HOW SILVER WAS DEMONETIZED.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM M. STEWART,

OF NEVADA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1890.

WASHINGTON.

1890.
SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM M. STEWART.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (S. 2350) authorizing the issue of Treasury notes on deposit of silver bullion—

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, from the foundation of this Government to 1873, any person having either gold or silver bullion could take it to the Mint of the United States and obtain coin for it at the ratio fixed. That is an admitted fact. The act of 1873 deprived the citizen of that privilege.

The question is now whether or not that act was passed advisedly, accidentally, or otherwise; whether it was discussed in the Senate and understood in the House or whether it was not. The discussions fortunately are all recorded. Consequently the fact, as to passage or not, can be determined without any mistake by the records. Inasmuch as I am constantly pointed to as having been here and participating in the proceedings and inasmuch as I have recently stated that I did not know when this occurred and was unconscious of having participated in this measure, I propose to exhibit the facts as they are and put them in the Record, so that any man can judge and determine for himself. The statement thereof may be a little dry, but I will not be as long showing exactly how it appeared as you may suppose.

Mr. President, on the 28th of April, 1870, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] introduced in the Senate a long bill (S. 859) entitled "A bill revising the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States," which was referred to the Committee on Finance. (Congressional Globe, 1869-70, part 4, page 3051.) It was reported by the Finance Committee with amendments December 19, 1870, and discussed in the Senate January 9 and 10, 1871. (Congressional Globe, 1870-'71, part 1, third session, Forty-first Congress, page 394.) When this bill came up for consideration in the Senate

the only controversy which arose

with regard to it was in relation to an amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio, which was vigorously opposed by all the Pacific coast delegation. This was the bill to which the Senator has alluded and which had been recommended by the Treasury Department. This was the amendment offered by the Senator, which occasioned all the discussion that occurred:

For coinage, whether the gold and silver deposited be coined or cast into bars or ingots, in addition to the charge for refining or parting the metals, three-tenths
of 1 per cent.—Congressional Globe, 1870-71, part 1, third session, Forty-first Congress, page 368.

A long discussion followed, and it was held that the provision was a discriminating tax against bullion, for, in addition to paying the ordinary charges, it would discourage the taking of bullion to our mints and make its market value for shipment greater than its value at the mint. It was very ably discussed by many Senators for a long time.

The amendment was adopted in Committee of the Whole by a yea-and-nay vote of 25 to 22. (Congressional Globe, 1870-71, part 1, third session, Forty-first Congress, page 377.)

No other amendment which excited discussion was acted upon in the Senate, except little formal amendments. In fact, all the amendments, except the tax amendment,

RELATED TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE MINTS.

After the bill was reported to the Senate, Mr. Cole, of California, demanded a separate vote on the amendment of the Senator from Ohio to tax bullion. Another long and animated discussion followed, after which the amendment was rejected by a yea-and-nay vote of 23 to 26. (Congressional Globe, 1870-71, part 1, third session, Forty-first Congress, pages 384-388.)

The Senator from Ohio, having failed to secure the passage of the amendment to tax bullion, abandoned the bill and asked for the yeas and nays on its final passage. The bill was passed by a vote of 36 to 14. (Ibid., page 399.) My name is recorded in the affirmative and that of the Senator from Ohio in the negative.

There was not a word of discussion in regard to coinage in the bill.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will ask the Senator from Nevada whether that bill did not drop the silver dollar; whether the silver dollar was not omitted from that bill and prohibited from among the coins.

Mr. STEWART. It was Mr. Knox's bill, and it did what the Senator states. But the attention of nobody was called to it; and in this connection I will say, it is very strange that so important a measure as that, if it had been discussed, been indorsed everywhere, and was generally known, was not alluded to while the bill was before the Senate. The only question discussed was this question of taxing bullion.

I did not know

THAT THE BILL MADE ANY CHANGE IN THE COINAGE

of either gold or silver, but supposed, as the title indicated, that it was a mere codification of the Mint laws. There certainly was no suggestion in the Senate that the bill made any change in the standards of gold or silver or that the coinage of either metal would be affected thereby. It is undoubtedly true that previous to the introduction of the bill the Senator from Ohio and the Comptroller of the Currency, John Jay Knox, had recommended the demonetization of silver, and the Secretary of the Treasury had forwarded the report of the Comptroller to Congress, recommending such action. But it attracted no attention and was passed over in the same manner that other printed matter relating to technical subjects usually is. It is impossible for any Senator to keep the run of all the public documents printed. He could not read them if he did no other business. It is the duty of the committee having charge of particular subjects to examine such documents and bring before the Senate all matters of importance. The Committee on Finance failed to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the bill
CONTAINED A PROVISION WHICH WOULD DEMONETIZE SILVER.

I will not trace the proceedings in the House which relate to this great change in our silver coinage, except to remark that they prove that the question of demonetizing silver was never considered in that body. The fact, which I will hereafter show, that the leading members of the House and of the Senate did not know that silver was demonetized for several years afterwards, demonstrates that the matter was not understood at the time the act became a law.

The bill which demonetized silver, as it passed the House, contained a dollar which was precisely the equivalent of the five-franc piece. It limited the legal-tender quality of the silver coinage to $5, WHICH FATAL DEFECT WAS NOT NOTICED.

This bill passed the House May 27, 1872. (Congressional Globe, 1872-73, part 5, page 3893.) The sixteenth section of this measure as it came from the House contained a silver dollar of 384 grains, which was the exact equivalent of the five-franc piece of France and adopted the European ratio of 154 to 1.

On the 23th day of May the bill was reported to the Senate, and the next day referred to the Committee on Finance. (Ibid., pages 3961 and 3986.) That committee, on December 16, reported the bill back to the Senate with various amendments. (Cong. Globe 1872-73, part 1, page 203.) The amendments were printed January 7, 1873. (Ibid., page 363.) The bill was discussed and passed January 17, 1873. (Ibid., pages 661, 668-674.) The amendments reported by the Committee on Finance were acted upon seriatim, and, with one exception, in the usual manner. Section 16 of the bill, which provided for the silver coins of the United States, contained, among other things, as before remarked, a silver dollar of 384 grains. The recommendation of the committee was to strike out the sixteenth section of the House bill and substitute therefor the provision which demonetized silver. The substitute proposed by the committee, and which is now section 3513 of the Revised Statutes, and which was not read or discussed, is as follows:

SEC. 3513. The silver coins of the United States shall be a trade-dollar, a half-dollar, or fifty-cent piece, a quarter-dollar, or twenty-five-cent piece, a dime, or ten-cent piece; and the weight of the trade-dollar shall be four hundred and twenty grains troy; the weight of the half-dollar shall be twelve grams and one-half of a gram; the quarter-dollar and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half-dollar.

Another section limited the legal tender of the new trade-dollar to five dollars. The amendments, as before stated, were considered seriatim. When section 15 was reached it was stricken out; consequently section 16 of the House bill would then become section 15 of the amended Senate bill. The Congressional Globe shows that no action was taken on section 16 of the House bill. On the contrary, after acting on section 15, the next amendment of the House bill considered was section 17, which had been section 16 of the amended Senate bill. This amendment related to the minor coins and it was adopted without debate.

The next amendment was one to section 19 of the House bill and section 18 of the Senate amended bill. This amendment provided for omitting the eagle on the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, and prescribed in lieu thereof the weight and fineness of the coin, so that the section when amended would read as follows:

SEC. (19) 18. That upon the coins of the United States there shall be the following devices and legends: Upon one side thereof shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word "Liberty" and the year of the coinage, and upon the reverse shall be the figure or representation of an eagle, with the inscription "United States of America" and "E Pluribus Unum," and a desig.
nation of the value of the coin; but on the gold dollar and the three-dollar piece, the silver dollar, the half-dollar, the quarter-dollar, the dime, five, three, and one cent pieces the figure of the eagle shall be omitted; and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and fineness of the coin; and the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may cause the motto "In God we Trust" to be inscribed upon such coins as shall admit of such motto; and any one of the foregoing inscriptions may be on the rim of the gold and silver coins.

I have got the record here—anybody can examine it—showing that that was omitted and not mentioned. Mr. Casserly, of California, was watching the bill. He said:

I regret that the eagle is to disappear from the dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar of our coinage. It will hardly be possible to think of a half-dollar or a quarter-dollar as being such a coin without the eagle upon it.

A dialogue followed between the Senator from Ohio and Mr. Casserly, in which the chairman of the Finance Committee explained fully and particularly why it was necessary to have the weight and fineness stamped upon the dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar of our silver coinage.

The chairman said:

If the Senator will allow me, he will see that the preceding section provides for coin which is exactly interchangeable with the English shilling and the five-franc piece of France; that is, a five-franc piece of France will be the exact equivalent of a dollar of the United States in our silver coinage; and in order to show this wherever our silver coin shall float—and we are providing that it shall float all over the world—we propose to stamp upon it, instead of our eagle, which foreigners may not understand and which they may not distinguish from a buzzard or some other bird, the intrinsic fineness and weight of the coin.

Mr. Casserly was still dissatisfied with this explanation. He wanted the eagle.

Mr. SHEARMAN again said:

This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the associated nations of Europe.

That is, the Latin Monetary Union.

Mr. SHEARMAN. The dollar there is exactly two half-dollars, corresponding with the French coin.

Mr. STEWART. I would rather not be interrupted. I want to give it connectedly if possible. By interruptions the discussion will be disconnected. The Senator referred to the preceding section, which, it may be remarked, contained a dollar the equivalent of the five-franc piece, and not to the proposed amendment, which was never read and which contained the trade-dollar, which was not equivalent to the five-franc piece, but contained 420 grains of standard silver.

This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar provided for by this bill is the precise equivalent of the five-franc piece. It contains the same number of grams of silver, and we have adopted the international gram instead of the grain for the standard of our silver coinage. The "trade-dollar" has been adopted mainly for the benefit of the people of California and others engaged in trade with China. That is the only coin measured by the grain instead of by the gram. The intrinsic value of each is to be stamped upon the coin.

The Chamber of Commerce of New York first recommended this change, and it has been adopted, I believe, by all the learned societies who have given attention to coinage, and has been recommended to us, I believe, as the general desire. That is embodied in these three or four sections of amendment, to make our silver coinage correspond in exact form and dimensions and shape and stamp with the coinage of the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted an international silver coinage.—Ibid.

As before stated, the substitute for the sixteenth section of the House bill,
WHICH DEMONETIZED SILVER, was not read and acted upon in the Senate; at all events, the Globe fails to show that it was.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator will allow me, he has now in his possession the original bill which shows the particular item.

Mr. STEWART. Yes, and I will state it all. I will come to that if you will let me go on, and I will put it in the RECORD so that everybody may study it. It is possible that the Reporter failed to record the action of the Senate, but it is very improbable. It is doubtful, indeed, if such a failure ever occurred before or since, and it is strange that the most important amendment that was ever considered by the Senate, an amendment which

DEMONETIZED ONE OF THE PRECIOUS METALS,

should have been omitted by the Reporter. If there was nothing, however, but the omission to record in the Globe the fatal amendment, a possible doubt might exist; but the discussion as to the inscription on the silver dollar, which arose on the amendment to section 19 of the House bill, to which I have called the attention of the Senate, seems to establish beyond the possibility of doubt that the original section 16 of the House bill was retained and was in the bill as it passed the Senate.

The whole argument of the Senator from Ohio for substituting the weight and fineness on the silver dollar in place of the eagle was to designate its value, because it was to be an international coin, and to show that it was the exact equivalent of the five-franc piece. This argument could not have had reference to the trade-dollar of 420 grains in the proposed amendment; on the contrary

IT WAS EXPRESSLY STATED

that the reason applied to the silver dollar of 384 grains. The dollar in the original section of the House bill was to be of 384 grains; it was the exact equivalent of the five-franc piece, whereas the dollar provided for in the amendment which was not acted upon contained 420 grains and was called a standard dollar.

The fact that the legal tender of the silver coins in the House bill was limited to $5 is immaterial so far as it relates to what occurred in the Senate. That limitation was not brought to the attention of the Senate, but, on the contrary, as has already been shown, the Senator from Ohio said:

This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar provided for by this bill is the precise equivalent of the five-franc piece.

The silver coinage of the associated nations of Europe was a full legal tender. Consequently, the effect of what the Senator from Ohio said of the section of the House bill was that it contained a dollar equivalent to the five-franc piece, which was a full legal tender.

On the record the evidence seems conclusive that the fatal provision demonetizing silver

WAS NEVER ACTED UPON IN THE SENATE,

but was incorporated in the bill by the engrossing clerk. And it should be here remarked that the engrossing clerk could not be blamed for his action, because upon the copy used at the desk the amendment to section 16 is marked "agreed." So that mistake might have been made at the clerk's desk. I have the original here. There was no provision in the bill which passed the Senate to prevent the owner of silver bullion from presenting his bullion at the Mint and demanding coin therefor. Silver bullion was excluded from free coinage,
except into trade-dollars, by the following clause in the report of the conference committee:

No deposit of silver for other coinage [than trade-dollars] shall be received. (Congressional Globe, 1872–73, part 2, third session, Forty-second Congress, page 1150.)

So that there was a provision in the conference committee's report excluding silver. It prevented the owner of silver from taking it to the mints and exchanging it for anything but the trade-dollar.

But, as I have said, the fatal amendment which demonetized silver was never read in either House. It was adopted in the conference report as number 6, and here is the conference report, and the numbers run from 1 to 20. This fatal amendment demonetizing silver was numbered 6. The House did not hear it read because it went in by a number. It was simply number 6 in the conference between the two Houses. It was slightly amended in the conference report, but not in such a manner as to indicate what number 6 was.

In order that every Senator may have an opportunity of examining this remarkable legislation, I ask leave to print in my remarks, first, the House bill as originally reported to the Senate by the Finance Committee, with the proposed amendments of the committee, and also with the action of the Senate on those amendments, as indicated by the marks of the reading clerk, and that will give it all. Here is the original copy which I have secured from the files, and I ask the Reporter to give it back to the Secretary of the Senate, as it is an important document and I have not another copy of it.

Now, as to the proceedings in the Senate when the bill with its amendments was under consideration as shown by the Congressional Globe. I have the proceedings here, and I will print them _seriatim_, so that all can take the bill and the proceedings that follow it and see what they were; then the engrossed amendments to the bill, and immediately after that I will have the conference report inserted. All these are out of print and inaccessible to the public, and by printing them _seriatim_ as they occur the history of the whole thing will appear. By these documents it will be shown that the fatal demonetizing amendment _WAS NEVER READ IN EITHER HOUSE._

It went by number 6 in the report. I have the record here and will have it printed so that everybody can examine it and make no further mistake.

The record is as follows:

_[Note in explanation of the bill (H. R. 2934) printed below._

1. The body of the bill, printed in brevier, is as it came from the House.

2. Amendments to insert, reported by Committee on Finance, are in _italics_.

3. Amendments to strike out, reported by Committee on Finance, are in [brackets].

4. Amendments made by the Senate striking out words are in brevier, with brackets, and the words inserted in lieu thereof in the handwriting of the Clerk, are in _SMALL CAPS_.

5. Amendment reported by Committee on Finance, on page 12, section 18, line 9, in _italics_ and brackets, was disagreed to by the Senate.

6. Amendment to strike out, on page 14, section 24, lines 5 and 6, was moved in the Senate, and is in _SMALL CAPS_ and brackets.

7. The word "agreed," in the handwriting of the Clerk, showing what amendments were agreed to, is indicated by _LARGE CAPS_.

8. The exact pages and lines of the original bill are indicated.]
AN ACT

Revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assayoffices, and coinage of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa
tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
That the Mint of the United States is hereby established as a
Bureau of the Treasury Department, embracing in its organ-
ization and under its control all mints for the manufacture of
coin, and all assay-offices for the stamping of bars, which are
now, or which may be hereafter, authorized by law. The
chief officer of the said Bureau shall be denominated the Di-
rector of the Mint, and shall be under the general direction of
the Secretary of the Treasury. He shall be appointed by the
President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,
and shall hold his office for the term of five years, unless
sooner removed by the President, upon reasons to be commu-
nicated by him to the Senate.

Sec. 2. That the Director of the Mint shall have the
general supervision of all mints and assay-offices, and shall
make an annual report to the Secretary of the Treasury of
their operations, at the close of each fiscal year, and from
time to time such additional reports, setting forth the opera-
tions and condition of such institutions, as the Secretary of
the Treasury shall require, and shall lay before him the
annual estimates for their support. And the Secretary of the
Treasury shall appoint the number of clerks, classified ac-
cording to law, necessary to discharge the duties of said Bu-
reau.

Sec. 3. That the officers of each mint shall be a super-
intendent, an assayer, a melter and refiner, and a coiner, and,
for the mint at Philadelphia, an engraver, all to be appointed
by the President of the United States, by and with the ad-
vice and consent of the Senate.

Sec. 4. That the superintendent of each mint shall have
the control thereof, the superintendence of the officers and
persons employed therein, and the supervision of the business
thereof, subject to the approval of the Director of the Mint, to whom he shall make reports at such times and according to such forms as the Director of the Mint may prescribe,

which shall exhibit in detail, and under appropriate heads, the deposits of bullion, the amount of gold, silver, and minor coinage, and the amount of unparted, standard, and refined bars issued, and such other statistics and information as may be required. The superintendent of each mint shall also receive and safely keep, until legally withdrawn, all moneys or bullion which shall be for the use or the expenses of the mint. He shall receive all bullion brought to the mint for assay or coinage; he shall be the keeper of all bullion or coin in the mint, except while the same is legally in the hands of other officers; and shall deliver all coins struck at the mint to the persons to whom they shall be legally payable. From the report of the assayer and the weight of the bullion, he shall compute the value of each deposit, and also the amount of the charges or deductions, if any, of all which he shall give a detailed memorandum to the depositor; and he shall also give at the same time, under his hand, a certificate of the net amount of the deposit, to be paid in coins or bars of the same species of bullion as that deposited, the correctness of which certificate shall be verified by the assayer, who shall countersign the same; and in all cases of transfer of coin or bullion, he shall give and receive vouchers, stating the amount and character of such coin or bullion. He shall keep and render, quarterly, to the Director of the Mint, for the purpose of adjust-

ment, according to such forms as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, regular and faithful accounts of his transactions with the other officers of the mint and the depositors; and shall also render to him a monthly statement of the ordinary expenses of the mint or assay-office under his charge. He shall also appoint all assistants, clerks, (one of whom shall be designated "chief clerk," ) and workmen employed under his superintendence; but no person shall be appointed to employment in the offices of the assayer, melter and refiner, coiner, or engraver, except on the recommendation and nomination in writing of those officers, respectively; and he shall forthwith report to the Director of the Mint the names of all persons appointed by him, the duties to be performed, the rate of compensation, the appropriation from which compensation is to be made, and the grounds of the appointment; and if the Director of the Mint shall disapprove the same, the appointment shall be vacated.

Sec. 5. That the assayer shall assay all metals and bullion, whenever such assays are required in the operations or samples of bullion of the mint; he shall also make assays of coins whenever required by the superintendent.

Sec. 6. That the melter and refiner shall execute all the operations which are necessary in order to form ingots of standard silver or gold, and alloys for minor coinage, suitable
for the coiner, from the metals legally delivered to him for
that purpose; and shall also execute all the operations which
are necessary in order to form bars conformable in all
respects to the law, from the gold and silver bullion delivered
to him for that purpose. He shall keep a careful record of
all transactions with the superintendent, noting the weight
and character of the bullion; and shall be responsible for all
bullion delivered to him until the same is returned to the
superintendent and the proper vouchers obtained.

SEC. 7. That the coiner shall execute all the operations
which are necessary in order to form coins, conformable in all
respects to the law, from the standard gold and silver ingots,
and alloys for minor coinage, legally delivered to him for
that purpose; and shall be responsible for all bullion delivered
to him, until the same is returned to the superintendent and
the proper vouchers obtained.

SEC. 8. That the engraver shall prepare from the
original dies already authorized all the [wording] dies required
for use in the coinage of the several mints, and, when new
coins or devices are authorized, shall, if required by the
Director of the Mint, prepare the devices, models, molds,
and matrices, or original dies, for the same; but the Director
shall nevertheless have power, with the approval
of the Secretary of the Treasury, to engage temporarily for
this purpose the services of one or more artists distinguished
in their respective departments of art, who shall be paid for
such service from the contingent appropriation for the mint
at Philadelphia.

