Representatives who should have the interest of the people at heart, who ought to give the people the relief they are entitled to, is to bury all party pride and march up like men and give unlimited coinage. If the Representatives from Iowa, and Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and from those other States whose people have declared for it will assist us, we will settle it now. Will you do it? If you will not do this will you aid us in striking out what is known as the "bullion-redemption" feature of this bill? I tell you that the Democrats here are willing to join you in any measure that gives relief to the people.

I do not doubt the result of an appeal to the people, but the necessity is too urgent for such delay if it can be avoided. The people want immediate relief. Then let us take this silver question out of politics, and, like patriots, settle it now and here. I know that, if we could poll the individual convictions of the Western Republicans upon this question, enough of them would agree with us to pass such a bill as the country wants.

He who longer hesitates I think misunderstands and misinterprets the mutterings that are coming up from all over this beloved land. I am one of those who believe that the rights, interests, and wishes of all the people should be courageously protected, watchfully guarded, and carefully considered.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, June 7, 1890.

THE SILVER BILL.

The bill as amended by the adoption of the substitute was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time.

Mr. BLAND. I now offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Resolved. That the bill be recommitted to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, with instructions to report back a bill for the free coinage of silver."

Mr. CONGER. Upon that motion I call for the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is upon agreeing to the motion to recommit with instructions.

Mr. SPRINGER. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 116, noes 140; as follows:

YEAS—116.

Abbott,	Cooper, Ind.	Lane,	Robertson,
Alderson,	Cothran,	Lanham,	Rogers,
Allen, Mich.	Cowles,	Lee,	Rowland,
Allen, Miss.	Crain,	Lester, Ga.	Sayers,
Anderson, Kans.	Crisp,	Lester, Va.	Seney,
Bankhead,	Culberson, Tex.	Lewis,	Shively,
Barnes,	Davidson,	Mansur,	Skinner,
Bartine,	De Haven,	Martin, Ind.	Springer,
Barwig,	Dockery,	McClammy,	Stewart, Tex.
Biggs,	Edmunds,	McClellan,	Stockdale,
Blanchard,	Ellis,	McCreary,	Stone, Ky.
Bland,	Enloe,	McRae,	Stone, Mo.
Blount,	Featherston,	Montgomery,	Tarsney,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Forney,	Moore, Tex.	Tillman,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Fowler,	Morgan,	Townsend, Colo.
Brickner,	Funston,	Morrow,	Tucker,
Brookshire,	Gibson,	Oates,	Turner, Ga.
Buchanan, Va.	Goodnight,	O'Ferrall,	Turner, Kans.
Bullock,	Grimes,	O'Neall, Ind.	Vandever,
Bynum,	Hatch,	Outhwaite,	Walker, Mo.
Candler, Ga.	Hayes,	Owens, Ohio	Washington,
Carter,	Haynes,	Parrett,	Wheeler, Ala.
Caruth,	Heard,	Peel,	Whitthorne,
Catchings,	Henderson, N. C.	Pennington,	Wike,
Chipman,	Herbert,	Perkins,	Wilkinson,
Clancy,	Hermann,	Perry,	Williams, Ill.
Clarke, Ala.	Holman,	Pierce,	Wilson, Mo.
Cobb,	Kelley,	Reilly,	Wilson, W. Va.
Connell,	Kilgore,	Richardson,	Yoder.

Democrats 101, Republicans 15.

NAYS—140.

Adams,	Cannon,	Frank,	Laidlaw,
Arnold,	Caswell,	Gear,	Laws,
Atkinson, Pa.	Cheadle,	Geissenbainer.	Lind,
Atkinson, W. Va.	Clark, Wis.	Gest,	Lodge,
Baker,	Cogswell,	Gifford,	Maish,
Banks,	Coleman,	Greenhalge,	Mason,
Bayne,	Comstock,	Grosvenor,	McComas,
Beckwith,	Conger,	Hall,	McCord,
Belden,	Craig,	Hansbrough,	McCormick,
Belknap,	Dalzell,	Harmer,	McDuffie,
Bergen,	Dargan,	Haugen,	McKinley,
Bingham,	Dingley,	Hemphill,	Miles,
Boothman,	Dolliver,	Henderson, Ill.	Moitt,
Boutelle,	Dorsey,	Henderson, Iowa	Moore, N. H.
Bowden,	Dunnell,	Hill,	Morey,
Brewer,	Dunphy,	Hitt,	Morrill,
Brosius,	Elliott,	Hopkins,	Morse,
Brower,	Evans,	Houk,	Mudd,
Browne, Va.	Ewart,	Kennedy,	Mutcher,
Buchanan, N. J.	Farguhar,	Kerr, Iowa	Nute,
Burrows,	Finley,	Ketcham,	O'Donnell,
Burton,	Flick,	Kinsey,	O'Neil, Mass.
Butterworth,	Flood,	Lacey,	O'Neil, Pa.
Caldwell,	Flower,	La Follette,	Payne,

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Payson,	Rowell,	Stephenson,	Venable,
Pickler,	Russell,	Stivers,	Wade,
Pugsley,	Sanford,	Stockbridge,	Walker, Mass.
Quackenbush,	Sawyer,	Struble,	Wallace, N. Y.
Quinn,	Scranton,	Sweeney,	Wickham,
Raines,	Scull,	Taylor, E. B.	Wiley,
Ray,	Sherman,	Taylor, Ill.	Williams, Ohio,
Reed, Iowa	Simonds,	Taylor, Tenn.	Wilson, Ky.
Reyburn,	Smith, W. Va.	Thomas,	Wilson, Wash.
Rife,	Smyser,	Tracey,	Wright,
Rockwell,	Snider,	Van Schaick,	Yardley.

Republicans 127, Democrats 13.

So the motion to recommit with instructions was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question recurs on the passage of the bill as amended.

Mr. BLAND. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 135, nays 119, not voting 73; as follows:

YEAS—135.

Adams,	Craig,	Ketcham,	Reyburn,
Allen, Mich.	Dalzell,	Kinsey,	Rife,
Arnold,	De Haven,	Lacey,	Rowell,
Atkinson, Pa.	Dingley,	La Follette,	Russell,
Atkinson, W. Va.	Dolliver,	Laidlaw,	Sanford,
Baker,	Dorsey,	Laws,	Sawyer,
Banks,	Dunnell,	Lind,	Scranton,
Bayne,	Evans,	Lodge,	Scull,
Beckwith,	Ewart,	Mason,	Sherman,
Belden,	Farquhar,	McComas,	Simonds,
Belknap,	Featherston,	McCord,	Smith, W. Va.
Bergen,	Finley,	McCormick,	Smyser,
Bingham,	Flick,	McDuffie,	Snider,
Boothman,	Flood,	McKinley,	Stephenson,
Boutelle,	Frank,	Miles,	Stivers,
Bowden,	Funston,	Moffitt,	Stockbridge,
Brewer,	Gear,	Moore, N. H.	Struble,
Brosius,	Gest,	Morey,	Sweeney,
Bröwer,	Gifford,	Morrill,	Taylor, E. B.
Browne, Va.	Greenhalge,	Morrow,	Taylor, Ill.
Buchanan, N. J.	Grosvenor,	Morse,	Taylor, Tenn.
Burrows,	Hall,	Mudd,	Thomas,
Burton,	Hansbrough,	Nute,	Vandever,
Butlerworth,	Harmer,	O'Donnell,	Van Schaick,
Caldwell,	Haugen,	O'Neill, Pa.	Wade,
Cannon,	Henderson, Ill.	Payne,	Walker, Mass.
Caswell,	Henderson, Iowa	Payson,	Wallace, N. Y.
Cheadle,	Hermann,	Perkins,	Wickham,
Clark, Wis.	Hill,	Pickler,	Williams, Ohio
Cogswell,	Hitt,	Pugsley,	Wilson, Ky.
Coleman,	Hopkins,	Quackenbush,	Wilson, Wash.
Comstock,	Houk,	Raines,	Wright,
Conger,	Kennedy,	Ray,	Yardley.
Connell,	Kerr, Iowa	Reed, Iowa	

All Republicans.

NAYS—119.

Abbott,	Candler, Ga.	Elliott,	Lane,
Alderson,	Carter,	Ellis,	Lanham,
Allen, Miss.	Caruth,	Enloe,	Lee,
Anderson, Kans.	Catchings,	Flower,	Lester, Ga.
Bankhead,	Chipman,	Forney,	Lester, Va.
Barnes,	Clancy,	Fowler,	Lewis,
Bartine,	Clarke, Ala.	Geissenhainer,	Maish,
Barwig,	Cobb,	Gibson,	Mansur,
Biggs,	Cooper, Ind.	Goodnight,	Martin, Ind.
Blanchard,	Cothran,	Grimes,	McClammy,
Bland,	Cowles,	Hatch,	McClellan,
Blount,	Crain,	Hayes,	McCreary,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Crisp,	Haynes,	McRae,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Culbertson, Tex.	Heard,	Montgomery,
Brickner,	Dargan,	Henderson, N. C.	Moore, Tex.
Brookshire,	Davidson,	Herbert,	Morgan,
Buchanan, Va.	Dockery,	Holman,	Mutchler,
Bullock,	Dunphy,	Kelley,	Oates,
Bynum,	Edmunds,	Kilgore,	O'Ferrall,

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O'Neill, Ind.	Richardson.	Stockdale,	Washington.
O'Neil, Mass.	Robertson,	Stone, Ky.	Wheeler, Ala.
Outhwaite,	Rockwell,	Tarsney,	Whitthorne,
Owens, Ohio	Rogers,	Tillman,	Wike,
Parrett,	Rowland,	Towensend, Colo	Wiley,
Peel,	Sayers,	Tracey,	Wilkinson,
Penington,	Seney,	Tucker,	Williams, Ill.
Perry,	Shively,	Turner, Ga.	Wilson, Mo.
Pierce,	Skinner,	Turner, Kans.	Wilson, W. Va.
Quinn,	Springer,	Venable,	Yoder.
Reilly,	Stewart, Tex.	Walker, Mo.	

Democrats 112, Republicans 7.

SENATE, Tuesday, June 17, 1890.

TREASURY NOTES AND SILVER BULLION.

Mr. HALE. I call for the regular order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business of yesterday, which is the bill (H. R. 5381) directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes, and for other purposes.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The pending question is on the first amendment reported by the Committee on Finance, which will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In section 2, on page 2, line 8, after the word "notes," where it occurs the second time in the line, to strike out "shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and;" so as to read:

"And such Treasury notes shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such notes when held by any national-banking association may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve."

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. President, the attention of Senators ought to be called to the amendment which is now before us. It is proposed to strike out of the bill the words "shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private," leaving the certificates which it is proposed to issue to be receivable only for taxes and public dues. Whatever question may exist or may have existed as to the right of the Government to issue paper money, mere promises to pay—

Mr. INGALLS. It is impossible to hear the Senator, there is so much confusion in the Chamber.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas will suspend until order is restored.

Mr. REAGAN. Whatever question may exist as to whether the Government may issue paper money not based upon dollar for dollar in coin, it seems to me, is not raised by the proposition to make the silver and the gold certificates a lawful tender for all debts, public and private. The certificates are simply a convenient form of circulating silver dollars; and if silver dollars are a legal tender, then their representative dollar for dollar, the mere means of circulating them, ought to be a legal tender.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas. I hope we shall have order. It is impossible to hear anything in the Senate Chamber, owing to the confusion.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Texas will suspend until order is restored in the Chamber.

