

"We have inscribed on our standard the old and time-honored ratio of 16 to 1, and will make our fight under that banner."

—*Dubois.*

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRED T. DUBOIS,

OF IDAHO,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

August 22, 1893.



WASHINGTON.

1893.

SPEECH
OF
FRED T. DUBOIS.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (S. 570) discontinuing the purchase of silver bullion—

Mr. DUBOIS said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: More than three years ago, when I was a Delegate in Congress from the Territory of Idaho, I commenced a speech in favor of silver in these words:

The silver question, as we understand it in the West, is a very serious one. With us the contention for its restoration is not one of policy or expediency, but of justice and absolute necessity. We look upon the conspiracy which culminated in the demonetization of silver as the most gigantic robbery of modern times. We think the injury that it has already inflicted upon the nation is more terrible, so far as mere property is concerned, than would have been an exhaustive war with some first-class foreign power. I do not stand here to-day to speak in the interest of silver mines. They can bear the loss that the unrighteous robbery inflicted upon them, but the people at large, and more especially the producers of the East, can not much longer stand up under the shrinkage which has already driven all profit from the farm and shop.

I will allow those remarks to stand as the preface to the observations I have to make to the Senate on the very serious question and condition which we are now called upon to meet. Time has strengthened, not weakened, my opinion.

The current of debate has turned swiftly and sharply at this session of Congress. Those who have opposed free coinage in the past have always insisted that they were bimetallists, notwithstanding the fact that they opposed vehemently every proposition brought forward by the friends of silver which was designed to cause true bimetallism, and ridiculed as the veriest nonsense every effort of the silver men to stop falling prices. They arose in their places, each and every one of them, and proclaimed in loud and plain terms that they were bimetallists and favored the use of both gold and silver as money. During all the discussion (up to this session) I do not recall a single instance when any Senator or Member has avowed himself in favor of gold monometallism.

But lo and behold, all of a sudden a change has occurred upon the face of the bimetallic moon. Silver disappears, and from the great prophet, President Cleveland, down through the ranks to the latest convert in Congress, all are satisfied that it is hopeless to keep up the fight any longer; that our only safety lies in a gold standard. It is a most sudden, strange, and unanimous transformation. They evidently think the time is auspicious to

throw off the mask. They must believe that they can shackle the people before they can strike.

I should like it if these honorable Senators who are now so earnest and anxious to fasten a gold standard upon the people of the United States would tell the country from whom they receive their instructions. As I understand the spirit of our Republic the people rule, and the representatives of the people carry out their wishes as expressed in conventions and at the polls. What convention or what vote of the people has instructed Congress to abandon bimetalism and adopt the gold standard? There is not a Senator on this floor who was not elected on a platform which pledged him to bimetalism. Certainly their instructions do not come from the people; for the Republican party and the Democratic party, in their national conventions last summer, declared in favor of bimetalism.

The Populist party declared in favor of gold, silver, and paper, and not for gold alone. No national party, in any convention, at any time in this country has declared in favor of the gold standard, and in my judgment they never will. I most earnestly insist that no representative of the people has a moral right by his vote to bind the country to gold monometallism on his own hasty judgment. It is a betrayal of the people which will be bitterly resented by them. You were not elected or sent here for that purpose. On the contrary, each and every Senator is bound by every sense of honor to secure and continue forever the use of both gold and silver as money unless otherwise directed by the people. It will not do to resort to the transparent subterfuge that you are not contending for a gold standard, nor will it avail to try to fool the people by saying you will discontinue the purchase and coinage of silver and continue to coin gold, and if this does not bring relief you will return to the coinage of both metals.

I am quite familiar with the line of argument of those who say that they are still in favor of bimetalism. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], for whose ability I have the most profound respect and for whose integrity I entertain the highest opinion, told us that there are about \$600,000,000 of gold and about \$600,000,000 of silver in the country, and if you pass the proposed law you would still be on a bimetallic basis, because the Government would continue to keep the metals on a parity.