SEC. 9. That whenever any officer of a mint or office
shall be temporarily absent, on account of sickness or any
other cause, it shall be lawful for the superintendent, with the
consent of said officer, to appoint some person attached to
the mint to act in the place of such officer during his absence;
but all such appointments shall be forthwith reported to the
Director of the Mint for his approval; and in all cases what-
soever the principal shall be responsible for the acts of his
representative. In case of the temporary absence of the
superintendent, the chief clerk shall act in his place; and in
case of the temporary absence of the Director of the Mint,
the Secretary of the Treasury may designate some one to act
in his place.

SEC. 10. That every officer, assistant, and clerk of the
mint shall, before he enters upon the execution of his office,
take an oath or affirmation before some judge of the United
States, or judge of the superior court, or of some court of
record of any State, faithfully and diligently to perform the
duties thereof, in addition to other official oaths prescribed by
law; which oaths, duly certified, shall be transmitted to the
Secretary of the Treasury; and the superintendent of each
mint may require such oath or affirmation from any of the
employees of the mint.

SEC. 11. That the superintendent, the assayer, the melt-
ster
er and refiner, and the coiner of each mint, before entering
upon the execution of their respective offices, shall become
bound to the United States, with one or more sureties, ap-
proved by the Secretary of the Treasury, in the sum of not
less than ten nor more than fifty thousand dollars, with con-
dition for the faithful and diligent performance of the duties
of his office. Similar bonds may be required of the assistants
and clerks, in such sums as the superintendent shall determine,
with the approbation of the Director of the Mint; but the
same shall not be construed to relieve the superintendent or
other officers from liability to the United States for acts,
omissions, or negligence of their subordinates or employees:
Provided, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, at his
discretion, increase the bonds of the superintendent.

Sec. 12. That there shall be allowed to the Director of
the Mint an annual salary of four thousand five hundred dol-
ars, and actual necessary traveling expenses in visiting the
different mints and assay-offices, for which vouchers shall be
rendered, to the superintendents of the mints at Philadelphia
and San Francisco, each four thousand five hundred dollars;
to the assayers, melters and refiners, and coiners of said mints,
each three thousand dollars; to the engraver of the mint at
Philadelphia, three thousand dollars; to the superintendent of
the mint at Carson City, three thousand dollars; and to the
assayer, to the melter and refiner, and to the coiner of the
mint at Carson City, each, two thousand five hundred dollars;
to the assistants and clerks such annual salary shall be allowed
as the Director of the Mint may determine, with the appro-
bation of the Secretary of the Treasury; and to the work-
men shall be allowed such wages, to be determined by the
superintendent, as may be customary and reasonable accord-
ing to their respective stations and occupations, and approved
by the Director of the Mint; and the salaries provided for in
this section, and the wages of the workmen permanently
engaged, shall be payable in monthly installments.

Sec. 13. That the standard for both gold and silver
coins of the United States shall be such that of one thou-
sand parts by weight nine hundred shall be of pure metal
and one hundred of alloy; and the alloy of the silver coins
shall be of copper, and the alloy of the gold coins shall be of
copper, or of copper and silver; but the silver shall in no
case exceed one-tenth of the whole alloy.

Sec. 14. That the gold coins of the United States shall
be a one-dollar piece, which, at the standard weight of twenty-
five and eight-tenths grains, shall be the unit of value; a
quarter-eagle, or two-and-a-half dollar piece; a three-dollar
piece; a half-eagle, or five-dollar piece; an eagle, or ten-dol-
lar piece; and a double-eagle, or twenty-dollar piece. And the
standard weight of the gold dollar shall be twenty-five and eight
tenths grains; of the quarter-eagle, or two-and-a-half-dollar
piece, sixty-four and a half grains; of the three-dollar piece
seventy-seven and four-tenths grains; of the half-eagle, or
twenty-nine grains; of the five-dollar piece, one hundred and twenty-nine grains; of the
eagle, or ten-dollar piece, two hundred and fifty-eight grains; of the double-eagle, or twenty-dollar piece, five
hundred and sixteen grains; which coins shall be a legal
tender in all payments at their nominal value when not
below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided in
this act for the single piece, and, when reduced in weight,
below said standard and tolerance, shall be a legal tender at
AGREED
valuation in proportion to their actual weight; [and any gold
coin of the United States, if reduced in weight by abrasion
not more than one-half of one per centum on the double-
eagle and eagle, and one per centum on the other coins, below
the standard weight prescribed by law, shall be received at
their nominal value by the United States Treasury and its
offices, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treas-
ury may prescribe for the protection of the Government
against fraudulent abrasion or other practices; and any gold
coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight
below this limit of abrasion shall be recoined.]
AGREED

15. That any gold coin now in circulation the
H. R. 2934—2

weight of which is below the limit of abrasion prescribed in
this act may be received at the mints in Philadelphia and
San Francisco at par in exchange for silver coins: Provided,
That the circulation of such gold coin, as shown by the date
of coinage, has been sufficient to produce such loss by natural
abrasion; and the coins so received shall be recoined; but
no gold coins which appear to have been artificially reduced
shall come within the provisions of this section.]
AGREED

SEC. [16] 15. [That the silver coins of the United States
shall be a dollar, a half-dollar or fifty-cent piece, a quarter-dollar
or twenty-five cent piece, and a dime or ten-cent piece; and
the weight of the dollar shall be three hundred and eighty-
four grains; the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime shall
be, respectively, one-half, one-quarter, and one-tenth of the
weight of said dollar; which coins shall be a legal tender, at
their nominal value, for any amount not exceeding five dol-
lars in any one payment.] That the silver coins of the
United States shall be a trade-dollar, a half-dollar, or fifty-
AGREED

A DIME OR TEN-CENT PIECE
11 cent piece, a quarter-dollar, or twenty-five-cent-piece/°; and
12 the weight of the trade-dollar shall be four hundred and
twenty grains troy; the weight of the half-dollar shall be
twelve grams and one-half of a gram; the quarter dollar and
the dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the
weight of said half-dollar; and said coins shall be a legal
11 tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding
five dollars in any one payment.
AGREED

SEC. [17] 16. [That the minor coins of the United States
shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece;
and the alloy for minor coinage shall be of copper and nickel,
to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel;
the weight of the piece of five cents shall be five grams, or
seventy-seven and sixteen-hundredths grains troy; of the
three-cent piece, three grams, or forty-six and thirty-hun-

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dredths grains; and of the one-cent piece, one and one-half
grams, or twenty-three and fifteen-hundredths grains; which
coins shall be legal tender, at their nominal value, for any
amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment.]

AGREED

That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent
piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece, and the alloy
for the five and three cent pieces shall be of copper and nickel,
to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel
and the alloy of the one-cent piece shall be ninety-five per
centum of copper and five per centum of tin and zinc, in
such proportions as shall be determined by the Director of the
Mint. The weight of the piece of five cents shall be seventy-
seven and sixteen-hundredths grains, troy; of the three-cent
piece, thirty grains; and of the one-cent piece, forty-eight
grains; which coins shall be a legal tender, at their nominal

value, for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any
one payment.

SEC. [18] 17. That no coins, either of gold, silver, or
minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the mint other
than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein
set forth.

SEC. [19] 18. That upon the coins of the United States
there shall be the following devices and legends: Upon one side
there shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an
inscription of the word "Liberty" and the year of the
coinage, and upon the reverse shall be the figure or represen-
tation of an eagle, with the inscriptions "United States of
America" and "E Pluribus Unum", and a designation of the
value of the coin; but on the gold dollar and three-dollar
DISAGREED

piece, [the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar,] the dime,
five, three, and one cent piece the figure of the eagle shall be
AGREED

omitted; and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half-dollar,
quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be in-
scribed the weight and the fineness of the coin; and the
Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of
the Treasury, may cause the motto "In God we trust" to be
inscribed upon such coins as shall admit of such motto; and
any one of the foregoing inscriptions may be on the rim
of the gold and silver coins.

SEC. [20] 19. That at the option of the owner, gold or

silver may be cast into bars of fine metal, or of standard
fineness, or unparted, as he may prefer, with a stamp upon the
same designating the weight and fineness, and with such
devices impressed thereon as may be deemed expedient to
prevent fraudulent imitation, and no such bars shall be issued
of a less weight than five ounces.

SEC. [21] 20. That any owner of gold bullion may deposit
the same at any mint, to be formed into coin or bars for his
benefit; but it shall be lawful to refuse any deposit of less
value than one hundred dollars, or any bullion so base as to
be unsuitable for the operations of the mint; and when gold
and silver are combined, if either metal be in such small
proportion that it can not be separated advantageously, no
allowance shall be made to the depositor for its value.
Sec. 22. That any owner of silver bullion may deposit
the same at any mint, to be formed into bars for his benefit;
no deposit for coinage into silver coin shall be received; but
silver bullion contained in gold deposits, and separated there-
from, may be paid for in silver coin, at such valuation as may
be, from time to time, established by the Director of the
AGREED
Mint: Provided, That at the option of the owner, silver may
be cast into coins of standard fineness, and of the weight of
four hundred and twenty grains troy, designated in section
fifteen of this act as the trade-dollar.
Sec. [23] 22. That when bullion is deposited in any of the
mints, it shall be weighed by the superintendent, and, when prac-
ticable, in the presence of the depositor, to whom a receipt shall be given, which shall state the description and weight of the bullion; but when the bullion is in such a state as to require melting, or the removal of base metals, because its value can be ascertained, the weight, after such operation, shall be considered as the true weight of the bullion deposited. The fitness of the bullion to be received shall be determined by the assayer, and the mode of melting by the melter and refiner.
Sec. [24] 23. That from every parcel of bullion deposited for coinage or bars, the superintendent shall deliver to the assayer a sufficient portion for the purpose of being assayed, but all such bullion remaining from the operations of the assay shall be returned to the superintendent by the assayer.
Sec. [25] 24. That the assayer shall report to the superin-
tendent the quality or [standard] of the bullion assayed by him, and such information as will enable him to compute the amount of the charges hereinafter provided for, to be made
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5 tendent the quality or [standard] \ of the bullion assayed by
3 him, and such information as will enable him to compute the
4 amount of the charges hereinafter provided for, to be made
AGREED
5 to the depositor, [FOR THE COST OF CONVERTING THE BULLION INTO 6 BARS.] 
1 Sec. [26] 25. That the charge for converting standard
AGREED Transfer to line 8, p. 15—insert after bullion:
2 gold bullion into coin, (or for converting standard silver into trade dollars,) shall be one-fifth of one per centum; and the charges for refining when the bullion is below standard, for toughening when metals are contained in it which render it unfit for coinage, for copper used for alloy when the bullion is above standard, for separating the gold and silver when these metals exist together in the bullion, \ and for the preparation of bars, shall be fixed, from time to time, by the Director, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury, so as to equal but not exceed, in their judgment, the actual average cost to each mint and assay-office of the material, labor, wastage, and use of machinery employed in each of the cases aforesaid.
Sec. [27] 26. That the assayer shall verify all calculations made by the superintendent of the value of deposits, and, if satisfied by the correctness thereof, shall countersign the corre-
that certificate required to be given by the superintendent to the depositor.

Sec. [28] 27. That in order to procure bullion for the silver coinage authorized by this act, the superintendents, with the approval of the Director of the Mint, as to price, terms, and quantity, shall purchase such bullion with the bullion-fund. The gain arising from the coinage of such silver bullion into coin of a nominal value exceeding the cost thereof shall be credited to a special fund denominated the silver-profit fund. This fund shall be charged with the wastage incurred in the silver coinage, and with the expense of distributing said coins as hereinafter provided. The balance to the credit of this fund shall be from time to time, and at least twice a year, paid into the Treasury of the United States.

AGREED OTHER THAN THE TRADE DOLLAR

Sec. [29] 28. That silver coins shall be paid out at the several mints, and at the assay-office in New York City, in exchange for gold coins at par, in sums not less than one hundred dollars; and it shall be lawful, also, to transmit parcels of the same, from time to time, to the assistant treasurers, depositaries, and other officers of the United States, under general regulations proposed by the Director of the Mint, and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury; but nothing herein contained shall prevent the payment of silver coins, at their nominal value, for silver parted from gold, as provided in this act, or for change less than one dollar in settlement for gold deposits: Provided, That for two years after the passage of this act, silver coins shall be paid at the mint in Philadelphia and the assay-office in New York City for silver bullion purchased for coinage, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Director of the Mint, and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Sec. [30] 29. That for the purchase of metal for the minor coinage authorized by this act, a sum not exceeding fifty thousand dollars in lawful money of the United States shall be transferred by the Secretary of the Treasury to the credit of the superintendent of the mint at Philadelphia, at which establishment only, until otherwise provided by law, such coinage shall be carried on. The superintendent, with the approval of the Director of the Mint as to price, terms, and quantity, shall purchase the metal required for such coinage by public advertisement, and the lowest and best bid shall be accepted, the fineness of the metals to be determined on the mint assay. The gain arising from the coinage of such metals into coin of a nominal value, exceeding the cost thereof, shall be credited to the special fund denominated the minor-coinage profit fund; and this fund shall be charged with the wastage incurred in such coinage, and with the cost of distributing said coins as hereinafter provided. The balance remaining to the credit of this fund, and any balance of profits accrued from minor coinage under former acts, shall be, from time to time, and at least twice a year, covered into the Treasury of the United States.

Sec. [31] 30. That the minor coins authorized by this act may, at the discretion of the Director of the Mint, be delivered in any of the principal cities and towns of the United States,
at the cost of the mint, for transportation, and shall be exchangeable at par at the mint in Philadelphia, at the discretion of the superintendent, for any other coins of copper, bronze, or copper-nickel heretofore authorized by law; and it shall be lawful for the Treasurer and the several assistant treasurers and depositaries of the United States to redeem, in lawful money, under such rules as may be prescribed by the

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Secretary of the Treasury, all copper, bronze, and copper-nickel coins authorized by law when presented in sums of not less than twenty dollars; and whenever, under this authority, these coins are presented for redemption in such quantity as to show the amount outstanding to be redundant, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and required to direct that such coinage shall cease until otherwise ordered by him.

SEC. [32] 31. That parcels of bullion shall be, from time to time, transferred by the superintendent to the melter and refiner; a careful record of these transfers, noting the weight and character of the bullion, shall be kept, and vouchers shall be taken for the delivery of the same, duly receipted by the melter and refiner, and the bullion thus placed in the hands of the melter and refiner shall be subjected to the several processes which may be necessary to form it into ingots of the legal standard, and of a quality suitable for coinage.

SEC. [33] 32. That the ingots so prepared shall be assayed; and if they prove to be within the limits allowed for deviation from the standard, the assayer shall certify the fact to the superintendent, who shall thereupon receipt for the same, and transfer them to the coiner.

SEC. [34] 33. That no ingots shall be used for coinage which differ from the legal standard more than the following proportions, namely: In gold ingots, one-thousandth; in silver

AGREED THREE-THOUSANDTHS

ingots, [two-thousandths;]\(\text{in minor-coinage alloys, twenty-five-thousandths, in the proportion of nickel.}

SEC. [35] 34. That the melter and refiner shall prepare all bars required for the payment of deposits; but the fineness thereof shall be ascertained and stamped thereon by the assayer; and the melter and refiner shall deliver such bars to the superintendent, who shall receipt for the same.

SEC. [36] 35. That the superintendent shall, from time to time, deliver to the coiner ingots for the purpose of coinage; a careful record of these transfers, noting the weight and character of the bullion, shall be kept, and vouchers shall be taken for the delivery of the same, duly receipted by the coiner; and the ingots thus placed in the hands of the coiner shall be subjected to the several processes necessary to make from them coins in all respects conformable to law.

SEC. [37] 36. That in adjusting the weights of the gold coins, the following deviations shall not be exceeded in any single piece: In the double-eagle and the eagle, one-half of a grain; in the half-eagle, the three-dollar piece, the quarter-eagle, and the one-dollar piece, one-fourth of a grain. And

in weighing a number of pieces together, when delivered by the coiner to the superintendent, and by the superintendent to the depositor, the deviation from the standard weight

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shall not exceed one-hundredth of an ounce in five thousand
dollars in double-eagles, eagles, half-eagles, or quarter-eagles,
in one thousand three-dollar pieces, and in one thousand one-
dollar pieces.

SEC. [38] 37. That in adjusting the weight of the silver
coins the following deviations shall not be exceeded in any
single piece: In the dollar, the half and quarter dollar, and in
the dime, one and one-half grains; and in weighing large num-
bers of pieces together, when delivered by the coiner to the
superintendent, and by the superintendent to the depositor,
the deviations from the standard weight shall not exceed two-
hundredths of an ounce in one thousand dollars, half-dollars,
or quarter-dollars, and one-hundredth of an ounce in one
thousand dimes.

SEC. [39] 38. That in adjusting the weight of the minor
coins provided by this act, there shall be no greater deviation
allowed than three grains for the five-cent piece and two
grains for the three and one cent pieces.

SEC. [40] 39. That the coiner shall, from time to time, as
coins are prepared, deliver them to the superintendent, who
shall receipt for the same, and who shall keep a careful
record of their kind, number, and actual weight; and in re-
ceiving coins it shall be the duty of the superintendent to
ascertain, by the trial of a number of single pieces sepa-
rately, whether the coins of that delivery are within the legal
limits of the standard weight; and if his trials for this pur-
pose shall not prove satisfactory, he shall cause all the coins
of such delivery to be weighed separately, and such as are
not of legal weight shall be defaced and delivered to the
melter and refiner as standard bullion, to be again formed into
ingots and recoined; or the whole delivery may, if more con-
vienent, be remelted.

SEC. [41] 40. That at every delivery of coins made by the
coiner to a superintendent, it shall be the duty of such
superintendent, in the presence of the assayer, to take indis-
criminately a certain number of pieces of each variety for the
annual trial of coins, the number for gold coins being not less
than one piece for each one thousand pieces or any fractional
part of one thousand pieces delivered; and for silver coins
one piece for each two thousand pieces or any fractional part
of two thousand pieces delivered. The pieces so taken shall
be carefully sealed up in an envelope, properly labeled, stat-
ing the date of the delivery, the number and denomination of
the pieces inclosed; and the amount of the delivery from
which they were taken. These sealed parcels containing the
reserved pieces shall be deposited in a pyx, designated for the
purpose at each mint, which shall be kept under the joint
care of the superintendent and assayer, and be so secured
that neither can have access to its contents without the pres-
ence of the other, and the reserved pieces in their sealed
envelopes from the coinage of each mint shall be transmitted
quarterly to the mint at Philadelphia. A record shall also
be kept at the same time of the number and denomination of
the pieces so taken for the annual trial of coins, and of the
number and denomination of the pieces represented by them
and so delivered, a copy of which record shall be transmitted quarterly to the Director of the Mint. Other pieces may, at any time, be taken for such tests as the Director of the Mint shall prescribe.

Sec. 41. That the coiner shall, from time to time, deliver to the superintendent the clippings and other portions of bullion remaining after the process of coining; and the superintendent shall and the melter and refiner, and the difference of their weight and character.

Sec. 42. That the superintendent shall debit the coiner with the amount in weight of standard metal of all the bullion placed in his hands, and credit him with the amount in weight of all the coins, clippings, and other bullion returned by him to the superintendent. Once at least in every year, and at such time as the Director of the Mint shall appoint, there shall be an accurate and full settlement of the accounts of the coiner, and the melter and refiner, at which time the said officers shall deliver up to the superintendent all the coins, clippings, and other bullion in their possession, respectively, accompanied by statements of all the bullion delivered to them since the last annual settlement, and all the bullion returned by them during the same period, including the amount returned for the purpose of settlement.

Sec. 43. That when all the coins, clippings, and other bullion have been delivered to the superintendent, it shall be his duty to examine the accounts and statements rendered by the coiner and the melter and refiner, and the difference between the amount charged and credited to each officer shall be allowed as necessary wastage, if the superintendent shall be satisfied that there has been a bona fide waste of the precious metals, and if the amount shall not exceed, in the case of the melter and refiner, one-thousandth of the whole amount of gold, and one and one-half thousandth of the whole amount of silver delivered to him since the last annual settlement, and in the case of the coiner, one-thousandth of the whole amount of silver, and one-half thousandth of the whole amount of gold that has been delivered to him by the superintendent; and all copper used in the alloy of gold and silver bullion shall be separately charged to the melter and refiner, and accounted for by him.

Sec. 44. That it shall also be the duty of the superintendent to forward a correct statement of his balance-sheet, at the close of such settlement, to the Director of the Mint, who shall compare the total amount of gold and silver bullion and coin on hand with the total liabilities of the mint. At the same time a statement of the ordinary expense account, and the moneys therein, shall also be made by the superintendent.