Mr. REAGAN. I can not elaborate in five minutes the arguments in favor of making these certificates a legal tender, nor do I think it necessary to do so.

But there is another point in connection with this to which I desire to call the attention of the Senate. The object of the bill passed by the House of Representatives and the object of the bill presented by the Senate Committee on Finance has been to make silver a commodity, to prevent it from being money. One of the means of degrading it is to declare that it shall not be a legal tender.

Whatever draws a distinction between gold and silver in their use as money, unfavorable to silver, tends to its degradation and to preserve this degradation. If, therefore, we desire that silver shall be treated as money, it is necessary that it shall be regarded as a legal tender, and the certificate, which simply is a means of circulating and using silver, should be a legal tender the same as the silver dollars would be a legal tender if they were offered.

I simply desire to call attention to this, because we ought to know right at the start that this is the first step and the first vote to be taken which is to test the question whether we mean to degrade silver and keep it degraded and prevent it from becoming money.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask for the reading of the amendment again.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be again stated.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment.

Mr. STEWART. I call for the yeas and nays on that amendment.

The result was announced—yeas 14, nays 50; as follows:

YEAS—14.

Aldrich,	Chandler,	Hale,	Morrill,
Blair,	Frye,	Harris,	Platt,
Blodgett,	Gibson,	Hoar,	
Carlisle,	Gray,	McPherson,	

Republicans 8, Democrats 6.

M'RAE

NAYS—56.

Allen,	Daniel,	Mitchell,	Sherman,
Allison,	Dolph,	Moody,	Spooner,
Barbour,	Eustis,	Morgan,	Stewart,
Bate,	Evarts,	Paddock,	Stockbridge,
Berry,	George,	Pasco,	Teller,
Butler,	Gorman,	Payne,	Turpie,
Call,	Hearst,	Pierce,	Vest,
Cameron,	Higgins,	Plumb,	Voorhees,
Casey,	Hiscock,	Power,	Walthall,
Cockrell,	Ingalls,	Ransom,	Washburn,
Coke,	Jones of Arkansas,	Reagan,	Wolcott.
Colquitt,	Jones of Nevada,	Sanders,	
Cullom,	Kenna,	Sawyer,	

Republicans 26, Democrats 24.

So the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next amendment will be stated.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in section 2, line 13, after the word "reserve," to strike out the following proviso:

"Provided, That upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury may, at his discretion and under such regulations as he shall prescribe, exchange for such notes an amount of silver bullion which shall be equal in value at the market price thereof on the day of exchange to the amount of such notes presented."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. HARRIS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll. The result was announced—yeas 57, nays 7; as follows:

YEAS—57.

Aldrich,	Colquitt,	Kenna,	Sawyer,
Allen,	Cullom,	McPherson,	Spooner,
Allison,	Daniel,	Mitchell,	Stewart,
Barbour,	Eustis,	Moody,	Stockbridge,
Bate,	Evarts,	Morgan,	Teller,
Berry,	George,	Paddock,	Turpie,
Blair,	Gibson,	Pasco,	Vance,
Blodgett,	Gorman,	Payne,	Vest,
Butler,	Gray,	Pierce,	Voorhees,
Call,	Harris,	Platt,	Walthall,
Cameron,	Hawley,	Plumb,	Washburn,
Carlisle,	Hearst,	Power,	Wolcott.
Casey,	Ingalls,	Ransom,	
Cockrell,	Jones of Arkansas,	Reagan,	
Coke,	Jones of Nevada,	Sanders,	

NAYS—7.

Chandler,	Hale,	Hoar,	Sherman.
Frye,	Hiscock,	Morrill,	

All Republicans.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next amendment will be stated.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was to strike out section 6, as follows:

"SEC. 6. That whenever the market price of silver, as determined in pursuance of section 1 of this act, is \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, it shall be lawful for the owner of any silver bullion to deposit the same at any coinage mint of the United States, to be formed into standard silver dollars for his benefit, as provided in the act of January 18, 1837. And purchases of silver bullion shall be suspended while it is being so deposited for coinage."

Mr. GORMAN. I ask for the yeas and nays on that question.

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

The result was announced—yeas 16, nays 46; as follows:

YEAS—16.

Aldrich,	Evarts,	Hoar,	Sherman,
Allison,	Frye,	Morrill,	Spooner,
Chandler,	Hale,	Platt,	Stockbridge,
Dawes,	Hiscock,	Sawyer,	Washburn.

All Republicans.

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NAYS—46.

Allen,	Colquitt.	Jones of Arkansas,	Ransom,
Bate,	Cullom,	Jones of Nevada,	Reagan,
Berry,	Daniel,	Kenna,	Sanders,
Blair,	Dolph,	Manderson,	Stewart,
Blodgett,	Eustis,	Mitchell,	Teller,
Butler,	George,	Moody,	Turpie,
Call,	Gibson,	Morgan,	Vest,
Cameron,	Gorman,	Paddock,	Voorhees,
Carlisle,	Gray,	Payne,	Walthall,
Casey,	Harris,	Pierce,	Wolcott.
Cockrell,	Hearst,	Plumb,	
Coke,	Ingalls,	Power,	

So the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The next amendment will be stated.

The next amendment of the Committee on Finance was, in section [8] 7, line 2, after the word "passage," to insert "and terminate at the expiration of ten years therefrom;" so as to make the section read:

"Sec [8] 7. That this act shall take effect thirty days from and after its passage and terminate at the expiration of ten years therefrom."

Mr. HAREIS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The roll-call was concluded; and the result announced—yeas 4, nays 64; as follows:

YEAS—4.

Chaadler,	Edmunds,	Morrill,	Sherman.
All Republicans.			

NAYS—64.

Allen,	Dawes,	Ingalls,	Pugh,
Allison,	Dolph,	Jones of Arkansas,	Ransom,
Bate,	Eustis,	Jones of Nevada,	Reagan,
Berry,	Evarts,	Kenna,	Sanders,
Blair,	Frye,	Manderson,	Sawyer,
Blodgett,	George,	McPherson,	Spooner,
Butler,	Gibson,	Mitchell,	Stewart,
Call,	Gorman,	Moody,	Stockbridge,
Cameron,	Gray,	Morgan,	Teller,
Carlisle,	Hale,	Paddock,	Turpie,
Casey,	Harris,	Pasco,	Vance,
Cockrell,	Hawley,	Payne,	Vest,
Coke,	Hearst,	Pierce,	Voorhees,
Colquitt,	Higgins,	Platt,	Walthall,
Cullom,	Hiscock,	Plumb,	Washburn,
Daniel,	Hoar,	Power,	Wolcott.

Republicans, 33; Democrats, 31.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. PLUMB. I move to strike out the first section of the bill and insert what I send to the desk.

Mr. BLAIE. Before the Senator offers that, I should like to call attention to the part of the text of the bill which I was going to move to strike out.

Mr. PLUMB. I move to strike out the first section and insert what I send to the desk.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to strike out section 1 of the bill and insert in lieu thereof:

"That from and after the date of the passage of this act the unit of value in the United States shall be the dollar, and the same may be coined of 412½ grains of standard silver, or of 25.8 grains of standard gold, and the said coins shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private.

"That hereafter any owner of silver or gold bullion may deposit the same in any mint of the United States to be formed into standard dollars or bars for his benefit and without charge, but it shall be lawful to refuse any deposit of less value than \$100, or any bullion so base as to be unsuitable for the operations of the mint."

Mr. BLAIE. I offer an amendment to the proposed amendment of the Senator from Kansas, which is, to add at the end of the second section:

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to add to the amendment:

"Nor shall the amount of silver coined and issued from the mints of the United States be more than \$5,000,000 for each calendar month."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BLAIE] to the amendment of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PLUMB].

YEAES—3

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, my purpose is that if in the end a free-coinage act should be the result of the deliberations of Congress, for the present the amount coined and issued of silver under free coinage should be limited to the amount of \$5,000,000 monthly until there may be further action by Congress.

The result was announced—yeas 12, nays 46; as follows:

YEAS—12.

Allen,	Chandler,	Frye,	Paddock,
Blair,	Dawes,	Hale,	Spooner,
Casey,	Edmunds,	McPherson,	Washburn.

Republicans, 11; Democrats, 1.

NAYS—46.

Aldrich,	Daniel,	Mitchell,	Sawyer,
Allison,	Eustis,	Moody,	Stewart,
Bate,	George,	Morgan,	Stockbridge,
Berry,	Gibson,	Morrill,	Teller,
Blodgett,	Gorman,	Payne,	Turpie,
Call,	Harris,	Pierce,	Vance,
Cameron,	Hearst,	Plumb,	Vest,
Carlisle,	Hiscock,	Power,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Ingalls,	Pugh,	Walthall,
Coke,	Jones of Arkansas,	Ransom,	Wolcott.
Colquitt,	Jones of Nevada,	Reagan,	
Cullom,	Kenna,	Sanders,	

Democrats, 27; Republicans, 19.

So the amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the amendment offered by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PLUMB].

The result was announced—yeas 43, nays 24; as follows:

YEAS—43.

Bate,	Daniel,	Manderson,	Sanders,
Berry,	Eustis,	Mitchell,	Squire,
Blair,	George,	Moody,	Stewart,
Blodgett,	Gibson,	Morgan,	Teller,
Butler,	Gorman,	Paddock,	Turpie,
Call,	Harris,	Payne,	Vance,
Cameron,	Hearst,	Plumb,	Vest,
Carlisle,	Ingalls,	Power,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Jones of Arkansas,	Pugh,	Walthall,
Coke,	Jones of Nevada,	Ransom,	Wolcott.
Colquitt,	Kenna,	Reagan,	

Democrats, 28; Republicans, 15.

NAYS—24.

Aldrich,	Dawes,	Hawley,	Sawyer,
Allen,	Edmunds,	Hiscock,	Sherman,
Allison,	Everts,	Hoar,	Spooner,
Casey,	Frye,	McPherson,	Stockbridge,
Chandler,	Gray,	Morrill,	Washburn,
Cullom,	Hale,	Pierce,	Wilson of Md.

Republicans, 21; Democrats, 3.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Upon the announcement of the result there were manifestations of applause in the galleries.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). The Chair admonishes the galleries that neither demonstrations of approval nor disapproval are in order.

Mr. PLUMB. I move to add a new section as section 2, as follows:

"SEC. 2. That the provisions of section 3 of 'An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,' which became a law February 28, 1878, are hereby made applicable to the coinage in this act provided for."

Mr. PLUMB. Section 3 of the act of the 28th of February, 1878, provides:

"That any holder of the coin authorized by this act may deposit the same with the Treasurer or any assistant treasurer of the United States, in sums not less than \$10, and receive therefor certificates of not less than \$10 each, corresponding with the denominations of the United States notes. The coin deposited for or representing the certificates shall be retained in the Treasury for the payment of the same on demand. Said certificates shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and, when so received, may be reissued."

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Mr. GEORGE. I should like to ask the Senator from Kansas whether under his amendment, if the bill is amended as he proposes, silver certificates of less than \$10 can be issued.