The venerable Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL] reiterated this statement, and I have no doubt that every one of our opponents will repeat it, for it is their last straw. But if you now stop the coinage of silver, as silver is lost through abrasion or other causes you come nearer and nearer to a gold standard, and it is simply a question of a short time when you reach it. You are not bimetalists when you repeal the act of 1890. Other countries besides our own float different moneys; they are on the gold standard, and so you will be. You will still outlaw silver. There can be no true bimetalism until you open your mints to the coinage of both gold and silver, until you treat both metals equally under the law. I say I am familiar with their only argument, and it is not worthy of serious consideration and is untenable.

President Cleveland's message, which you heard read in this Chamber on the 8th of this month, closed in these words:

I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the act passed July 14, 1890, authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, and that other legislative action may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries.

As a matter of fact no money is universally recognized by all civilized countries. Money, whether it be gold, silver, paper, or what not, is recognized only in the country which makes and supports it. When gold or silver money gets beyond the borders of its own country it is a commodity and is valuable only as such. The President might have been a little more exact in his language in a state paper, but what he meant by "money universally recognized by all civilized countries" was gold. The message could not have been plainer, and those Senators who indorse it indorse a gold standard without equivocation.

It has been admitted time and time over by Senators who helped to pass the act of 1873, which demonetized silver, that they were ignorant of the fact that it did demonetize silver. There was no sentiment in the country at that time for the demonetization of silver, and had the question been discussed and submitted to the people the act of 1873 could not have become a law. All admit this; all agree that the people were cheated and wronged, yet for twenty years they have vainly struggled to undo this wrong.

If in the broad light of day you follow the President's message, repeal the Sherman act, strike down the last prop of silver, and announce that you intend to put this country on a gold basis, double the debts of the producers, double the value of money, and reduce by one-half the products of labor, how long will it take the people to right the wrong and how will they do it? In contemplating financial legislation in this country since 1873 I do not know if they could ever emerge from their thralldom by peaceable and legal methods. It is quite evident that they would get no relief from this Administration unless they secured a two-thirds majority in both branches of Congress.

Prices have been falling in the United States since 1873. Wheat, cotton, corn, oats, all the products of labor and the daily rewards of labor itself have gone down until there is no longer universal prosperity. There has been individual prosperity among those who have fixed incomes and large accumulations of money. It has never been successfully controverted, nor can it be, that silver measures the value of all commodities. While on account of unjust and vicious legislation silver has fluctuated in value as compared with gold, it has yet served as a perfect measure of value of the products of labor.

If you strike it down still further, as contemplated by the President's message, refuse to purchase or to coin it, and make it bring in the market what it is worth to make spoons of, you will take a fearful risk and responsibility. It is a new proposition to put the United States on a single money basis, and before it is done the people should be consulted. They were called upon to decide in regard to the tariff. Their decision does not meet my judgment as to what is for their best interests, but after repeated discussions, conventions, and elections, they decided prac-

tically in favor of free trade, and the Democratic party has their indorsement to remodel the tariff so that it shall be a tariff for revenue only.

I believe in the protective doctrine of the Republican party, and think the country will desire a return to it after trying a tariff for revenue only; but no one who believes with me has just cause for complaint because we were beaten, for the issue was fairly made and presented to the people, who in this Republic are and should be the judges. It is not so with this financial question, however. If it should be submitted to a vote of the people whether they would adopt bimetalism or monometal-
lism, nine-tenths of them would decide in favor of bimetalism. I am of the opinion that the monometallists would not carry a single State in the Union.

It is urged that there is a scarcity of money and lack of confidence in the country, which is destroying business of all kinds. While we of the West point to our idle mines and closed stores, the New Englander says that the hum of their factories has ceased; that the thousands of men and women dependent upon them are out of employment; the men of the South aver there is no living price for their cotton; that they can not even get the money to move it in order to keep actual distress away. So the complaint comes from all quarters. None escape: not even the bankers in the cities. The President of the United States gravely tells us to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, and go home in peace. Having said this to us, he informs the country that his duty is done, and it now remains for the members of Congress to do theirs—whereupon he takes a rest and recreation.

