

# Congressional Record.

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

Against the Bill to Repeal the Purchasing Clause of the Sherman Act.

SPEECH

OR

HON. RICHARD COKE,

OF TEXAS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Friday, September 4, 1893.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1) to repeal a part of an act approved July 14, 1890, entitled "An act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes"—

Mr. COKE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The message of President Cleveland on the financial condition of the country is in effect a clear, unambiguous, and urgent recommendation of such legislation by Congress as will establish and maintain the single gold standard as the basis of our financial system, discarding silver except in a limited amount and as a subsidiary coinage. With characteristic boldness and directness, this utterance of the President sharply and forcefully presents the issue between gold monometallism and the bimetallic currency of the Constitution and the Democratic platform, championing the former in terms about which there can be neither mistake nor misconception.

This country can not afford to be held in suspense over such an issue thus presented. The highest public interest demands its determination and settlement; and that it can be settled finally and conclusively, and peace and rest, prosperity and stability restored to the business and commerce of the country only by the establishment of a bimetallic currency as it existed prior to 1873, when silver was demonetized, the temper of the country based on a maturely formed judgment abundantly shows. A decision falling short of this consummation will not be a settlement, nor will it be a postponement of the contest. The agitation, unrest, discontent, and demoralization will continue to vex and harass the country and disturb and unsettle business.

The people will never be content, until the wrong of 1873, through which one-half of the money of this country was stamped out in order to double the purchasing power of the other half, has been undone and reversed. Since the demonetization of silver in this country, prosperity, which until that time blessed the agricultural people of the South and West, has departed, and their labors have met the poorest recompense they have ever known. They have in large part fed and clothed the world, and their exported products have maintained the balance of trade with foreign countries in our favor, and have brought to our Treasury the gold on which specie payments were resumed after the civil war and have been maintained.

Nearly 80 per cent of the exports of this country have been of agricultural products, while silver, the great factor which produced and sustained remunerative prices in foreign and domestic markets, making our agricultural communities the most prosperous in the world, has been pursued with hostile legislation until the American Congress has been brought face to face with the proposition to perform the last act which shall expunge from the statute book all recognition of its money. The great agricultural staples, cotton and wheat, have declined as silver has gone down; and to-day silver bullion, degraded as it has been, will buy in the markets of the world as much or more of either as it did in 1873 before it was demonetized, thus showing conclusively, if proof were needed, that it is not silver which has fallen in value, but gold which under the influence of legislation has risen.

In the striking down of silver in 1873, twenty long years ago, the values of houses and lands, of cattle and horses, of flocks and herds, of all the products of the farm throughout the South and

West were likewise stricken down and have remained down ever since. Who can estimate the loss which has accrued to these people in all these years from this cause, a loss almost fabulous in amount, all inflicted upon the great mass of the people for the purpose of enriching inordinately a comparatively small number. These things have been burned into the minds and memories of the people as they have passed through the fiery ordeal of adversity, and can never be forgotten or forgiven.

Hence I repeat, Mr. President, if the power of gold—of which it has been said that "Philip of Macedon refuted by it all the wisdom of Athens, confounded their statesmen, struck their orators dumb, and at length argued them out of their liberties"—shall again succeed, as it has heretofore done, in defeating the demand of the American people for a full and complete restoration of silver to free coinage and full money power, the financial question which now agitates this country will remain with us, and this Congress will have done all in its power to perpetuate it: for the people will never cease to resist the attempt to fasten upon them gold monometallism with its inevitable consequence of chronic money famine.

The constitutional right of our people to a gold and silver currency can not be gainsaid or questioned. Gold and silver are the money of the Constitution. The States are expressly prohibited to make any other a legal tender in payment of debts. To the National Government has been granted the power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin;" in other words, to create, from gold and silver bullion, coins of prescribed weight and fineness, and to stamp their values and designations upon them. The power to give the legal-tender quality to any money other than this thus coined or to foreign coin, the value of which has been regulated by Congress, has been expressly prohibited to the States.

The Constitution grants to the National Government the exclusive power to coin and declare the value of money, and reserves to the States, respectively, the absolute right to make gold and silver coin, and prohibits them absolutely from making any other money a legal tender. The power of the National Government to coin money and the power of the States to make gold and silver coin legal tender are correlative powers. The enjoyment by the States of the rights reserved to them in this regard, the right to make gold and silver coin a legal tender, is dependent upon the due performance by the National Government of its duty to coin these metals—not gold alone, but gold and silver.

All the recognized rules of construction require that the clauses of the Constitution be construed together, giving the National Government the full measure of power granted and the States the full measure of power reserved, and imposing upon each the corresponding duties in respect to the subject-matter. If silver can be demonetized, so can gold. If either can be demonetized, on the same principle both may be demonetized. It would be no more a violation of the Constitution to demonetize both gold and silver, and thereby deprive the States of the power to invest coins of these metals with the legal-tender quality, than it is to deprive them of silver when the Constitution reserves to them the right to both gold and silver.

Nor would the force of this argument be weakened if it be admitted that the National Government can constitutionally make other money than gold and silver coin a legal tender, for whatever power the National Government may possess in this regard can not impair the absolute recognition in the Constitution of the right of the States to make both gold and silver coin a tender; and as long as that right is recognized and the exclusive right of the National Government to coin money for their use or that of the people is admitted, so long of necessity must it be the duty of that Government to coin both gold and silver. In other words, the Constitution itself, in express terms, establishes bimetalism.

The alleged excessive production of silver is now the argument of those who would destroy that metal as money, creating, as they say, a greater supply than the demand, resulting in its depreciation. In 1873, when silver demonetization was consummated in the United States, we heard nothing of the staple argument of to-day against silver, that it is a cheap dollar, a 70-cent or a 60-cent dollar, a dishonest dollar. Nothing of the sort was said or could be said, because a silver dollar of 41 $\frac{1}{2}$  grains, ex-

actly the dollar we have now, commanded a premium of 3 per cent over what is now called the standard gold dollar. Silver was more valuable than gold, yet the bankers and capitalists of Europe and America engineered its demonetization with the same earnestness and zeal which now characterizes their opposition to its restoration to free coinage and full money power.