Mr. PLUMB. There is a provision of a subsequent act, in an appropriation act about 1887 or 1888, under which certificates of one and two dollars denomination can be issued *ad libitum*.

Mr. GEORGE. Would that provision be applicable to coinage under this proposed act?

Mr. PLUMB. Undoubtedly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PLUMB].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. REAGAN. I move to add to the bill, to come in as section 3, what I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Texas will be read.

The CHIEF CLERK. Strike out sections 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 3. That the certificates provided for in the second section of this act shall be of denominations of not less than one nor more than one hundred dollars, and such certificates shall be redeemable in coin of standard value. A sufficient sum to carry out the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The provision in section 1 of the act of February 28, 1873, entitled 'An act to authorize the coinage of the standard dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,' which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, at the market price thereof, not less than \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion per month nor more than \$4,000,000 worth per month of such bullion, is hereby repealed."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Is the Senate ready for the question on the amendment of the Senator from Texas [Mr. REAGAN]?

Mr. EDMUNDS. I wish, without interfering at all with the fine symposium we are having on a subject very interesting to the people of the United States, to say (avoiding thereby, so far as I am concerned, any call of the yeas and nays) that I am opposed to the bill as it now stands and every one of its amendments in general and in particular and therefore that I am not to be called upon hereafter to account for having allowed an amendment to pass without calling for the yeas and nays. I am willing to deliver over to the Democratic party, whatever it may be (which is a question I have not time here to discuss), the management of the finances of this country for the time being, but I only state this in order that I may not trouble the Senate with demanding the yeas and nays upon the various ornamentations that are given to this hoodlum that is set up.

Mr. PLUMB. Mr. President, the question as to what responsibility the Senator from Vermont shall hold his people to or they shall hold him to is of course of no consequence except as between those two parties; but when he says he is going to deliver over to the Democratic party the control of the finances of this country on account of the vote just given for free coinage of silver, I ask him what he is going to do with the last Republican national platform?

Mr. EDMUNDS. Mr. President, I stand by the Republican platform, to which the Senator from Kansas has alluded, fully and in all its implications; but our friends the Democrats on the other side, and their deluded followers and coadjutors, have poisoned that Republican platform and transformed it into a platform that no Democratic convention ever dared to make, and that no Democratic Administration, that no Democratic House of Representatives ever dared to propose to do, because they knew that swiftly—it may take some years to do so—the people of the United States would find out that they had been deluded and misled, as people before have been in all countries, by getting up a cry of people who have something to sell and people who have something to pay, to expand, and when the expansion comes and the break comes, as it certainly will and always has, then it is not the poor and the sorrowful that we are talking about or the debtors who profit by it, but it is the very persons that these gentlemen are now howling against so strongly who make all the money out of it. That is what all human experience has shown.

Therefore, Mr. President, standing by everything that the Republican platform says, I declare that this has turned it into a poison and a wrong, and it is not what it purports to mean at all; and let those profit by it who make their profit by and by, and explain themselves.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, the Senator from Vermont makes an assertion which is directly contradicted by the record and is historically untrue. He states that no Democratic House has ever passed a free-coinage bill. The House of Representatives in 1877, with a large Democratic majority, did pass a free-coinage act, pure and simple, and it came to the Senate and was mutilated here, with the free-coinage feature taken out of it by the Republican party, and that is the record.

* * * * *
Mr. EDMUNDS. The Democratic party, as it is called, being the House of Rep-
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representatives, or a majority of it, in 1878 and 1879 did pass a contrivance of that kind, just as they are trying to pass it now, in order to overthrow by appeals to the worst instincts and the unhappiest solitudes of the people of the United States something that might bring them into power.

* * * * *

I say, then, with great respect to my friend from Kansas and to everybody else, that this is the new performance, renewed from 1878 and 1879 to 1890, of the Democratic party, when it has no responsibility (and I agree it ought never to have any), again proposing to entangle the Republican party, who must look a little further than the cry of to-day, into a measure of this kind. So be it. I deliver it over to the Democratic party.

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. President, I simply desire to say that the Senator from Vermont [Mr. EDMUNDS] is a little mistaken when he says that no member of either House opened his mouth against the policy of the President during the last Administration. It perhaps did not attract the attention of the Senator that one hundred Representatives, members of the House, signed a paper and addressed it to the President, after the newspapers gave it out that he was opposed to free coinage or desired the repeal of the law authorizing the limited coinage of silver, asking him to suspend his judgment upon that subject until he could come to Washington and consult with the representatives of the people who elected him President. President Cleveland was hardly expected to make an answer to that, but he did make a pretty vigorous answer to it, and that answer contained in substance the statement that the coinage of silver had already treasured so far upon the supply of gold in the country as to endanger our capacity to redeem legal-tender notes.

Mr. EDMUNDS. What year was that?

Mr. REAGAN. That was the year he was elected President, and before the first Congress met after he was elected. A response was made to that. I had the honor to make that response and to inquire who informed the President that the coinage of silver had driven gold out of the country, and to show from the Treasury reports a steady accumulation of the surplus of gold from the passage of the act of 1878 to that time. I also inquired who informed the President that the legal-tender notes were refused to be redeemed in gold. The law did not say so. I inquired also who informed him that they were to be redeemed at all, for the law of 1878 required that when paid into the Treasury they should be reissued and kept in circulation.

The Senator from Vermont is usually thoroughly informed, but evidently this morning he is somewhat out of humor, and it is not surprising that young and inexperienced men under defeat should get out of humor; and he may not recollect as well as he would under other circumstances.

Sir, there were Democrats brave enough to tell the President, who was willing to sacrifice the public interests, that they would not submit to it; just as to-day there are Republicans brave enough to tell the Administration that they can not be led to sacrifice the interest of this country, and that the interests of the people must be subserved and not the interests of a class which seeks to get dear money and cheap labor and cheap property, to oppress the masses for the benefit of the few.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, the Senator from Vermont exhibits his usual ingenuity, accompanied by his usual unfairness in shirking the issue which he made himself and from which he is forced to retreat by the record. He asserted here that no Democratic House of Representatives had ever dared to pass a free-coinage bill. I assert that the record shows that the House of Representatives, in the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses, both of them overwhelmingly Democratic, did pass a free-coinage bill and sent it to the Senate.

The Senator now seeks to evade his misstatement of facts by an appeal to the partisan passions of his own party. In one breath he alludes to his deluded associates upon that side of the Chamber, and then turns with Parisian elegance to compliment his respected friend from Kansas, who is one of them.

But the Senator from Vermont makes another misstatement from the record. He says that no Democrat was found to protest openly against Mr. Cleveland's views in regard to silver. I assert that within ten days after the first Congress met after Cleveland had announced those views, one of the most distinguished Democratic Senators in this body, our late associate, James B. Beck, of Kentucky, in a speech which attracted the attention of the whole country and electrified the West, attacked those opinions and held the undivided attention of his brother Senators whilst he gave his reasons for differing with the Democratic President; and now the Senator from Vermont, with his usual candor, with his usual sincerity, compliments President Cleveland.

Sir, all I can say is that a great many hard things and harsh things have been said of that distinguished Democrat, but the encomium of the Senator from Vermont is the most terrible assault that ever was made upon him. [Laughter.]

Mr. LAIB. Is the motion to indefinitely postpone still pending?

Several SENATORS. Oh, no.

Mr. LAIB. Then I renew it. The Supreme Court says this:

"Such being our conclusion in matter of law, the question whether at any par-

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ticular time, in war or in peace, the exigency is such, by reason of unusual and pressing demands on the resources of the Government, or of the inadequacy of the supply of gold and silver coin to furnish the currency needed for the uses of the Government and of the people, that it is, as a matter of fact, wise and expedient to resort to this means, is a political question, to be determined by Congress, when the question of exigency arises, and not a judicial question, to be afterwards passed upon by the courts."

Is this any such exigency in a time as prosperous and as peaceful as now? This deposit is just like the old business of the Bank of Amsterdam. That was an institution established under a government.

I take my stand right here. There is no necessity to depart from gold and silver. Put this bullion in, coin it, and let that be the legal tender, and, if you please, distribute it over the country in the subtreasuries, put it where it will be convenient to everybody, in every bank, and all over the country, and whoever needs legal tender can go there and get it. But if you pass over this line, there is no legitimate or logical stopping point anywhere this side of all the dangers and ruin of fiat money.

Mr. DANIEL. I read from the syllabus of the decision of the Supreme Court, from which the Senator from New Hampshire has quoted:

"Congress has the constitutional power to make the Treasury notes of the United States a legal tender in payment of private debts in time of peace as well as in time of war."

Mr. BLAIR. No one questions the power.

Mr. DANIEL. The syllabus continues:

"Under the act of May 31, 1878, chapter 146, which enacts that when any United States legal-tender notes may be redeemed or received into the Treasury, and shall belong to the United States, they shall be reissued and paid out again, and kept in circulation; notes so reissued are a legal tender."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in a case made up for the purpose of testing the very question which the Senator from New Hampshire suggested, decided then in exact opposition to the position which he has taken.

Furthermore, Mr. President, the Senator from Delaware says that the Supreme Court has tested its legal-tender decision upon the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States, and that there must be a borrowing of money before any paper can be issued which is made legal tender. The Supreme Court in its latest opinion says this:

"The constitutional authority of Congress to provide a currency for the whole country is now firmly established. In *Veazie Bank vs. Fenno* (3 Wall., 583, 548), Chief-Justice Chase, in delivering the opinion of the court, said:

"It can not be doubted that under the Constitution the power to provide a circulation of coin is given to Congress, and it is settled by the uniform practice of the Government and by repeated decisions that Congress may constitutionally authorize the emission of bills of credit."

It is to that constitutional authority to emit bills of credit from which the court in this opinion deduces the authority to make these bills of credit a legal tender in payment of debts. While the court incidentally alluded to the power to borrow money, it did not predicate the decision solely upon that power, but upon the general authority to issue bills of credit and to provide a currency for the country.

The new idea which gentlemen have suggested in opposition to this amendment it seems to me ought not to pass unnoticed. It is intimated by the Senator from Delaware that Congress proposes to launch out upon a sea of irredeemable paper money. On what authority or what fact can the Senator predicate any such suggestion? How can he contrast an irredeemable paper money with a currency which is to have for its redemption a dollar in hard money, dollar for dollar, all along the line?

* * * * *

Mr. REAGAN. Mr. President, I shall be governed in my vote upon this by the understanding that the certificate proposed to be issued is simply a method of circulating gold and silver, that it stands upon a distinct and in that respect a different ground from the issuance of notes generally payable on demand from a general balance in the Treasury, that it is a method of circulating gold and silver, saving the waste of abrasion and offering convenience in the matter of handling and transmitting this money.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BLAIR] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. GRAY] spoke of these certificates as fiat money, and the Senator from New York [Mr. EVARTS] has just used the same expression. I do not comprehend the meaning of such expressions with reference to certificates that represent a hundred cents in gold or a hundred cents in silver for every dollar that is there. I do not comprehend how the phrase "flat money" can be applied to gold and silver which we recognize as the money of the world as well as the money of this country and the money of the Constitution.

