

# TWO DEMOCRATIC IDOLS BROKEN.

## SILVER AND ECONOMY.

Both upset by a Democratic House.

DEBATES OF JUNE 30 AND JULY 13, 1892.

REMARKS OF MR. REED OF MAINE.

Debate on Economy in the House, June 30, 1892.

Mr. REED. Before the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HOLMAN) sits down, I would like to ask him if it is a fact that the regular and permanent appropriations for this session of Congress are likely to be over \$500,000,000?

Mr. HOLMAN. I can only answer that question by the statement that I have shown what the appropriations are as covered by the bills which have passed this House. It is impossible for any person to anticipate whether there will be any increase or not.

Mr. REED. Is it not probable that they will be over \$500,000,000?

Mr. HOLMAN. I cannot tell what the action of the Senate may be. The amounts which have been appropriated by the House in these various bills are ample, and more than ample, to carry on this Government in every one of its departments.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman from Indiana frankly answer my question?

Mr. HOLMAN. I will not answer any question more fully than I have done. I have stated what the House has done.

Mr. REED. Will not the appropriation bills—

Mr. HOLMAN. I say that if the Senate increases the amounts carried by these bills it will do so wrongfully; that the bills cover all that is required.

Mr. REED. I will ask my friend—

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I will answer the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. REED. I would like to have an answer.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. There is no gentleman on the Appropriations Committee who does not know that the amount of these bills must go over \$500,000,000. And that is not all. There is no conference committee that does not know it must agree to Senate propositions absolutely demanded by the necessities of the Government.

Mr. REED. Then the gentleman from Indiana, instead of giving the House and the country economy, has only given them evasion. That is a fact, is it not?

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. That is a question which gentlemen must answer for themselves.

Mr. REED. He has given us bookkeeping, instead of virtue! [Laughter on the Republican side.]

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Mr. REED. I wish to ask the gentleman from Iowa another question—whether we really have anything in the nature of economy left except the resolution introduced at the beginning of the session by the gentleman from Indiana, and passed by the House; in short, whether there is anything left belonging to the shop except the sign? [Laughter.]

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman from Iowa permit me to ask the gentleman from Texas a question?

Mr. HENDERSON of Iowa. Certainly.

Mr. REED. Does the gentleman from Texas deny that the appropriations for this session will be \$500,000,000?

Mr. SAYERS. If this House should have its own way—

Mr. REED. The House will notice that I am not getting an answer.

Mr. SAYERS. I do not intend to hold the Democratic side of this House responsible for Republican extravagance, but I mean to say this: that if this side of the House will maintain the bills as they have been passed by the House, the appropriations will not reach \$500,000,000.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman answer me, because it is better to be frank than to be victorious. [Laughter.]

Mr. SAYERS. I will endeavor to be as frank as the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. DOCKERY. We are liable to be both.

Mr. REED. Will the gentleman from Texas say that he does not think the appropriations for this session will reach over \$500,000,000.

Mr. SAYERS. I do not think they will.

Mr. REED. How much short will they be?

Mr. SAYERS. If you will tell me what the Senate will do—

Mr. REED. Never mind that. Give me your judgment.

Mr. SAYERS. The gentleman's question is not as specific as it ought to be.

Mr. REED. Oh!

Mr. SAYERS. But if he will tell me how economical or how extravagant the Senate will be, I will answer his question. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. REED. You see and the House will see the difficulty we have in getting at the facts in this case. I did not really expect the gentleman from Indiana to answer me. [Laughter.] The gentleman from Texas I did, and he has answered enough, and the gentleman from Indiana has refused to answer enough to make it perfectly apparent to this House that the appropriations, permanent or otherwise, for the expenditures of the Government for the first session of the Fifty-second Congress will be \$500,000,000 or upwards. This by-play about what the Senate is liable to do is a mere political fling.

The Senate is a co-ordinate branch of the Government. Of course some of us who are unable to get there would be very glad to abolish it. [Laughter.] But it exists, and is a factor in the history of the country. It was a factor in the history of the last Congress, and will be in this; and it is perfectly apparent that the expenditures are going to be finally, with the sanction of this Democratic House, \$500,000,000 for the first session, whereas they were but \$461,000,000 at the first session of the Fifty-first Congress.