Since 1873, when silver was stripped of its legal-tender power and of all its money functions, except that of a subsidiary coinage, and relegated to the list of commodities as bullion, it has declined largely when compared with gold, say from 45 to 50 per cent. Gold monometalists, virtually abandoning their old sophistries on which they procured the demonetization of silver in 1873, have planted themselves on the depreciation of silver, ascribing it to the increased production of that metal, ignoring the fact that the coined silver dollar, possessed of full legal-tender power, is the equal in purchasing power of gold.

Having shifted their ground, their European allies have come to their aid in the very nick of time, just before the meeting of

this Congress called to act on this subject, by closing the mints of India to silver coinage except on government account. Aided by the most powerful forces that ever combined in this country for the accomplishment of any purpose, the great combined money power of Europe and America hope and are striving, by the passage of the bill now pending in the Senate, to expunge from our statute book any recognition of silver as money, and thereby reduce the bullion value so low in the markets of the world that its competition with gold as a money metal will not be feared again.

The great argument now heard against silver is overproduction. An examination of well-authenticated figures showing the production of gold and silver from the year 1493 up to and inclusive of the year 1892 will puncture the argument most effectively. I invite attention to Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 17, Fifty-third Congress, first session, giving a statement of the production of gold and silver since the discovery of America, which I ask be published at this point in my remarks:

Statement of the production of gold and silver in the world since the discovery of America.

[From 1493 to 1855 is from table of averages for certain periods compiled by Dr. Adolph Sootbeer. For the years 1855-1892 the production is the annual estimate of the Bureau of the Mint.]

Period.	Gold.				Silver.				Percentage of production.			
	Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		Annual average of period.		Total for the period.		By weight.		By value.	
	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Fine ounces.	Coining value.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
1493-1520.....	185,470	\$3,855,000	5,221,160	\$107,031,000	1,511,050	\$1,054,000	42,309,400	\$51,703,000	11.0	89.0	66.4	33.0
1521-1544.....	220,194	4,729,000	5,524,656	114,205,000	2,899,030	3,749,000	60,598,320	89,986,000	7.4	92.6	55.9	44.1
1545-1590.....	273,596	5,684,000	4,377,544	90,429,000	10,017,040	12,952,000	100,287,040	207,240,000	2.7	97.3	30.4	69.6
1591-1599.....	219,903	4,544,000	4,398,120	90,917,000	9,628,925	12,450,000	102,578,500	218,990,000	2.2	97.8	26.7	73.3
1591-1600.....	237,237	4,905,000	4,745,510	98,095,000	13,467,628	17,413,000	209,352,700	318,254,000	1.7	98.3	22.0	78.0
1601-1620.....	273,918	5,602,000	5,478,390	113,218,000	13,599,235	17,579,000	271,921,700	351,579,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.0
1621-1640.....	250,845	5,510,000	5,393,900	110,324,000	12,654,240	16,561,000	233,081,800	327,221,000	2.1	97.9	25.2	74.8
1641-1660.....	291,958	5,828,000	5,639,110	118,571,000	11,770,545	15,299,000	235,530,800	304,625,000	2.3	97.7	27.7	72.3
1661-1680.....	277,702	6,154,000	5,951,180	127,084,000	10,834,550	14,068,000	216,691,000	280,168,000	2.7	97.3	30.5	69.5
1681-1700.....	346,065	7,134,000	6,921,695	143,088,000	10,992,065	14,212,000	219,841,700	284,240,000	3.1	96.9	33.5	66.5
1701-1720.....	412,183	8,630,000	8,243,200	170,403,000	11,422,510	11,781,000	228,650,800	295,620,000	3.5	96.5	36.6	63.4
1721-1740.....	613,422	12,681,000	12,288,440	253,611,000	13,863,080	17,921,000	277,261,600	358,480,000	4.2	95.8	41.4	58.6
1741-1760.....	791,211	16,256,000	15,824,220	327,118,000	17,140,612	22,162,000	349,812,225	443,222,000	4.4	95.6	42.5	57.5
1761-1780.....	668,698	13,761,000	13,313,315	275,211,000	20,965,591	27,123,000	419,711,820	542,658,000	3.1	96.9	33.7	66.3
1781-1800.....	571,918	11,823,000	11,438,970	239,464,000	28,261,779	36,540,000	565,235,680	730,810,000	2.0	98.0	24.4	75.0
1801-1810.....	571,563	11,815,000	5,715,627	118,152,000	23,746,922	37,108,000	287,469,225	371,677,000	1.9	98.1	24.1	75.9
1811-1820.....	367,567	7,094,000	3,670,568	76,063,000	17,385,755	22,479,000	173,857,555	221,786,000	2.1	97.9	23.3	73.7
1821-1830.....	457,041	9,448,000	4,570,444	104,470,000	14,807,004	19,144,000	148,070,040	191,441,000	3.0	97.0	33.0	67.0
1831-1840.....	682,291	13,484,000	6,522,913	131,441,000	19,175,897	24,793,000	191,758,675	247,890,000	3.3	96.7	35.2	64.8
1841-1850.....	1,791,502	33,293,000	17,065,018	363,928,000	25,000,312	32,440,000	250,603,422	324,400,000	6.0	94.0	62.0	47.1
1851-1855.....	6,410,324	132,573,000	32,051,621	662,566,000	24,488,597	36,824,000	142,442,666	184,169,000	18.4	81.6	78.3	21.7
1856-1860.....	6,494,562	134,083,000	32,431,312	670,415,000	29,093,428	37,618,000	145,477,142	188,092,000	18.2	81.8	78.1	21.9
1861-1865.....	5,949,582	122,969,000	29,747,913	614,944,000	35,401,972	45,772,000	177,099,862	228,891,000	14.4	85.6	72.9	27.1
1866-1870.....	6,270,068	129,614,000	31,350,420	648,071,000	43,051,583	55,663,000	215,237,914	278,313,000	12.7	87.3	70.0	30.0
1871-1875.....	5,591,014	115,577,000	27,063,098	577,087,000	33,717,014	41,864,000	161,864,000	209,322,000	8.1	91.9	58.6	41.4
1876-1880.....	5,643,110	114,588,000	27,718,580	575,931,000	28,773,602	36,878,000	151,878,000	199,373,000	6.6	93.4	53.0	47.0
1881-1885.....	4,794,759	99,116,000	23,973,773	496,682,000	22,003,914	28,955,000	118,955,000	154,169,000	5.0	95.0	45.5	54.5
1886.....	5,127,750	104,000,000	5,127,750	104,000,000	33,276,000	43,000,000	130,600,000	170,000,000	5.2	94.8	46.8	53.2
1887.....	5,093,184	103,302,000	5,093,184	103,302,000	18,159,000	24,366,000	86,189,000	124,360,000	5.0	95.0	45.9	54.1
1888.....	5,316,412	109,900,000	5,316,412	109,900,000	102,011,000	132,107,000	100,911,000	142,107,000	4.6	95.4	43.6	56.4
1889.....	5,746,560	118,800,000	5,746,560	118,800,000	125,830,000	162,600,000	125,830,000	162,600,000	4.4	95.6	42.2	57.8
1890.....	5,473,631	115,130,000	5,473,631	115,130,000	120,213,000	157,253,000	120,213,000	157,253,000	4.0	96.0	39.7	60.3
1891.....	6,820,107	130,519,000	6,820,107	130,519,000	144,426,000	187,733,000	144,426,000	187,733,000	3.9	96.1	39.2	60.8
1892.....	6,228,272	130,817,000	6,228,272	130,817,000	132,062,000	176,605,000	132,062,000	176,605,000	4.0	96.0	40.0	60.0
Total.....			397,191,823	\$3,204,303,000			7,522,507,716	\$9,726,072,000	5.0	95.0	45.8	54.2