Senators stand up in this Chamber and declare that this era of panic and disaster must be stopped by the immediate repeal of the Sherman act. No one says what is to be done after it is repealed, and no one tells us how its repeal will make more money or restore confidence. Through the Sherman act over \$3,000,000 of currency is added to our stock of money each month. The average individual can not see how you will relieve the scarcity of money by stopping the issuance of \$3,000,000 each month.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] did inform us, I think, that the repeal of the Sherman act would restore confidence in London, and that the English money-lenders would then buy up some of our most valuable stocks and bonds, and thus money would flow in. The people in this country who need money most and who have lost confidence are not those who have valuable stocks and bonds to sell.

The gold monometallists, ever since trouble began last spring, have charged all of our ills to the Sherman law, and now they urge that peace will be restored by its repeal. They do not specify how. Perhaps they are loth to prophesy, inasmuch as their prophecies in the early spring are shown to be idle in middle summer. With one accord they proclaimed that gold was leaving us on account of this poor and friendless and fatherless piece of legislation. Gold is now returning, despite the fact that the act is still with us. I do not claim that gold is returning because we still have this law, but I might so assert with as much reason as they insisted that it was leaving us because we had it.

If the monometallists are determined to put us on a gold basis it would be manlier to say so plainly and give their reasons than to thinly disguise their intentions by such weak inventions. They themselves know that the Sherman act is not responsible for the present crisis. If they much longer continue this masquerade they will have to do as the priests of old did. In early days it was customary for the priests to offer up lambs and oxen to appease the wrath of offended deities. The sacrifices were made in the presence of the people, with great pomp, ceremony, and high-flown language.

All went well and solemn for some time, but long before the folly and hypocrisy of the ceremony dawned upon the people the priests had laughed in their sleeves and at the masses. Finally it became such a joke that, to avoid detection, they agreed among themselves that when invoking the Deity to spare them His wrath, they would turn their backs upon one another to avoid laughing at the absurdity of the performance.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], in his interesting speech the other day, said that there were 300,000 people out of employment in Massachusetts and 3,000,000 in the Northern States, and intimated so that the masses of the people at home would understand him, that this was due to the Sherman act. I think, perhaps, he got his figures a little high; but, no matter. He did not say plainly to the Senate that these millions of people were out of employment and in distress on account of the Sherman act, for he was facing us and would have been compelled to laugh. I agree fully with the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], that the uncertainty as to what the dominant party will do with the tariff is the prime if not the sole cause which blighted the industries of Massachusetts and the Northern States.

The gold monometallists are not very explicit in stating their reasons why they wish to take away the money function of silver. If they were, it would be easier to argue with them. As a rule they content themselves with abusing silver and silver advocates.

I will endeavor briefly to answer some of the objections which they urge against silver as I recall them.

We hear much of the dishonest silver dollar which is worth but 54 or 65 or whatever cents the bullion it contains will sell for. I am pleased to bear witness to the intelligence of the Senate that such nonsense is seldom uttered in this Chamber. A silver dollar will buy as much as a gold dollar and is as highly prized. If, through unjust, unwarranted, persistent, and indefensible legislation, a silver dollar has depreciated in value as compared with a gold dollar, the gold dollar, through this same legislation, is more dishonest than the silver. Just so much as the silver dollar has depreciated, the gold one has appreciated. The silver dollar, as always, most nearly measures the value of commodities. It is the dollar of the farm, the factory, and plantation, and goes hand in hand with the results of labor. Just so much as it is depreciated and is dishonest, just so much is the toiler injured and just so much the gold dollar is appreciated and dishonest and the creditor benefited.

The gold advocates express fear that we can not maintain bimetallicism on account of the overproduction of silver. I call their

attention to the very exhaustive and carefully prepared statement of the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST], who proved conclusively that when the production of silver exceeded that of gold more than thirty times, silver was worth more than 129.29. Unless silver is legislated against, and when it has been treated equally with gold as a money metal, no matter what the disparity in production between the two, their relative value on the agreed ratio has varied but a trifle.