Sec. 45. That when the coins or bars which are equivalent to any deposit of bullion are ready for delivery, they shall be paid to the depositor, or his order, by the superintendent; and the payments shall be made, if demanded, in the order in which the bullion have been brought to the mint; but in cases where there is delay in manipulating a refractory deposit, or for any other unavoidable cause, the payment of subsequent deposits, the value of which is known,
9 shall not be delayed thereby; and in the denominations of
10 coin delivered, the superintendent shall comply with the
11 wishes of the depositor, except when impracticable or incon-
12 venient to do so.

SEC. [47] 46. That unparted bullion may be exchanged at
1 any of the mints for fine bars, on such terms and conditions
2 as may be prescribed by the Director of the Mint, with the
3 approval of the Secretary of the Treasury; and the fineness,
4 weight, and value of the bullion received and given in ex-
5 change shall in all cases be determined by the mint assay.
6 The charge to the depositor for refining or parting shall not
7 exceed that allowed and deducted for the same operation in
8 the exchange of unrefined for refined bullion.

SEC. [48] 47. That for the purpose of enabling the mints and
1 the assay-office in New York to make returns to depositors
2 with as little delay as possible, it shall be the duty of the
3 Secretary of the Treasury to keep in the said mints and assay-
4 office, when the state of the Treasury will admit thereof, such
5 amount of public money, or bullion procured for the pur-
6 pose, as he shall judge convenient and necessary, out of
7 which those who bring bullion to the said mints and assay-
8 office may be paid the value thereof, in coin or bars, as soon
9 as practicable after the value has been ascertained; and on
10 payment thereof being made, the bullion so deposited shall
11 become the property of the United States; but the Secretary
12 of the Treasury may at any time withdraw the fund, or any
13 portion thereof.

SEC. [49] 48. That to secure a due conformity in the gold and
2 silver coins to their respective standards of fineness and weight,
3 the judge of the district court of the United States for the east-
4 ern district of Pennsylvania, the Comptroller of the Currency,
5 the assayer of the assay-office at New York, and such other per-
6 sons as the President shall, from time to time, designate, shall
7 meet as assay-commissioners, at the mint in Philadelphia, to
8 examine and test, in the presence of the Director of the Mint,
9 the fineness and weight of the coins reserved by the several
10 mints for this purpose, on the second Wednesday in Febru-
11 ary, annually, and may continue their meetings by adjourn-
12 ment, if necessary; if a majority of the commissioners shall
13 fail to attend at any time appointed for their meeting, the
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Director of the Mint shall call a meeting of the commissioners
15 at such other time as he may deem convenient; and if it shall
16 appear by such examination and test that these coins do not
17 differ from the standard fineness and weight by a greater
18 quantity than is allowed by law, the trial shall be considered
19 and reported as satisfactory; but if any greater deviation
20 from the legal standard or weight shall appear, this fact
21 shall be certified to the President of the United States; and
22 if, on a view of the circumstances of the case, he shall so
23 decide, the officer or officers implicated in the error shall be
24 thenceforward disqualified from holding their respective
25 offices.

SEC. [50] 49. That for the purpose of securing a due con-
2 formity in weight of the coins of the United States to the
3 provisions of this act, the brass troy-pound weight procured...
by the minister of the United States at London, in the year
eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, for the use of the mint,
and now in the custody of the mint at Philadelphia, shall be
the standard troy pound of the Mint of the United States,
conformably to which the coinage thereof shall be regulated.

Sec. [51] 50. That it shall be the duty of the Director of
the Mint to procure for each mint and assay-office, to be kept
safely thereat, a series of standard weights corresponding to
the aforesaid troy pound, consisting of a one pound weight
and the requisite subdivisions and multiples thereof, from the
hundredth part of a grain to twenty-five pounds; and the
mints and assay-offices shall be regulated according to the
above standards at least once in every year, under the
inspection of the superintendent and assayer; and the accu-
ricy of those used at the mint at Philadelphia shall be tested
annually, in the presence of the assay-commissioners, at the
time of the annual examination and test of coins.

Sec. [52] 51. That the obverse working-dies at each mint
shall, at the end of each calendar year, be defaced and
destroyed by the coiner in the presence of the superintendent
and assayer.

Sec. [53] 52. That dies of a national character may be
executed by the engraver, and national and other medals
struck by the coiner of the mint at Philadelphia, under such
regulations as the superintendent, with the approval of the
Director of the Mint, may prescribe: Provided, That such
work shall not interfere with the regular coinage operations,
and that no private medal dies shall be prepared at said mint,
or the machinery or apparatus thereof be used for that
purpose.

Sec. [54] 53. That the moneys arising from all charges and
deductions on and from gold and silver bullion and the manu-
facture of medals, and from all other sources, except as herein-
before provided, shall, from time to time, be covered into the
Treasury of the United States, and no part of such deduc-
tions or medal charges, or profit on silver or minor coinage,
shall be expended in salaries or wages; but all expenditures
of the mints and assay-offices, not herein otherwise provided
for, shall be paid from appropriations made by law on
estimates furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Sec. [55] 54. That the officers of the United States assay-
office at New York shall be a superintendent, an assayer, and
a meltcr and refiner, who shall be appointed by the President,
by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The
business of said assay-office shall be in all respects similar
to that of the mints, except that bars only, and not coin, shall
be manufactured therein; and no metals shall be purchased
for minor coinage. All bullion intended by the depositor to
be converted into coin of the United States, and silver bullion
purchased for coinage, when assayed, parted, and refined, and
its net value certified, shall be transferred to the mint at
Philadelphia, under such directions as shall be made by the
Secretary of the Treasury, at the expense of the contingent
fund of the mint, and shall be there coined, and the proceeds
returned to the assay-office. And the Secretary of the

Treasury is hereby authorized to make the necessary arrangements for the adjustment of the accounts upon such transfers between the respective offices.

Sec. [56] 55. That the duties of the superintendent, assayer, and melter and refiner of said office shall correspond to those of superintendents, assayers, and melters and refiners of mints; and all parts of this act relating to mints and their officers, the duties and responsibilities of such officers, and others employed therein, the oath to be taken, and the bonds and securities to be given by them, (as far as the same may be applicable,) shall extend to the assay office at New York, and to its officers, assistants, clerks, workmen, and others employed therein.

Sec. [57] 56. That there shall be allowed to the officers of the assay-office at New York City the following salaries per annum: To the superintendent, four thousand five hundred dollars; to the assayer, and to the melter and refiner, each, three thousand dollars; and the salaries of assistants and clerks, and wages to workmen, and their manner of appointment, shall be determined and regulated as herein directed in regard to mints.

Sec. [58] 57. That the business of the branch mint at Denver, while conducted as an assay-office, and of the assay-office at Boise City, Idaho, and all other assay-offices hereafter to be established, shall be confined to the receipt of gold and silver bullion, for melting and assaying, to be returned to depositors of the same, in bars, with the weight and fineness stamped thereon; and the officers of assay-offices, when their services are necessary, shall consist of an assayer, who shall have charge thereof, and a melter, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; and the assayer may employ as many clerks, workmen, and laborers, under the direction of the Director of the Mint, as may be provided for by law. The salaries of said officers shall not exceed the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars to the assayer and melter, one thousand eight hundred dollars each to the clerks, and the workmen and laborers shall receive such wages as are customary, according to their respective stations and occupations.

Sec. [59] 58. That each officer and clerk to be appointed at such assay-offices, before entering upon the execution of his office, shall take an oath or affirmation before some judge of the United States, or of the Supreme Court, as prescribed by

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the act of July [twentieth,] eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and each become bound to the United States of America, with one or more sureties, to the satisfaction of the Director of the Mint or of one of the judges of the supreme court of the State or Territory in which the same may be located, and of the Secretary of the Treasury, conditioned for the faithful performance of the duties of their offices; and the said assayers shall discharge the duties of disbursing agents for the payment of the expenses of their respective assay-offices.

Sec. [60] 59. That the general direction of the business of
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and regulation of the Director of the Mint, subject to the
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approval of the Secretary of the Treasury; and for that
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purpose it shall be the duty of the said Director to prescribe
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such regulations and to require such returns, periodically and
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occasionally, and to establish such charges for melting,
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parting, assaying, and stamping bullion as shall appear to
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him to be necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect
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the intention of this act.

Scc. [61] 60. That all the provisions of this act for the
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regulation of the mints of the United States, and for the
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government of the officers and persons employed therein,
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and for the punishment of all offenses connected with the
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mints or coinage of the United States, shall be, and they are
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hereby declared to be, in full force in relation to the assay-
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offices, as far as the same may be applicable thereto.

Scc. [62] 61. That if any person or persons shall falsely
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make, forge, or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be falsely
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made, forged, or counterfeited, or willingly aid or assist in
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falsely making, forging, or counterfeiting, any coin or bars in
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resemblance or similitude of the gold or silver coins or bars,
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which have been, or hereafter may be coined or stamped
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at the mints and assay-offices of the United States, or
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in resemblance or similitude of any foreign gold or
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silver coin which by law is, or hereafter may be made, cur-
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rent in the United States, or are in actual use and circulation
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as money within the United States, or shall pass, utter, pub-
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lish, or sell, or attempt to pass, utter, publish, or sell, or bring
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into the United States from any foreign place, or have in his
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possession, any such false, forged, or counterfeited coin or
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bars, knowing the same to be false, forged, or counterfeited,
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every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of felony,
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and shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by fine not ex-
18ceeding five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment and confine-
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ment at hard labor not exceeding ten years, according to the
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aggravation of the offense.

Scc. [63] 62. That if any person or persons shall falsely
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make, forge, or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be falsely
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made, forged, or counterfeited, or willingly aid or assist in
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falsely making, forging, or counterfeiting, any coin in the
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resemblance or similitude of any of the minor coinage which
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has been, or hereafter may be, coined at the mints of the
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United States; or shall pass, utter, publish, or sell, or bring
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into the United States from any foreign place, or have in his
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possession any such false, forged, or counterfeited coin, with
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intent to defraud any body politic or corporation, or any
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person or persons whatsoever, every person so offending shall
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be deemed guilty of felony, and shall, on conviction thereof,
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be punished by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars and
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by imprisonment and confinement at hard labor not exceeding
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three years.

Scc. [64] 63. That if any person shall fraudulently, by any
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art, way, or means whatsoever, deface, mutilate, impair,
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diminish, falsify, scale, or lighten the gold or silver coins
4
which have been, or which shall hereafter be, coined at the
5
mints of the United States, or any foreign gold or silver coins
which are by law made current, or are in actual use and cir-

culation as money within the United States, every person so

offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and

shall be imprisoned not exceeding two years, and fined not

exceeding two thousand dollars.

- Sec. (65) 64. That if any of the gold or silver coins which

shall be struck or coined at any of the mints of the United

States shall be debased, or made worse as to the proportion

of fine gold or fine silver therein contained; or shall be of

less weight or value than the same ought to be, pursuant to

the several acts relative thereto; or if any of the weights

used at any of the mints or assay-offices of the

United States shall be defaced, increased or diminished

through the fault or connivance of any of the officers or

persons who shall be employed at the said mints or assay-

offices, with a fraudulent intent; and if any of the said offi-
cers or persons shall embezzle any of the metals which shall

at any time be committed to their charge for the purpose of

H. R. 2934—5

being coined, or any of the coins which shall be struck or

coined at the said mints, or any medals, coins, or other

moneys of said mints or assay-offices at any time committed

to their charge, or of which they may have assumed the

charge, every such officer or person who shall commit any or

either of the said offenses shall be deemed guilty of felony,

and shall be imprisoned at hard labor for a term not less

than one year nor more than ten years, and shall be fined in

a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars.

- Sec. (66) 65. That this act shall take effect on the first

AGREED

APRIL

SEVENTY-THREE

day of [July, ] 1873 and [seventy-two, ] when

the offices of the treasurer of the mints in

Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New Orleans

shall be vacated, and the assistant treasurer at New York

shall cease to perform the duties of treasurer of the assay-

office. The other officers and employees of the mints and

assay-offices now appointed shall continue to hold their

respective offices, they having first given the necessary bonds

until further appointments may be required, the director of

the mint at Philadelphia being styled and acting as superin-
tendent thereof. The duties of the treasurers shall devolve

as herein provided upon the superintendents, and said treas-

urers shall act only as assistant treasurers of the United

States: Provided, That the salaries heretofore paid to the

treasurers of the mints at Philadelphia, San Francisco, and

New Orleans, acting as assistant treasurers, shall hereafter be

paid to them as “assistant treasurers of the United States”,

and that the salary of the assistant treasurer at New York

shall not be diminished by the vacation of his office as treas-

urer of the assay-office.

- Sec. (67) 66. That the different mints and assay-offices

authorized by this act shall be known as “the mint of

the United States at Philadelphia”, “the mint of the United

States at San Francisco”, “the mint of the United States at

Carson,” “the mint of the United States at Denver,” “the

United States assay-office at New York”, and “the United

AGREED “THE U. S. ASSAY OFFICE AT CHARLOTTE, N. CAROLINA”
7 States assay-office at Boise City, Idaho; and all unexpended
8 appropriations heretofore authorized by law for the use of the
9 mint of the United States at Philadelphia, the branch mint
10 of the United States in California, the branch mint of
11 the United States at Denver, the United States assay-office
12 in New York, and the United-States assay-office at Boise
13 City, Idaho, are hereby authorized to be transferred for the
14 account and use of the institutions established and located
15 respectively at the places designated by this act.
16
17 Sec. [68] 67. That this act shall be known as the "Coinage
18 act of [eighteen hundred and seventy-two"]; and all other
19 acts and parts of acts pertaining to the mints, assay-offices,
20 and coinage of the United States inconsistent with the pro-
21 visions of this act are hereby repealed: Provided, That this
22 act shall not be construed to affect any act done, right ac-
23 crued, or penalty incurred, under former acts, but every such
24 right is hereby saved; and all suits and prosecutions for acts
25 already done in violation of any former act or acts of Congress
26 relating to the subjects embraced in this act may be begun
27 or proceeded with in like manner as if this act had not been
28 passed; and all penal clauses and provisions in existing laws
29 relating to the subjects embraced in this act shall be deemed
30 applicable thereto: And provided further, That so much of the
31 first section of "An act making appropriations for sundry
32 civil expenses of the Government for the year ending June
33 thirty, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, and for other pur-
34 poses," approved July fifteen, eighteen hundred and seventy,
35 as provides that until after the completion and occupation
36 of the branch-mint building in San Francisco it shall be law-
37 ful to exchange, at any mint or branch-mint of the United
38 States, unrefined or unparted bullion whenever, in the opinion
39 of the Secretary of the Treasury, it can be done with advan-
40 tage to the Government, is hereby repealed.

Passed the House of Representatives May 27, 1872.
Attest: EDWARD McPHERSON,
Clerk.

42d CONGRESS, 3d Session. H. R. 2934. 704

AN ACT
Revising and amending the laws relative to the
mints, assay-offices, and coinage of the United
States.

1872—May 29.—Read twice and referred to the Committee
on Finance.

December 16, 1872.—Reported with amendments.

1873—January 7.—Additional amendments reported, which
were ordered to be printed with the bill.

January 17, C. W.—Amended, read the third time, and
passed.

Jan. 17.
Amended.

Passed.

No papers.
The following proceedings were had in the Senate on Friday, January 17, 1573, when the foregoing bill was under consideration:

MINT LAWS.

The Presiding Officer. The Calendar under the Anthony rule is now in order.

Mr. Sherman. I rise for the purpose of moving that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the Mint bill. I will state that this bill will not probably consume any more time than the time consumed in reading it. It passed the Senate two years ago after full debate. It was taken up again in the House during the present Congress, and passed there. It is a matter of vital interest to the Government, and I am informed by officers of the Government it is important it should pass promptly. The amendments reported by the Committee on Finance present the points of difference between the two Houses, and they can go to a committee of conference without having a controversy here in the Senate about them.

Mr. Anthony. I hope the Calendar will be laid aside informally, not postponed.

Mr. Sherman. Let it be passed over informally until we finish the reading of the Mint bill and dispose of it. The reading is about half through, I am informed by the Secretary.

Mr. Cragin. I shall not oppose this motion, but I wish to give notice that as soon as the Mint bill is disposed of I shall move to call up the bill (H. R. No. 3010) for the construction of six steam vessels of war, and for other purposes, which was reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs. I hope that bill will be left as the unfinished business this evening.

The Presiding Officer. The Chair is informed that it is proposed that the Calendar be informally passed over.

Mr. Sherman. I am perfectly willing that that should be done.

The Presiding Officer. That will regarded as the sense of the Senate, if there is no objection, and the bill referred to by the Senator from Ohio is now before the Senate.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. No. 2504) revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay-offices, and coinage of the United States.

The Chief Clerk resumed and concluded the reading of the bill.

The Presiding Officer. The Committee on Finance report the bill, with amendments, which will now be read.

Mr. Sherman. I send to the clerk some amendments of a formal character from the Committee on Finance, adopted since the amendments first reported were printed. I will ask that they be acted upon with the others in their order.

The first amendment of the Committee on Finance was, on page 4, section 5, line 3, after the word "coins," to insert " or sample of bullion so that the clause will read:

"That the assayer shall assay all metals and bullion, whenever such assays are required in the operations of the Mint; he shall also make assays of coin or samples of bullion whenever required by the Superintendent."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 5, section 8, line 2, to strike out the word " wording," before the word " dies, " and insert the word " working."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 6, section 9, line 1, before the word "office," at the end of the line, to insert the word "assay."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 9, section 14, to strike out the following words:

"And any gold coin of the United States, if reduced in weight by abrasion not more than one-half of 1 per cent. on the double-eagle and eagle, and 1 per cent. on the other coins, below the standard weight prescribed by law, shall be received at their nominal value by the United States Treasury and its offices, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe for the protection of the Government against fraudulent abrasion or other practices; and any gold coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight below this limit of abrasion shall be recoined."

Mr. Cole. I hope that amendment will not be agreed to. I think it is a very wise provision in the bill as it came from the House, and it ought to be allowed to remain. It merely provides that coins, when a little abraded by natural use and wear, shall be recoined at the Treasury of the United States, and the concluding portion of the clause proposed to be stricken out provides:

"And any gold coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight below the limit of abrasion shall be recoined."

It is certainly the duty of the Government to provide the coins of the country and at its own expense, and this section seems to be well guarded. The language is:

"Under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe for the protection of the Government against fraudulent abrasion or other practices."

It strikes me that this clause ought not to be stricken out. I remember at the
last session of Congress we passed a law which contemplated the restoration of these coins. I will read it. It was passed at the earnest application of the Secretary of the Treasury, and I believe at the unanimous suggestion of the Committee on Finance of this body; it was incorporated in an appropriation bill. It is as follows:

"For losses and expenses involved in the recoinage of gold coins in the Treasury which are below standard weight, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, $150,000."

The Government makes provision for the restoration of the coins when they have been reduced by natural wear, and I should think that this part of the section ought to be left in the bill. I see no reason why it should be stricken out.

Mr. Sherman. I can only say I have here a number of documents, not only from the Director of the Mint in Philadelphia, but from Professor Barnard and the Comptroller of the Currency, calling our attention to this very important feature of the bill, and the Committee on Finance, after a patient examination of the whole matter, decided that it was clearly inexpedient and wrong to put in this provision for the recoinage of all the present gold coins of the United States.

It is true, as the Senator says, we have provided for recoinage the coin in the Treasury of the United States; but we go no further than that. No nation in the world has gone further than that. I do not wish to delay the Senate by reading these papers, but I suggest to the Senator whether he had not better let this proposition go to a committee of conference rather than undertake to discuss it here, because if we are compelled to discuss it here I shall be obliged to have these letters read, which entirely convinced the Committee on Finance that the United States dare not assume the loss of abrasion beyond the legal standard.

There is a legal standard within which the United States make the coin good, but when coin depreciates below the standard of abrasion, then neither the United States nor any other nation in the world undertakes to make the coins good except for face value. The wear in which these coins might be abraded by fraud were shown to us, and it would be utterly impossible for any regulation of the Secretary to prevent great loss to the Government if we attempt to maintain the limit when they fall below the limit of abrasion and above them at the nominal instead of the real value. It is a delicate question, and it will only be necessary to read these papers in order to convince the Senator himself that it would not be wise for the United States to undertake to do what the House proposes.

Mr. Cole. I should like it better if the chairman of the Committee on Finance would give us some reasons why this amendment should be made. This clause protects the Government fully. The degree of abrasion is prescribed in this clause not to exceed one-half of 1 per cent, on double-eagles and eagles, and not to exceed 1 per cent, upon coins of lesser denomination. If it would involve the Government in some expense to restore these coins after they had been received in the ordinary business of the country, received at the custom-houses and in the Treasury, it is very proper that the Government should bear that expense. And let me again remind the Senator that we have entered upon that business, and at the last session made an appropriation of $150,000 to do this very thing.