It will be seen from this table that from 1801 to 1820 the average yearly yield of gold was \$9,710,500; silver, \$29,823,500. From 1821 to 1840 the average yearly yield of gold was \$11,466,000; silver, \$21,968,500. From 1841 to 1860 the average annual yield of gold was \$101,019,000; silver, \$35,660,000. From 1861 to 1880 the average annual yield of gold was \$120,691,500; silver, \$71,287,500. From 1881 to 1892 the average annual yield of gold was \$113,203,500; silver, \$153,036,000. It will be seen from this table that the average yearly production of the two metals for four hundred years run closely together, the estimated production in the world for that period standing thus: Gold, \$3,204,303,000; silver, \$9,726,072,000.

The experience of the world for so great a period should exempt us from any fear of an undue production of either metal. During all the mutations of time and circumstance and of varying production of the two metals for four hundred years, gold and silver were held in parity without disturbance throughout the world by the legal-tender money function which both possessed, until silver was demonetized in 1873, and at that time silver undervalued gold. The people who have no access to the truth as exhibited in correct statistical figures are led to believe we are about being inundated with silver when nothing can be further from the truth. Relatively to gold, the production of silver was much greater from 1801 to 1840 than it is now.

From the beginning of the present century up to 1820 three times as much silver as gold was produced, and from 1821 to 1840 the production of silver was double that of gold. In the

next period of twenty years, however, the conditions were reversed and the output of gold was three times as great as of silver. From 1861 to 1880 the production of gold exceeded that of silver by two-thirds; while in the last twelve years, 1881-1892, the total yield of silver is only about one-fourth greater than that of gold. The production of silver in later years has increased as compared with gold production, but the ratio of increase is insignificant compared with the ratio of earlier years, from which no disturbance of its relationship with gold as a money metal resulted. The world's coinage of silver now exceeds that of gold only about 16 per cent, when, as I have shown, the production of silver has repeatedly been in excess to 50, 100, 200, and as high as 500 per cent, to be succeeded in turn by like increase in the production of gold.

But it is said that this country under free coinage would become the "dumping ground" of the world for all cast-off silver. A brief statement of facts which are not controverted will refute this theory. It is agreed by all the writers on this subject, and notably by the late Secretary Windom, in his report to the Fifty-first Congress, that there is no known accumulation of silver bullion in the world, and that all the silver coin in Europe is doing duty as money in circulation. Our ratio of 16 of silver to 1 of gold is the highest silver ratio of any country in the world except Mexico, whose ratio is 16½ to 1, and Japan, with a ratio of 16.18 to 1.

In the gold-using countries, whether monometallic, like England, Germany, and Russia, or bimetallic, like France, Italy,

Spain, and others, their silver circulates side by side at par and is exchangeable with gold. Any man desiring in any of these countries to exchange his silver for gold can make the exchange in the ordinary course of business at home, without expense or discount. No reason can be perceived why he should prefer to bring it to the United States, where the standard ratio of silver to gold is greater in our silver coin, and where, consequently, his silver must be sold at a discount.

All such silver coins, of course, would have to be melted and recoined, so that all loss by handling and abrasion would be deducted here. The loss from this source and from the discount by reason of the smaller silver ratio, the expense of shipment, insurance, etc., has been estimated by experts to be from 6 to 8 per cent, when without this loss this silver is being exchanged every day at home at par with gold, of course it will not be brought here. European silver would not be "dumped" into this country for the all-sufficient reason that it is needed there to do the very thing it is doing—that is, to circulate as money.

All the gold-standard countries use silver. Gold-standard England circulates \$100,000,000 of it, of limited-tender power. Germany uses \$100,000,000 full legal-tender silver, and \$108,000,000 of limited-tender silver. Austria-Hungary, like England and Germany, a gold standard country, uses \$90,000,000 full legal-tender silver, while the bimetallic countries like France, Belgium, and others, circulate great quantities of silver. Gold can never be used for the every-day purposes to which silver coins are applied throughout the world. Its subdivisions would be too minute for pocket use.

So, Mr. President, the fear of an inundation of foreign coin, if our mints should be thrown open, is groundless and illusory. This is one of the chimeras conjured up to frighten people into the belief that we should abandon silver and rely solely upon gold as a money metal, in opposition to the experience of the world that during all the ages it has been the great factor in the preservation of the equities between debtor and creditor, in holding down gold to a fair and just standard of valuation, in securing to labor fair and reasonable wages, and to the products of labor and all commodities just estimates of value.

In other words, silver and gold being mutual checks upon each other when both possess the full money function, preventing an undue fluctuation of either metal, they make conjointly a standard of value steady, conservative, and reliable in their relations to commodities, wages, and property exchanges. The very best evidence of the truth of this proposition is to be found in the universal fall of prices since 1873 when silver was demonetized, and gold unchecked began to rise in value and continues to rise, commodities falling in the same proportion, until \$1 possesses now the purchasing power over cotton and wheat which required \$2 to command in 1873, and all other commodities being affected, not to the same extent possibly, but heavily in the same direction.