In addition to the facts presented by the distinguished Senator [Mr. VEST], it must not be overlooked that for centuries gold and silver have been the money metals of the world. Both metals have, in consequence, been struggled for, hoarded, and preserved by the nations of the earth, until now there is an enormous accumulation of each. I do not know that anyone could give the amount of each now in the world. It is known that there is about as much of one as of the other, and that there is somewhere near \$4,000,000,000 of each.

The world's output of gold in 1892 was \$130,816,627, and of silver \$196,605,184. About two-thirds of the gold production is used in the arts, so that but \$43,605,542 of the output of 1892 was used for coinage. About one-tenth of the silver production is used in the arts; so, assuming that all of it was brought to the mints which were open for its coinage, there was of the production of 1892 but \$176,944,666 coined into money.

In considering the effect of the production of the precious metals on their value you can not overlook the amount of these metals now doing service as money. The product as it is accumulated year by year is added to the general stock, which it can affect only in the slightest degree. The further fact in this connection, that the business of the world is constantly increasing in every avenue of trade and carries with it a demand for more money which is stable and certain, can not be ignored.

Almost all of the known world has been explored and prospected by seekers for the precious metals. It is altogether unlikely that any new worlds remain undiscovered, so that it is a fair assumption that while through improved machinery the gold and silver output may increase some for a few years, it is almost certain that the increase will not be such as to unduly affect prices, when such increase is considered in connection with the uses of gold and silver in the arts and the swelling volume of business resulting from the constantly increasing population.

It has sometimes been urged by the opponents of the free coinage of silver that its cost of production has been so cheapened that its ratio of 16 to 1 to gold should be enlarged, and that it ought not to be worth 1.2929. This charge is usually made by those far removed from the mining countries and who have no practical knowledge on the subject. As a rule they take some of the highest grade and greatest producing mines which are in full operation and base their calculations upon them. The consensus of opinion of those who have studied and followed the business of mining is that it has required and now requires more than a dollar to dig out a dollar's worth of silver.

Be this as it may, for I will admit that it is somewhat conjectural, if their argument is good as applied to silver why is it

not equally so as applied to gold? Silver has always been found in conjunction with gold, lead or copper, granite, porphyry, and other refractory substances, so that the process of extracting the silver is and always has been expensive. Nine-tenths of all the gold has been found in the sand and in streams, in the shape of nuggets, and has cost in labor and expense but a trifle as compared with silver.

While it is true that most of the placer mines have been exhausted the fact yet remains that a very respectable percentage of the gold output still comes from placer diggings. That which is found in quartz costs no more in its separation than does silver. I do not think the cost of production is a pertinent argument, but, inasmuch as I have heard it used in this Chamber against silver, I submit, in fairness, that it should also be applied to gold.

The contention of bimetalists that there is not enough gold in the world to serve as a safe basis for money can not be avoided or put aside. The gold-standard men seem to dodge this dilemma. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] in his very able and ingenious argument admitted that he was not clear on this point. He tried to save himself in his advocacy of a line of policy which, it seems to me, must put this country on a gold basis, by saying that he would not consent to the passage of any law which would forever close our mints to the free coinage of silver. The doubt in his mind as to the adequacy of gold to serve as a basis was evidently so great that he is not willing to go farther than an experiment.

The output of gold in the United States in 1892 was \$33,000,000. The gold product varies but little from year to year, so that we can safely calculate on \$33,000,000 for sometime to come as the annual yield. When you refuse to purchase and coin silver, you cut off 40 per cent of this annual yield, for 40 per cent of the gold comes in conjunction with silver. It is a rare thing when a sufficient amount of gold is found in this combination to make it profitable to mine for the gold alone. This will leave your annual gold yield \$19,800,000. Two-thirds of this is used in the arts, which leaves but \$6,663,333 each year for coinage.