Mr. Sherman. That was for the coin belonging to the United States.

Mr. Cole. Exactly. This clause provides that when the coin reaches the Treasury it may be so treated, and that this coin shall be received by the United States at the Treasury and other offices.

Mr. Casserly. I had risen to ask a question of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman] which my colleague has anticipated. Authority is valuable only in proportion to the reason which goes with it. The names mentioned are of course names of authority in coinage and minting. But when it is said that we ought to strike out a provision such as that which we are now considering because the men of authority say it would be dangerous to enact it, we ought to know what reason they have for so saying.

In the first place, everybody knows that it is almost a mechanical impossibility to manufacture a coin that is exactly of the standard. The coin will be a little above or below the standard in weight, but generally it is below it. So that when you fix the limit of the abrasion as here at one half of 1 per cent, on the double eagle and eagle and 1 per cent, on the other coins you make your limit exceedingly narrow. In addition to that, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make such rules as he sees fit for the protection of the Government against fraud. Now, what danger can there be to the Treasury of the United States under such a provision? Why should any respectable Government consent to permit its gold coins to remain in circulation after they have suffered by abrasion so as to fall much below the legal standard? The loss by abrasion has to fall somewhere in the end, and it certainly ought to fall upon the whole people rather than to the Government holder who has taken the coin of the Government at its face, on the faith of the Government, without being aware of the reduction from its standard value.

I insist that it is the duty of the Government to make its coins of the standard value in the first place, and in the next place to keep them up to the standard value. The citizen is obliged by law to receive them for their full standard value, and as the loss must fall somewhere, it ought to fall on the Government, and not
upon the citizen. It is hard enough that the innocent holder of a coin which has been fraudulently abraded, or reduced as by what they call "sweating," or by any other fraudulent process, must lose by the fraud to which he was no party. It is ever so much worse when you make him bear the loss of the natural and inevitable wear of the metal. Every such loss should be the loss of the Government, for it is the duty of the Government to keep its coin at the standard value at its own expense.

I do not understand the last two lines of this amendment as the Senator from Ohio understands them. If I understand them aright, he would not press his objection so strongly as he does. The language is:

"And any gold coins in the Treasury of the United States reduced in weight below this limit of abrasion shall be recoined."

Mr. Sherman. The reason that those words are proposed to be stricken out is that the coins in the Treasury have already been provided for. The law now provides for recoining abraded coin in the Treasury of the United States. There is no necessity, therefore, for putting it in there again. Indeed, when this clause was inserted in the House the law providing for that recoining had not been passed. It was passed in an appropriation bill on my own motion, I think, at the last session of Congress. The Mint was authorized to recoin the abraded coins in the Treasury of the United States, some of which were taken at their reduced value.

Mr. Casserly. Of course, if the Senator says the clause is unnecessary because it is the law now, there is nothing more to be said.

Mr. Sherman. The Senator's colleague referred to the law a moment ago.

Mr. Casserly. I am content to take what the Senator from Ohio says on that point. But that only corroborates what I say, that the Government recognizes as its duty to restore its coin to the standard value after they have fallen below a certain limit of abrasion. Now, all that is asked is that before they fall below the limit of abrasion and while passing current in the business transactions of the country they shall be reckoned at their denominational value by the United States Treasury, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe. I fully recognize what the Senator from Ohio says, that the whole subject of specie coinage is one of great intricacy, so that what appears a very small matter in itself may have very widespread consequences. But this provision now under consideration is so plain, so reasonable, and so perfectly guarded that I had very strong hopes the Senator from Ohio would consent to allow it to remain.

Mr. Sherman. I think after a full explanation of this matter the Senators from California themselves would vote for this proposition. I do not desire to take up time, but will say a few words in explanation of the amendment proposed by the committee striking out this clause.

All nations retain the nominal value of abraded coin to a certain standard, but when it falls below that the loss falls on the individual who holds it. That has been the custom of all countries. The coin that is held by the Treasury of the United States is received at its nominal value if it is within the limits of abrasion fixed by the law, but if it falls below the limit of abrasion the coin at the standard value, that is, the reduced value. It is very strong hopes the Senator from Ohio would consent to allow it to remain.

That is what he says. Then I have here the letter of Professor Barnard, which is very interesting. I will read a paragraph from it:

"I inclose herewith copy of a portion of a letter recently received from him, (Professor Barnard,) in which you will be interested. I desire to call your especial attention to his criticisms upon sections 14 and 15 in reference to abrasion. So far as I am able to learn, no nation in the world has laws which offer inducements to wrong-doers to lighten the coins which are in circulation. If I had charge of the bill now before the Senate I should certainly much prefer its defeat to its passage, unless section 14 from line 20, and section 15, could be stricken from the bill."

That is what he says. Then I have here the letter of Professor Barnard, which is very interesting. I will read a paragraph from it:

"Section fourteen of the bill provides that any gold coin, if reduced in weight not more than one-half of 1 per cent. on the double-eagle and eagle, and 1 per cent. on the other coins, below the standard weight and limit of tolerance, shall be received at their denominational value by the United States Treasury and its officers, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, that is to say, 12 cents on every such double-eagle, and on the eagle seven-tenths of 1 per cent., or 7 cents on every such eagle. This is an enormous sacrifice for the Government to propose to the public, and one which will insure the return to the Treasury of a vast number of gold coins much reduced in weight by means which can not be proved to be fraudulent. A coin, or a lot of coins, which has been to some extent ret
duced by honest abrasion will be a Godsend to a rogue, for this may be still 'sweated' down to the limit named in this section, without sensibly altering its appearance. Coins may moreover be abraded or reduced by rubbing them with rouge powder or with prepared chalk, by hand or by mechanical means, so as seriously to reduce them without leaving any traces of violence. I am at a loss to know on what grounds the proposition is defended to receive 'at their nominal value' all coins depreciated by abrasion below the limits of legal tolerance.

"It is true that this section authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to 'prescribe regulations' under which such coins shall be received. If this authority extends so far as to permit him to refuse to receive them at all, 'at their denominational value,' it may prove a safeguard; otherwise the provision seems to me extremely dangerous."

Here is another and a later letter from Professor Barnard to the Comptroller of the Currency under date of December 24:

"My Dear Sir: Dr. Torrey has just told me a very important fact. There is a manufactory of watch-cases in Brooklyn. The workmen put the last polish on the cases with fine paper and rouge powder. Some time since the proprietor applied at the assay office for advice as to some method of burning these papers so as to prevent gold from being carried away mechanically in the smoke. He said their loss from this cause was serious, but that in spite of this they recovered $5,000 worth of gold from these papers per annum.

"The establishment is a large one, it is true; but, on the other hand, the workmen do not work with the design to polish off as much gold as they conveniently can, but just as little as the object in view will allow."

"I mention this to show you how easy it would be for a designing man to live off the coin of the country, setting up with a capital of a few thousand dollars. It is needless to say that the coins so abased could not be detectable by their brightness, for nothing is easier than to tarnish them."

"Within a certain degree, one-thousandth per cent., a small degree, the Government maintains the coins at their nominal value even if abraded, but when they are abraded below that the loss falls on the holder, and every man who receives a coin must look to it that it has not been abraded beyond the legal amount. If it is so abraded, he can refuse to take it, or if he takes it at all he should take it for what it is intrinsically worth. The recoinage of the gold coin now in circulation, although not very large, would amount to one or two million dollars. As a matter of course, as soon as our attention was called to this fact we struck out this clause. I do not wish to go any further into the details of the matter. I think the action of the Committee on Finance was clearly right, and it would be very wrong indeed to undertake in this ambiguous way to make good all the coin now outstanding.

Mr. Cassedy. I do not wish to be tenacious about this matter, still less per­
tinacious. I am very glad that the Senator from Ohio has read the letters on which he relies. I think they speak for themselves. The burden of them is that gold coin may be abraded or reduced fraudulently with such skill as to make it almost impossible of detection at the Treasury. The last letter from Professor Barn­
ard conjures up a phantom to terrify Senators withal. It is that if this provision should become a law a man might with a capital of a few thousand dollars, by fraudulent abrasion, make a good living out of the Treasury. I ask the Senator from Ohio, what does such an argument amount to? If a man can make a good living by fraudulent abrasion of the gold coin, so skilfully made as to defy the detection of the officers, how is it to be with the community?

Mr. Sherman. I will say to my friend from California that any citizen can at any time test it by weight.

Mr. Cassedy. I was just coming to that. The Senator says any one can weigh each piece as he takes it. Just imagine a merchant in large business in the city of San Francisco going about with a pair of scales in his pocket to weigh gold coin hourly as he receives it! The Senator surely is not serious when he says so. We are legislating for the American people, a rapid if not a fast people in their enterprises; a people whose energies are impatient of pause, still less of de­lay. To suppose that such a people are to go about with scales at their button­holes to weigh coins is to suppose something which, wishing well to the Senator, I hope he may live long enough to see.

Mr. President, we cannot carry on a great Government like this without running some risk. I am sure that nobody ought to put the whole risk of coinage upon the citizens. As I said, the citizen has no choice. He must take the lawful money of the country in the course of his lawful transactions, and at its de­nominal value. If there must be loss even by fraud, I am not sure that it ought not to be borne by the Government in the case of an innocent holder, but I do not wish to raise that question now.

The portion of the clause proposed to be stricken out for which I am contending is that which provides for the natural and lawful abrasion of the coins. I am surprised that these learned and scientific men make such objections as those which the Senator has read, although I think they pretty much answer thei­r own.
the fact that there is another statute which covers the ground covered by lines twenty-eight, twenty-nine, and thirty of this clause would not be a good reason for striking them out. They should therefore be retained.

Mr. SHERMAN. I will say to the Senator from California that the amount heretofore appropriated will probably be sufficient to have that recoinage done before this bill will take effect; at all events there will be no trouble about that, and I do not care whether the clause is retained or stricken out. The thing is provided for already by an appropriation as a distinct matter.

Mr. CASERLY. This is a codified law and repeals all other laws.

Mr. SHERMAN. If the Senator is willing to compromise on that I am perfectly willing to allow those lines to remain in the bill.

Mr. CASERLY. I shall vote to retain the whole clause, but I shall not debate it any further.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no objection at all to the gold coin in the Treasury, that which has fallen below the standard, being recoined; but that will be done under the present law, under an appropriation which I moved myself.

Mr. CASERLY. To save any question about that, probably the Senator will consent to let those words remain.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no objection to that.

Mr. COLE. I shall not detain the Senate from a vote on this question more than a minute or two.

By the Constitution of the United States it is the duty of the Government to furnish the circulating medium, the material which is the price of values in business transactions, the currency of the country. That they assume to do in one form or another. Gold is a legal tender for all debts, and it is presumed when the gold is presented with the stamp of the United States upon it, so indorsed by the Government of the United States, that it is of a certain value and weight. Now, what are the facts so far as the Pacific coast is concerned? There is a quantity of coin there that has been in circulation for more than a score of years, and of course it is much abraded by natural wear. It is much abraded, by its use in business, and the dates upon these coins will show that they have been in use along time.

I hear it said about me, sotto voce, that we ought on that coast to have paper money, and in that way avoid this difficulty of having coins which are worn used in business transactions. What are the facts so far as this is concerned? Why, sir, in the first place, in California there never was any bank of issue, there never was a dollar of paper money issued by any bank in that State; but before the late rebellion gold and silver were the circulating mediums exclusively. When the nation adopted as a legal tender the United States notes, it was, as it will be well remembered, a long time before they were made to replace the bank notes that were in circulation throughout the various States. It occurred by slow degrees, and by the time you were ready to dispense with the State banking institutions the legal tenders had fallen in value below the value of gold. They were worth perhaps but 90, or 80, or 70 cents on the dollar, and before they had decreased in value there was no supply possible to be obtained in the community which I have the honor in part to represent. There was no possibility before that time to receive enough there to supply as circulating medium the place that was filled by gold and silver. California never resisted the acceptance of paper money, but from the force of circumstances it could not be adopted there.

On this side the United States notes very naturally came into use as money. They took the place of the bank notes at first circulated with them and at the same value, and from one description of paper money they very naturally fell into the use of another. Those circumstances never existed on the Pacific coast, and we never have had any banks of issue or paper money there. The United States notes or greenbacks never were furnished in sufficient numbers or quantity to supply the wants of the country, and they never could circulate as the money of the country. It is owing to these facts, and not to any unfriendly disposition on the part of the State of California or her people, that the United States notes have never come into general use there. It is owing to the fact that gold and silver were all the currency there before the issuance of United States notes. It is a great misfortune to us, and we realize it, that we have not the use of United States notes there the same as here. That fact is realized by our business community very generally. But we have never seen the time when we could use them or adopt them in place of gold and silver as the measure of value for the reasons I have mentioned. And now, since there is in use there this abraded coin, it is very proper that it should be received when not much abraded, when not abraded below the amount specified in this bill by the United States for the various uses for which they accept that sort of currency, and I think this bill ought not to be amended as proposed by the Finance Committee of this body.

Mr. FENIMORE. I understand that the law has been for a course of years that the Government would always receive at the nominal value coin that was not abraded more than one-half of 1 per cent. So I do not see the hardship which the Senator from California complains of. The people of that State and of that community that use coin could under that law at any time have had the abraded coin redeemed.
Mr. Cole. Let me correct the Senator. I do not understand, at all events, that the coin is receivable now when abraded, as specified in this section, or the amount of one-half of 1 per cent. upon eagles and double eagles, and 1 per cent. upon coins of lesser denomination. I do not understand that that is the case.

Mr. Frelinghuysen. I understand that the law has been for a course of years that if the coin was not abraded more than the rate fixed by the law, such a law as existed, the Government received it at its nominal and not at its actual value. Therefore I do not see the difficulty.

Mr. Sherman. I will read the Senator a paragraph on that subject in this very bill. These coins are receivable now. The language is:

"Which coins shall be a legal tender in all payments at their nominal value when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance."

Mr. Cole. What is that?

Mr. Sherman. It is one-thousandth per cent. And another section provides that when they do fall below the limit of tolerance they shall be received at their actual value.

Mr. Frelinghuysen. And that is only a re-enactment of a pre-existing statute.

Mr. Sherman. Certainly; it is the law now.

Mr. Frelinghuysen. Therefore I do not see that there is any hardship on the community that the Senator represents, inasmuch as they have had the right at any time to have that coin received at its nominal value within the limit fixed by the existing law, and it is absolutely necessary that the Government should have such a law. If this Government is to receive at its nominal value coin that has been reduced, abraded, it is a premium on fraud at once. Men will go to work with this process of sweating, and make money by it, and come and get it at its nominal value for the coin. This provision seems to me to be a very essential feature in our laws. The Government will of course receive the coin at its actual value; but if we should now pass a law that the Government would receive at its nominal value abraded coin, this coin that is in circulation in California, for instance—

Mr. Cole. How much abraded?

Mr. Frelinghuysen. I do not remember the limit.

Mr. Cole. One-tenth of 1 per cent.

Mr. Frelinghuysen. The rate now is one-half of 1 per cent.

Mr. Cole. No, sir, one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Mr. Frelinghuysen. Very well. It is altogether immaterial what the rate is. The point of difference is that which is insisted on as covering the coin in California and that which is provided by this bill, and that is the point to which I am directing my remarks. They could have gone and had that coin made anew, but they did not do so. Now they want the rate increased, so as to cover the abrasion which has taken place there, and that very provision any person who was disposed to commit a fraud upon the Treasury could avail himself of.

The Presiding Officer. The question being put, it was declared that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. Casserly. I should like to have a decision on that.

Mr. Sherman. The meaning of the language as existed, the meaning is to be taken according to the place in which it is put.

Mr. Sherman. It is fixed above. If we strike out all between lines 19 and 27, then this clause will relate to the language before line 19, which reads:

"Which coins shall be a legal tender in all payments at their nominal value when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided by this act for the single piece, and, when reduced in weight below said standard and tolerance, shall be a legal tender of valuation in proportion to their actual weight."

Mr. Casserly. I do not remember the limit.

Mr. Sherman. The rate is fixed above. If we strike out all between lines 19 and 27, then this clause will relate to the language before line 19, which reads:

"Which coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided by this act for the single piece, and, when reduced in weight below said standard and tolerance, shall be a legal tender of valuation in proportion to their actual weight."

Mr. Casserly. I understood the Senator to be willing to keep those words in the last clause of the section just in the meaning they had in that place; but of
course if he has a different view of it I shall not contest it with him, because it is evident very few Senators are paying attention to this subject.

**Mr. CASSERLY.** The next amendment will be read.

The next amendment was to strike out the fifteenth section of the bill in the following words:

"Sec. 15. That any gold coin now in circulation the weight of which is below the limit of abrasion prescribed in this act may be received at the mints in Philadelphia and San Francisco at par in exchange for silver coins: Provided. That the circulation of such gold coin, as shown by the date of coinage, has been sufficient to produce such loss by natural abrasion; and the coins so received shall be re-coined; but no gold coins which appear to have been artificially reduced shall come within the provisions of this section."

Mr. CASSERLY. It seems to me that section is a section which should be retained not only for the general reasons applicable to the other section which I stated, but for the further reason that there is a protection provided by the express language of this section which it seems to me is absolutely sufficient. The language is:

"That any gold coin now in circulation the weight of which is below the limit of abrasion prescribed in this act may be received at the mints in Philadelphia and San Francisco at par in exchange for silver coins: Provided. That the circulation of such gold coin, as shown by the date of coinage, has been sufficient to produce such loss by natural abrasion; and the coins so received shall be re-coined; but no gold coins which appear to have been artificially reduced shall come within the provisions of this section."

Of course that section, if it is to remain in the sense in which I desire it to remain, should be modified so as to refer to the limit of abrasion just stricken out, that is, not more than one-half of 1 per cent. on the double-eagle and eagle, and 1 per cent. on the other coins. I presumed, after the amendment the Senate has just adopted, the Senator from Ohio would be willing to retain the fifteenth section.

**Mr. SHERMAN.** No; the fifteenth section is the one I have been debating all the time.

Mr. CASSERLY. Then I must have the wrong bill before me.

Mr. SHERMAN. It is the same bill that the Senator has before him; but the two amendments go together. If one falls the other fails. Is it right, is it just that the people of the United States should maintain the gold in circulation in California against the abrasion of honest people, as well as the abrasion of rogues, when it refuses to maintain its own paper currency against the abrasion of accident? When our paper currency is reduced in value by being mutilated to the amount of one-sixteenth, the holder of the bill loses to the extent of that mutilation, and the Treasury redeems the paper at so much less, in proportion to the loss of the bill. A mutilated bill presented to the Treasury is not redeemed at its nominal value. It is reduced in proportion to the amount presented. In order to avoid fraud, it is indispensably necessary to have such a provision. Indeed the Senators from California and their constituents are much more interested in the passage of this bill than the people of Ohio; and I hope, therefore, if the Senate on this question they will take it by yeas and nays, and let us go on with the bill. I believe this is the only controverted point in the bill. I think the people of the Pacific coast, who persist in circulating gold coin rather than paper money, should not seek to get the people of the United States at large to make good their abraded coin, not only against honest abrasion, but against dishonest abrasion, and, as Professor Barnard has told us, it is utterly impossible to distinguish between honest and dishonest abrasion.

Mr. COLE. Before the Senator takes his seat I should like to ask him who pays for printing the United States notes? Do not the people of the United States at large pay for it, the people of California as well as the people everywhere else? And as to the notes being torn, what we are providing for is equivalent to furnishing notes that have been effaced without being torn. It is provided here that if the coin is not abraded beyond a certain extent it shall be re-coined at the expense of the United States. That is the effect of the proposition; but if it is reduced beyond that, as if a bill were torn one-sixteenth or one-fourth, then there shall be no relief for the party holding it.

**Mr. CASSERLY.** The question is on striking out the fifteenth section.

Mr. CASERLY. I do not propose to debate this bill at any length; but it is quite impossible for me to do my duty, as I understand it, to the people of California, or indeed of the United States who use gold coin, without suggesting the objections to it that occur to me. I understand the natural desire of the Senator from Ohio to get the bill passed with expedition. At the same time, each one of us here has to do his duty according to his lights.

I see no kind of analogy in the comparison which the Senator makes between gold coin that is abraded and a legal-tender note which is reduced in size to the extent of one-sixteenth. In the case of the note the reduction is visible, it is easily ascertained. In the case of the coin it not only is not easily ascertainable, but the further argument of the Senator is it is so difficult to be ascertained as to make it dangerous to receive them at the Treasury.