There is another reason with me. First, because I regard it as simply a method of circulating gold and silver; and second, because I want to place it as far as we can in this act out of the power of money holders and bondholders to get advantage by discriminations against the currency of the United States. We

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have had enough of that, commencing with the legislation of 1869 and coming all the way down until the present time of discriminations in different sorts of currency of the United States. It seems to me that no one can be harmed, while all may to some extent be benefited, and while the harmful influence of attempting discriminations may be avoided, it is best to adopt the amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado.

The result was announced—yeas 34, nays 22; as follows:

YEAS—34.

Allen,	Dolph,	Moody,	Stewart,
Bate,	Eustis,	Morgan,	Teller,
Berry,	George,	Paddock,	Turpie,
Butler,	Hearst,	Plumb,	Vest,
Cameron,	Ingalls,	Pugh,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Jones of Arkansas,	Ransom,	Walthall,
Coke,	Jones of Nevada,	Reagan,	Wolcott,
Colquitt,	Kenna,	Sanders,	
Daniel,	Mitchell,	Squire,	

Democrats, 20; Republicans, 14.

NAYS—22.

Aldrich,	Dawes,	Hale,	Sawyer,
Allison,	Edmunds,	Harris,	Spooner,
Blair,	Everts,	Hiscock,	Stockbridge,
Blodgett,	Frye,	Hoar,	Washburn.
Carlisle,	Gibson,	McPherson,	
Chandler,	Gorman,	Payne,	

Republicans, 15; Democrats, 7.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. ALDRICH. I ask that the bill as it now stands may be read for the information of the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill as it now stands amended will be reported.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

“That from and after the date and passage of this act the unit of value in the United States shall be the dollar, and the same may be coined of 412½ grains of standard silver, or of 25.8 grains of standard gold; and the said coins shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private. That hereafter any owner of silver or gold bullion may deposit the same at any mint of the United States to be formed into standard dollars or bars for his benefit and without charge; but it shall be lawful to refuse any deposit of less value than \$100, or any bullion so base as to be unsuitable for the operations of the mint.

“Sec. 2. That the provisions of section 3 of ‘An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,’ which became a law February 23, 1878, are hereby made applicable to the coinage in this act provided for.

“Sec. 3. That the certificates provided for in the second section of this act shall be of denominations of not less than one nor more than one hundred dollars, and such certificates shall be redeemable in coin of standard value. A sufficient sum to carry out the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. The provision in section 1 of the act of February 23, 1878, entitled ‘An act to authorize the coinage of the standard dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,’ which requires the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, at the market price thereof, not less than \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion per month nor more than \$4,000,000 worth per month of such bullion, is hereby repealed.

“Sec. 4. That the certificates provided for in this act and all silver and gold certificates already issued shall be receivable for all taxes and dues to the United States of every description, and shall be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private.

“Sec. 5. The owners of bullion deposited for coinage shall have the option to receive coin or its equivalent in the certificates provided for in this act, and such bullion shall be subsequently coined.

“Sec. 6. That upon the passage of this act the balances standing with the Treasurer of the United States to the respective credits of national banks for deposits made to redeem the circulating notes of such banks, and all deposits thereafter received for like purpose, shall be covered into the Treasury as a miscellaneous receipt, and the Treasury of the United States shall redeem from the general cash in the Treasury the circulating notes of said banks which may come into his possession subject to redemption; and upon the certificate of the Comptroller of the Currency that such notes have been received by him and that they have been destroyed and that no new notes will be issued in their place, reimbursement of their amount shall be made to the Treasurer, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, from an appropriation hereby created, to be known as ‘national-bank notes, redemption

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account,' but the provisions of this act shall not apply to the deposits received under section 3 of the act of June 20, 1874, requiring every national bank to keep in lawful money with the Treasurer of the United States a sum equal to 6 per cent. of its circulation, to be held and used for the redemption of its circulating notes; and the balance remaining of the deposits so covered shall, at the close of each month, be reported on the monthly public-debt statement as debt of the United States bearing no interest."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no further amendment as in Committee of the Whole, the bill will be reported to the Senate.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. EDMUNDS. Let us have the yeas and nays on that.

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

The result was announced—yeas 41, nays 26; as follows:

YEAS—41.

Bate,	George,	Morgan,	Stewart,
Berry,	Gorman,	Paddock,	Teller,
Blodgett,	Harris,	Pasco,	Turpie,
Butler,	Hearst,	Payne,	Vance,
Call,	Ingalls,	Plumb,	Vest,
Cameron,	Jones of Arkansas,	Power,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Jones of Nevada,	Pugh,	Walthall,
Coke,	Kenna,	Ransom,	Wolcott,
Colquitt,	Manderson,	Reagan,	
Daniel,	Mitchell,	Sanders,	
Eustis,	Moody,	Squire,	

Democrats, 27; Republicans, 14.

NAYS—26.

Aldrich,	Dawes,	Hiscock,	Sherman,
Allen,	Edmunds,	Hoar,	Spooner,
Allison,	Everts,	McPherson,	Stockbridge,
Blair,	Frye,	Morrill,	Washburn,
Casey,	Gray,	Pierce,	Wilson of Md.
Chandler,	Hale,	Platt,	
Cullom,	Hawley,	Sawyer,	

Republicans, 23; Democrats, 3.

So the amendments made in Committee of the Whole were concurred in.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The bill is still before the Senate and open to amendment.

Mr. CHANDLER. I move to amend the bill by adding a new section, as follows:

"No gold or silver bullion shall be received by the Treasury Department under this act except such as shall be shown to be the product of mines within the United States."

Mr. TELLER. I move to lay that amendment on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Colorado to lay the amendment offered by the Senator from New Hampshire on the table.

Mr. CHANDLER. On that motion I call for the yeas and nays.

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

The roll-call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 42, nays 19; as follows:

YEAS—42.

Allen,	Daniel,	Mitchell,	Squire,
Bate,	Eustis,	Moody,	Stewart,
Berry,	George,	Morgan,	Teller,
Blodgett,	Gorman,	Pasco,	Turpie,
Butler,	Gray,	Payne,	Vance,
Call,	Harris,	Plumb,	Vest,
Cameron,	Hearst,	Power,	Voorhees,
Cockrell,	Ingalls,	Pugh,	Walthall,
Coke,	Jones of Arkansas,	Ransom,	Wolcott,
Colquitt,	Jones of Nevada,	Reagan,	
Cullom,	Kenna,	Sanders,	

Democrats, 29; Republicans, 13.

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NAYS—19.

Aldrich,	Edmunds,	Hoar,	Sawyer,
Blair,	Everts,	Morrill,	Spooner,
Casey,	Frye,	Paddock,	Stockbridge,
Chandler,	Hale,	Pierce,	Washburn.
Dawes,	Hiscock,	Platt,	

All Republicans.

So the amendment was laid on the table.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. If there be no further amendment proposed, the question is, Shall the amendments be engrossed and the bill be read a third time?

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

Mr. EDMUNDS. On the passage of the bill I demand the yeas and nays.

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

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

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 25; as follows:

YEAS—42.

Bate,	George,	Morgan,	Squire,
Berry,	Gorman,	Paddock,	Stewart,
Bloodgett,	Harris,	Pasco,	Teller,
Butler,	Hearst,	Payne,	Turpie,
Call,	Ingalls,	Pierce,	Vanpe,
Cameron,	Jones of Arkansas,	Plumb,	Vest,
Cockrell,	Jones of Nevada,	Power,	Voorhees,
Coke,	Kenna,	Pugh,	Walthall,
Colquitt,	Manderson,	Ransom,	Wolcott.
Daniel,	Mitchell,	Reagan,	
Eustis,	Moody,	Sanders,	

Democrats, 27; Republicans, 15.

NAYS—25.

Aldrich,	Dawes,	Hiscock,	Spooner,
Allen,	Edmunds,	Hoar,	Stockbridge,
Allison,	Everts,	McPherson,	Washburn,
Blair,	Frye,	Morrill,	Wilson of Md.
Casey,	Gray,	Platt,	
Chandler,	Hale,	Sawyer,	
Cullom,	Hawley,	Sherman,	

Republicans, 22; Democrats, 3.
So the bill was passed.

Mr. PLUMB. I move to amend the title so as to read: "A bill to provide for the free coinage of gold and silver bullion, and for other purposes."

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment to the title will be considered as agreed to, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Thursday, June 19, 1890.

THE JOURNAL.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the Journal as read will be approved.

Mr. MILLS. I object to the approval of the Journal.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. Let the entire Journal be read. I think the reference of bills has not been read, as well as other matters which properly belong to the Journal.

The SPEAKER. It has not been. Only the usual portions have been read.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I move that the Journal be approved, and upon that I demand the previous question.

Mr. MILLS. I move to correct the Journal as follows—

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I rise to a question of order. The motion of the gentleman from Ohio is not in order until the Journal has been read through. The Clerk has not read the entire Journal.

The SPEAKER. The Journal has not been read in full.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I supposed the Clerk had concluded the reading of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the remainder of the Journal. Any member has a right to demand the reading of the Journal in full.

Mr. MILLS. I move to correct the Journal in the following particulars, Mr. Speaker—

* * * * *

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio—

M'FAE

Mr. MCKINLEY. I move that the Journal of the proceedings of yesterday be approved, and upon that I demand the previous question.

Mr. MILLS. The gentleman from Ohio certainly does not want to prevent a correction of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Ohio demands the previous question.

Mr. MILLS. The scent of the gentleman is keen; he smells the battle afar off. On the demand for the previous question I ask the yeas and nays.

Mr. SPRINGER. I rise to a question of order. I make the point of order that a portion of the RECORD just read by the Clerk forms no part of the Journal of the House, and can not be a part of the Journal of the House. I make the point that the Clerk has read, as of the Journal of the House, a fact which can not properly go into the proceedings of this House, because it did not take place in the House, to wit, the fact that certain Senate bills were referred to committees, particularly the amendments of the Senate to the House bill 5381—

The SPEAKER. That is a question for the House to determine.

The question is on the demand of the gentleman from Texas for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SPRINGER. Does the Speaker deny the right of a Representative on this floor to submit a question of order?

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SPRINGER. Does the Speaker deny my right to raise the question of order? You may ignore it, and put down the representatives of the people on this floor; but the people will put you down, sir, at the polls in November [applause and cheers on the Democratic side], and your party with you.

I demand the yeas and nays on this motion.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 105, nays 117, not voting 105; as follows:

YEAS—105.

Adams,	Conger,	Laidlaw,	Smyser,
Allen, Mich.	Culbertson, Pa.	Laws,	Snider,
Anderson, Kans.	Cutcheon,	Lodge,	Spooner.
Arnold,	De Lano,	McCormick,	Stephenson.
Atkinson, W. Va.	Dolliver,	McKenna,	Stewart, Vt.
Baker,	Dunnell,	McKinley,	Stivers,
Banks,	Evans,	Miles,	Stockbridge,
Beekwith,	Farquhar,	Moffit,	Struble,
Belden.	Finley,	Moore, N. H.	Sweney,
Belknap,	Flick,	Morrill,	Taylor, E. B.
Bingham,	Flood,	Morse,	Taylor, J. D.
Bliss,	Frank,	O'Donnell,	Thomas,
Boothman,	Funston,	O'Neill, Pa.	Thompson,
Boutelle,	Gear,	Osborne,	Vandever,
Brewer,	Gest,	Payson,	Van Schaick,
Brosius,	Gifford,	Pickler,	Waddill,
Brower,	Greenhalge,	Post,	Walker, Mass.
Buchanan, N. J.	Hall,	Pugsley,	Wallace, Mass.
Burrows,	Hansbrough,	Reed, Iowa	Wallace, N. Y.
Burton,	Harmer,	Reyburn,	Watson,
Butterworth,	Haugen,	Rife,	Wickham,
Candler, Mass.	Henderson, Ill.	Rowell,	Williams, Ohio
Cannon,	Hill,	Russell,	Wright,
Caswell,	Hitt,	Sawyer,	Yardley.
Cheadle,	Kinsey,	Sherman,	
Cogswell,	Knapp,	Simonds,	
Comstock,	Lacey,	Smith, W. Va.	