Mr. SAYERS. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. REED. Allow me to elaborate this first. Now, the point is this: The Democracy made enormous statements in regard to the wickedness of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress, and especially because it was not economical like the gentleman from Indiana.

Now, this economical Democratic House is three to one Democratic, and of course we Republicans have not influenced it so much as the gentleman from Missouri, in his inflamed imagination, supposes we have. Of course we Republicans have been the most conspicuous figures in this Congress, on account of our evident anxiety for honest, upright, and fair dealing. [Great laughter and applause.] Nevertheless, I confess that all this talk about our having dominated the House is more than I can admit. [Laughter.] We ought to have done it. But we find that this economical Democratic House—three to one Democratic—has raised the expenditures of this Government something like \$35,000,000, probably \$40,000,000.

Mr. SCOTT. Has not your side advocated those increases?

Mr. REED. Now, if it was wicked for us to spend \$461,000,000 for this country, what must it be for the friends of economy to spend \$35,000,000 more?

Mr. GROUT. That is easily answered under the rule of three.

Mr. REED. That is a perfectly fair inference.

Mr. SCOTT. Has not your side advocated those increased expenditures?

Mr. REED. Our side, when you are three to one! Do not plead the baby act, whatever you do. [Great laughter.]

Mr. SCOTT. Will the gentleman who is frank—

Mr. REED (interrupting). Quite so, and I am going to be franker before I get through. [Laughter.]

Mr. SCOTT. I suppose so. Now, will the gentleman from Maine, who asks for frankness, be frank enough to answer the question, whether in the case of every single item that has been raised in this House, the increase has not been voted for by his side of the House.

Mr. REED. Well, I should say no to that broad question; but the truth is we have advocated the raising of a good many items, and we have done it for the reason that we believe that this is a growing country, and that its expenditures are necessarily large, and you yourselves have had to admit it. What I am pointing out to you is the unspeakable and ineffable humbug of your talk two years ago. [Laughter.] I am trying to bring Democracy face to face with itself. I am trying to bring its talk into the usual contradiction of its action.

Mr. SCOTT. You are a sort of Moses of the Democracy. [Laughter.]

Mr. REED. Moses! No; I could not lead you fellows into the light. [Laughter.] What would be the use? You have not got any eyes to see if you were led there. [Laughter.] You do not do this on purpose; you do not do it intelligently; you have not made these increases on account of your superior intelligence; you have done it because you have been driven to it in spite of your ignorance. [Laughter.] You have had to do it, and that is all the good that we ever get out of the Democratic party. The people of the United States are so much superior to it, and circumstances outside of it are so controlling, that it furnishes another instance where the Lord makes the wrath of man to praise Him and restrains the remainder of wrath. [Laughter.] Why, just contrast yourselves with yourselves. Just think of your attitude as you started out in this Congress with a broad placard upon your breasts passed by your own votes, reading: "Look at us; see how economical we are;" and now look at your results; \$40,000,000 more than what you called "wicked" in the last Congress! [Laughter.]

Mr. DOCKERY. Mr. Speaker, I shall not follow the gentleman from Maine into the domain of wit and satire and invective, in which arena he is a master.

### Debate on Silver Question, July 13, 1892.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I desire now to yield fifteen minutes to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. REED], to be used as he may see proper.

Mr. REED. If the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. CATCHINGS] will postpone the yielding of this time to me until some one has spoken in favor of this proposition I shall be very much obliged, because I desire to have some argument to answer.

Mr. CATCHINGS. I must insist that the gentleman from Maine take his time at this juncture.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi yields fifteen minutes to the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. REED. I wish the gentleman would oblige me by yielding first to someone who will explain why we should do this thing.

Mr. CATCHINGS. If the gentleman does not wish—

Mr. REED. I do not want to start with a negative.

Mr. CATCHINGS. If the gentleman does not wish the time I will yield to others. [Cries of "Vote!" "Vote!"] Am I to understand from my friend from Maine that he does not wish the time.