The Senator aims to make some point in what he says of the people of California, namely, that they are slipped on retaining a specie currency. Why, Mr. President, the people there had no choice about it. There never was a period of time
between the going out of gold coin in the country at large and the coming in of paper as the sole currency when we could have made any such change in California. Our whole system of values was based upon gold coin. We could not have changed it if we had tried without such a disturbance as would have been a calamity to the State, from which, perhaps, she would not have recovered for years. We never have discarded the paper of the country. On the contrary, we have always given from three-fourths of one per cent. to one and a half per cent. more for it than was paid for it in the State of the Senator from Ohio. The greenbacks of the Government, in reference to which so much is thrown out here against California, are now and always have been in better credit to-day in the city of San Francisco than in any city this side of the Rocky Mountains. You can get fewer of them for the same amount in gold in San Francisco than you can in Philadelphia, New York, Cincinnati, or Chicago. Yet we are constantly met when we seek to do anything to relieve the people of California in reference to the condition of the coinage there by the reproach that we insisted on keeping in California the gold coin of the country. Why, Mr. President, was it wrong for a State, when she had the right to choose between two kinds of lawful money, to choose that kind which formed her currency, and more than that, which formed her entire standard and basis of value?

Our situation in California in regard to our gold currency is one of very considerable difficulty and may become one of danger at any time. By the practice of the Federal officers there, all the new coin is systematically sent out of the country and the old coin is retained. The miner who takes his bullion to the mint in San Francisco to have it coined is, in nine cases out of ten, paid for it in the old coin of the country, abraded and reduced in value as it is. The result is that the old worn coin, instead of being taken up by the officers of the Government, as in the custom-house, and sent on here to the Treasury, is returned into the circulation of the State, to be more and more abraded and reduced, and the new twenty-dollar coins are sent forward to the Treasury at this side. It is not hard to see what may be the result of this state of things.

It seems to me, sir, that when we provide as we do in this section for the redemption of gold coins when the abrasion is no more than might honestly have taken place in the time during which, as the figures on their face show, they must have been in circulation, and when the section is further guarded for the protection of the Government against any sort of fraudulent or wrongful abrasion, there ought to be no unwillingness to retain the section as it came from the House.

I have proceeded all through upon the theory that these fraudulent abrasions were very difficult of detection, because that is the argument of the Senator from Ohio. My recollection of a number of criminal cases in England on the subject of sweating coin and similar offenses in the nature of fraudulent abrasions is that the crime is not so very difficult of detection, and that the condition of the coin will exhibit it to any person who inspects it closely.

The Presiding Officer. The question is on the amendment striking out the fifteenth section.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to strike out section [17] 16, in the following words:

"That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece; and the alloy for minor coinage shall be copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel; the weight of the piece of five cents shall be five grams, or sixty and one-hundredth grains; of the one-cent piece, one and one-half grams, or twenty-three and five-hundredths grains; of the three-cent piece, one and two-thirds grams, or twenty-eight and seventy-five-hundredths grains; of the dime, forty-eight grains; which coins shall be legal tender, at their nominal value, for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment."

And to insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece; and the alloy for the five and three cent pieces shall be of copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel; the weight of the piece of five cents shall be five grams, or sixty and one-hundredth grains; and of the one-cent piece, one and one-half grams, or twenty-three and fifteen-hundredths grains; of the three-cent piece, thirty grains; and of the one-cent piece, forty-eight grains; which coins shall be legal tender, at their nominal value, for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment."

Mr. Sherman. There is an omission in the matter proposed to be inserted by the committee. I move to insert in line eleven, after the words "twenty-five cent piece," the words "and a dime or ten-cent piece."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was in section [18] 19, line 9, to insert, after the words "three-dollar piece," the words "the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar," and also to insert in line 11, after the word "omitted," the words "and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respect-
ively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin;” so that the section will read:

"Sec. [19] 18. That upon the coins of the United States there shall be the following devices and legends: Upon one side there shall be an impression emblematic of liberty, with an inscription of the word "Liberty" and the year of the coinage, and upon the reverse shall be the figure or representation of an eagle, with the inscriptions "United States of America" and "E Pluribus Unum," and a designation of the value of the coin; but on the gold dollar and three-dollar piece, the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, the dime, five, three and one cent piece the figure of the eagle shall be omitted, and on the reverse side of the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and fineness of the coin; and the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, may cause the motto "In God we trust" to be inscribed upon such coins as shall admit of such motto; and any one of the foregoing inscriptions may be on the rim of the gold and silver coins."

Mr. Casserly. It may be a matter of sentiment, but sentiment sometimes goes a great way, especially in those cases where it is difficult to reduce the action of men to a mathematical standard. I regret that the eagle is to disappear from the dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar of our coinage. It will hardly be possible to think of a half-dollar or a quarter-dollar as being such a coin without the eagle upon it.

Mr. Sherman. The Senator will see that the reason is because it is necessary to describe the weight and fineness of the coin. This amendment has been proposed by the officers of the mint. They have adopted a plan of describing on each coin its weight and fineness.

Mr. Casserly. What is the use of that when we know that the weight of the coin is constantly being reduced?

Mr. Sherman. The reason given to us is because it has been adopted as a mode of international coinage. This method has been adopted in the corresponding coins of France and all the countries of Europe, pretty much, of describing upon the face of the coin its intrinsic weight and fineness.

Mr. Casserly. I must say I never saw a coin marked in that way.

Mr. Sherman. That is the reason the officers of the mint give for this change.

Mr. Casserly. I ask the Senator whether he is very strenuous in his advocacy of this amendment. I should like to save the American eagle on the half-dollar and quarter-dollar.

Mr. Sherman. The eagle is preserved on all the gold coins in a size large enough to be caged. [Laughter.]

Mr. Casserly. But the half-dollar and quarter-dollar are the money of the people and they are the leading coins of our entire silver coinage. I do not think it is of so much importance to put the fineness or the weight upon a half-dollar or a quarter-dollar as it might be upon a gold coin. I have never seen any foreign coin, and of course no American coin, marked in that way. To have the weight of the coin upon gold coin may be a useful thing because of the great preciousness of the metal; but what is the importance of having the weight inscribed upon the half-dollar or quarter-dollar? Does anybody ever weigh half-dollars or quarter-dollars in business?

Mr. Sherman. If the Senator will allow me, he will see that the preceding section provides for coin which is exactly interchangeable with the English shilling and the five-franc piece of France; that is, a five-franc piece of France will be the exact equivalent of a dollar in our silver coinage; and in order to show this wherever our silver coin shall float—and we are providing that it shall float all over the world—we propose to stamp upon it, instead of our eagle, which foreigners may not understand, and which they may not distinguish from a buzzard or some other bird, the intrinsic fineness and weight of the coin. In this practical, utilitarian age the officers of the Mint seemed to think it would be better to do that than to put the eagle on our silver coins. I must confess I do not think it is very important; but I think the Senator ought to be willing to deter in these matters to the practical knowledge of the officers who have charge of this branch of the Government service. I will say that Mr. Linderman, whom the Senator must know, has suggested this as being a convenient mode of promoting international coinage.

Mr. Casserly. We can not have an international coinage on the basis of our silver coin unless our silver coin is up to the standard of all the nations with which we expect to have relations. Now, I ask the Senator whether this bill proposes a silver coinage of that character.

Mr. Sherman. This bill proposes a silver coinage exactly the same as the French and what are called the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted the international standard of silver coinage; that is, the dollar provided for by this bill is the precise equivalent of the five-franc piece. It contains the same number of grains of silver, and we have adopted the international gram instead of the grain for the standard of our silver coinage. The "trade-dollar" has been adopted mainly for the benefit of the people of California, and others engaged in trade with China. That is the only coin measured by the grain instead of by the gram. The intrinsic value of each is to be stamped upon the coin.
Mr. CASSELY. Do I understand the Senator to say then that the intrinsic value of the dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar is raised by this bill?

Mr. SHERMAN. There is a difference of about one-half of 1 per cent.

Mr. CASSELY. I suppose it must be raised to the basis of international exchange.

Mr. SHERMAN. I think it is slightly raised, so as to conform with foreign coins. The Chamber of Commerce of New York first recommended this change, and it has been adopted, I believe, by all the learned societies who have given attention to coinage, and has been recommended to us I believe as the general desire. That is embodied in these three or four sections of amendment, to make our silver coinage correspond in exact form and dimensions, and shape and stamp, with the coinage of the associated nations of Europe, who have adopted an international silver coinage. I do not like myself to break in upon this plan or to change it in the slightest degree, but prefer to leave it to the proper officers of the Mint. Indeed, I would be perfectly willing to leave the whole thing to the officers of the Mint rather than to fix it by law. That was not deemed convenient, and therefore we had to drop the American eagle from these minor silver coins.

Mr. CASSELY. I am not prepared to go as far as that. I would not leave it to anybody to remove from the eyes and the thoughts of the people those symbols of nationality which have stood this country in such good stead in many a hard-fought field by land and sea: and which may have to do the same service in the same way for many generations to come. While we laugh a good deal about the American eagle and the use to which he is put by orators, political and otherwise, on the Fourth of July and other days, we must all feel that the associations that cluster around the American eagle are associations that make him a symbol of power, and I am not at all satisfied, because we desire to put the weight and fineness of the half-dollar and our quarter-dollar that there is necessary to abolish the American eagle. The eagle, it is said, suffers little birds to sing, and the eagle will not object to having his value in the countries of the world put under his wing on the coin; I say retain the eagle and put whatever marks you like upon the face of your coin to indicate its weight and fineness. I do not think it will be of any value in regard to the simple coins of the denomination of half-dollar and quarter-dollar: but if the Senator is strongly of opinion that they ought to be there, let them be there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment of the committee.

Mr. CASSELY. I propose to strike out the words in italics in line nine of section [19] 18, "the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California can accomplish his object by voting against the amendment of the committee inserting those words.

Mr. SHERMAN. I should like to hear the amendment of the committee read.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment, which was in section [19] 18, line 9, to insert, after the words "three-dollar piece," the words "the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar;" and in line 11, after the word "omitted," to insert "and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin;" so that that portion of the section will read:

"On the gold and three-dollar piece, the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, the dime, five, three, and one cent piece the figure of the eagle shall be omitted; and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin."

Mr. CASSELY. I think the question is not understood by the Senate generally. As I understand, to vote for the amendment of the committee is to abolish the American eagle on the silver dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar; and to vote against it is to keep him there. The subsequent amendment, in line 11, to which there is no objection, will allow the mark of weight and fineness to be put upon the coin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from California desire a separate vote on the two branches of the amendment?

Mr. SHERMAN. I suppose the Senator has no objection to the last one.

Mr. CASSELY. None at all to the last one. The only point is that I wish to retain the American eagle on the silver dollar, half-dollar and quarter-dollar. The amendment was rejected; there being on a division—ayes 24, noes 26.

Mr. SHERMAN. As the Senate are so patriotic that they will not abolish the eagle, I hope they will be perfectly willing now to hurry along with the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The other part of the amendment will be considered as agreed to, if there be no objection.

The next amendment was on page 13, section 22 [21], to add at the end of the section the following proviso:

"Provided, That at the option of the owner silver may be cast into coins of standard fineness, and of the weight of four hundred and twenty grains troy, designated in section 15 of this act as the trade-dollar."
The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment was in section [25] 24, line two, to strike out the word "standard" and insert "fineness;" so as to read:

"That the assayer shall report to the superintendent the quality or fineness of the bullion assayed by him, etc."

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was in section [25] 24, lines 5 and 6, to strike out the words "for the cost of converting the bullion into bars;" so as to read:

"Provided, That the assayer shall report to the superintendent the quality or fineness of the bullion assayed by him, and such information as will enable him to compute the amount of the charges hereinafter provided for, to be made to the depositor."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr.Sherman. The next amendment is on page 14, in section [25] 25, line 2, to insert the words "or for converting standard silver into trade-dollars." They should be transposed to line 7 of the same section.

The Presiding Officer. It is suggested by the Clerk that the words ought to be inserted in line 8, after the word "bullion."

Mr. Sherman. At any convenient place, either after the word "bullion" in line 8, or after the word "standard" in line 7.

The Chief Clerk. The amendment of the committee is section [25] 25, line 8, after the word "bullion" to insert the words "or for converting standard silver into trade-dollars;" so that the section will read:

"That the charge for converting standard gold bullion into coin shall be one-fifth of 1 per cent.; and the charges for refining when the bullion is below standard, for toughening when metals are contained in it which render it unfit for coinage, for copper used for alloy when the bullion is above standard, for separating the gold and silver when these metals exist together in the bullion, or for converting standard silver into trade-dollars, and for the preparation of bars, shall be fixed, from time to time, by the Director, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury, so as to equal but not exceed, in their judgment, the actual average cost to each mint and assay office of the material, labor, wastage, and use of machinery employed in each of the cases aforementioned."

Mr. Sherman. The Senate will see that the charge for converting standard silver into trade-dollars, instead of being fixed at one-fifth of 1 per cent., is fixed at the actual cost. It is provided that the price for this work done at the Mint shall be fixed by the Director of the Mint, but not in any case to exceed the actual cost of the operation.

Mr. Casserty. I did not suppose that the amendment to section [26] 23 had been disposed of.

The Presiding Officer. That is the question now pending.

Mr. Casserty. I supposed that the charge there of one-fifth of 1 per cent. for silver coinage was a clerical error.

Mr. Sherman. The words "or for converting standard silver into trade-dollars" were intended to come in after the word "standard" in line 7. The Committee on Finance observing that it was printed at the wrong place corrected it, and I gave the correct place where it should be inserted. It is only to be the actual cost of the operation, whatever that may be.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was on page 16, section [29] 30, line 1, after the word "coins" to insert "other than the trade-dollar;" so that the clause will read:

"That silver coins other than the trade-dollar shall be paid out at the several mints and at the assay office in New York city, in exchange for gold coins at par, etc."

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment was in section [29] 30, line 4, after the word "Pennsylvania," to insert "the Comptroller of the Currency;" so that the clause will read:

"That to secure a due conformity in the gold and silver coins to their respective standards of fineness and weight, the judge of the district court of the United States for the eastern district of Pennsylvania, the Comptroller of the Currency, the assayer of the assay office at New York, etc."
The amendment was agreed to. The next amendment was, on page 27, section [54] 53, line 3, to strike out "metal" and insert "medals."
The amendment was agreed to. The next amendment was, on page 30, section [58] 58, line 5, to strike out "tenth" and insert "second," so as to read: "as prescribed by the act of July 2, 1862."
The amendment was agreed to. The next amendment was, on page 24, section [66] 65, line 2, to strike out "July" and strike out "1872" and insert "1873;" so that the clause will read: "that this act shall take effect on the 1st day of April, 1873," etc.
The amendment was agreed to. The next amendment was, on page 35, section [67] 66, line 2, to strike out "1872" and insert "1873;" so that the clause will read: "that this act shall be known as the coinage act of 1873," etc.
The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. COLE. I offer the following amendment, to come in on page 13, at the end of section [20] 20:

"And the Secretary of the Treasury may issue through the Director of the Mint certificates for gold bullion deposited at any of the mints or assay office at New York, which certificates shall state the value of the bullion less the coinage and other mint charges, and be payable to bearer on presentation at the mint or assay office at which the bullion was deposited, either in bullion or coin, at the option of the superintendent of the mint or assay office, or in such proportion of bullion or coin as the superintendent may prefer: Provided, That if any holder of a certificate demands to be paid in coin a certificate may be issued stating the time when such coin will be ready for delivery."

Mr. NYE. That is a thing that is already provided for by existing law. Each one of our mints has a bullion fund provided from which the depositor gets his pay in coin for the value of the bullion as soon as it is ascertained. There is no delay now or waiting for coinage at the Mint.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senator from California showed me this amendment. As it had never been considered by the committee, I hesitated to give my consent to it, but I could not see any objection to depositing bullion with the Treasury or the mints or assay offices and allow certificates to be issued, and therefore I had no objection to allowing the amendment to be made. If there seems to be any objection to it we can abandon it in a committee of conference, although if there is any doubt about it I think it had better not go on the bill.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. POOL. In section [66] 65, line 7, after the word "Idaho," I move to insert the words "and the United States assay office at Charlotte, North Carolina."
The chairman of the Committee on Finance I believe agrees to accept this amendment. Mr. NYE. That depends upon the fact whether there is a legal assay office in North Carolina. If the Senator says there is, I shall not object; but I have the impression it has been abolished.

Mr. POOL. No, sir; it has not been abolished.

Mr. SHERMAN. If there is still a legal assay office there it ought to be named in this bill.

Mr. POOL. There is no question about its being such.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. NYE. With the consent of the Senate I should like to have the vote reconsidered by which the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. Cole] regarding certificates for gold bullion was adopted.

Mr. COLE. The bill has not yet been reported to the Senate. The Senator can have it reserved.

Mr. NYE. Then I shall reserve it in the Senate. I do not think the Senator himself will insist upon it.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on concurring in the amendments made as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. SHERMAN. The Senator from Nevada wished to reserve the amendment offered by the Senator from California [Mr. Cole].

Mr. NYE. I ask to have that amendment reserved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no objection, the Chair will put the question on concurring in all the amendments together except the one indicated by the Senator from Nevada.

The remaining amendments were concurred in.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on concurring in the amendment proposed by the Senator from California, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment, which was to add to section [21] 20, the following:

"And the Secretary of the Treasury may issue through the Director of the Mint certificates for gold bullion deposited at any of the mints or assay office at New York."

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This concludes the amendments proposed by the Committee on Finance. The bill is open to further amendments.

Mr. COLE.
York, which certificates shall state the value of the bullion less the coinage and other mint charges, and be payable to bearer on presentation at the mint or assay office at which the bullion was deposited, either in bullion or coin, at the option of the superintendent of the mint or assay office, or in such proportions of bullion or coin as the holder may prefer: Provided, That if any holder of a certificate demands to be paid in coin a certificate may be issued stating the time when such coin will be ready for delivery."

Mr. Nye. I do not understand that this amendment is insisted upon. The Senate will perceive at once that it is putting another currency into circulation, and one by which the superintendents of mints would be very likely to be injured and defrauded. I hope, therefore, it will not be adopted. They get their coin whenever they present their bullion now.

Mr. Stewart. There is a bullion fund provided for the purpose.

Mr. Nye. There is a bullion fund for that very purpose.

The amendment was non-concurred in.

Mr. Casserly. I wish to move an amendment to section [26] 25. As it now stands it reads:

"That the charge of converting standard gold bullion into coin shall be one-fifth of 1 per cent."

I move to amend it so that it will read, "that there shall be no charge for converting standard gold bullion into coin."

The question raised by this amendment is not a new one in the Senate, nor indeed is it new in Congress. As I understand it has happened at least once that the Senate adopted the principle of my amendment, and that the House also adopted it; but neither of them adopted it upon the same bill. So that the amendment has the sense of each House of Congress in its favor. The principle of it is obvious.

Mr. Nye. There is a bullion fund for that very purpose.

The amendment was non-concurred in.

Mr. Sherrman. I must confess my regret that the Senator from California should raise this disputed question at this stage of the bill, as I understand that the Senate adopted the principle of my amendment, and that the House also adopted it; but neither of them adopted it upon the same bill. So that the amendment has the sense of each House of Congress in its favor. The principle of it is obvious.

I wish to say but this word in reference to it, that the only ground upon which the coinage charge has ever been supported was that the person depositing bullion for coinage ought to pay the Government for turning his bullion into the current coin of the country. I think it only requires a statement of that proposition to enable any of us to see its falsity.

The person who furnishes the Government with the means to coin money for the necessary uses of its own citizens never should be taxed to pay for that which really is a great advantage to the Government. Why, sir, governments would be forced, if they could not get bullion without charge, to pay for it in order to manufacture their coins. It is contrary to the first principles of government; it seems to me, especially as applicable to this subject, that coinage charge should be continued. It is one which is evil in its results. It keeps up a discrimination which is always against us; and the reason to-day why the American man of business loses, at the rate of two cents and a fraction of a cent upon every pound sterling of exchange, all of which goes to the benefit either of the banker on this side, or the payee of the exchange on the other, rests precisely in the maintenance of this extraordinary charge. But for this charge there would be no such discrimination in the rate of exchange against us.

Mr. Sherrman. There are many other grounds that might be given, but I hope the Senator from Ohio will be willing to concede this amendment at this time, and that what the two Houses have both indorsed may now be embodied in this bill.
the whole people of the United States. Therefore I do not wish to enter into a discussion in regard to this coinage charge that may probably weary the Senate and delay the passage of the bill. I promised that the bill would not take more than an hour and a half to act upon, and when I made that promise I supposed these amendments which have been acted upon would be acted upon sub silentio, and that other questions which had been settled would not be revived.