All Republicans.

NAYS—117.

Alderson,	Bullock,	Crisp,	Fowler,
Anderson, Miss.	Bynum,	Culbertson, Tex.	Geissenhainer,
Bankhead,	Campbell,	Cummings,	Goodnight,
Barnes,	Candler, Ga.	Davidson,	Grimes,
Bartine,	Carlton,	De Haven,	Hare,
Bland,	Carter,	Dockery,	Hayes,
Blount,	Caruth,	Dunphy,	Haynes,
Breckinridge, Ark.	Catchings,	Edmunds,	Heard,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Chipman,	Elliott,	Hemphill,
Brickner,	Clarke, Ala.	Ellis,	Henderson, N. C.
Brookshire,	Clements,	Enloe,	Herbert,
Brown, J. B.	Cobb,	Fitch,	Holman,
Brunner,	Cooper, Ind.	Fithian,	Kelley,
Buchanan, Va.	Cowles,	Forman,	Kerr, Iowa
Buckalew,	Crain,	Forney,	Kerr, Pa.

M'RAE

Kilgore,	McRae,	Quinn,	Townsend, Colo.
Lane,	Mills,	Reilly,	Tracey,
Lanham,	Montgomery,	Richardson,	Turner, Ga.
Lee,	Moore, Tex.	Robertson,	Turner, N. Y.
Lester, Ga.	Morrow,	Sayers,	Vaux,
Lewis,	Mutchler,	Shively,	Wheeler, Ala.
Lind,	Norton,	Spinola,	Whiting,
Maish,	O'Neill, Ind.	Springer,	Whitthorne,
Mansur,	O'Neill, Mass.	Stewart, Ga.	Wilkinson,
Martin, Ind.	Owens, Ohio	Stewart, Tex.	Williams, Ill.
McAdoo,	Parrett,	Stockdale,	Wilson, Mo.
McClammy,	Paynter,	Stone, Ky.	Wilson, W. Va.
McClellan,	Peel,	Stone, Mo.	
McCreary,	Penington,	Tarsney,	
McMillin,	Perry,	Tillman,	

Democrats, 112; Republicans, 5.

The SPEAKER. On this question the yeas are 106, and the nays are 117; and the House refuses to order the previous question. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution, to correct the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas offers the following resolution for the correction of the Journal, which the Clerk will read:

The Clerk read as follows:

"Whereas the order of reference made by the Speaker referring House bill 5381, which was returned to the House yesterday with a Senate amendment, to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, was incorrect under the rules of the House and without authority under said rules: Therefore,

"Resolved, That the Journal of yesterday, Wednesday, June 13, be corrected by striking therefrom this entry, to wit:

"Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, a House bill of the following title with Senate amendments was taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

"A bill (H. R. 5381) directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures."

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, to that I raise a point of order.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Illinois rise?

Mr. CANNON. To that resolution I make the point of order—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois has the right to make a point of order.

Mr. CANNON. I supposed so.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. CANNON. My point of order is that the resolution is not in order for the following reasons: First, it proposes to strike out an entry in the Journal that records a matter of fact. Second, it is not in order for the reason, under the rule, that if adopted it would have the effect, if it has any effect at all, to change a reference of a bill with a Senate amendment otherwise than as provided by the rules.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, the position assumed by my friend from Illinois is one of the boldest, one of the most reckless, and one of the most absurd propositions that has ever been assumed before a deliberative body. It only shows, Mr. Speaker, how a bright, well stored, and well disciplined mind may become beclouded by starting out in error and pursuing that course. It calls to mind those beautiful lines of Pope—

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

[Applause on the Democratic side.]

You have promised to be the devoted friends of both gold and silver—a bimetallic circulation. You were the friends of an increased volume of circulation of gold and silver, and all that could be done to relieve the wants of the people, owing to the constricted condition of the currency; you were pledged to it, and you said you would do it better than these heathen Democrats. [Laughter.] Here is what you said. It is good reading; I will call your attention to it, gentlemen; and it may be well when you read your Bible and go down on your knees at night to commit your souls to the keeping of Divine Providence that you should also read and reflect over these promises and see how well you have kept them:

"The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver money, and condemns the purpose of the Democratic party in its efforts to demonetize silver."

M'RAE

Who is now making efforts to demonetize silver?

Mr. KERR, of Iowa. No one.

Mr. MILLS. Who is trying to get it off into a hole somewhere?

Mr. KERR, of Iowa. No one.

Mr. MILLS. Who is making the point of order to-day to keep this legislation back from the people and prevent the redemption of the promises which all the parties have made to them?

A MEMBER. No one. [Laughter.]

Mr. MILLS. Here stand all the members of this side of the House, except what you may count on the fingers of one hand, ready to redeem that promise demanded by the people; and we have asked you on that side to come to our assistance and enable it to be done. We are ready to perform our duties, and we are here challenging you to give us the opportunity, and that the two together should redeem the promises to the American people. You have charged that we are not faithful to the people on the question of coinage. We passed a free-coinage bill over twelve years ago. It went to the Senate, and your Republican Senate put a restriction upon it, and prevented it from being what the Democrats of the House asked that it should be.

Again a few years afterwards we did it, and you sent it back to us emasculated. Again we sent another bill to the Senate, framed as best we could in view of the stand taken by that side of the House. But the Republicans on the other side of this building, a minority of them with the Democratic members there, send back this bill with promises to redeem our obligations to the people embodied in it; and now when it comes back there is nothing for you to do but to concur in what they have done. This is all that is left for us, to concur and pass the bill.

Why do you send that bill to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures? Why do you want it to go there? Why do you make a plea to send it there, beyond the reach of the House, where, perhaps, it will remain buried forever? And if it comes back—as it may in the providence of God at some future time—when it does come none of us will know the bill. [Applause on the Democratic side.] You will have some more bullion in it and other things which will give the Secretary of the Treasury power to stop the free coinage of silver. I give you, gentlemen, fair notice now that we are going to have a free and unlimited coinage of silver in this country. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BIGGS. That is right.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I was going to say the Speaker is the organ of the House, and this act of the Speaker gets no validity until we approve this Journal to-day. Whether it goes off on a point of order, or whether the Speaker holds the point of order made by the gentleman from Illinois good, so that we shall not have the right to have a vote upon that question, or whether the Journal is approved by a vote of the House, it is the House which makes this reference and not the Speaker.

* * * * *

The Speaker has no right to assume that if under the rules it ought to go to the Committee of the Whole some member will raise that point of order. The House has the right by unanimous consent, without a point of order, even if it ought to go to the Committee of the Whole, to take it up and consider it. I think upon this important matter the Speaker has no right to act in his private chamber upon the hypothesis that any member of this House will interpose a point of order to the settlement of this great question quieting the business interests dependent upon it, restoring stability to trade, removing obstructions to the growth of prosperity, and making a settlement of matters of great public concern. The whole matter depends upon the House.

Gentlemen have said that the majority has all power. It depends upon that majority frankly to give the House the right to legislate or frankly to say they will not. They can not straddle this position under the pretense of sustaining the Speaker and go before the bar of this country under the cover of a set of rules which they themselves have made. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The SPEAKER. On the motion to lay upon the table the yeas are 118 and the nays are 123, and the motion is lost. The question recurs upon the motion of the gentleman from Texas for the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The question recurred upon the resolution offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS].

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 121, nays 117, not voting 89; as follows:

YEAS—121.

Abbott,	Barnes,	Blount,	Brickner,
Alderson,	Bartine,	Boatner,	Brookshire,
Anderson, Miss.	Biggs,	Breckinridge, Ark.	Brown, J. B.
Bankhead,	Bland,	Breckinridge, Ky.	Brunner,

M'RAE

Buchanan, Va.	Fitch,	McClammy,	Skinner,
Buckalew,	Fithian,	McClellan,	Spinola,
Bullock,	Forman,	McCreary,	Springer,
Bynum,	Fowler,	McKinley,	Stewart, Ga.
Candler, Ga.	Geissenhalner,	McMillin,	Stewart, Tex.
Carlton,	Goodnight,	McRae,	Stoddale,
Carter,	Grimes,	Mills,	Stone, Mo.
Caruth,	Hare,	Montgomery,	Stump,
Catchings,	Hayes,	Moore, Tex.	Tarsney,
Clarke, Ala.	Haynes,	Morrow,	Tillman,
Clements,	Heard,	Mutchler,	Townsend, Colo.
Clunie,	Hemphill,	Norton,	Tucker,
Cobb,	Henderson, N. C.	Oates,	Turner, Ga.
Cooper, Ind.	Herbert,	O'Neill, Ind.	Turner, N. Y.
Cothran,	Holman,	O'Neil, Mass.	Vaux,
Cowles,	Kelley,	Owens, Ohio	Wheeler, Ala.
Crisp,	Kerr, Pa.	Parrett,	Whiting,
Culberson, Tex.	Kilgore,	Paynter,	Whitthorne,
Cummings,	Lanc,	Peel,	Wiley,
Davidson,	Lanham,	Pennington,	Wilkinson,
De Haven,	Lester, Ga.	Perry,	Willcox,
Dockery,	Lewis,	Reilly,	Williams, Ill.
Dunphy,	Magner,	Richardson,	Wilson, Mo.
Edmunds,	Maish,	Robertson,	Wilson, W. Va.
Elliott,	Mansur,	Sayers,	
Ellis,	Martin, Ind.	Seney,	
Enloe,	McAdoo,	Shively,	

Democrats, 116; Republicans, 5.

NAYS—117.