When you stop the coinage of silver gold will be more valuable, and, in consequence, more and not less of it will be used in the arts, leaving even less for coinage. It will not be surprising if all of the \$19,800,000 is so used. The more precious gold becomes the more anxious the rich people will be to have it for ornaments, tableware, etc. They will pay more for it in bullion than the owner of it can receive by having it coined, and, in consequence, he will not take it to the mint. But even should no greater amount be used in the arts than at present, does anyone contend that the addition of \$6,663,333 a year is a sufficient increase of the money basis to satisfy the demands of our constantly growing business and our ever-increasing population?

I have already adverted to the fact that the world's output of gold in 1892 was \$130,816,600, one-third of which, or \$43,605,533, was coined, the balance being used in the arts. If \$6,663,333 yearly addition to our own money basis is not sufficient for our wants, surely forty-three and one-half millions is not sufficient for the entire civilized world. You will be compelled, almost at

once, to institute some other kind of money. What sort will you choose? The silver advocates will never consent to fiat money. They have no patience with those who favor irredeemable paper money. They wish all forms of money based on the precious metals.

There is not enough of gold alone to serve as a safe basis, and all of the honorable Senators who are now striving to put us on a gold standard know it. Is their hostility to silver so great that they prefer to run the risks of fiat money rather than hold to bimetallism, which has been tried and found so successful in this country? By this legislation which you would now enact you strike down silver, which is one-half of our money. When you do that you make gold twice as hard to get as now. It will require twice as much of all products to secure a dollar then as it does now. There can be no cessation in the struggle for money. All the people must have it. The more you curtail it the harder it is to get, and when you contract it to such narrow limits as you propose, such a demand will go up from the people for an enlarging currency as will force recognition.

In my judgment, you should pause now and consider well whether, if at this time you stop the coinage of silver, you will not lay the foundation for such misery and unrest as will result in an agitation among the people the culmination of which will be fiat money.

I am opposed to any change in the ratio. I voice the sentiment of all the representatives of the silver-producing States when I say that "we have inscribed on our standard the old and time-honored ratio of 16 to 1, and will make our fight under that banner".

Our mines are now closed, our business stagnant, and we realize that a ratio of 20 to 1 would make our cañons resound once more with the joyful sound of the pick and shovel, would quicken the arteries of trade and partially restore prosperity, because it would make silver worth about \$1 an ounce; but while we may not be versed in the science of finance or the arts and polish of the more civilized and luxurious East, we are a game people who will stand by our friends the wage-earners and the producers of the world, who are making this fight on principle. The proposition to alter the ratio is a compromise of principle.

The legislation of 1873, which demonetized silver, and the persistent attacks which have been made upon it since, have depreciated the value of wheat, cotton, and all the products of labor, and have appreciated the value of gold. A larger ratio means a surrender of a portion of this advantage which has been gained by the bondholders. It means that the depreciation of commodities and the appreciation of securities shall be unalterably fixed upon the people.

Mr. McPHERSON. Would it interfere with the Senator if I should ask him a question?

Mr. DUBOIS. Not at all.

Mr. McPHERSON. I do not know but that the information may be contained in a statement which the Senator has already made, and which I did not correctly hear or understand, but do I understand him to say, speaking for the interests which he

represents, and, I suppose, the interests of the silver States very largely, that he would not agree to a ratio of 20 to 1?

Mr. DUBOIS. I said that while I live in a silver-producing State, which would be benefited by a ratio of 20 to 1, I and those who live in that section of country would stand by the wage-earners and the producers who are making this fight, not, as even the Senator himself would say, for silver, but for principle.

The gold monometallists are in the habit of prophesying as to the direful results of all silver legislation. Their prophecies have not been fulfilled in the past, and it is likely they will not be in the future. They say that silver can not maintain itself at a ratio of 16 to 1; that it will drive gold out of the country, and put us on a silver basis. How do they know this? It did not do it before 1873, and it is simply a guess on their part that it will now. The bimetalists are willing to stipulate that it will keep its place firmly if you establish the ratio at 16 to 1. They are willing to further stipulate that if it does not, they will then agree to a higher ratio. It is mean and unjust to establish a ratio now, based upon the bullion value of silver as compared with gold.