I therefore will not undertake to answer the argument of the Senator from California except to say that the question is res adjudicata so far as this bill is concerned. If, however, it is to be opened, as the Senator has a right to open it, it will lead to a long debate. I therefore prefer not to say anything on the question except that the coinage charge has not been and ought not to be repealed entirely. We have reduced it now to the lowest rate of any nation in the world except only Great Britain.

Mr. Cassedy. If I have made a mistake as to the fact of the adoption in each House of the principle of this amendment, of course I desire to withdraw what I said.

Mr. Sherman. I do not deny that if the Senator says it is so; but I do not remember it ever passing the Senate.

Mr. Cassedy. I was so informed, and I have the impression that among the gentlemen so informing me was the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. Sherman. I have no recollection of it.

Mr. Cassedy. I understand fully the objection to protracting debate at this late hour of the day, and I was very reluctant to say a word, even so much as was necessary to propose this amendment. I felt it to be my duty, however, to do so. I desire now to say that the continuance of this coinage charge repeal from San Francisco, and of course from this country, almost the entire gold bullion product of Australia. We refine so much more cheaply in San Francisco than they do in London that for this coinage charge the whole gold bullion of Australia would come to San Francisco to be refined.

Mr. Sherman. Oh, no.

Mr. Cassedy. Perhaps the Senator does not understand me. I say the cost of refining in London is so much more than it is in San Francisco that but for this coinage charge the gold bullion product of Australia would come to us. Why? Because what they want in England all the while is silver for their Asiatic exchanges with India and China. We have more silver than we want. Nevada appears to be getting ready to deluge the world with silver. I see that her silver product last year was probably over $20,000,000. Now, sir, there could not be a better basis for exchange, nor a more profitable operation for the American people, than to take the gold bullion of Australia and coin it in San Francisco and diffuse that much more specie through all the arteries of business, getting ready for the resumption of specie payments, of which the Senator spoke so well and so truly the other day, and to give them in return for their bullion this silver which we do not want and which before a great while may be at an absolute discount on our hands. I wish to say that much. I feel very earnest about this matter, because I think I understand the financial and commercial bearing of the great blunder we make in continuing this obsolete coinage tax. Having said so much, I leave the question to the Senate.

The Presiding Officer. The question is on the amendment of the Senator from California.

The amendment was rejected.

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

The bill was read the third time, and passed.—(Congressional Globe, parts 1 and 2, third session, Forty-second Congress, 1872-73, pages 668 to 674.)

The amendments were engrossed and reported to the House of Representatives as follows:

In the Senate of the United States, January 17, 1873.

Resolved, That the bill from the House of Representatives (H. R. 2934) entitled 'An act revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States' do pass with the following amendments:

1. Page 4, line 21, after 'coins' insert or samples of bullion.
2. Page 5, line 20, strike out [wording] and insert working.
3. Page 6, line 4, after 'or' insert assay.
4. Page 9, strike out all after 'weight' in line 14 down to and including line 27.
5. Page 11 strike out Sec. 15.
6. Page 11 strike out Sec. 16 and insert the following:

Sec. 15. That the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half-dollar or fifty-cent piece, a quarter-dollar or twenty-five-cent piece, a dime or ten-cent piece; and the weight of the trade dollar shall be four hundred and twenty grains troy; the weight of the half-dollar shall be twelve grains and one-half of a grain; the quarter-dollar and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-

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fifth of the weight of said half dollar; and said coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment.

7. Page 11 strike out Sec. 17 and insert the following:

SEC. 16. That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece, and the alloy for the five and three cent pieces shall be of copper and nickel, to be composed of three-fourths copper and one-fourth nickel, and the alloy of the one-cent piece shall be ninety-five per centum of copper and five per centum of tin and zinc, in such proportions as shall be determined by the Director of the Mint. The weight of the piece of five cents shall be seventy-seven and sixteen-hundredths grains troy; of the three-cent piece, thirty grains; and of the one-cent piece, forty-eight grains; which coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding twenty-five cents in any one payment.

8. Page 12, line 11, after " omitted" insert: and on the reverse of the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed the weight and the fineness of the coin.

9. Page 13, at the end of line 8, insert the following:

Provided, That at the option of the owner silver may be cast into coins of standard fineness, and of the weight of four hundred and twenty grains troy, designated in section fifteen of this act as the trade dollar.


11. Page 13, line 2, after “depositor,” insert: or for converting standard silver into trade dollars.

12. Page 14, line 27, after "coins" insert: other than the trade dollar.

13. Page 17, line 20, strike out [two-thousandths] and insert: three-thousandths.


15. Page 14, line 6, after “bullion” insert: or for converting standard silver into trade dollars.

16. Page 14, line 27, after "20" insert: other than the trade dollar.

17. Page 17, line 20, strike out [two-thousandths] and insert: three-thousandths.


19. Page 24, line 12, strike out [twentieth] and insert: second.


22. Page 26, line 10, strike out [1872] and insert 1873.

Attest:

GEO. C. GORHAM, Secretary.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 26, 1873.

Resolved, That the House non-concur in the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2934) revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, and ask a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Ordered, That Mr. Samuel Hooper, Mr. Stoughton, and Mr. McNeely be the managers of the conference on the part of the House.

Attest:

EDWARD MCPHERSON, Clerk.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES January 27, 1873.

Resolved, That the Senate insist upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 2934) revising and amending the laws relative to the mints, assay offices, and coinage of the United States, disapproved by the House of Representatives, and agree to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Ordered, That Mr. Sherman, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Bayard be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

Attest:

GEO. C. GORHAM, Secretary.

CONFERENCE REPORT.

IN SENATE.

Thursday, February 6, 1873.

MINT LAWS.

Mr. SHERMAN submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill (H. R. No. 2934) revising and amending the laws relative to the mints and assay offices and coinage of the United States, having met, after full and free
conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20; and agree to the same.

The Senate recede from its fourth amendment, and agree to the words proposed to be stricken out, with the following amendments: after the word "by," in line 15, insert "natural;" in lines 17 and 18 strike out the words "on the double-eagle and eagle, and 1 per cent. on the other coins;" and in line 19, after "law," insert the words "after a circulation of twenty years, as shown by its date of coinage, and at a ratable proportion for any period less than twenty years;" and the House agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the sixth amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with the following amendments: in line 5 strike out the word "grains" at the end of the line, and insert in lieu thereof "grams (grammes;)"); and in line 5 strike out "grain" and insert "gram (gramme;") and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the eighth amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with the following amendments: after "silver" insert "trade;" strike out the words "half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime, respectively, there shall be inscribed," and the word "the" before "fineness;" and after "coin," at the end of the amendment, insert the words "shall be inscribed;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the ninth amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: strike out the words proposed to be inserted, together with the remainder of the section, and in lieu thereof insert the following: "that any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any mint to be formed into bars or into dollars of the weight of four hundred and twenty grains troy, designated in this act as trade-dollars, and no deposit of silver for other coinage shall be received: but silver bullion contained in gold deposits, and separated therefrom, may be paid for in silver coin at such valuation as may be from time to time established by the Director of the Mint;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the twelfth amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with amendments as follows: strike out the words proposed to be inserted and insert after "for;" in line 3, section 26, the words "converting standard silver into trade-dollars, for melting and;" and in line 3, strike out "the;" and the Senate agree to the same.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the nineteenth amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: insert after "New York," in line eight, page 36 of the bill, the words "the United States assayer-office at Charlotte, North Carolina;" and the Senate agree to the same.

JOHN SHERMAN,
JOHN SCOTT,
T. F. BAYARD,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

S. HOOPER,
WM. M. STOUGHTON,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was concurred in.—(Congressional Globe, part 2, third session, Forty-second Congress, 1872-'73, page 1150.)

Mr. President, I have now laid before the Senate all the record information that exists as to the passage of the bill through the Senate which demonetized silver. The use made by the gold monometalists of the fact that I was a member of the Senate at the time this legislation took place has compelled me to do this to exonerate myself. In common with all of the members of the two Houses of Congress who have spoken on the subject, with the exception of the Senator from Ohio, so far as I am informed, I was ignorant of the fact that silver was

DEMONETIZED IN THE ACT CODIFYING THE MINT LAWS.

The Senator from Ohio alone, so far as I am advised, contends that this unfortunate legislation was the result of public discussion, careful consideration, and was in pursuance of the enlightened judgment of Congress.

I now submit to him in all candor two questions: First, did he comprehend the consequences which have resulted from the demonetization of silver? Second, if so, did he desire to produce the results which have followed that demonetization?
The Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] a few days ago interrupted the Senator from Virginia [Mr. DANIEL] in the course of his speech on silver, and the following running debate took place:

Mr. SHERMAN. I know the Senator from Virginia does not wish to mislead upon a fact of that kind; and if I do not interrupt him, for I never choose to interrupt a Senator in the midst of a speech, I remember that in a debate between the late Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Beck, whose death we mourn, he made this same statement, that has been made over and over again in the Senate and House, that the silver dollar was surreptitiously dropped from the coinage. I then got the original files and showed the original letter of April 25, 1870, had it read, and showed every stage of that bill. It was printed at least eight or ten times, circulated widely all over the country, and sent to everybody who was supposed to know anything about the bill, and attention was especially called to the fact that the silver dollar was dropped from the coinage. The bill was debated in both Houses. The fact was brought out here only the other day by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. DOLPH]. The Senator from Kentucky, with the manly generosity that distinguished him, because, although he was very strong in his opinions, he was always willing to be corrected, at once acknowledged his error; and there are Senators here within the hearing of my voice who probably remember the circumstances.

That dollar was never surreptitiously dropped. It may have been foolishly done, but it was done after debate. The circumstances connected with it, the why and the wherefore, were given in both Houses of Congress and stated by the Secretary of the Treasury. I have no objection to any comment being made upon that fact. It may have been very unwise; I will not interrupt the Senator here to debate that; but the fact is that it was known to every member of Congress. It is true General Grant said he did not know the effect of the measure, and many others did not; but no man could have been present here in the Senate Chamber as a member or in the other House of Congress and attended to his duties and not have known it.

Mr. HOAR. How many times was the bill printed?

Mr. SHERMAN. It was printed some eight or ten times, perhaps more than that, from the beginning to the end for three years during two Congresses, from April 25, 1870, to February, 1873, and the fact that that dollar was dropped from that bill was as bold and palpable a fact as any fact of legislation in the history of our country.

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, the Senator from Ohio was entirely right to interrupt me, or at least to make his explanation, and he but does me simple justice in saying that he knows I would be glad to allow any explanation of that kind.

Mr. SHERMAN. I suppose the Senator knew that, out I was greatly surprised when another Senator made the same declaration about the silver dollar being surreptitiously dropped who was present here as a member of the Senate, and I can show over and over again he refers to it here. I knew the Senator did not intend to mislead.

Mr. DANIEL. But, Mr. President, the fact is very little short of the statement made. So far as this movement to demonetize the silver dollar was concerned, it was a matter unknown to Congress and unknown to the people of the United States when it was done. Speaker Blaine did not know it when the act passed. Senator Stewart, of Nevada, representing that great silver community, who was a member of the body, did not know it. The Senator from Texas [Mr. REAGAN], who has always had an eye on silver, did not know it. Mr. SHERMAN. He was not here.

Mr. DANIEL. Was he not then a member of the other House?

Several Senators. No.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator allow me to say that the Senator from Nevada, who also has his eye always upon silver, was here and voted for the bill.

Mr. TELLER. He did not know it.

Mr. STEWART. I did not know it, and I will give the Senator, if he wants it, the entire discussion. It was not stated in the discussion that there was any intention to leave the dollar out. On the contrary, the very last thing that was done was an amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio providing for the inscription on the silver dollar. I will get it in a moment and show it. That was adopted.

Mr. SHERMAN. The trade-dollar.

Mr. STEWART. No, the silver dollar and the trade-dollar both.

Mr. SHERMAN. In the bill as it came to us—I will get the original files again and introduce the same evidence I did here before. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Fifty-first Congress, first session, May 24, 1890, page 5433.)

The Senator from Ohio stated that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] intimated that he had taken back his charge and I will read what the Senator from Kentucky said after the colloquy between him and the Senator from Ohio on the occasion referred to in my remarks in regard to this bill. The Senator from Ohio failed to
satisfy the Senator from Kentucky on the occasion to which he alluded in the foregoing debate with Mr. Daniel. After the colloquy which took place between the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Kentucky, to which the Senator from Ohio alluded in the foregoing quotation, the Senator from Kentucky proceeded as follows:

WHAT SENATOR BECK SAID.

Mr. Beck. What I complain of, and what I think I have proved, is that the House never knew what was in that bill.

I need not waste time in regard to what took place when the House bill reached the Senate. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. Stewart] has shown very fully what took place there. If the Senator from Ohio is content with that statement I am. Mr. Casserly, of California, was in the Senate and other able and distinguished representatives of silver-producing States. Mr. Corbett, of Oregon, and others took part in the debate. Will any sane man believe that they deliberately consented to strike down silver coinage? Mr. Sherman says they all did. I do not believe him. When the House bill was brought up by Mr. Sherman the record shows that he used this language:

"Mr. Sherman. I rise for the purpose of moving that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the Mint bill. I will state that this bill will not probably consume any more time than the time consumed in reading it. It passed the Senate two years ago after full debate. It was taken up again in the House during the present Congress and passed there. It is a matter of vital interest to the Government, and I am informed by officers of the Government it is important it should pass promptly. The amendments reported by the Committee on Finance present the points of difference between the two Houses, and they can go to a committee of conference without having a controversy here in the Senate about them."

Again he said:

"If the Senator will allow me, he will see that the preceding section provides for coin which is exactly interchangeable with the English shilling and the five-franc piece of France; that is, a five-franc piece of France will be the exact equivalent of a dollar of the United States in our silver coinage."

That was stricken out, and there was no such thing left in the bill. "And in order to show this wherever our silver coin shall float—and we are providing that it shall float all over the world—we propose to stamp upon it, instead of our eagle, which foreigners may not understand, and which they may not distinguish from a buzzard or some other bird, the intrinsic fineness and weight of the coin. In this practical, utilitarian age of the officers of the Mint seemed to think it would be better to do that than to put our eagle on our silver coins. I must confess I do not think it is very important, but I think the Senator ought to be willing to defer in these matters to the practical knowledge of the officers who have charge of this branch of the Government service. I will say that Mr. Lindsey, whom the Senator must know, has suggested this as being a convenient mode of promoting international coinage."

Did not every word of that indicate the continuance of silver coinage with full legal tender qualitv as it had always had?

International coinage in a trade-dollar, with a legal-tender quality of only $5, and even that poor quality was stricken out in 1873, so as to make it simply merchandise. That was the coin the Senator from Ohio said was to float, and they were providing it shoddy all over the world, wherever our silver floated, and that it should be international coinage equivalent to the coins of other nations. Little wonder the Senator from Nevada said to him: "Whatever may be your construction of the meaning now, the words used then induced me to vote with you, because you made me believe that you were sending out a bona fide silver dollar as good as any in the world." The Senate so believed. The debate showed that Mr. Casserly announced that Nevada alone was then producing $20,000,000 of silver, and the question was, as to whether silver-owners should pay the coinage charge of half a quarter, or one-eighth per cent.; nothing was suggested anywhere that the silver dollar was to be stricken down. The Senator from Ohio was as silent as the grave on that subject.

But that was all. To show that whenever things are not done as they ought to be the track can be followed, and it will be in the same direction, the Revised Statutes were adopted shortly afterwards. When it is said that we had coined no silver dollars, practically, up to that time, that is not the fact. We had coined in the month of January, 1873, and in the first twelve days of February, 1873, nearly two million standard silver dollars of 412½ grains, nearly one-fourth of all the silver ever coined. By the way, if Senators will turn to Mr. Lindsey's work on Money and Legal Tender, which you will find in the Library, you will see that we never had coined a gold dollar from the foundation of the Government until long after the discovery of gold in California, and that we had up to 1848 about as much silver we had gold coin of all sorts. At the time we fought the war of 1812 and the war with Mexico, and acquired Louisianas, we...
were upon a silver basis, if that is worth suggesting. All our acquisitions were obtained with silver coin, the Mexican dollar being the legal tender, as well as other foreign coins, most of the time. The table furnished by Dr. Linderman shows it all, and the fact is proved by his tables that we had coined nearly two million standard dollars in less than six weeks before this act of 1873 was passed.

I think I can guess the reason why the bankers of Europe were pushing the act of 1873. The Rothschilds, who held our bonds, and the great bankers of the Rhine, at Frankfort and elsewhere, were, of course, all anxious for it to pass. Mr. Hooper and the other bankers knew why. How much the Senator from Ohio was allowed to know I can not state; but Dr. Linderman showed in November, 1872, that silver was falling, and falling rapidly. It had fallen from 3 per cent. premium down to par with gold when the act was passed, demonetizing it, and that it was sure to fall still more rapidly. All their bonds were payable in it while it was being stricken down in their countries. Dr. Linderman tells the whole story in a report made the fall of 1872, after the bill had passed the House. He takes credit for the trade-dollar as having been first suggested in his report. He says we discovered very soon after the bill passed the House—as early as September or October, 1872—that Germany was going to sell her silver. The House had passed the bill, recollect, in May, 1872; it came to the Senate practically in December.

Dr. Linderman in his book states what he said in the fall of 1872:

"The amount of silver bullion annually produced from the mines of the United States has increased during the last three years, and now amounts to about $20,000,000 per annum, exclusive of the gold it contains; and a further increase in this product being quite certain, the future value of silver as compared with gold is a matter of national importance.

"The fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver during the last hundred years have not been very great, but several causes are now at work, all tending to an excess of supply over demand for silver, and its consequent depreciation. Among these causes may be stated the large increase in its demonetization by the German Empire, and continued disease in this country, except to a limited extent, as a part of the circulating medium.

"It has also been demonetized by Japan, while in some other countries silver coin has been wholly or partially expelled from circulation by paper money, the effect of which will be to bring to market as bullion large amounts hitherto used as coin. The amount of silver coin in the German Empire at the date of the enactment of the recent coinage law (December, 1871), which changed the standard from silver to gold, is estimated by competent authority at $350,000,000, being equal to five years' total production of the globe.

"Even if silver should be adopted by Germany for subsidiary coinage, not more than $50,000,000 will be required for that purpose, which will leave $300,000,000, or about 8,000 tons, to be disposed of as bullion. A market for this immense supply of silver can only be found in such of the European states as maintain the single standard of silver or the double standard of gold and silver and in China and the Indies.

"The facts above stated indicate the gradual but eventually certain adoption of the gold standard and consequent demonetization of silver by all commercial countries. Not only is the tendency to adopt gold as the sole standard and measure of value, but to use paper money redeemable in gold as the bulk of the circulating medium."

Then he proceeds to show that gold would necessarily appreciate, which he said meant the same thing as depreciation of property by reason of silver being stricken down. I may refer to his table giving the amount of silver and gold we had then coined, and in the relation they bore to each other in 1870. Now in that period that silver was demonetized because it was either not a coin that the people wanted or because it was more valuable than gold is not true. It was stricken down because the great gold brokers, foreign and domestic, saw that gold was becoming more and more valuable every day, and silver would necessarily fall because of the action of Germany. The production of gold had fallen off in this country, from $66,000,000 in 1856 to $33,000,000 in 1873. Silver production had gone up from less than $14,000,000 four years before to thirty-odd million dollars in 1873. That was the real cause of its being stricken down in the interest of the bondholders and the bankers and the usurers of Europe and America.—(Congressional Record, volume 19, part 8, 50th Congress, 1st session, pages 2001-2002.)

I have gathered quotations from members of Congress and from the President, showing their utter ignorance on the bill; these I will also print. I will not take time to read them, but they are from quite a number of members, and from these quotations it will appear what each has said about it, so far as I have been able to determine, and from the evidence of these men who participated they were all in the same boat with me, I believe, and no one has come out and said that he understood it.
CERTAIN IT WAS NOT READ AT THE DESK.

It cannot be supposed that Senators here should understand what is contained in every bill, especially when its contents are not stated. Certainly if this change had been discussed it is so important that it would have occurred to somebody to ask to have it read at the desk, or something would have been said about it if it was going to be deliberately considered.

SOME OF THOSE WHO KNEW NOT.

The persons from whom I make quotations who were oblivious of this subject are:

Senator Bogy, Senator Conkling, Senator Allison, Senator Blaine, Senator Voorhees, Senator Beck, Senator Hereford, Senator Howe, Mr. Holman, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Kelley, Mr. Burchard, General Garfield, and General Grant.

These are some of the persons who were ignorant of what occurred, as will be shown by the extracts when they are printed in my remarks.