Not only is this true in the United States, but it is equally true throughout Europe, in consequence of the destruction of silver as money, as is shown by the following extract from the Economic Crisis, an able work by Mr. Morton Frewen, of London, on economic questions. He says:

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

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

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

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

This writer graphically describes the origin of the policy sought to be engrafted on the institutions of this country by the gold monometallists, its methods, and results. It is not difficult to understand why England, Germany, and Russia (said now to be going to the gold standard), and the lesser powers should be wedded to the gold standard; all of them monarchies, but tresed

by hereditary and moneyed aristocracies, nonproducers, all of them, living in luxury and splendor through pensions and annuities, offices and other forms of fixed incomes, on the products of the labor of the common people.

The gold standard doubles the value and purchasing power of their incomes, while it reduces by half the prices of the products of labor. The ruling classes, clothed in purple and fine linen, exhaust every form of luxurious living, while the great mass of the common people are bowed down with the merciless exactions of unrequited labor, to which they submit with the best grace they may, under the persuasive influence of fixed bayonets and double-shotted Gatling guns. This is a fair statement of the results of the European monometallic financial policy now sought to be forced on the American people.

Every political party in this country, without exception, has repeatedly, over and over again, declared for and pledged to the American people the bimetallic policy, the free coinage of both gold and silver, with full money power to each, without discriminating against either. Our response to these pledges solemnly made is in a bill now pending before the Senate for the unconditional repeal of the only law on our statute books authorizing the coinage of another silver dollar, placing the country avowedly on the single gold standard.

If this bill shall pass as introduced, and the vast power of the Administration is behind it urging its passage, the free men of America will have bowed their necks to the yoke of European domination in their foreign and domestic financial affairs. Rothschild's and the Bank of England, with their retainers, dictate the financial policies of Europe; and if the single gold standard is established in America, then Rothschild's and the Bank of England, with their New York associates, will become the arbiters of American finance and the dictators of our financial policies, because they control the gold we will be compelled to have.

The Director of the Mint in his latest report, of date February 16, 1893, referring to the world's product of gold for the years 1890, 1891, and 1892, says that according to the revised totals the amount was as follows: 1890, \$113,149,600; 1891, \$120,518,800; 1892, \$130,816,600.

The gold product of the United States for the year 1892 is estimated by the Director of the Mint to be \$33,000,000. For the year 1891 he estimates that \$16,616,408 was used in the industrial arts, and for 1892, \$16,644,953 was used in the arts in the United States—about half of the product, leaving the other half for coinage. The Director of the Mint a few years ago estimated that \$46,000,000 of the world's annual gold product was consumed in the arts in the manufacture of jewelry, gold plate, in dentistry, etc.

The gold product of the world has been for many years dwindling, being about \$100,000,000, until in the last two years there has been a slight increase. Deducting the Director's estimate of the world's consumption of gold in the arts from the gold product of 1892, the largest in many years, and we have left for coinage \$84,816,600 to recruit the losses of the original stock by abrasion, handling, and accident, and meet the necessities of the world arising from the growth of population, business, and commerce.

Over this the nations of the earth must struggle and scramble for accessions to their present stock. It is the European policy that this shall be so, because Europe already holds possession of it and can fix the price upon it. There all development is completed and finished, population is stationary or declining, and production, if not receding, is at least not advancing. Stagnation is the order of the day. Our country is young, full of vigor, growing rapidly in population, both from natural causes and from immigration. New States, new communities are being founded, great tracts of new country being populated and opened to production, new enterprises and new industries are being incited and pushed, and general progressive development the leading characteristic of the people, the country, and the times.

A people and country like this will starve, will languish under suppressed development when held down to a volume of money circulation allowed by the aristocratic rulers of Europe to their overcrowded, underpaid, and overworked people. Yet this is what is proposed for our people in the pending bill. It will be said in reply to this that we have silver certificates, Treasury notes, national bank notes, greenback notes, and other forms of money in addition to gold. There is one conclusive answer to all such assertions, and it is that all our paper money of every sort, kind, and description is held to be ultimately redeemable in gold, and, therefore, the volume of our money must be estimated on the breadth of the metallic redemption fund on which it rests.

Before silver was demonetized the volume of money rested on the broad basis of both gold and silver, which was not more than ample for its redemption, but was deemed sufficiently safe for a reasonably abundant circulation; but since silver demonetization, the metallic basis for paper money having been reduced

one-half, the volume of paper, in order to be safe, had to be reduced and adjusted to the smaller metallic basis on which it rested for redemption. It is this reduction which has forced down the prices of commodities and all the products of labor, which have fallen because the volume of money in which all values are measured has been contracted one-half.

Our experience since 1873 in the fall of prices consequent upon the destruction of silver money establishes this proposition. The insufficiency of the gold basis sought to be forced upon our people by their European and American financial masters is thus made plainly apparent. That our volume of paper and credit money is a large over-issue and is outstanding greatly in excess of a safe proportion to the gold redemption fund is made manifest by existing financial disturbances. The temptation to over-issue has always been regarded as one of the principal dangers of the single standard. England has, since her adoption of the gold standard, been called "the land of panics."

With a bimetallic currency firmly established, both metals, under the friendly and fostering care of the Government and banks alike, instead of having silver boycotted and discriminated against as it has been by the banks and the Government, in defiance of the people's demand that it should be otherwise, with our paper and credit bottomed on the two metals instead of being confined to one, we would now be enjoying peace and prosperity instead of being threatened with universal bankruptcy by the greatest financial disturbance that has ever occurred during this generation.

The gold basis on which our credit paper has been resting has proved too narrow: and it has been an easy matter for the conspirators who have produced the existing crisis to topple over the paper superstructure, producing chaos and confusion. We vividly remember the widespread destruction resulting from silver demonetization and the resulting contraction of money circulation in 1873. We now have the same experience in the contemplation of the sweeping away of the partial remonetization of silver by the act of 1878, known as the Bland act, which the repeal of the Sherman act will complete.