Gold has been given every opportunity; has had the especial care of legislation, while silver has been battered down and legislated against for twenty years. Now, when silver is weakest, through unjust legislation and at the end of a long struggle, you condemn it for being weak. Remove the restrictions; put it back where it was; give it the sanction of the same laws which you give to gold, and if it does not maintain itself then we will talk to you about increasing the ratio.

Mr. President, I represent, in part, a State which has been a subdivision of the United States for but little over thirty years. Idaho was created a territory in March, 1863, and a State in July, 1890. In this brief time it has given to the world \$150,000,000 in gold and some \$75,000,000 in silver. It is entitled to some consideration for this contribution. It is peopled with Americans who are your kin. The young, the strong, the brave and ambitious from the New England, the Northern, the Southern, and the Middle-western States make up her citizenship. They have redeemed the deserts, have compelled the reluctant hills to yield up their treasures, and have braved hardships which you know not of, that the world might be enriched. They and their neighbors have laid deep and strong the foundations for mighty commonwealths which will be the pride and bulwark of American institutions in years to come.

When you strike down silver, when you say to the Rocky Mountain region that you will neither purchase nor coin any more of this precious metal, you strike a blow at your kindred which is as cruel as it is unjust. I would say to you that there should be no doubt in your mind as to the wisdom of your action before you commit this deed. You should be very certain that the result will justify the sacrifice. You should remember, also, that all of our supplies except those for food are purchased from you, and that all of our debts are owing to you. Either yourselves or your allies in this legislation own our railroad, State, county, and municipal bonds and other securities. You can not paralyze us without injuring yourselves. We can survive. Men

who have conquered the frontier will neither starve nor beg, nor cease to be law-abiding, law-preserving, and patriotic Americans.

I ask leave, Mr. President, to embody as a portion of my remarks some resolutions passed by the State convention held in Idaho a few days ago. I shall not take up the time of the Senate by reading them, but ask that they be made a portion of my remarks. They are worthy of careful perusal.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PLATT in the chair). Without objection the request will be agreed to.

The paper referred to is as follows:

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

The committee on resolutions presented the following memorial, which was adopted unanimously:

To the People of the United States:

The National Congress is now assembled in extraordinary session, having been summoned to meet for the purpose of providing a remedy for the extraordinary business conditions which have for weeks convulsed the country. The financial question is the absorbing theme of discussion, and a multitude of plans are being put forth for changing the status of silver in our monetary system. In this crisis of our financial history the people of the State of Idaho, through their duly accredited delegates assembled in State convention, promulgate to the world their abiding belief that no final settlement of this great question can be effected until Congress shall restore the law providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, at the ratio to gold of 16 to 1.

In support of this belief we submit the following facts for the consideration of our fellow-citizens, asking that they be carefully weighed by all who desire that the principles of right and justice shall be stamped upon the fiscal legislation of the country. We know we are right, and we believe that every sincere man who will clear his mind of prejudice and examine the subject logically will eventually share our belief upon this all-important issue. The question before the country is whether its business shall be established upon a basis of bimetalism or be finally made to conform to a single gold standard.

GOLD ALONE INSUFFICIENT.

It is very generally admitted that gold alone does not constitute a sufficiently broad basis to sustain the vast structure of credit which represents the trade and industry of the world. This point is so well established that no argument is needed to sustain it; it is voiced all over our Eastern States, and even by the great financial and political leaders of the United Kingdom; and yet, strange as it appears, multitudes of the American people, rendered desperate by a situation which they do not understand, are willing to follow the lead of the bondholding class in the attempt to finally establish the single gold standard in this country.

MOTIVES OF THE MONOMETALLISTS.

Why was the policy of monometallism inaugurated, and what have been its results? It was devised for the purpose of enhancing the value of money and securities. The purchasing power of gold has been appreciated very nearly 100 per cent, and the appreciation has doubled the actual value of the world's thousands of millions of dollars of interest-bearing securities. It has been enormously profitable to the holders of those securities; it has been dreadfully disastrous to all whose labor contributes to the fund from which those securities, principal and interest, are paid.