I will now submit what these Senators and Members of Congress have from time to time, in debate, said with regard to the passage of the act demonetizing silver:

A CONSENSUS OF DENIALS.

Mr. Holman, in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives July 13, 1876, said:

I have before me the record of the proceedings of this House on the passage of that measure, a record which no man can read without being convinced that the measure and the method of its passage through this House was a "colossal swindle." I assert that the measure never had the sanction of this House, and it does not possess the moral force of law. (Congressional Record, volume 4, part 6, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, appendix, page 193.)

Again on August 5, 1876, he said:

The original bill was simply a bill to organize a bureau of mines and coinage. The bill which finally passed the House and which ultimately became a law was certainly not read in this House.

It was never considered before the House as it was passed. Up to the time this bill came before this House for final passage the measure had simply been one to establish a bureau of mines; I believe I use the term correctly now. It came from the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. The substitute which finally became a law was never read, and is subject to the charge made against it by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Bland], that it was passed by the House without a knowledge of its provisions, especially upon that of coinage.

I myself asked the question of Mr. Hooper, who stood near where I am now standing, whether it changed the law in regard to coinage. And the answer of Mr. Hooper certainly left the impression upon the whole House that the subject of the coinage was not affected by that bill.—(Congressional Record, volume 4, part 6, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, page 5237.)

Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, in a speech made in the House on July 13, 1876, said:

This legislation was had in the Forty-second Congress, February 12, 1873, by a bill to regulate the mints of the United States, and practically abolished silver as money by failing to provide for the coinage of the silver dollar. It was not discussed, as shown by the Record, and neither members of Congress nor the people understood the scope of the legislation. (Ibid, appendix, page 197.)

Senator Bogy, of Missouri, uttered the following words in a speech made in the Senate June 27, 1876:

Why the act of 1873, which forbids the coinage of the silver dollar, was passed, no one at this day can give a good reason.—(Congressional Record, volume 4, part 5, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, page 4175.)

Mr. Burchard, of Illinois, in a speech made in the House of Representatives on July 13, 1876, said:

The coinage act of 1873, unaccompanied by any written report upon the subject from any committee, and unknown to the members of Congress, who without opposition allowed it to pass under the belief, if not assurance, that it made no alteration...
ation in the value of the current coins, changed the unit of value from silver to gold.—Ibid., page 4560.

Senator Conkling, in the Senate on March 30, 1876, during the remarks of Senator Bogy on the bill (S. 263) to amend the laws relating to legal tender of silver coin, in surprise, inquired:

Will the Senator allow me to ask him or some other Senator a question? Is it true that there is now by law no American dollar? And, if so, is it true that the effect of this bill is to be to make half-dollars and quarter-dollars the only silver coin which can be used as a legal tender?—(Congressional Record, volume 4, part 3, Forty-fourth Congress, first session, page 2082.)

General Garfield, in a speech made at Springfield, Ohio, during the fall of 1877, said:

Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so, but it is the truth to say that, at that time being chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and having my hands everfull during all that time with work, I never read the bill. I took it upon the faith of a prominent Democrat and a prominent Republican, and I do not know that I voted at all. There was no call of the yeas and nays, and nobody opposed that bill that I know of. It was put through as dozens of bills are, as my friend and I know, in Congress, on the faith of the report of the chairman of the committee; therefore I tell you, because it is the truth, that I have no knowledge about it.—(Congressional Record, volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 988.)

Senator Allison, on February 15, 1878, when the bill (H. R. 1093) to authorize the free coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character was under consideration, observed:

But when the secret history of this bill of 1873 comes to be told, it will disclose the fact that the House of Representatives intended to coin both gold and silver, and intended to place both metals upon the French relation instead of on our own, which was the true scientific position with reference to this subject in 1873, but that the bill afterward was doctored, I may use that term, and I use it in no offensive sense of course—

Mr. Sargent interrupted him and asked him what he meant by the word "doctored."

Mr. Allison said:

I said I used the word in no offensive sense. It was changed after discussion, and the dollar of 420 grains was substituted for it.—(Congressional Record, volume 7, part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 1058.)

On February 15, 1878, during the consideration of the bill above referred to, the following colloquy between Senator Blaine and Senator Voorhees took place:

Mr. Voorhees. I want to ask my friend from Maine, whom I am glad to designate in that way, whether I may call him as one more witness to the fact that it was not generally known whether silver was demonetized. Did he know, as Speaker of the House, presiding at that time, that the silver dollar was demonetized in the bill to which he alludes?

Mr. Blaine. I did not know anything that was in the bill at all. As I have before said, little was known or cared on the subject. [Laughter.] And now I would like to exchange questions with the Senator from Indiana, who was then on the floor and whose business it was, far more than mine, to know, because by the designation of the House I was to put questions; the Senator from Indiana, then on the floor of the House, with his power as a debater, was to unfold them to the House. Did he know?

Mr. Voorhees. I very frankly say that I did not.

(Ibid., page 1063.)

Senator Beck, in a speech made in the Senate January 10, 1878, said:

It (the bill demonetizing silver) never was understood by either House of Congress. I say that with full knowledge of the facts. No newspaper reporter—and they are the most vigilant men I ever saw in obtaining information—discovered that it had been done.—(Congressional Record volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 260.)

Senator Hereford, in the Senate, on February 13, 1878, in discussing the demonetization of silver, said:

So that I say that beyond the possibility of a doubt (and there is no disputing it) that bill which demonetized silver, as it passed, never was read, never was dis-
cussed, and that the chairman of the committee who reported it, who offered the substitute, said to Mr. Holman, when inquired of, that it did not affect the coinage in any way whatever.—Ibid., page 929.

Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, who had charge of the bill, in a speech made in the House of Representatives on March 9, 1878, said:

In connection with the charge that I advocated the bill which demonetized the standard silver dollar, I say that, though the chairman of the Committee on Coinage, I was as ignorant of the fact that it would demonetize the silver dollar or of its dropping the silver dollar from our system of coins as were those distinguished Senators Meers, Blaine and Voorhees, who were then members of the House, and each of whom a few days since interrogated the other: "Did you know it was dropped when the bill passed?" "No," said Mr. Blaine; "did you?" "No," said Mr. Voorhees. I do not think that there were three members in the House that knew it. I doubt whether Mr. Hooper, who, in my absence from the Committee on Coinage and attendance on the Committee of Ways and Means, managed the bill, knew it. I say this in justice to him.—(Congressional Record, volume 7, part 2, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 1065.)

Again on May 10, 1879, Mr. Kelley said:

All I can say is that the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, who reported the original bill, were faithful and able, and scanned its provisions closely; that as their organ I reported it; that it contained provision for both the standard silver dollar and the trade-dollar. Never having heard until a long time after its enactment into law of the substitution in the Senate of the section which dropped the standard dollar, I profess to know nothing of its history; but I am prepared to say that in all the legislation of this country there is no mystery equal to the demonetization of the standard silver dollar of the United States. I have never found a man who could tell just how it came about or why.—(Congressional Record, volume 9, part 1, Forty-sixth Congress, first session, page 1231.)

Senator Howe, in a speech delivered in the Senate on February 5, 1878, said:

Mr. President, I do not regard the demonetization of silver as an attempt to wrench from the people more than they agreed to pay. That is not the crime of which I accuse the act of 1873. I charge it with guilt compared with which the robbery of two hundred millions is venial.—(Congressional Record, volume 7, part 1, Forty-fifth Congress, second session, page 764.)

President Grant was also ignorant of the demonetization of silver. Eight months after the passage of the bill he wrote a letter to Mr. Cowdrey, from which the following extract is taken:

The panic has brought greenbacks about to a par with silver. I wonder that silver is not already coming into the market to supply the deficiency in the circulating medium. When it does come, I predict that it will soon, we will have made a rapid stride towards specie payments. Currency will never go below silver after that. The circulation of silver will have other beneficial effects. Experience has proved that it takes about forty millions of fractional currency to make small change necessary for the transaction of the business of the country. Silver will gradually take the place of this currency and, further, will become the standard of values which will be hoarded in a small way. I estimate that this will consume from two to three hundred millions, in time, of this species of our circulating medium. It will leave the paper currency free to perform the legitimate functions of trade and will tend to bring us back where we must come at last, to a specie basis. I confess to a desire to see a limited hoarding of money. It insures a firm foundation in time of need. But I want to see the hoarding of something that has a standard of value the world over. Silver has this, and if we once get back to that our strides toward a higher appreciation of our currency will be rapid. Our mines are now producing almost unlimited amounts of silver, and it is becoming a question, "What shall we do with it?" I suggest here a solution that will answer for some years, and suggest to you bankers whether you may not imitate it: To put it in circulation now; keep it there until it is fixed, and then we will find other markets.—(McPherson's Hand-Book of Politics for 1874, pages 134 and 135.)

On January 14, 1875, the same date that he signed the resumption act, President Grant sent a special message to Congress advising the establishment of two or more mints at Chicago, St. Louis, and Omaha to coin silver dollars to provide for resumption, when by law, signed by himself, it was provided

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THAT NO MORE SILVER DOLLARS SHOULD BE COINED.

I submit that it is unfair for the Senator from Ohio, in view of the facts which I have presented, to claim that the question of demonetizing silver was discussed and understood, and that Senators who were present and voted for the bill knew that the silver dollar was omitted.

HE UNDOUBTEDLY KNEW WHAT THE BILL CONTAINED, because it was in harmony with the views which he had entertained and often expressed. It is quite probable that he did not realize the consequences of the great change in the standard money of the world which the law he framed would produce, and that he was mistaken in the consequences which would follow the demonetization of silver. If the law was a mistake he should in all fairness have been the first one to rectify that mistake and aid in the restoration of the money of the Constitution. Has he done so? On the contrary, he has during all the years that have passed since 1873 persisted in his advocacy of the single gold standard, and he is not now willing to restore silver to the place it occupied before it was demonetized in the manner I have described. If the Senator from Ohio to-day would advocate the unlimited coinage of silver, a law for that purpose would speedily be placed upon the statute-book. He is the author of the demonetization of silver and the great leader in the advocacy of the gold standard. If he should change his views the battle would be won and the money of the Constitution restored.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, I have but a very few words to say in conclusion. The dollar that the Senator from Nevada is talking about—and he seems to have gotten into a mare's nest about it—is the subsidiary dollar that was put on in the House containing 385 grains, 26 grains less than the old silver dollar. It was the French five-franc piece. Perhaps the Senator is not aware, and I will now tell him so that he can not be mistaken, that he is in error in supposing that the French silver coinage is upon the basis of 15½ to 1. That is a mistake. The French people, like all the people of Europe, have adopted silver as a subsidiary coin. It is true they maintain a standard of 15½ to 1, but when they coin it at all they coin upon that standard, and the French silver to-day is like other coins, it is a subsidiary coin, but they found they would not have any silver during the time when gold was at a premium.

Another thing; in all the remarks that have been made, I call attention to the fact that the dollar in the bill as it came from the House of Representatives here, about which the discussion arose, was the French dollar, a dollar of 385 grains. That was stricken out by the action of the Senate. That was not the 412½-grain dollar at all. The dollar that was stricken out was the dollar of 385 grains which was legal tender for only $1.

Mr. STEWART. All right; let me go on.

Mr. SHERMAN. I thought the Senator was through.

Mr. STEWART. No; I beg your pardon; I am not. The Senator is right in saying that as it came from the House the silver dollar was equivalent to the five-franc piece. He says that was only a subsidiary coin. He is mistaken about that. That was an international coin at the time of the international convention, and it was circulating as the standard at that time. It was the unit of value in all of THE ASSOCIATED NATIONS OF EUROPE and it was regarded as better than gold. They had not given up the idea of demonetizing gold then, and our silver dollar was at a premium of 3 per cent., and it was stated by the Senator that this dol-
lar was going to circulate all over the world, this five-franc-piece dollar. It was the five-franc-piece dollar that his argument referred to, for that was still in the bill and did not go out of the bill until the engrossment, when it gave place to the provisions that demonetized silver. It went out of the bill

OUTSIDE OF THE SENATE

to give place to the trade-dollar of 420 grains; but I say the section in the law which demonetized silver was never read in either House of Congress.

With what grace men get up here and charge me with dereliction of duty in not protesting, when it was never read or discussed or brought to the attention of Congress other than by number 6 in the report of the conference committee is amazing to me! Perhaps we ought to understand all the amendments which are reported, but we do not all the time do our duty in that respect.

There are a great many bills passing every day that other people have charge of where we do not know of the amendments which are reported. It is only those that are acted upon and discussed, and the important measures that are brought before the Senate and discussed, that we know about. But the responsibility of demonetizing silver without calling the attention of the Senate to the fact rests upon the then chairman of the Committee on Finance. If it had been discussed it would have been in the Globe. These discussions about outside matters amount to nothing, but here is a crowd of witnesses who were present and all come forward and say they did not know it. The House did not know it. They did not know what amendment No. 6 meant; the Senate did not know what No. 6 meant when it was read.

SILVER WAS DEMONETIZED IN THE CONFERENCE REPORT

by amendment No. 6; it was never read in either House!

CONFUSING THE ISSUE.

The Senator from Ohio, in discussing this question, constantly dwells upon the value of gold and the value of silver, as if it had inherent value which could not be affected. How was the value of silver put down? It remained at par with gold for nearly a century. It did not vary one-half of 1 per cent. for more than a century until silver was rejected as money, and the Old World admits that fact now and the Royal Commission admitted that fact. It was put down because of the want of demand, because it could not be coined. It is the demand that puts up the price. Value consists of two things: limitation of quantity and the desire of man as manifested by demand.

Now, he pretends to say that if we would demand all the silver by free coinage that would not put up the price, and he tells us that there would be a gap of from 20 to 30 per cent. between silver and gold. The gap was made by rejecting silver. Silver has little value without the demand as money. It would be very poor security but for its money value, and if we demand it for money we make a demand for six or eight hundred millions, and we take it all. If we make a demand for $300,000,000 we take it all, and I believe a demand for $200,000,000, or much less, would put it to par. It takes but a slight demand, because there is more coin, as shown by the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade, by 18 per cent. than has been produced, and has been for many years; and we can only account for it by the recoinage of old coins. There is no surplus production of silver. The want of coinage demand in Europe and the United States has depressed its value, nothing else. Before the
United States could be supplied enough would be absorbed to raise silver to par.

And why should there be a departure from established custom? Why should the sacred usages of the people for centuries be assailed? Why should not the coin of the Constitution be restored, when it was rejected without even the reading of a fatal amendment? It was rejected, I say, without reading the amendment. If it be restored, will there be too much money if we have both gold and silver? Why was it rejected at all? I deny that it was done by discussion.

Nobody understood it.

I do not believe the Senator from Ohio understood its far-reaching and its terrible effects. I do not believe he did, and if he had come out and said it was by mistake, and he had not fully understood its effects, nobody would have blamed him, because at that time the question of coinage was not being discussed. We were under coin suspension, very little money was being coined, and it was very easy for a mistake to be made by the Senator from Ohio or anybody. But, having been made, the people having lost their money of the Constitution through a mistake, to which nobody's attention was called, what I say is that those engaged in that should rectify it, and should not have kept the country in these seventeen years of depression. They should not have robbed the country of its money all this time.

Talk about the value of gold remaining stationary!

What has put up the value of gold?
The purchase of it by our people with their produce, the sacrifice of their property. The farmers and producers of this country have been compelled to sell their property at a discount of from 30 to 40 per cent. to buy gold to pay debts because the Government of the United States would not allow them to be paid in the money of the Constitution, because by an amendment that was never read silver was demonetized, and they could not pay in silver as well as gold, and so they were compelled then to get money at all hazards; and they have done it nobly, but they have done it at the expense of the prosperity of the country.

Mr. SHERMAN. I should like to see the original bill of 1873, which the Senator has, in order that I may reply to him.

Mr. STEWART. I was pretty nearly through with that subject. Perhaps I had better let the Senator make his statement here.

The President pro tempore. Both Senators are inaudible at the desk.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have lost my voice and therefore I am excusable, but the Senator from Nevada has not lost his voice and is not excusable.

The Senator from Nevada certainly does not want to misstate or mislead, and his statements are now misleading except to a person who would examine the papers and know and see the exact facts. He will see that he is mistaken. The amendment referred to by him is No. 6. I will read it and then show you that that very amendment was adopted, but probably the Reporter, in the confusion there may have been, dropped it out.

Mr. President, here is the bill of the House with Senate amendments, the same that went to a conference, the last, final papers [exhibiting]. Here is section 16 of the House bill changed to 15, and now I will read it:

Sec. [16] 15. [That the silver coins of the United States shall be a dollar, a half-dollar, and a dime or ten-cent piece; and the weight of the dollar shall be 384 grains; the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half, one-
The amendment proposed by the Senate, printed in italics, provides—

That the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade-dollar, a half-dollar or fifty-cent piece, a quarter-dollar or twenty-five-cent piece; and the weight of the trade-dollar shall be 420 grains troy; the weight of the half-dollar shall be twelve grams and one-half of a gram; the quarter-dollar and the dime shall be, respectively, one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half dollar; and such coins shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding $5 in any one payment.

The amendment proposed by the Committee on Finance being to strike out the words in the House bill between brackets [ ] and insert those printed in italics.

Here, then, is the House proposition, with the Senate committee's amendment, as reported from the Committee on Finance, printed in italics, which must have been open before every Senator and could not be mistaken. On the margin of this Senate amendment, in the handwriting of the Clerk, is plainly written "Agreed to." Not only this, but I will show that another amendment was made to this Senate amendment.

The difference between the two was in respect to the dollar. The House proposed the subsidiary dollar of 385 grains. The Senate Finance Committee, at the request of the people of California, proposed the trade-dollar of 420 grains, and the Senate agreed to that. Here is the official record, kept by Mr. McDonald, whom we all remember with great pleasure. Here it is in his own handwriting, but the Senator says it is not in the Globe. Suppose it is not. It was probably dropped out there by the Reporter. Is there any other evidence of this? The highest evidence is this very paper. It is the bill under consideration before the Senate. Others just like it had been printed for the benefit of all, and here it is marked "Agreed to."

Now, to show that it was agreed to, as appears by the Globe, there was an amendment to the Senate amendment numbered 6, which I offered, and I called attention to the fact that that amendment had not been adopted, had not been acted upon as an amendment to the amendment numbered 6, and here is the conversation called to my attention by the officers of the Senate; and here I show, on the same page of the Globe that the Senator read from, and he would have found if he had gone a step further. I said:

Mr. Sherman. There is an omission in the matter proposed to be inserted by the committee. I move to insert in line 11, after the words "twenty-five-cent piece," the words "and a dime or ten-cent piece."

Here the words are inserted in the copy kept by Mr. McDonald in his handwriting, agreed to on my motion; and this is the amendment which the Senator says was never read. It must have been read because here it is amended by an amendment and that amendment went to the committee of conference. If the Senator will not believe upon an exhibition of this kind, then I do not know what will convince him.

Then it must be remembered that that amendment was again amended by the conference committee, and here the report is signed by all of them, Messrs. Hooper, Stoughton, and McNeely, of the House; Sherman, Scott, and Bayard, of the Senate. Here is an amendment to that sixth amendment which was itself acted upon in conference, and this amendment which passed the Senate as an amend-
ment to the House bill was acted upon in the committee of conference and amended, and here it is:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the sixth amendment of the Senate—

Mr. TELLER. That is the one.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes—

and agree to the same with the following amendments: In line 5 strike out the word “grains,” at the end of the line, and insert in lieu thereof “grams (grammes);” and in line 6 strike out “grain,” and insert “gram (gramme),” and the Senate agree to the same.

Here it is “gramme.” So not only must this amendment have been read here, but it was amended in the Senate. It was printed in italics, laid before the Senator himself, and sent to the committee of conference, and there again amended.

Mr. TELLER. What amendment is that?

Mr. SHERMAN. The sixth amendment amended in conference by inserting the word “grammes” instead of “grains.” It was originally “grains” and they inserted here “grammes,” and the word “grammes” was properly inserted in the amendment.

Mr. TELLER. What I wanted to call the attention of the Senator to is whether that is the amendment which dropped out the silver dollar.

Mr. SHERMAN. This was the amendment that dropped out the silver dollar. The silver dollar was dropped out by both Houses. The silver dollar was never proposed by mortal man in either House at that time.

Mr. TELLER. Not the silver dollar, but a silver dollar.

Mr. SHERMAN. A silver dollar. That subsidiary French dollar was proposed by the House and sent to the Senate, and we substituted the trade dollar, and no mortal man in either House during those three years of controversy ever thought of or ever proposed the old silver dollar. It was conjured up afterward for the purpose of misleading, and I say, sir, that there it is, and the man who does not believe that testimony of men now dead would not believe anything.