As before remarked, notwithstanding a slight increase in the production of gold for the last two or three years, the production of that metal has been declining throughout the world for many years. The product of the mines of the United States, which has been between one-third and one-fourth of the world's entire production, has been derived almost entirely from the silver mines as an incident of silver-mining; and the closing down largely of these mines by reason of the great depreciation of silver, will greatly diminish the supply of gold in the United States, still further reducing the already confessedly inadequate supply of that metal.

Gold and silver are precious metals the world over, and have been so through all the ages and will continue to be, silver as fully as gold. These metals have in all ages been yielded by mother earth in quantities and proportions adapted to the wants and necessities of mankind. Notwithstanding the estimate of the aggregate of both metals in the world shows nearly equal proportions of gold and silver, it is a fact of their history that their relation to each other has constantly been changing by reason of the changing proportion of their production.

At one time gold has been produced largely in excess, and at another silver; but it has been the unvarying history of these metals that an excess of either has always been corrected by a corresponding increase in the production of the other in its turn, and that the supply of both has kept pace with the growth of business and commerce of the world. The flood of gold which was poured from the mines of California, Australia, and Russia between 1850 and 1856, estimated at \$900,000,000, which caused a decline of more than 5 per cent in that metal and moved alarmists to advocate its demonetization, as they do now of silver, as we all know has been corrected by the more recent discoveries of silver; and so it has been for all time.

A law of nature seems to have joined these metals together and to have denied perfect efficacy to their functions as money except as cooperative forces. Under the double standard, they support each other. If gold is scarce and high, silver becomes more abundant; if silver disappears, gold flows into its place. The people who have both to rely on can depend with absolute certainty on the presence at all times of one of them—a corner on both is impossible. It is through this cooperative action of the two metals under the double standard that a sufficient circulation is assured for the demands of trade and commerce, for living wages to labor, for fair valuations in the transfers of property, and a safeguard is furnished, as far as human wisdom can devise one, against crises and panics and the loss and ruin they entail.

The centralization of capital in the hands of a few men is impossible with the double standard of gold and silver; while with gold alone a few bankers and capitalists become the lords and

masters of the people, as history shows is the condition throughout Europe, where the single gold standard prevails. Gold being concentrated in value, less in weight and bulk, and almost exactly one-half of the money of the world, is so much more easily handled, possessed, and cornered than silver that the great money barons of Europe and their coadjutors in America, designing to rule this country as Europe is ruled by the power of money, and to reduce our people to the same condition in which the common people of Europe, under the power of a great moneyed aristocracy, now exist, are moving heaven and earth to destroy silver, the only obstacle which stands in the way.

If the Sherman act shall be repealed without being substituted by some other which shall provide for the free coinage of silver, what will become of the silver already coined and the bullion now in the Treasury? There are of coined standard silver dollars \$419,335,450, and enough of bullion in the Treasury when coined to swell this amount to about \$600,000,000. What under these circumstances would be the status of this silver? That with the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act silver will fall heavily, nobody doubts. The depth to which it will tumble must be a mere matter of conjecture.

Producing, as this country does, 47 per cent of the silver produced in the world, its public sentiment the strongest of that of any one of the great powers of the earth in favor of its equal use with gold as a money metal, its abandonment by us will be its death knell so far as respects its use as money, except in such subordinate ways and such limited quantities as obtain in all gold-standard countries.

Our experience since 1878, when the Bland act was passed, as silver has been hammered down and boycotted by the national banks, by the officers of the executive department of our Government without regard to party, who in every conceivable way, in the execution of the laws, have discriminated against and prejudiced our silver money, would be worth very little if it did not teach us that the same arguments and agencies which assailed the silver dollar all along the line as it was made to decline, first as a 90-cent dollar, then as an 80-cent dollar, a 70-cent, and a 60-cent dollar, down as low as silver has fallen, would be used with ten-fold greater effect against the coined silver dollar when its intrinsic bullion value has been reduced to 30, 40, or 50 cents. To stop the coinage of silver in the United States is the object of the present contest, and to remove from our statute book any recognition of it as money. The success of monometallism on this point will be insured by the passage of the bill for the unconditional repeal of the so-called Sherman act.

Our coined silver, reduced to a mere bagatelle in intrinsic value, compared with its legal value as a dollar, will be scoffed at as a dishonest, base, depreciated coin, worthless in itself unless made redeemable in gold. Those who have been able to bring down silver from a premium over gold, to its present depreciated condition as a commodity, and against the protest of two-thirds of the American people shall pass the pending bill abolishing its coinage, will find no difficulty in getting rid of the silver they have succeeded in making intrinsically worthless.

It is true that the legal-tender quality and the debt-paying power may preserve the silver dollar at par; but this will not prevent its persecution by the monometallists, who are bent upon its destruction, in order to supply its place with bank paper. The issuance of bonds to raise gold to redeem these discredited silver dollars will then be in order; and these bonds, of course, will be a basis for the perpetuation of the national banks, whose present lease of life is nearly exhausted. The purpose of the money power of this country has been for years past, and is now, to make gold and national bank notes the currency of the country.

On the 6th day of December, 1886, in his report to Congress, Daniel Manning, then Secretary of the Treasury of Mr. Cleveland's first Administration, used this language:

The act making compulsory post-redemption issues and reissues of United States notes, and the act making compulsory Treasury purchases of silver, are each a separate menace to the public tranquility, are each injurious to the public morals, the public faith, and the public interest.

Secretary Manning simply reiterated the recommendations of his Republican predecessors. The scheme to fund the United States notes or greenbacks went hand in hand with that of demonetizing silver.

These notes, so embedded in the confidence and favor of the people, are too suggestive of the supreme excellence of a uniform national currency, issued directly by the Government, backed by its power and credit, redeemable at the will of the holder in coin, as are the United States notes, not to have incurred the deadly hostility of the national banking interest. A currency issued by themselves, put out and called in, expanded or contracted at their pleasure, is the object of their desire. Control of all the fiscal affairs of this Government and country they have constantly aspired to and hoped to achieve.

While not mooted the subject to any great extent in the last few years, the recent financial discussion through the press has developed the fact that this design is as vigorous and unyielding as ever. Having accomplished the demonetization of silver, if this bill passes, with renewed strength and prestige and assurance, they will address themselves to the accomplishment of their cherished purpose. We have, Mr. President, to deal with the exigencies of the present, but our action should be so framed as to provide well against the dangers of the future.