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I do desire to say a few words to the House. I do very sincerely congratulate the Democratic party upon its attitude of repentance. All the time that the gentlemen on the other side were proclaiming how sorry they were for the views which they have recently entertained [laughter] my mind was occupied with a picture of the Democratic party as a minority of this House in the last Congress. I remember how fierce they were on this subject. I remember the announcement by the distinguished gentleman who has since become the presiding officer of this House, that the one thing which the Democratic party yearned for was free silver; and that declaration was followed in the RECORD by "applause on the Democratic side." [Laughter.]

I remember when the distinguished gentleman who, on account of his many virtues, was at this session made chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and the leader of this House, announced that he, too, representing the Democratic party, was in favor of the free coinage of silver. And we had then, swiftly following, "applause

on the Democratic side." I remember how leader after leader took the floor and announced how earnest and vigorous he was for the free coinage of silver. And for a moment it actually seemed as if the Democratic party had struck a level which might possibly be called a level of principle.

But the gentleman from Tennessee [MR. PATTERSON] has cleared up all that matter. He explains to us the real principle which underlies the existence of the Democratic party—only he has somewhat embellished that principle in order to make a quotation. He says the great principle which underlies the Democratic party is public office; and he adds that it is a "public trust;" and that relieves it from the nakedness of a true principle and it becomes a quotation as well. [Laughter.]

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I well remember when I sat in your place that the whole Democratic party—New York and Massachusetts and all the now raging hard money men—stood up here and voted to overrule a decision of mine, the soundness of which no man here dares to dispute. And not until we got a majority of our own party present against free coinage did these gentlemen who are now so vigorous in their advocacy of "honest currency" step forward, when there was no necessity for their bearing the brunt and the burden.

Mr. Speaker, whenever you come to actual business the Republican party takes the front position, as it does to-day. [Applause on the Republican side.] It does not shirk the responsibility, but leads the hosts of opposition at all times and under all circumstances to plans and methods of legislation which would injure the currency of the country, and throw a cloud over its business prosperity. Now I am not complaining of the Democratic party that they have not had the courage of their bad principles. I am only pointing out to them here, and I wish also that my voice was loud enough to point it out to the country, that they are ready to profess every principle which is founded upon the want of knowledge, or assumed want of knowledge, on the part of the people of the United States, catering to their lack of special information, in order that they themselves may win office by securing votes. But I am glad of that redeeming principle of human nature which makes some of them, when they stand face to face with the injury to their country, recalcitrate. Nor do I mind the halting language with which they do it—the trembling voices of the sinners returning home. [Laughter and applause.]

There are different classes of men who are in favor of silver coinage. There are men on the broad frontiers of this country who are deeply interested, and whose interest, I believe, obscures their honest judgment upon this question. Controlled by their supposed interest, they are blind to the injury which they might inflict upon the country, and the injury which they might do to themselves as well. With such men I have a reasonable degree of sympathy, for they are the pioneers of civilization, broadening the paths of empire in this great country, and everything that I could do for them, consistently with the safety and welfare of the country at large, I would gladly hasten to do. And yet they have no right to ask of me, and of those who believe as I do, to give them a temporary benefit at the risk of the destruction of the business interests of the country. But there is another class with whom I have no sympathy, and that is the class of men who desire to debase the currency of this country for the purpose of paying their debts in a cheaper coinage than that in which they contracted them.

I refer to the men who, in order to relieve themselves of individual embarrassment, are willing to wreck their country. And there is still another class against which I have all possible objection, and that is the class that is sometimes represented here of men who, without believing for an instant in the doctrine they advocate, are joining in the popular clamor in order to get for themselves offices or to enable their party to assume that "public trust" which they are so very anxious always to secure. The Republican party is not established for the purpose of obtaining office. [Cries of "Oh, no!" and derisive laughter on the Democratic side.]

It is established for the purpose of carrying out principles. You sneer, but look out of your eyes at the very scene before you. To-day we are enabling a Democratic House to profit by our action and thereby to seemingly do a better service to the country than a Republican Senate, and we are doing it unselfishly. [Applause on the Republican side.] There, Mr. Speaker, is where we rise above party. We do it in all great public questions in a manner whereof the history of the Democratic party in the United States affords neither example nor precept. What we must do is that which is best for the country, and that we stand ready to do under all circumstances. [Applause on the Republican side.]