Adams,	Dalzell,	McCormick,	Smith, W. Va.
Allen, Mich.	De Lano,	McKenna,	Smyser,
Anderson, Kans.	Dolliver,	Miles,	Snider,
Arnold,	Dunnell,	Milliken,	Spooner,
Atkinson, W. Va.	Evans,	Moffitt,	Stephenson,
Baker,	Farquhar,	Moore, N. H.	Stewart, Vt.
Banks,	Finley,	Morrill,	Stivers,
Beckwith,	Flick,	Morse,	Stockbridge,
Belden,	Flood,	Mudd,	Struble,
Belknap,	Frank,	Niedringhaus,	Sweney,
Bingham,	Funston,	O'Donnell,	Taylor, E. B.
Bliss,	Gear,	O'Neill, Pa.	Taylor, J. D.
Boothman,	Gifford,	Osborne,	Thomas,
Boutelle,	Greenhalge,	Owen, Ind.	Thompson,
Brewer,	Hall,	Payson,	Tracey,
Brosius,	Hansbrough,	Pickler,	Turner, Kans.
Brower,	Haugen,	Post,	Vandever,
Buchanan, N. J.	Henderson, Ill.	Pugsley,	Van Schaick,
Burrows,	Hill,	Raines,	Waddill,
Burton,	Hitt,	Randall,	Walker, Mass.
Butterworth,	Kerr, Iowa	Reed, Iowa	Wallace, Mass.
Candler, Mass.	Ketcham,	Reyburn,	Wallace, N. Y.
Cannon,	Kinsey,	Rife,	Wickham,
Caswell,	Knapp,	Rockwell,	Williams, Ohio
Cheadle,	Lacey,	Rowell,	Wilson, Ky.
Cogswell,	La Follette,	Russell,	Wright,
Comstock,	Laidlaw,	Sanford,	Yardley.
Conger,	Laws,	Sawyer,	
Culbertson, Pa.	Lind,	Sherman,	
Cutcheon,	Lodge,	Simonds,	

Republicans, 116; Democrats, 1.
So the resolution was adopted.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Friday, June 20, 1890. APPROVAL OF THE JOURNAL OF WEDNESDAY.

The SPEAKER. The House will give its attention. The question before the House is the motion of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] for the previous question upon the motion to approve the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday last.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Upon that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER again stated the pending question

M'RAE

Mr. SPRINGER. I do not understand that we ordered the yeas and nays on the previous question, but on the approval of the Journal as amended.

Mr. MCKINLEY. The yeas and nays have been ordered on the previous question.

Mr. SPRINGER. There is no objection to the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas moved the previous question, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered by the House.

Mr. MCKINLEY. The gentleman's motion—

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. MILLS. One moment, Mr. Speaker; let us have no confusion about this matter. What is the question?

The SPEAKER. On ordering the previous question on the motion to approve the Journal.

Mr. MCKINLEY. The motion of the gentleman from Texas as shown by the RECORD of yesterday is:

"I move the previous question on the adoption of the motion of the gentleman from Ohio."

Mr. MILLS. It was my motion to approve the Journal as amended.

Mr. MCKINLEY. We both made the motion to approve the Journal.

Mr. MILLS. But I made the motion to approve the Journal as amended.

The SPEAKER. There is no question about that whatever.

Mr. MILLS. I only wanted the Journal to show that fact.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will proceed to call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 126, nays 122, not voting 79.

* * * * *

Mr. MCKINLEY. I move to reconsider the vote just taken.

Mr. BLAND. I make the point of order that that is a dilatory motion.

Mr. MILLS. I move that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

The SPEAKER proceeded to submit the question.

Mr. MILLS. Let us have the yeas and nays.

Mr. SPRINGER. Yes; we may as well have the yeas and nays at once, to save time.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER. The yeas and nays are ordered on the motion of the gentleman from Texas, which is to lay upon the table the motion of the gentleman from Ohio for reconsideration of the vote last taken, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 131, nays 120, not voting 67.

The SPEAKER. The previous question is ordered, and the question now recurs upon the approval of the Journal as amended.

Mr. MCKINLEY. Upon that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 132, nays 130, not voting 65; as follows:

YEAS—132.

Abbott,	Cobb,	Hemphill,	O'Neil, Mass.
Alderson,	Cooper, Ind.	Henderson, N. C.	Owens, Ohio
Anderson, Miss.	Cothran,	Herbert,	Parrett,
Bankhead,	Cowles,	Hermann,	Faynter,
Barnes,	Crain,	Holman,	Peel,
Bartine,	Crisp,	Kelley,	Pennington,
Biggs,	Culberson, Tex.	Kilgore,	Perry,
Blanchard,	Cummings,	Lane,	Quinn,
Blount,	Dargan,	Lanham,	Reilly,
Boatner,	Davidson,	Lee,	Richardson,
Breckinridge, Ark.	De Haven,	Lester, Ga.	Robertson,
Breckinridge, Ky.	Dockery,	Lester, Va.	Rowland,
Brickner,	Dunphy,	Lewis,	Rusk,
Brookshire,	Edmunds,	Magner,	Sayers,
Brown, J. B.	Elliott,	Maish,	Shively,
Brunner,	Ellis,	Mausur,	Spinola,
Buchanan, Va.	Enloe,	Martin, Ind.	Springer,
Buckalew,	Fitch,	McAdoo,	Stewart, Ga.
Bullock,	Fithian,	McClammy,	Stewart, Tex.
Bunn,	Forman,	McClellan,	Stockdale,
Bynum,	Forney,	McCreary,	Stone, Ky.
Campbell,	Fowler,	McMillin,	Stone, Mo.
Carlton,	Geissenhainer,	McRae,	Stump,
Carter,	Gibson,	Mills,	Ta-sney,
Caruth,	Goodnight,	Montgomery,	Tillman,
Chipman,	Grimes,	Moore, Tex.	Townsend, Colo.
Clarke, Ala.	Hare,	Morrow,	Tucker,
Clements,	Hayes,	Norton,	Turner, Ga.
Clunie,	Haynes,	Oates,	Turner, N. Y.
	Heard,	O'Neal, Ind.	Vaux,

M'RAE

Venable, Wheeler, Ala. Whiting, Democrats, 125; Republicans, 7.	Whitthorne, Wike, Wiley,	Wilkinson, Willcox, Williams, Ill.	Wilson, Mo. Wilson, W. Va. Yoder.
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NAYS—130.

Adams, Allen, Mich. Anderson, Kans. Arnold, Atkinson, W. Va. Baker, Banks, Beckwith, Belden, Belknap, Bergen, Bingham, Bliss, Boothman, Boutelle, Bowden, Brewer, Brosius, Brower, Brown, Va. Buchanan, N. J. Burrows, Burton, Butterworth, Candler, Mass. Cannon, Caswell, Chadley, Cogswell, Comstock, Conger, Culbertson, Pa. Cutcheon,	Dalzell, De Lano, Dolliver, Dunnell, Evans, Ewart, Farquhar, Finley, Finley, Flood, Frank, Funston, Gear, Gest, Gifford, Greenhalge, Grosvenor, Hall, Hansbrough, Harmer, Haugen, Henderson, Ill. Henderson, Iowa Hill, Hitt, Kennedy, Kerr, Iowa Ketcham, Kinsey, Knapp, Lacey, La Pollette, Laidlaw,	Laws, Lehlbach, Lind, Lodge, McComas, McCormick, McKenna, McKinley, Miles, Milliken, Moffitt, Moore, N. H. Morrill, Morse, Mudd, Niedringhaus, O'Neill, Pa. Osborne, Owen, Ind. Payson, Perkins, Pickler, Post, Pugsley, Raines, Randall, Reed, Iowa Reyburn, Rife, Rockwell, Rowell, Russell, Sanford,	Sawyer, Scull, Sherman, Simonds, Smith, Ill. Smith, W. Va. Smyser, Snider, Spoonor, Stephenson, Stewart, Vt. Stivers, Stockbridge, Struble, Sweeney, Taylor, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Thomas, Tracey, Turner, Kans. Vandever, Van Schaick, Waddill, Walker, Mass. Wallace, Mass. Wallace, N. Y. Wickham, Williams, Ohio Wilson, Ky. Wright, Yardley.
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Republicans, 129; Democrats, 1.

So the Journal as amended was approved.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Saturday, June 21, 1890.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. BLAND. I call for the regular order.

Mr. SPRINGER. What is the regular order?

The SPEAKER. The Chair will announce it as soon as the House is in order.

Mr. SPRINGER. Let us have the regular order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires the attention of the House on this matter.

The question was somewhat discussed on yesterday as to the condition of the bill which had been referred by the Speaker, and the record of which in the Journal was not concurred in by the House, but was rejected, or, if it can be said to be—the Journal not having been then adopted—erased. The provision of our rules requires not only that such bills should be referred, but that a statement of the reference should be put into the Journal and also into the RECORD. The statement was made in the RECORD. It was also put into the Journal, which was submitted to the consideration of the House. The House saw fit not to permit that record to be made, and to become a part of the Journal. That left a somewhat difficult question as to the status of the bill.

* * * * *

Under those circumstances, and in conformity to the rules, the Chair announces to the House that, in obedience to the rules, the bill has been referred, is now referred, to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. From that decision, if the House thinks the Chair is wrong, an appeal can be taken.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. SPRINGER. I desire to call the attention of the House to the fact that the Speaker is under a misapprehension with regard to the practice of the House heretofore with reference to House bills with Senate amendments. The Speaker stated to the House the day before yesterday that the reference of this bill, out of the session of the House, to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures

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ures was not an unusual procedure, but was in the ordinary course of business. He said:

"In the regular course of business the officer of the House to whom the Speaker has intrusted the clerical work of the reference of bills, the Journal Clerk, informed the Speaker that upon his list of bills which were to be referred, under the rules, to committees of the House, in the same manner as hundreds, and possibly thousands, of bills have been referred heretofore, was the bill known as the bill for silver coinage which had come from the Senate, and the Chair was asked if he had any particular direction to make in regard to it."

The Speaker further said:

"What, then, was the duty of the Speaker in regard to it? Obviously, to refer it in the same manner in which hundreds and thousands of bills have been referred at this session."

Now, I was led to believe from that statement that hundreds and thousands of bills in the same parliamentary situation as this bill had been so referred by the Speaker during this session of Congress, but I have taken the pains, in two hours' time this morning, to examine every page of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD where such references appear, and I say here now, and this RECORD will prove it, that the silver bill is the only bill of this kind that has been so referred. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

When the gentlemen on the other side were overwhelmed in the flood tide of opposition raised by this act of the Speaker they did not find a straw upon the surface at which to grasp, but they clutched at a rejected preamble and vainly imagined that would keep them above the waves. But a rejected preamble will not save you, gentlemen. You are dodging this question; your Speaker is dodging it; and the people know you are dodging it. We intend to have a fair vote on this question before this Congress adjourns. You may put it aside now; you may get it out of the way by arbitrary rulings; but those who aid in getting it out of the way will be repudiated by their constituents at the polls in November. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CRISP. Now, Mr. Speaker, I recognize the necessity of rules of procedure, although I regard the rules we have as extremely vicious. I believe, however, they do what they were designed to do. They put it in the power of a majority of the House, with the aid of the Committee on Rules, to do pretty much what they please. You gentlemen have so construed and so enforced them as to absolutely stifle the voice of the minority.

A mixed majority here now desire "to do business." I believe the chief advantage claimed for our rules is that they enable a majority to do business; and yet when we seek under the rules you have established to "do business," you pursue a course contrary to the usages and practice of the House, which with the aid of the Committee on Rules will enable you to defeat and deprive us of the right to do so.

Against that kind of practice, sir, I protest. While I have not always sympathized with the purposes and intention of gentlemen to "do business," while I have not always sympathized with the great desire expressed by gentlemen on the other side to attain "results," yet, Mr. Speaker, when I find a practice has obtained since the beginning of this Congress, by which the Republican majority has been permitted to attain practical results and to do business, I propose to follow that practice, when by following it the majority of the House—all the Democrats and a few of the Republicans together making such majority—can attain the practical result of free coinage of silver.