Here in the West we have been led, by reason of the direct and disastrous effect upon our leading industry, to give this subject that careful thought necessary to arrive at correct conclusions. The people of the East have not given it such thought; they have carelessly accepted the explanation that the price of the product of human labor has declined because of overproduction. That is a monstrous assumption. We tell you prices have shrunk because of the appreciation of basic money, as a result of the application of the principle of monometallism. You will agree with us in this proposition when you have given the subject that independent study and investigation to which its importance entitles it.

ALL VALUES SHRINK.

We want to tell you again, that this rule of monometallism, if it be finally fixed upon us, must apply to all classes of property. Values must all shrink. The value of your lands, the value of your buildings, the value of your factories, the value of your railroads, must all be pared down. You can not es-

cape from it; neither the efforts of financiers nor the intervention of clearing-house associations can prevent the fall. When the process of shrinkage shall have been finished, 75 per cent of our stocks will have been entirely wiped off the board of the exchanges. Thousands of millions of dollars of your investment securities will not be worth as much as the paper upon which they are printed; they represent only an equity; the bondholder comes first, and the value of the property will not be sufficient to more than pay the bond when finally measured by the single gold standard.

BENEFITS OF FREE COINAGE.

Free coinage of silver will enlarge the volume of basic money; it will stop the fall of prices and establish them upon a much higher plane; it will add to the rewards of all who toil; it will increase wages; it will make the burdens of life easier in the homes of the masses; it will lighten the sky of industry; it will make music among the spindles; it will put thanksgiving in the hearts and songs on the lips of millions; it will overturn the bondholders' conspiracy and take the yoke of hopeless poverty from the necks of those who have been ground into the dust beneath the wheels of this juggernaut of gold. Moreover, we want to say to those who own factories that are standing idle, that free and unlimited coinage of silver would at once create a new and almost boundless market for them.

In Mexico and the other Latin-American countries, business has suffered to such an extent that the shelves of the merchants are empty. Free coinage in the United States would at once bring a flood of orders for goods; such fluctuations in exchange would be done away with. This trade would amount to tens of millions of dollars annually; it would permanently turn the general balance of trade in our favor and would oblige Europe to send its balance to us in gold, *aye, in gold*. While drawing the silver of Mexico we would draw the gold of England, and the bimetallic United States would become the money center of the world.

Our trade with all the silver-using countries would become direct, thus building up our merchant marine.

MR. SEYD'S PROPHECY.

The remarkable prophecy of the French economist, Mr. Ernest Seyd, is well worth quoting in this connection. So far back as 1871, two years before silver was demonetized in the United States, Mr. Seyd used these words: "It is a great mistake to suppose that the adoption of a gold standard of values by other states besides England will be beneficial. It will only lead to the destruction of the money equilibrium hitherto existing and cause a fall in the value of silver, from which England's trade and the Indian silver valuations will suffer more than all other interests previously. There will be a general decline of properties all over the world."

"The strong doctrinalism existing in England as regards the gold valuation is so blind that when the time of general depression sets in, then will be this special feature: The economic authorities of the country will refuse to listen to the causes here foreshadowed. Every possible attempt will be made to prove that the decline of commerce is due to all sorts of causes and irreconcilable matters. The workingman and his strikes will be the first convenient target. Then speculation and overtrade will have their turn. Many other allegations will be found convenient by the financial writers. The great danger of the time will be that among all this confusion and strife England's supremacy in commerce and manufactures may go backward to an extent which can not be redressed when the great cause, the demonetization of silver, becomes recognized and the natural remedy is applied."

The last clause expresses the only portion of this prophecy unfulfilled, and clearly presents a way by which the United States may again obtain commercial supremacy.

THE ADVOCATES OF SOUND MONEY.