Our people demand bimetalism almost with one voice. All the organized political parties in the United States, without a single exception, demand bimetalism. Yet we are urged to pass the pending bill, which places the country avowedly on the single gold standard. We are promised bimetalism in the distant future on the impossible condition of an international agreement—a condition demonstrated by actual experience to be impossible. England must be a party to any international agreement, and England has repeatedly, over and over again, refused to be a party to such an agreement.

English capital, English diplomacy, English intrigue, cooperating with allied conspirators in the United States, have produced this panic, this financial convulsion, which now paralyzes the business of this country, for the purpose of coercing the people of the United States into the adoption of the monometallic policy, which the pending bill, if passed, will inaugurate. The \$2,000,000,000 due from corporations in the United States to Europe, nearly all of it in England, and the annual interest accruing thereon, will be paid in gold if England can compel it so paid; and, in order to do this, England must defeat bimetalism in this country.

Mr. Gladstone, in a speech delivered in the British Parliament in February last, and reported March 1 in the London Times, scouted the idea that England, a great creditor nation, owing nothing to other nations, would ever consent to an agreement for bimetalism and thereby reduce the value of the great debts due from this and other countries to England, by allowing them paid in a cheaper money than gold. Mr. Gladstone knows if this country is forced to the gold basis, gold will rise in value, that the burden of all debts will be increased, and the profits of all creditors will be increased in the same proportion.

England, because she is a great creditor nation, and also Germany, who allies herself with England, has always been an immovable obstruction in the way of an international agreement for bimetalism, and always will be, because gold flowing into her coffers from all the nations of the world is more valuable, will buy more of the products of labor the scarcer and higher it is. If additional evidence of England's determination that bimetalism shall not be established in the United States, if she can prevent it, were needed, the recent action of the British Government in stopping silver coinage in India except on government account, the severest blow yet stricken the silver interest, on the eve of the meeting of this special session of Congress called to consider this subject, ought certainly to be conclusive.

We have no hope of an international agreement. There is no idea entertained anywhere that one is possible. We must depend on ourselves if we expect ever to have bimetalism. Our people have demanded the restoration of gold and silver coinage as they existed prior to 1873—both free and on an exact equality at the mints and before the law. In the language of the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. HILL], in his learned and able speech delivered a few days ago in this body:

Bimetalism does not mean the stoppage of further silver coinage while maintaining our present silver currency intact, but it means the free coinage of silver and gold by the Government either under an international agreement or independently.

The stoppage of further silver coinage, but the maintenance of existing silver currency, accompanied by the free coinage of gold, is not bimetalism, but it is what the famous French financier, Mr. Cernuschi, called "humped-back monometallism," such as exists in France and Germany to-day.

This definition of the distinguished Senator is an accurate and felicitous one, and is in strict accord with the popular signification of the word "bimetalism."

The Democratic party, in the Chicago platform, on which the present Administration came into power, pledged itself to the people on this subject in the following emphatic language:

SILVER PLANK.

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

first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

In response to the solemn pledge given in this platform, it is proposed by the pending bill to repeal unconditionally the only law authorizing the coinage of a dollar of silver to be found on our statute book, and in doing so, to erect the single gold standard, discarding and rejecting silver. Pledged to bimetalism, we propose to establish monometallism. Pledged to the equal use of gold and silver, and paper redeemable at par in the coins of both metals, we deliberately falsify the pledge by abolishing the coinage of silver and providing for that of gold alone. We are driven by no necessity to thus violate the solemn promises of the Democratic party to the people. If they are thus violated and broken, the act is a purely voluntary one, and utterly without justification or palliation.

There are well-established precedents in the history of this Government under which our platform pledges can be surely and safely redeemed. The free coinage of silver as it existed prior to 1873, at the present ratio, it is believed by the great majority of the best thinkers in this country, would in a very short time, by bringing down the value of gold and raising that of silver, bring these metals together in substantial parity. Safeguards of legislation, it is confidently believed, could be brought to the aid of such an act in a way to insure the desired result.

A decrease in the number of grains of gold in the gold coin, or an increase in the number of grains of silver in the silver coin, or a decrease in the weight of the gold and an increase in the weight of the silver coin, would bring them to parity. The gold eagle (ten-dollar piece) as established in 1792, containing 270 grains of standard gold, was in 1834 reduced to 258 grains of standard gold. The silver dollar established as the unit of value in 1792, containing 416 grains of standard silver, was in 1837 changed to a dollar, the same we now have, of 412½ grains of standard silver.

It is no new thing to change the ratio of the metals to each other. Why can we not change it now, and for convenience reduce the number of grains in the gold coin, leaving the silver dollar, as at present, with 412½ grains of standard silver? Gold is overvalued about 40 per cent as compared with silver and other commodities, and a subtraction of a part of this overvaluation, by reducing its weight, would restore the proper equities between debtors and creditors, and raise the prices of all commodities from their depression to a fair and conservative level, while producing parity between the metals, as the party is pledged to do.

When Congress possesses the power, and the Democratic party holds the majority to do, and do surely and well, that which the American people have been promised shall be done, shall the wishes and demands of the people not be considered and some effort made to comply with the promise? It seems not. I warn Democrats that the people will be heard from later. We are told by the advocates of this bill, or at least by the leading ones among them, that we must pass this bill and adjourn and go home; that nothing more is needed to be done, except to pass a bill already favorably reported providing for the issuance by the national banks of \$20,000,000 bank notes, which many believe will be locked up in their vaults as soon as issued, where all the other money in the country is hoarded instead of being put in circulation.

No need, say they, to press tariff reform and a repeal of the McKinley bill. True it is that manufacturers, producers of raw material, importers and consumers alike, are vitally interested in knowing what changes are to be made in the tariff, in order to intelligently and properly conduct their business, which is languishing almost to the point of paralysis for want of this information. We are told that it is too hot now, we must wait until the regular session in December next before taking hold of the subject. All that these gentlemen desire, if the pending bill passes, will have been secured in the destruction of silver and the inauguration of gold as the crowned despot of our monetary system. That accomplished, their labors are finished.