I propose now to adhere to the Speaker's construction and the practice, not to the letter of the law. I call your attention to the practice under the rule; I call your attention to the decisions under the rule, and I confidently say to you that, conforming to both, we can, if we will, in this case attain practical results.

If on this appeal the decision of the Speaker is overruled, the silver bill is on our table. It will be submitted to the House (the House has expressly decided that it ought to have been submitted), a motion will then be in order to concur in the Senate amendments, and those gentlemen whose constituents demand that there should be in this country free coinage of silver can settle the question, so far as the legislative department of the Government is concerned, before the sun goes down to-day.

Mr. FITCH. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. CRISP. One moment. If, on the other hand, this ruling of the Speaker, which is new and a departure from the practice, is sustained, then this bill is sent to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, where neither that committee nor the House can control its fate. Even if that committee were friendly to the free coinage of silver, they could do nothing more than to report their bill back and put it upon the Calendar. When it reached the Calendar, there it would sleep until the Committee on Rules gave life and vitality to it.

That committee, and that committee alone, if this bill is referred, can give this House an opportunity to vote on the question of the free coinage of silver. How does that committee feel on the question? My friend from Kansas [Mr. ANDERSON], who claims to be an earnest advocate of free coinage, tells us that the Committee on Rules are patriotic, and that they will take care of the inter-

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ests of the Republican party. So they will, Mr. Speaker, but many of us here are anxious to take care of the interests of the people and not specially of the interests of the Republican party.

We are not left to conjecture how the majority of the Committee on Rules stand. When we were permitted to consider this bill before, how did they permit us to consider it? They brought in an iron-clad rule by which a certain number of days were given for debate. In the rule an hour was fixed at which the previous question should be ordered upon the bill and pending amendments. That was an iron-clad rule. What was it for? The rule on its face was a harsh one, because in saying that at a fixed hour the previous question should be considered as ordered upon the bill and pending amendments, it limited our right to propose amendments. Harsh as it was, however, under it there might be offered, first, an amendment; second, an amendment to the amendment; third, a substitute, and, fourth, an amendment to the substitute—four motions. Under the rules no more could be offered until one of those was disposed of. This harsh rule was adopted by a party vote.

Then what happened? Four motions could be made; four motions only. The Speaker of the House recognized four Republicans to move amendments, not one of which touched the question of free coinage of silver. Mr. BLAND had been on his feet all the time demanding recognition to offer a substitute providing for the free coinage of silver, but the Speaker could not see him until after he had recognized the four Republicans, and the right to amend had been exhausted, then he blandly turned to the gentleman from Missouri, and said, "No further amendments are in order." [Laughter on the Democratic side.]

Are you left in doubt as to how the Committee on Rules stand on the question of the free coinage of silver? Is there room for speculation? Now, if you sustain the ruling this bill goes to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. They may report it back as they please, and it goes upon the Calendar. They please to report against the free coinage of silver. The gentlemen do not deny it. When it goes upon the Calendar it lies there until the Committee on Rules bring in another iron-clad rule, which, perhaps, will read about this way: "Resolved, That this bill shall be taken up at such a day, that it shall be debated so long, and at such an hour a vote shall be taken upon the bill and pending amendments." The rule will be again adopted, and then the Speaker, in sympathy with the gold men of this country, will again recognize their representatives alone to offer amendments to the bill.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I move now to lay upon the table the appeal of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND].

The SPEAKER. The question is upon the motion of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY]. The Chair has announced to the House that he refers the bill to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, and that the Chair does so under the rules of the House for the reasons given. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND] appeals from the decision of the Chair, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MCKINLEY] moves to lay that appeal upon the table.

Mr. MCKINLEY. And upon that I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. BLAND. Let us have the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 144, nays 17, not voting 66; as follows:

YEAS—144.

Adams,	Caldwell,	Gear,	McAdoo,
Allen, Mich.	Candler, Mass.	Geissenhainer,	McComas,
Anderson, Kans.	Cannon,	Gest,	McCormick,
Arnold,	Caswell,	Gifford,	McKenna,
Atkinson, W. Va.	Cheadle,	Greenhalge,	McKinley,
Baker,	Cogswell,	Grosvenor,	Miles,
Banks,	Comstock,	Hansbrough,	Milliken,
Bayne,	Conger,	Haugen,	Moffitt,
Beckwith,	Culbertson, Pa.	Henderson, Ill.	Moore, N. H.
Belden,	Cutcheon,	Henderson, Iowa	Morey,
Belknap,	Dalzell,	Hill,	Morrill,
Bergen,	Dargan,	Hitt,	Morse,
Bingham,	Darlington,	Kennedy,	Mudd,
Bliss,	De Lano,	Kerr, Iowa	Mutehler,
Boothman,	Dolliver,	Ketcham,	Niedringhaus,
Boutelle,	Dunnell,	Kinsey,	O'Donnell,
Bowden,	Dunphy,	Knapp,	O'Neill, Mass.
Brewer,	Evans,	Lacey,	O'Neill, Pa.
Brosius,	Ewart,	La Follette,	Osborne,
Brown, Va.	Farquhar,	Laidlaw,	Owen, Ind.
Buchanan, N. J.	Finley,	Laws,	Payne,
Buckalew,	Fitch,	Lehbach,	Payson,
Burrows,	Flick,	Lind,	Perkins,
Burton,	Flood,	Lodge,	Peters,
Butterworth,	Frank,	Maish,	Pickler,

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Post,	Sanford,	Stivers,	Waddill,
Pugsley,	Sawyer,	Stockbridge,	Walker, Mass.
Quinn,	Scull,	Struble,	Wallace, Mass.
Raines,	Sherman,	Sweney,	Wallace, N. Y.
Randall,	Smith, Ill.	Taylor, E. B.	Watson,
Reed, Iowa	Smith, W. Va.	Taylor, J. D.	Wickham,
Reyburn,	Smyser,	Thomas,	Wiley,
Rife,	Snider,	Tracey,	Williams, Ohio
Rockwell,	Spooner,	Turner, Kans.	Wilson, Ky.
Rowell,	Stahlnecker,	Vandever,	Wright,
Russell,	Stephenson,	Van Schaick,	Yardley.

Republicans, 181; Democrats, 18.

NAYS—117.

Abbott,	Cothran,	Kelley,	Robertson,
Alderson,	Cowles,	Kilgore,	Rowland,
Anderson, Miss.	Crain,	Lane,	Sayers,
Bankhead,	Crisp,	Lanham,	Shively,
Barnes,	Culberson, Tex.	Lee,	Skinner,
Bartine,	Cummings,	Lester, Ga.	Spinola,
Blanckard,	Davidson,	Lester, Va.	Springer,
Bland,	De Haven,	Lewis,	Stewart, Ga.
Boatner,	Dockery,	Magner,	Stewart, Tex.
Breckinridge, Ark.	Edmunds,	Manstur,	Stone, Ky.
Breckinridge, Ky.	Elliott,	Martin, Ind.	Stone, Mo.
Brickner,	Ellis,	McClammy,	Stump,
Brookshire,	Enloe,	McClellan,	Tarsney,
Brown, J. B.	Fithian,	McCreary,	Tillman,
Brunner,	Forman,	McMillin,	Townsend, Colo.
Buchanan, Va.	Forney,	McRae,	Tucker,
Bullock,	Fowler,	Mills,	Turner, Ga.
Bunn,	Funston,	Montgomery,	Venable,
Bynum,	Gibson,	Moore, Tex.	Wade,
Carlton,	Goodnight,	Morrow,	Wheeler, Ala.
Carter,	Grimes,	Norton,	Whiting,
Caruth,	Hare,	O'Neill, Ind.	Wike,
Catchings,	Hayes,	Owens, Ohio	Wilkinson,
Chipman,	Haynes,	Parrett,	Williams, Ill.
Clarke, Ala.	Heard,	Paynter,	Wilson, Mo.
Clemeuts,	Hemphill,	Peel,	Wilson, W. Va.
Clunie,	Henderson, N. C.	Penington,	Yoder.
Cobb,	Herbert,	Perry,	
Connell,	Hermann,	Reilly,	
Cooper, Ind.	Holman,	Richardson,	

Democrats, 108; Republicans, 9.

So the appeal was laid on the table.

Mr. M'RAE. I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. ROGERS] is paired generally with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. EZRA B. TAYLOR]. If present, he would vote "nay."

SENATE, Tuesday, July 8, 1890.

TREASURY NOTES AND SILVER BULLION.

Mr. SHERMAN. Pending that order, I call up the conference report on the silver bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 5381) directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes. The report of the committee has been read at length. The question is on concurring in the report.

Mr. WEST. I want to state, sir, very briefly the reasons why I shall not vote for the bill reported by the committee of conference.

I was under the impression, sir, that the whole struggle was upon the idea that free coinage, with fair play to gold and silver, without discrimination against one and in favor of the other, should prevail, and that the Senate so voted; and here we have a report which absolutely does away with that idea and puts us back to the old régime under which silver has continually gone down and has been supplanted by gold exclusively.

Again, sir, I never was a silver man in order to furnish a market for the silver miners of the West. I am against that bounty and that subsidy to silver mines as I would be against one to ships, or wheat, or corn, or any other commodity in this country at the expense of the interests of the rest of the people.

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It may be that this bill will give a market to silver and to the men who mine it, but the principle for which we fought, that the two metals should be alike, that they should have the same free and open play in order to determine their value, has been given away in this report absolutely and completely, in my judgment.

But there is another objection to this bill, and if there were no other I would not vote for it. The first section of the bill has language it never found before in any similar measure in regard to silver:

"The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered, in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver."

I call the attention of the friends of silver to this remarkable language. The Secretary of the Treasury is directed to purchase 4,500,000 ounces at the market price when offered. No such language has ever been found in any silver bill before. The Bland bill, which was a tentative measure, which did not satisfy the demands of the country or the friends of silver, but was the best that could be obtained at the time, was mandatory, and directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver, and he was obliged to do it, in quantities not less than \$2,000,000 worth a month.

But here is a direction to him to purchase at the market price "when offered." Who makes that market price? Who is to be the judge of it? It is left to the nebulous and uncertain discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and we know what that means. We know from the past, from the influences that have controlled the Treasury Department, what will be done. It is useless to tell us this bill will be carried out in any other way than past legislation has been carried out, in the interest of gold and against silver.

Sir, for these reasons I shall not vote for this conference report.

Mr. COKE. Mr. President, I desire to express my concurrence in the conclusions of the Senator from Missouri. I can not support this bill as presented by the conference committee. We have now, under a law which has existed since 1878, a provision for the compulsory coinage of silver. It is the coinage of silver that imparts to that metal its money power. Not less than \$2,000,000 must be coined monthly under existing law. Under this bill, on the 1st day of July, 1891, it is left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury whether another dollar of silver shall be coined or not, and the Secretary of the Treasury has told us in advance that another dollar of silver should not be coined.

The conferees on the part of the Senate in agreeing to this bill have not represented the opinions of the Senate of the United States, which were for free and unlimited coinage of silver. On the contrary, they have assented to a bill which provides definitely for the cessation of the further coinage of silver at all. The bill as presented is another step in the demonetization of silver. Who does not know that to leave it to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury whether silver shall be coined or not is equal to stopping the coinage of that metal? That is a fact well known, and was admitted throughout the recent debate on this subject. I am opposed, Mr. President, to buying one single ounce of silver that is not to be coined.