In advocating this course we claim to be the real conservative champions of sound money. The advocates of the gold standard well know that there is not enough of their favorite metal to sustain the system throughout the world, and yet are so prejudiced against the use of silver that they prefer fiat money as a necessary assistant. We have been on a gold standard since 1873. It has brought stagnation and ruin, and yet, so far from turning to silver to help pull through the trouble, they issued fiat money, good among bankers only, in defiance of the United States statute, which imposes a tax of 10 per cent upon such circulation. The bankers of various cities have already issued \$50,000,000 in clearing-house certificates in accordance with this scheme. We condemn this evasion of the law as an attempt to avert the necessity of free coinage by doubtful financial expedients. We earnestly recommend that Congress make certificates issued upon deposit of silver coin full legal tender as the coin so deposited.

Recent events emphasized the fact that the restoration of silver to free, unlimited coinage at a ratio of 16 to 1 is the paramount issue before the American people, and the people of Idaho hereby record their conviction that if Congress shall fail to pass a free-coinage law at this session it will be necessary for all bimetalists, laying all other issues aside, to unite in a political organization whose sole aim shall be to rectify the disastrous error committed in the demonetization act of 1873.

AN AMERICAN POLICY.

There is a very large and respectable class of our fellow-citizens who would be glad to see silver restored, but who do not think the United States could maintain the parity of the two metals in the absence of an international agreement. We would call the attention of all such to a statement made by the late Mr. Blaine, that those have always been most successful in dealing with the financial affairs of our Government who have had the greatest confidence in the resources and credit of the country. We believe the United States is strong enough, and that its wealth and credit are so great that it can decree what the position of silver in the business world is to be. We know that England for eighty-seven years has maintained a fixed value upon gold; we know that Spain fixed the ratio of silver and gold throughout two centuries; we know that the little Kingdom of Portugal at a later date fixed that ratio and long maintained it, and we believe that what England has done with gold and what Spain and Portugal at different times did for silver can now be done by the great United States of America for the latter metal.

We ask that it be tried. We are not asking that a depreciated currency be established. If, under a free-coinage law, the parity of gold and silver should, after a fair trial, fail to be sustained, the people of Idaho would be first to support such other legislation as should be shown to be necessary. Compromises may be offered; we are opposed to any and all compromises. We know that the gold-standard conspirators will try any experiment as a compromise proposition; and we challenge them to try the simple plan of the constitutional free coinage of both metals. We throw down the gauntlet to them; we know that they will not take it up, because they are aware that we are right and that this method would hopelessly wreck all their carefully laid plans; so we appeal to the people of the country, asking them to unite their voices with ours in demanding the adoption of the one plan which the logic of the situation suggests.

NO OVERPRODUCTION OF MONEY.

There are those who fear we might have too much silver, although the same persons would not entertain such a fear in relation to gold. There could be no such thing as too much metallic money. The history of the world proves that those periods which have witnessed the greatest production of the money metal have been the most prosperous that the human race has known. Great production of these metals enriches the arteries of commerce, stimulates every department of human industry, and spreads smiling prosperity among a busy, happy people. But there can be no hope of phenomenal production. The life of a mine is limited. The largest properties become exhausted in a very few years, and new mines come forward now no faster than old producers are closed. The mining territory of this country has been well explored, and but few bonanza districts can remain to be discovered. The production may reach somewhat higher figures under favorable conditions, but it will fluctuate and can not permanently be much larger than during recent years.

A FOREIGN FOE.

In conclusion we would point out the fact that the headquarters of the bondholders' and antisilver conspiracy against the people is in Great Britain. Within a few months the British premier, when interrogated in Parliament upon the attitude of his Government in regard to a larger use of silver, stated that Great Britain would not assent to such a policy. "All the world owed England," he said, and the debts were payable in gold. It might be philanthropic to talk about making payment easier through an enlarged use of silver, but that would not be in harmony with British business principles. So we say to our fellow-citizens, the contest is primarily against a foreign foe; it is in the interest of the homes of the masses of our people; we simply ask of every patriotic citizen that he investigate the subject independently of the influences that his surroundings may throw around him, for we know that such an investigation must, in every instance, lead the inquirer into the ranks of the supporters of constitutional free coinage.