It is all they want, except that Congress shall adjourn. The \$50,000,000 of legal-tender Treasury notes required under the Sherman act each year to be paid out for silver bullion, which goes out into circulation, and is the only source of increase in the volume of money to meet increased demands from increased population and business, will be cut off by the passage of this bill; and to this extent currency will be contracted, in addition to the universal shrinkage inevitably to occur from the adoption of the gold standard. The Secretary of the Treasury is reported by the daily papers of this city, in interviews, as saying that the country needs no addition to its circulation, that we have money enough, and that all we need is confidence. The President, in his message, makes but one recommendation, and that is to repeal the Sherman act.

The bankers, capitalists, and goldmongers, whose wealth is to be largely increased if not doubled by the repeal of the Sherman act, are using all their power over merchants and the interior bankers, resorting to every form of coercion. Printed petitions, with printed letters of instructions, have been showered over the country from New York and other Eastern cities, to be filled out with signatures and forwarded to Washington for effect upon members of Congress. The pressure through the national banks, machine petitions, the metropolitan press, and the vast power of the executive department of the Government for the passage of this bill is the most tremendous ever before known.

The House, unable to withstand it, has succumbed, and the United States Senate stands to-day the only barrier between the people and spoliation. Thrown into dire distress and rendered utterly helpless by a panic conceived, excited, produced, and manipulated by the New York national banks and their co-conspirators in other Eastern cities and in England for the purpose of coercing their consent to the passage of this bill, the people of the United States have a right to expect Congress to protect them against the gigantic combination which is assailing them. Do Senators doubt the existence of this combination? I call to the stand Hon. John G. Carlisle, Secretary of the Treasury, who in 1878, on the floor of the House, of which he was then a member, in a speech of remarkable power, used the following language. It has been heard before, but will bear repetition:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and I see no reason to apprehend that it ever will be so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world.

The absolute and instantaneous destruction of half the entire movable property of the world, including houses, ships, railroads, and other appliances for carrying on commerce, while it would be felt more sensibly at the moment, would not produce anything like the prolonged distress and disorganization of society that must inevitably result from the permanent annihilation of one-half the metallic money of the world.

Mr. President, this testimony of Mr. Carlisle needs no comment. He denounces the conspiracy, formed "here and in Europe," to destroy by legislation or otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world as the greatest crime of this or any other age. The same men, or their successors, animated by the purpose which moved the conspirators in 1873 to demonetize silver, are the conspirators of to-day, seeking the repeal of the Sherman bill, and, through that, the destruction of silver as a money metal. They are doubtless amused to hear gentlemen who vote for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman bill, and thereby vote against the coinage of another dollar of silver, claim to be bimetalists. They know that the power which destroyed silver in 1873, and is able to sweep it from the statute book in 1893, can and will never be overcome for the establishment of bimetalism by anything short of a financial and political revolution.

Those who cast such votes, honest and conscientious as I admit them to be, will have the consolation (if it be a consolation) of knowing that they have done all in their power to strike down silver as a money metal, to banish bimetalism from our system, and to establish gold as our sole primary metallic money; for our silver coin is, by the bill passed by the House and now before us, in legal effect, made redeemable in gold.

I make no apology, Mr. President, for reading here an extract from the very able speech of Hon. WILLIAM H. HATCH, of Missouri, recently made in the House of Representatives, giving valuable information on the subject of the present panic, its origin, etc:

And if you desire to know the present, direct, and most potential cause of the present panic and money famine, it can be traced directly to the action and declared purposes of the bankers of New York City and other large money centers of the Government. And shrewd, astute, and able as they arrogantly claim to be, their babbling and bullying declarations furnish the most damaging testimony against them.

I will read some extracts from a great New York paper, one which is at the very head of New York Journalism—my friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] will not controvert that statement—a paper that claims to have the courage of its own convictions, a paper independent in all things, consistent in but few [laughter], though claiming to be in the main Democratic. I read from the New York Sun of Friday, April 23. After reciting some of the incidents of the enjoyable conference between Secretary Carlisle and the bankers, it says:

"As the Secretary outlined the policy of the Government, it was that nothing would be done that in any way would retard or check the determination of the Cleveland Administration concerning the repeal of the Sherman law. The Secretary went over the currency laws of the country, and said that they were in bad shape, and needed revision. He said the revision should start with the Sherman law. There is a determination, also, to show to the miners of silver the evil effects of the Sherman law on their fortunes.

"President Cleveland's advisers have told him that the only way to induce the Western and Southwestern Senators and Congressmen to consent to the repeal of the Sherman law, is to demonstrate to their constituents that they are losing money every day that this law is in operation. The missionary

work in that direction has been started by a number of the banks in the solid communities of the East. They are daily refusing credits to the South, Southwest, and West, fearing the effects of the Sherman law.

"The Chicago bankers, it was said, are carrying out the same line of policy. Secretary Carlisle, in his talk with the bank presidents, made his stand very clear. It is to be heroic treatment all the way through on the Sherman law, and possibly by the next session of Congress the silver mine owners and the adherents of silver in the Senate and House will be ready to consent to a repeal of the law.

"The bank presidents, replying to Secretary Carlisle, cordially informed him that they would be ready at all times to cooperate with him in the successful administration of the financial policy of the Government. Everybody shook hands, and there was harmony all round." [Laughter.]

"The New York Sun of Saturday, April 23, in its financial column, says: "The conference yesterday between Secretary Carlisle and a number of the bankers of this city was of great value in that it resulted in a definite understanding of the financial policy of the Administration, as indicated in this column last Tuesday. That policy is to interpose no obstacle to the natural operations and logical results of the Sherman law. In a word, the Administration proposes to allow the people to reap the rewards of their own folly."

"Was my friend from New York [Mr. CUMMINGS] in the city of Washington on the first day of May last?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I was.

Mr. HATCH. I thank the gentleman for giving me that information, because it furnishes a key to the whole situation. The New York Sun, in its Washington letter, published May 1, 1893, says—

Mr. CUMMINGS. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. HATCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUMMINGS. The gentleman's statement is correct, but his assumption is erroneous. [Laughter.]

Mr. HATCH. That remark is simply evoked by the gentleman's modesty. [Laughter.] I will read this statement:

"The statement of Mr. Carlisle to the New York bankers makes it clear that, while Mr. Cleveland works in Congress, the bankers will be expected to pinch business everywhere in the expectation of causing a money crisis that will affect Congress powerfully from every quarter. There is an explicitness in these declarations and a boldness in making them that would be astounding were not the country too familiar with Mr. Cleveland and his methods to be astonished by anything from him."