Mr. STEWART. If any man will read this record and find that section mentioned-----

Mr. SHERMAN. I have done it. Here it is. I showed it to the Senator.

Mr. STEWART. That was when there was another amendment under consideration.

Mr. SHERMAN. This amendment is amended, inserted in writing.

Mr. STEWART. Then there was no action upon the sixth amendment at all. It was when the other amendment was under consideration. Anybody can study it for himself.

Mr. SHERMAN. I have not examined the record critically, but the Senator says that the Reporters of the Globe failed to record the adoption of the sixth amendment. I say that here is the sixth amendment printed in italics in the bill before him, marked “agreed to” by Mr. McDonald, and not only “agreed to,” but amended, and the amendment is shown in the very paper the Senator read from.

Mr. STEWART. Then the next amendment considered was in section 17. I can read this right along.

Mr. SHERMAN. Show me the place where you say it was omitted and not read.

Mr. STEWART. Here is section 15; that is the section that was struck out. Here is the discussion in regard to it [exhibiting]. Then here is the next amendment marked “amendment agreed to.” The
next amendment was to strike out section 17 (16 in the amended bill) "in the following words:"

SEC. [17] 16. That the minor coins of the United States shall be a five-cent piece, a three-cent piece, and a one-cent piece—

And so on.

And to insert in lieu thereof the following.

Then Mr. SHERMAN said:

Mr. SHERMAN. There is an omission in the matter proposed to be inserted by the committee. I move to insert in line 11, after the words "twenty-five-cent piece," the words "and a dime or ten-cent piece."

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

That was when the next amendment was under consideration——

Mr. SHERMAN. Now, Mr. President, if the Senator has completed that statement, I say the amendment referred to by "Mr. SHERMAN" here is this identical amendment which the Senator says was never read or adopted, and here it is in the handwriting of Mr. McDonald.

Mr. STEWART. Let anybody take it and study it.

Mr. SHERMAN. I do not want any doubt about it. I say that any one who can not under these circumstances see this must be willfully blind. I say that I myself called attention to the fact that a certain amendment to the amendment proposed by the committee had not been agreed to, and the amendment was read, and here it is written, "a dime or ten-cent piece," the very amendment which the Senator says was not read.

Mr. STEWART. I do say it was not read.

Mr. SHERMAN. Here it was all the time before the Senator, and how could it be otherwise than read?

Mr. STEWART. Will you find where it was read?

Mr. SHERMAN. Because the Reporter does not happen in the hurry of business to catch every amendment in the precise order in which it was presented, the Senator would therefore convict some one of some grave wrong. There is no justice in it; and I was going to say worse than that.

Mr. STEWART. It was not only not read, but the subsequent discussion shows that the omission of the old dollar was not there.

Mr. SHERMAN. No dollar was there.

Mr. STEWART. The subsequent discussion shows that it had not been adopted, because you describe in your reply to Mr. Casserly that it was equivalent to the five-franc piece, and if the amendment had been adopted there would not have been any five-franc piece there at all, any more than the dollar of 4124 grains.

Mr. SHERMAN. The dollar of 4124 grains was never in any bill whatever during the whole discussion. It was lost to sight. The dollar in that bill was the French dollar.

Mr. STEWART. Certainly it was, but you stated that it was in there, and you called attention to it; whereas, if the amendment had been adopted there would not have been any French dollar there, but the trade-dollar, and consequently your argument shows that it was not acted upon.

Mr. SHERMAN. The French dollar was in the House bill, not in the Senate proposition. The Senate proposition was the trade-dollar. Can not the Senator understand that?

Mr. STEWART. Can not the Senator understand this, that after the bill was passed and there was a discussion as to the inscription on the coin he stated that the reason for it was because he wanted the weight and the fineness stamped upon it, and that that was equivalent to the five-franc piece? That was the reason he assigned. If the amendment had been adopted, as he says it was, he could not
have assigned that reason, because there would have been no five-franc piece there. Can you understand that?

Mr. SHERMAN. I can understand that perfectly. We were talking about these coins and devices, and I spoke of the half-dollar and the quarter-dollar, and all of them. It is perfectly clear the two propositions were there, and the only difference between them was not the old dollar, but whether the French dollar of 384 grains or the trade-dollar of 420 grains should be inserted; and the question was put, and it could not be otherwise. It would not be possible in the nature of things for an amendment of that kind to be overlooked, and it was not overlooked, and you will find that the amendment was amended in the way I proposed, and in the very words which it appears by the Globe are in the amendment which I offered. It appears from the Globe, and is recorded in this paper in the record in the handwriting of Mr. McDonald.

Mr. STEWART. There will be no trouble about this hereafter, because before we conclude this matter I will put all these papers in their order in the Record, so that anybody who has curiosity about the subject can study it. I repeat again, he will find that the section which demonetized silver

WAS NEVER READ IN EITHER HOUSE,

and any one who examines it will find it was never read in either House.

Mr. SHERMAN. It was never mentioned or spoken of.

Mr. STEWART. Then I shall be exonerated for having been here and having voted for this bill, and my excuse will be taken. If the provision was read in my hearing and I did not object to it I might stand convicted, but I have shown that it was not read, and I repeat again, the record will be before the world now because I have put it in methodical order. If the record is before the world now, the wrong will be undone at this late day.

WE ASK FOR THE RESTORATION OF SILVER,

and we are told that we are disturbing the finances of the country, the settled policy of the world. A “settled policy,” established as this was, ought to be disturbed. It ought not to stand. It has no place upon the statute-book. I have brought a crowd of witnesses who have proved that they did not know what it was.

I do not stand alone. I stand with Presidents and ex-Presidents, THE LIVING AND THE DEAD,

who have borne the testimony which I print in my remarks that they did not know of this transaction. Suppose it had been known that we were to change the standard, there would have been a lively discussion about it in the Senate. Do you suppose we should have been discussing immaterial things if a great question of that kind were pending? Was it proper for the chairman of the Committee on Finance to fail in calling the attention of the Senate to what was being done? If he was proposing to fairly make this great change,
which he perfectly understood and which had been recommended, it would have been the first thing that he would have called to the attention of the Senate for discussion. That is usual. That is done every day.

If it was done accidentally and nobody knew about it and the Senator was mistaken as to its consequences, then nobody would ever blame him, because, as I said before, we were in suspension at that time,

NOT USING GOLD OR SILVER,

and a mistake of that kind might very well happen. We knew very little about finance at that time. As the Englishmen used to say laughingly, “We were blundering along in the dark, using paper money,” and a mistake at that time might naturally occur. But when a mistake so fundamental as that occurred it should be corrected at the first demand that the money of the Constitution be restored,

THAT CONTRACTION STOP;

and when we remonetize silver I predict we shall put it at par, for remonetization will create a demand for it. There is no excess of supply. The only fear is that we shall not get enough of it. The world has not enough of gold and silver, as is evidenced by the fact that to-day more than one-third of the money of the world is paper, and as long as we have more than one-third paper to do the business of the world it can not be said that

THERE IS DANGER OF TOO MUCH GOLD AND SILVER.

There is, in round numbers, $3,900,000,000 of paper, about $3,700,- 000,000 of gold, and about $3,800,000,000 of silver, according to the report made up for me in the Treasury Department, and as long as you have more than one-third of the world's money in paper is there any danger of there being too much gold and silver? No, the world never did have too much gold and silver in any age, and it never had any prosperity in any age when the mines were not productive. We have gone through depression time and again. Our race is only in danger of barbarism from the failure of the mines. The productive mines in the different epochs stand out as mile-posts showing when the people prosper. Show me when the people of any country advanced in civilization, and I will show you that at that time they were securing large supplies of the precious metals, gold and silver. Show me when they were in decay and poverty, and I will show you that the mines failed every time in all the history of the world. In the first part of this century, after the wars in Mexico, South America, and Spain, we had hard times up to 1850, when the great boom came by the discovery of gold in California and Australia, which revivified the commerce of the world and put it onward in progress, and the whole world rejoiced, and more progress was made in twenty-three years than had been made in any century since the beginning of recorded history.

But then the hand of the misers, the usurers, who manipulated individual contracts previous to that time, who were hated by all mankind, despised as the most wicked of wretches—the usurers combined not to change individual contracts, but to change all the contracts of the world. First, they proposed to enhance the value of bonds and obligations by the demonetization of gold. These combined usurers against the producers commenced this discussion in 1853, and they have continued it ever since.

THEY FAILED IN DEMONETIZING GOLD.

Then they started in to demonetize silver and produce a revolution in the money of the world. They did it to enhance the value of bonds.
They stated that as the reason. We were as lambs dumb before the shearsers. We uttered not a word. The American people had no opportunity to utter a word. We joined the army of usurers to enhance the obligations of contracts. We have doubled the indebtedness of the world and we have transferred from the masses thousands of millions of their hard earnings to the hands of the few by this usurious legislation. We have made millionaires and WE HAVE CREATED SERFS and slaves of the producers. Do we propose to continue that process indefinitely? Do we propose to adhere to the gold standard? Do we propose to chain the people to the gold standard of Europe? Do we propose to make them sell their property at 50, 60, or nearly 100 per cent. discount to buy gold to pay debts contracted when money was plenty and gold was cheap, before it was hoarded, and when bonds were cheap and greenbacks plenty?

There was as large a circulation in 1865 in the North alone, before the rebellion was conquered, as there is now in the whole country. Why did not the Secretary of the Treasury take those figures? There was as much then as there is to-day. Since that time there has been one-third increase in the population by the reacquisition of the South, and we have to-day the growth of thirty years. Yet there has been no increase in circulation. We have gone, however, into a pool with Europe to corner gold. We have been buying gold. Austria and Italy have been buying gold. Germany was on a silver basis. She retired her silver and commenced buying gold, and thus we put gold up. Although we have been strong, although we have sustained our credit, we have done it at the expense of the producing classes. Cotton and wheat have had to be sold to buy gold, because the Government of the United States denied us the right to use silver and denied it by legislation which was never discussed, and

BY AN AMENDMENT THAT WAS NEVER READ IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS.

I say it is time to right that wrong and give us back the money of the Constitution.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. President, in a document that my attention has been called to within a few minutes, I find a matter that I should like to have the Senator from Nevada explain, for I have no doubt he then felt exactly as Mr. Casserly did about silver. A great deal is said about silver being wonderfully productive. The last words of the debate in the passage of the bill referred to were in the following statement of Mr. Casserly, who was then a Democratic Senator from California:

I say the cost of refining in London is so much more than it is in San Francisco that for this coinage charge the gold bullion product of Australia would come to us. Why? Because what they want in England all the while is silver for their Asiatic exchanges for India and China. We have more silver than we want. Nevada appears to be getting ready to deluge the world with silver. I see that her silver product last year was probably over $20,000,000. Now, sir, there could not be a better basis for exchange, nor a more profitable operation for the American people, than to take the gold bullion of Australia and coin it in San Francisco and diffuse that much more specie through all the arteries of circulation, getting ready for the resumption of specie payments, of which the Senator spoke so well and so truly the other day, and to give them in return for their bullion this silver which we do not want and which before a great while may be at an absolute discount on our hands. I wish to say that much. I feel very earnest about this matter, because I think I understand the financial and commercial bearing of the blunder we make in continuing this obsolete coinage tax. Having said so much, I leave the question to the Senate.

That was the very idea of the silver men, that they were getting too much of it, and they wanted it to go away and the gold from Australia to come to us. That is what they wanted because we had so
much silver, and yet, forsooth, it is alleged because somebody de-
monetized silver all this fuss is made!

Now, Mr. President, any man who will take that paper [exhibit-
ing] will find that it contains testimony that can not be denied, a
paper old with age, and here is the amendment which the Senator
from Nevada upon the face of that paper dates to say was never
read in the Senate, simply because the Reporter did not catch the
amendment. It seems to me that is going far beyond what has ever
been done before, especially when you have the fact that that amend-
ment was itself amended according to the testimony of the Globe
itself, so that it must have been considered and read more than once.

That amendment was to strike out the House proposition contain-
ing a dollar of 394 grains and insert upon the motion of the people
of California a dollar of 420 grains, and it never appears in all these
three long years of debate that, while that bill was pending, any
man proposed to retain and continue the silver dollar of 412$ grains.

It had no place. The last word said in this debate by a gentleman
from California was that they had too much silver and that they
wanted the gold of Australia, and were willing to have the silver ot
Nevada go to India or wherever else it would go.

Mr. President, I confess I am somewhat disappointed that the Sen-
ator from Nevada, when he saw this evidence, did not frankly state
that he had been misled and relieve the imputation which would
rest otherwise upon every man connected with that legislation, and
especially upon the members of the conference committee before
whom these amendments were brought, were read, and by whom
they were acted upon in their report here made known to the Sen-
ate, and voted upon with full knowledge of every amendment stated
in the conference report. I supposed the Senator from Nevada to be
a frank man, and I expected he would state frankly and fairly, es-
pecially where he saw that there was a feeling manifested, and my
honorable friend from Vermont [Mr. MRRIL] and myself feel the
same way in regard to this matter. When this imputation is made
by any man we resent it, and I resent it now, and express my pro-
found regret that a Senator of the United States, when convinced on
the testimony before him, does not say, "I withdraw any charge of
impropriety from gentlemen on this account."

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, again I have been charged with
being present when this discussion took place, and I am denied the
right of exonerating myself by giving the printed record here. I
have been very fair, for I have printed in my remarks the entire
record, and everything connected with it, and I can not be responsible
if the record condemns the Senator from Ohio.

THERE WILL BE NOTHING BUT THE RECORD,
and the people will examine it. I print it in the CONGRESSIONAL
RECORD because these papers are not accessible, and this one is the
only copy of the original bill. The engrossed amendment can not be
found, except in this file copy of the Senate. I put them all in to-
gether, seriatim, so that the Senator from Ohio will be able to have
the complete record by which to defend himself, and it will enable
me to place the record before my constituents to show what occurred
when I was here, for I have had it charged upon me repeatedly by
gold bugs, and it was also charged by the Senator from Rhode Island
[Mr. ALDRICH],

VERY GLEEFULLY AND BOASTFULLY,
that I was in my seat in the Senate when this action was had and
that I voted for this bill.

If I had been here and voted for the bill knowingly, I would not
come up and say that I did so ignorantly; but the man who voted for
it knowingly and not ignorantly is responsible for changing the
values of this country. He is responsible for changing every con­
tract in the world after it was made; he is responsible for all the gain
that the miser extracted from the laboring classes by usurious inter­
est, acquired by changing contracts after they were made—a charge
that I would not like to have lie at my door. If he did it igno­
rantly he is excused, because men can not know everything, and that
I may do exact justice to the Senator from Ohio I put it in the Rec­
ord. I stand by the record, and say I did not know it, and I further
say that I did not have a reasonable opportunity to know it, such
an opportunity as Senators usually have.

I STAND WITH GARFIELD AND GRANT AND CONKLING
and others who defended themselves by pleading ignorance of this
transaction. If the great men whose names I have read could plead
ignorance of this matter, why should not an obscure individual like
myself make the same defense? If in making that defense I have
reflected upon the Senator, I can not help it. It was not to reflect
upon him that I did it, but it was to defend myself. Let him defend
himself as chairman of the Committee on Finance for not calling
the attention of the Senate to his amendment demonetizing silver
before he charges others with being parties to that unfortunate trans­
action.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President——
Mr. TELLER. I should like to ask the Senator from Ohio a ques­
tion, if the Senator from Rhode Island will allow me.

Mr. ALDRICH. I yield if it will not take long. I should like to
make a few remarks in answer to the suggestions of the Senator from
Nevada.

Mr. TELLER. I merely wish to ask a question, but I will wait.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, it is true that in the course of the
discussion I made the suggestion that the Senator from Nevada [Mr.
STEWART] was present and voted for the bill which demonetized
silver in 1871.

Mr. STEWART. That is not the one.

Mr. ALDRICH. The one that passed the Senate. The Senator
was present and voted for that bill upon the yeas and nays. I now
understand him to say that he was ignorant of its provisions, that
he did not know what he was voting for. The Senator from Nevada
took quite an important part in the discussion of that bill in the
Senate, and he discussed the twenty-fifth section, and stated in the
course of that discussion:

I have been unfortunate enough to be engaged in mining enterprises and to
have bullion for sale, and I know that the coinage charge is deducted.

That was in regard to a provision of the twenty-fifth section of the
bill. Now, I want to call the attention of the Senate and of the coun­
ty to the provisions of three sections of that bill which were under
consideration, and then the Senate can judge. The twenty-first sec­
tion provided in terms—not by indirection, mind you, or by implica­
tion, but provided in terms—that any owner of silver and gold bullion
might deposit the same at the mints. I will read section 15 first in
order to get them in the logical sequence in which they should be
stated:

sec. 15. That of the silver coins the weight of the half-dollar or piece of 50
cents shall be 192 grains; and that of the quarter-dollar and dime shall be re­
spectively one-half and one-fifth of the weight of said half-dollar. That the sil­
ver coin issued in conformity with the above section shall be a legal tender in any
one payment of debts for all sums less than $1.
The eighteenth section provided:

Sec. 18. That no coins, either of gold, silver, or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights herein set forth.

A distinct and positive prohibition upon the mints of the United States to coin anything but the half-dollar, quarter-dollar, and dime, which were set forth in the provisions of the bill.

If the Senator from Nevada did not know what the bill contained, and was familiar with bullion, and represented a State that was of the first importance in its mining interests of any State in the United States, all that I can say to him is that he has grown immensely in zeal and in intelligence in representing his constituents since 1871.

Mr. STEWART. When that bill was under consideration the Senator from Ohio [Mr. SHERMAN] offered an amendment, which will be found on page 396, part 1 of the Congressional Globe, of the third session, Forty-first Congress. That amendment was in these words:

For coinage, whether the gold and silver deposited be coined or cast into bars, or ingots, in addition to the charge for refining or parting the metals, three-tenths of 1 per cent.

That was the matter which was read and brought to the attention of the Senate and that was all. The whole Pacific coast delegation said

THAT THIS WAS AN UNJUST CHARGE,

and they voted against it, and made a fight on it. They supposed, and everybody supposed, that this was an ordinary codification of the Mint laws, and it went through as many other bills go through, and, whether I was remiss in my duty or not, I say it was never called to my attention, and I repeat again that the parties having it in charge, if they knew that it contained a thing of that kind, under the pretense of being a bill to codify the Mint laws, should never have attempted to change the coinage of the world without notifying the Senate; and everybody connected with the committee failed to do that. If we voted for the bill we did not know that it contained any such provision. I was not familiar with Mint arrangements, and it being a bill to codify the Mint laws, I did not examine its provisions with any particular care. Can any Senator say that he reads every bill which comes before the Senate and knows everything that is contained in the same? Under no circumstances would I ever at any time have voted to demonetize silver.

Mr. ALDRICH. There is one other section which I omitted, which I want to read for the benefit of the Senator from Nevada. The twenty-seventh section, two sections from the section which he discussed so long and so ably in the Senate, contained this provision in terms:

That silver bullion, deposited by private holders, shall be paid for in silver bars or disks only, and that no deposit for coinage into silver coin shall be received.

Who will say that that was put there by implication, and what sort of a plea is it for a man who represented a mining State and who was interested in bullion to say he did not know what the provisions of the bill were?

Mr. STEWART. Isaw, as I said, that you had a bill codifying the mint laws, and I, in common with nearly all the members of both Houses, was ignorant of the fact that you were changing the coinage of the country. The section was not read. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Ohio was not discussed then, and I repeat that silver was demonetized without discussion in either House of Congress; it was demonetized without warning to the people, and
IT WAS EITHER A MISTAKE OR SOMETHING WORSE.

So far as I am concerned, I was ignorant of it, and others say the same thing; and I am ready, and have been ever since I discovered it, to do all in my power to right the wrong. The fact that I was here when this great wrong was perpetrated has been one of the reasons why I have worked for the last sixteen years in this cause. I believe no one will charge me with having missed an opportunity to do whatever was in my power to right this wrong. One of my great objects in life is to see the people's money restored to the place where it was before this bill was passed through Congress in the manner in which it was.

I wish the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Rhode Island were as willing to give back to the people the money of the Constitution as I am. If they were willing to right the wrong it would be sooner remedied. If those who are in favor of free coinage, in favor of restoring the silver dollar, had their way the people would have back the dollar of the Constitution in two weeks. Those in favor of the gold standard have the advantage by this legislation without giving the people a hearing. The people say they had not a fair trial, and they are asking for a new trial; and if those gentlemen think that the people will not press their case until they get a fair hearing they mistake the temper of the people of the United States.