I am opposed to the United States Government going into the warehouse business for silver or for any other product. If we are not to coin silver, why purchase it? If this bill is to advance the money power of silver, why cease the coinage of silver, which operation alone confers upon it the power of money?

The House of Representatives once passed a free-coinage bill. The Senate of the United States again has passed a free-coinage bill. This good day two-thirds of the people of these United States are in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver; yet this admitted majority in favor of free coinage are balked at every turn by the Executive and the Secretary of the Treasury of United States when the popular will is sought to be put into effect.

Mr. VOORHEES. Mr. President, in the practice of my profession I always dread a packed jury. I always am reluctant to go into a court where I know the mind of the court is made up against me to try a case by a jury, a majority of whom I know are adverse to my client.

The trouble about this bill is not as to whether a Secretary will obey the law where the law is made explicit, clear, and mandatory, but there is not a single section in this conference report or in the bill that has been reported by the conference committee but what has a discretion given to the Secretary of the Treasury who is "packed" against silver.

That is my dread about this bill, and one of the strong reasons why I shall not vote for it. There is not a single section that does not convey and have in it a discretion to the Secretary of the Treasury by which he can destroy, dishonor, and degrade silver as money; and the best evidence that that is the purpose of this bill is to be found in the advocates of it and the advocates of these powers thus given to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Sir, I do not seek to reflect upon the present Secretary of the Treasury—far from it. The Treasury Department has been packed against silver ever since I

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have been a member of this body—not merely your party on that side of the Chamber, but my own, until I am weary of it.

Thirteen years ago when I took my seat in this body I announced my adherence to the free coinage of silver, and I have had no reason at a single moment since to change my mind upon that subject. I represent in part one of the strongest Commonwealths so far as its business is concerned that exists beneath the flag, and I say here to Senators that there are not a thousand men in the State of Indiana (except such as desire favors at the hands of this Administration which is adverse to the free coinage of silver) who would not vote today for its free coinage.

What is the spectacle presented here in this body? I am amazed at Senators. I will not use offensive language, but I am amazed at the hardness of Senators who stand up in this body to take back all we said and all we did and all we voted for within the last three or four weeks. Seventeen majority of the Senate of the United States is treated as chaff—one-fifth of this body was embodied in a majority on this subject—seventeen majority for the free coinage of silver, and the representatives of this body on the conference committee have treated that expression as idle, and it is to go for naught!

My word for it, the American people, those who labor, those who toil, those who delve, those who sow, those who reap and mow, will not consider this action on the part of the Senate a few weeks ago as idle or as not binding. I think I know better why the people of this country, in their trouble and distress, lifted up their heads and looked this way, and they breathed a little freer when they saw that the Senate of the United States, that body so often spoken of and derided for its conservatism and its want of progress, had gone so far on a measure of relief for the laboring people. They rejoiced at it, and in the last three weeks, while this measure has been pending in the committee of conference bound up in doubt, more expressions in the way of petitions and letters, and the like, have reached here than even during the discussion that was on.

Mr. JONES, of Arkansas. Mr. President, the silver question is of the greatest importance. Considered within and of itself its magnitude can scarcely be overestimated, yet just now its greatest importance comes from its political connections. The demonetization of silver was an integral part of a regular economic system, conceived, executed, and maintained by the Republican party in utter disregard of the general interest of the country.

The efforts which have been so persistently made for ten years past, but which have utterly failed when directly and openly made, will have succeeded by indirection, and this bill, which has been understood to be a silver measure, will have completed the destruction of silver as money. The great demand amongst the people for more money, for silver money, will have been treated with contempt, and we will have practically declared that when the mine owners have been cared for that all has been done that needed to be done. This bill should never become a law; but if it is not a willful false pretense intended by its friends as a trick to deceive the public they should amend it before pressing it further by at least providing for the unlimited coinage of silver whenever the price reaches the point at which the Government ceases to be a purchaser. This is an absolute necessity unless the purpose is to destroy silver as money.

Those who vote for this bill as it stands certainly intend permanent demonetization of silver, and they ought to avow it for they can not deny it, and while striking a fatal blow at the interest of the great body of the people, they intend only to benefit the sellers of silver bullion by increasing its price as bullion. Those who have heretofore pretended to be the friends of silver and who have gone "up and down in the earth" upon this subject "pouring out their roarings like water," may as well take notice that their present support of this bill will be remembered, and there will be a day of accounting.

SENATE, Thursday, July 10, 1890.

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TREASURY NOTES AND SILVER BULLION.

Mr. SHERMAN. I ask that the conference report, the privileged question, may be proceeded with.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there further morning business? If there be none, that order is closed, and the Chair lays before the Senate the report of the committee of conference on the bill (H. R. 5381) directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes. The question is on concurring in the report, on which the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] is entitled to the floor.

REPORT.

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5381) directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes,

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having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments to said bill and agree to the following in the nature of a substitute: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States to be prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury, in such form and of such denominations, not less than \$1 nor more than \$1,000, as he may prescribe, and a sum sufficient to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

"Sec. 2. That the Treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be redeemable on demand, in coin, at the Treasury of the United States or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and when so redeemed may be reissued; but no greater or less amounts of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion, and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom, then held in the Treasury purchased by such notes; and such Treasury notes shall be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such notes, when held by any national-banking association, may be counted as a part of its lawful reserve. That upon demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.

"Sec. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury.

"Sec. 4. That the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act shall be subject to the requirements of existing law and the regulations of the mint service governing the methods of determining the amount of pure silver contained, and the amount of charges or deductions, if any, to be made.

"Sec. 5. That so much of the act of February 28, 1878, entitled 'An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,' as requires the monthly purchase and coinage of the same into silver dollars of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, is hereby repealed.

"Sec. 6. That upon the passage of this act the balances standing with the Treasurer of the United States to the respective credits of national banks for deposits made to redeem the circulating notes of such banks, and all deposits thereafter received for like purpose, shall be covered into the Treasury as a miscellaneous receipt, and the Treasurer of the United States shall redeem from the general cash in the Treasury the circulating notes of said bank when they come into his possession subject to redemption; and upon the certificate of the Comptroller of the Currency that such notes have been received by him and that they have been destroyed and that no new notes will be issued in their place, reimbursement of their amount shall be made to the Treasurer, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, from an appropriation hereby created, to be known as 'National-bank notes: redemption account,' but the provisions of this act shall not apply to the deposits received under section 3 of the act of June 20, 1874, requiring every national bank to keep in lawful money with the Treasurer of the United States a sum equal to 5 per cent. of its circulation, to be held and used for the redemption of its circulating notes; and the balance remaining of the deposits so covered shall, at the close of each month, be reported on the monthly public debt statement as debt of the United States bearing no interest.

"Sec. 7. That this act shall take effect thirty days from and after its passage."
And the Senate agree to the same.

E. H. CONGER,
J. H. WALKER,
Managers on the part of the House.
JOHN SHERMAN,
JNO. P. JONES,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I feel that this day is to be a crisis in the question of the currency of the people of the United States. As much so, in respect

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of the demonetization of silver and the confining of the coin currency of the United States to the single gold standard and issue, as was the 12th of February, the day of the passage of the act of 1873. I do not know but that the effect of the vote that is to be taken to-day upon this conference report, if it should result in the adoption of it, will really be more fatal to the prospects of silver coinage in the future than the act of 1873, for that act struck at the producers of silver and caused them to bestir themselves to try to redeem the lost ground which it took from under their feet.

But the proposed act of 1890 puts the producers of silver, if they choose to relinquish all of their convictions upon this question, which I have hoped they will not, in firm alliance with the men who insist upon a single gold standard and coin in this country, an alliance that is to be perpetual, at least until silver bullion gets to be worth more than \$1 for 37½ grains.

The inducement is held out in this bill that a Secretary of the Treasury who may be favorable, politically or otherwise, to the silver men of the West can gain to his side of this question all the political strength that he needs by simply buying up the metal in such sums and from such people and from such States and at such times as may suit his convenience or the convenience of a political party that may want to renew that process which in the United States is called the "frying of fat" out of people.

There is a divorcee by a shrewd and cunning hand now about to be accomplished between the men who produce silver from the mines and the men who desire to have silver currency for the benefit of the common people of the United States, for those of us who are now more particularly advocating the remonetization of silver to the extent of its full and free coinage are by necessity, whether by choice or not, the friends of the common laboring people in this country, who are to derive the greatest benefit from that sort of enactment, and those who oppose the attitude that we have assumed here in favor of the free coinage of silver by a natural affinity and association, and by consequences which they are incapable of avoiding, are thrown necessarily in favor of those men in the United States and in the world who already occupy the class of capitalists or moneyed men, and who desire, of course, to add to the purchasing power of the coin or the money that they are able to control, both in reference to property and labor and everything else that enters into human transactions.

If the gentlemen who voted with the majority of seventeen a few days ago in the Senate in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver on a parity and on an equality in all respects with the coinage of gold, as a privilege belonging to the people of the United States under their Constitution and under their laws—if those gentlemen to-day see proper to accept this bonus, this reward, this invitation, this inducement—I shall not use a stronger word than that to describe it—they will of course make up their minds coolly and quietly and upon a full survey of the circumstances and they will decide that it is better to secure through the agency and operation of this bill a continued opportunity for a good price for silver bullion than it is to secure to the people of the United States who need this money a sound currency which shall enlarge the circulating medium of the country by about one-half.

Mr. VANCE, Mr. President, it is admitted that this bill is not what it ought to be. Common sense would dictate, then, that we should try to make it what it ought to be. We have made but one effort to make it what it ought to be, and being met with a repulse at the other end of the Capitol we immediately submit and make no further effort.

We passed a bill through this body for the benefit of the people. We are now about to pass one, as it seems to me, for the benefit of the miners and dealers in silver bullion; and that is the difference between the two bills. I deny, sir, that it will benefit the people of the country by an inflation or an increase in the currency. As I understand the bill, and I may be mistaken, it will not add one dollar even in the shape of Treasury notes to the volume of the currency.

The bill requires that the Secretary of the Treasury shall buy four and a half million ounces of silver per month. In payment of that he is to issue Treasury notes at the bullion value, say \$4,000,000, for the sake of argument, per month. The bill also provides that those Treasury notes so issued may be redeemable in coin, gold or silver, at the discretion of the Secretary, and we know when we consider the history of every Secretary of the Treasury for the last twenty-five years what discretion means with regard to silver coin. We know that it means gold; and therefore the holders of those Treasury notes can get gold for the \$4,000,000 of silver bullion purchased by the Government. Not a dollar of silver is put in circulation; and those notes when so redeemed may be reissued, and with the same Treasury notes the Secretary may buy the next four and a half million ounces of silver to be treated in the same way.

The whole transaction is to be on such terms as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, and so the transaction, like the stone of Sisyphus, goes round and round, up and down, and like the actors in a traveling ballet when they are short, may doubt in their characters, may appear in pantaloons at one moment and in petticoats the next; that same \$4,000,000 of Treasury notes may keep on buying every month the four and a half million ounces of silver bullion; and the fact is that the currency of the country is not swelled a dollar, but

M'RAE