The circulation and importance of this paper warrant the assertion that Mr. Carlisle read these statements. I have watched in vain for any denial or even modification of them. On the contrary, proofs as strong as Holy Writ are accumulating to justify and prove their correctness.

Now, my friends, there is the beginning of this money crisis.

The publication quoted by Mr. HATCH has been quoted from New York to San Francisco and has never been controverted or denied. The proofs piled up in this debate, both in the Senate and House, in support of the truth of the proposition, that this panic was deliberately brought about for the purpose of placing the people in duress, in order to compel their assent to the repeal of the Sherman bill and their acceptance of all its consequences in the revolutionary and radical changes in our monetary system, is so conclusive as to leave no room for doubt.

I take the liberty of using here again a quotation from the Philadelphia Press, one of the great newspapers of the country, which has been adverted to here and in the other House, as follows:

The New York banks for several days have been endeavoring to bring a home influence on United States Senators to induce them to vote for the repeal of the July silver law.

To this end correspondents of the New York banks in the West and South have been told that they need not expect to get money from New York until the purchasing clause was repealed, and the Southern and Western bankers have been strongly urged to write to their Senators and to insist that they work and vote for immediate repeal. This movement has given rise to the recent feeling in New York that the silver majority in the Senate could be overcome, as the influence of the banks of the metropolis, when concentrated on any object, is regarded as invincible. There is a feeling that the strain is not as great as it was, and improvement is hoped for. Some anxiety exists as to the action of savings-bank depositors when the thirty and sixty day limit expires next month. The requirements of money for the crops will also be a potent factor, but no one is disposed to contemplate future conditions, especially if they are likely to be unpleasant.

Mr. VANCE. If it would not interrupt the Senator from Texas, while he is on that point I will state that I received a letter this morning from a very respectable business gentleman in Salisbury, N. C., inclosing a letter from a New York banker, which is very short, and with his permission I should like to read it.

Mr. COKE. Certainly.

Mr. VANCE. The letter is as follows:

No. 3 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, August 31, 1893.

DEAR SIR: We are obliged to you for your favor of the 29th instant offering loan on your mills—

This gentleman is connected with a large cotton mill at Salisbury—

which appears to be very good. It is not in our line, however, and we don't know any parties here who could handle the paper. We hardly think that the times have sufficiently improved to warrant negotiations.

The Senators from your country are not looked upon as promoters of the general welfare. If their stand represents the views of your people on financial matters, it will be very difficult for you to secure any accommodation from capitalists in this section until there is a decided change.

Yours, truly,

E. D. SHEPARD & CO.

I. H. FOSTER, Esq.,  
Secretary, Salisbury, N. C.

Mr. COKE. I take the following from the New York Sun of April 23:

Let us point to another fact, and we are done. Never before have the large banking institutions of Chicago and the West ordered their gold in such large quantities direct from Europe, and in this fact is found one rea-

son why our bankers are puzzled over the anomaly that although all these millions are coming to the country they experience little or no relief therefrom. The other reason, gentlemen, is in order to force the repeal of the Sherman act and to quickly establish your power over the plain people of this land, you first sent out of the country one hundred and ten millions of the people's currency in order to assist the Rothschilds to demonetize silver in Austria and elsewhere, and then let it remain there, to teach the West and South an "object-lesson," as the President called it, until you found it was necessary to recall it in order to save your own house from destruction. Now, you have not only taught the West and the South an object-lesson, but yourselves one as well, and you can be sure of it.

These quotations from the leading papers of the country could be extended greatly beyond the time I can give to them, all establishing the existence of the great conspiracy.

Mr. President, when the Sherman act was on its passage through the Senate I voted and spoke against it, believing it a bill that should not pass. That bill repealed the Bland act of 1878, which partially remonetized silver and provided for the coinage of not less than two nor more than four million legal-tender silver dollars monthly. It is now proposed to repeal the Sherman act, without restoring the Bland act or in any other way providing for silver coinage.

The House bill now before us, as well as the substitute reported from the Finance Committee, provides for the unconditional repeal of the Sherman act, making no provision for or recognition of silver coinage. The House bill is, in my judgment, the more direct and manly mode of dealing with the subject. It repeals the Sherman act, destroys silver without making any apology for it, and makes provision for disposing of the remains (the coined silver) by making them redeemable in gold, if this is necessary to preserve their parity with that metal. It disposes of the silver question and leaves nothing undone that is demanded by the gold monometallists.

The empty declaration of the Senate substitute in favor of bimetallicism, in the same enactment that destroys bimetallicism and establishes gold monometallism, is so grotesquely inconsistent as to need no comment.

I shall cast my vote against either or both of these bills. It

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is generally agreed that the Sherman act has had little or nothing to do with bringing about the present financial disturbance, and that the exportation of gold attributed to it is for the most part a natural and legitimate outflow for the liquidation of a large trade balance existing against the United States, which is now and for some time, notwithstanding the Sherman act, has been rapidly returning for the purchase of our agricultural and other products.

The legal-tender Treasury notes paid out under that act for silver bullion, amounting to about \$50,000,000 each year, has been a much-needed accession to our volume of circulation. Its operation in this respect has been most beneficent. This act has been made a stalking-horse, behind which the plans for the demonetization of silver and the issuance of gold bonds for the benefit of the national banks have been perfected and pushed by a band of reckless and unscrupulous conspirators against the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the people of the United States.

The President of the United States and his Secretary of the Treasury are honest, patriotic men, devoted to what they conceive to be the best interests of the country, but they have been deceived, duped, and imposed on, and their confidence betrayed by the bold, bad men, who, on a cold calculation of enormous profit to themselves and their confederates, backed by unlimited wealth, have been able to control the influences which have precipitated the present unhappy monetary conditions upon the country.

Mr. President, the victory of organized capital against the people, if this bill shall pass, will be a memorable one. But the people have been taken unawares. They have been deceived and betrayed. Solemn pledges made to them have been broken and trodden under foot. They will never submit to the domination of the money-changers. The day the pending bill becomes law, if it shall pass, will mark a renewal of the contest, to be fought to a finish. The supremacy of the American people in the administration and control of their own Government will yet be vindicated.

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