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FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

Silver Coinage.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. PEPPER,

OF KANSAS.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, August 24, 1893.

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

Mr. PEPPER said: No member of this body, Mr. President, has a keener appreciation of the need for our acting promptly in response to the President's call than I have; and were it not that the people whom I have the honor in part to represent have commissioned me to present their views upon the pending question, I should not at this time ask the attention of the Senate, and I will thank Senators if they will give me their attention.

In what I am going to say to-day I wish Senators to understand that I represent at least a million and a half of voters who believe just as I do, and they have a right to be heard here through one who is authorized to speak for them. We are deliberating now, and the views of every member of this body are worth listening to, they are worth considering; for the conditions which are now presented for our consideration are new in the history of this country. They are coming upon us like a storm which has been gathering for many years, but the cloudbursts are just now opening, and we are beginning to look to see what is behind them. So I ask in advance that I may be heard attentively and patiently, as I have listened to every other Senator who has spoken upon this subject.

It would have been very gratifying to me, Mr. President, could I have found time in the midst of this hurried occasion to reduce my thoughts to writing, that I might express them more clearly, if not more forcibly; but that could not be done. This subject is not new to me, and that is one reason why I again appeal to the Senate. I have been thinking for years along the lines which have converged into what we now see. So, while my thoughts may be roughly expressed, they are not crude or new.

It was suggested the other day by the venerable Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], whose seat is just in front of where I am speaking, that those of us who venture to discuss this question before we have become warm in this Chamber should tarry at Jericho, as certain of our ancestors had been advised to do, until their beards had grown. If the newspaper and the magazine caricatures are to be taken in evidence, Mr. President, I have been at Jericho some time. [Laughter.]

At the outset I wish to say that I am not interested personally in mining, nor are the people of Kansas. Seventy-five per cent of the men whom I represent here are farmers. I had rather have one good Kansas farm to-day than an equal number of acres in the best mineral region in the world. Kansas farmers and the farmers of the entire country are always prepared with something to live upon.

A little while ago, passing through the mountains in the mining regions, I saw that upon the closing of the mines there were thousands and thousands of men clustering in the cities out of employment. A few days afterwards I saw that they were marching to Denver, and that the whole populace there were aroused. I stopped one night in July last in the city of Leadville, almost at the top of the Rocky Mountains. In the morning the sidewalks were covered with frost, so cold it was—in a drear, rocky, barren region—barren of everything except silver and gold and iron.

Those men, thrown out of employment, have no place to go, no place to rest their heads, no farming lands to occupy their

time, no deep, rich soil, out of which to raise wheat and corn and other articles of subsistence. They must go out upon the cold charities of a heartless world—no, not heartless, but they are thrown out upon the charity of a sympathizing world. That is a better word. The farmer is always at rest so far as something to eat is concerned.

While we in Kansas produce as much wheat, as much corn, and as many cattle and horses in a single year as will outweigh in value the output of all the mines in the country, while we have no special interest in mining, we have a great interest in the subject of money; and I am receiving letters every day from the people of that splendid agricultural region saying "Give us money! Give us money! Twenty-two and 25 cent wheat we can not live upon except to feed ourselves." It is money the people want.

In that respect, Mr. President, we are broad enough to understand that the people of the entire country are just as much interested in this matter as the men who live among the silver mines; just as much interested as those pioneers who have entered the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, and wrought out every year since they have been there, as the Senator from Idaho [Mr. DUBOIS] told us the other day, millions upon millions of gold, which our Eastern friends are clamoring for. One of the most astonishing feats of modern civilization is the course of progress in that stony and rugged region. The only wonder is that men and women have ever undertaken to live there. Were it not for the mining interest, were it not for the mineral stores which are there, nothing of the kind would ever have been accomplished.

While we, the people in the States contiguous to the mining regions, are interested indirectly because it makes a market for us, still we are broad enough to understand that the whole country is interested. I have never heard any Senator upon this floor, or any Representative of a mining region, whose people are directly interested in the mining of silver and gold, urge upon the attention of the Senate that it is their peculiar interest, and that, therefore, they ask the protection of the law. Much and vitally as those people are interested in the development of the mining regions, they are manly enough and patriotic enough, Mr. President, to appeal to the people upon broader grounds. They put it upon the ground of the public necessity, and not their local needs, and it is a principle that statesmen ought always to act upon that the public interests are greater than private interests, no matter how intensely they may be involved.

It was suggested by one Senator, a few days ago, that the wiping out of the mining industry would destroy much valuable property. That is true, but in the progress of civilization there must needs be wrecks left in the wake, and society can not afford to pay for all of the losses that are occasioned as the great army of the people moves forward. We could not with any degree of consistency, either in law or in morals, stop to pay our friends in the mining regions the value of their interests before we shall conclude to coin their silver and their gold into money. The people need money; the people want the gold, and they want the silver for public purposes—to make money out of; and for that reason, and that reason alone, do I insist upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Mr. President, in the great war through which we passed some years ago, the physical courage and the prowess of the people were exhibited in such a marked degree that the whole world looked on in admiration. We have no question about that to-day; we are all Americans, all Anglo-Saxons. Now, I submit there is coming a war of greater importance, a war in which there shall be no South and no North, and I pray that there may be no East and no West, but that we shall have one undivided country, that all of us shall be actuated by patriotic principles, and that we shall consider these questions from a patriotic standpoint, and only that. It is a war of reason now, and not a war with engines of destruction in our hands.

I need not call the attention of the Senate to the importance of the subject. It was expressed in the message of the President very plainly and very succinctly; that it reaches out into all the avenues of trade and of commerce. I need only go back about twenty-five or twenty-six years to the time when the distinguished Senator from Ohio, who sits upon my left [Mr. SHERMAN], stated

in this Chamber the proposition still more distinctly, if possible, than the President has done.

He said then that in all of our legislation touching finance we are treating of matters which pertain to the vital interests of the people, that our laws upon finance reach to the homes of the poor, the humble, the lowly, and that when we are proposing to decrease the volume of our currency and appreciate the value of the basic metals, we are adding to the debts of the people, as was the case at that time; when we promised to pay 100 bushels of wheat, we shall have to pay 135 or 140; that where we promised to pay \$100 we shall have to pay \$140; so to-day the legislation which we enact will have its effect for good or evil in every dwelling in the land, for we are touching upon a subject which is of vital interest to every human being in this and in every other part of the world.

The President in calling Congress together gave us what, in his opinion, was the cause of the present troubles, and he puts it in this way on page 5 of the printed message, as we have it before the Senate:

The knowledge in business circles among our own people that our Government can not make its fiat equivalent to intrinsic value—

I beg close attention to this language—

The knowledge in business circles among our own people that our Government can not make its fiat equivalent to intrinsic value, nor keep inferior money on a parity with superior money by its own independent efforts, has resulted in such a lack of confidence at home in the stability of currency values that capital refuses its aid to new enterprises, while millions are actually withdrawn from the channels of trade and commerce to become idle and unproductive in the hands of timid owners.

The President gives Congress to understand that our own people have lost confidence in the ability of the Government, acting as the people's agent, to pay their debts.

I beg leave to place side by side with the President's statement the language of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES]. With his usual eloquence, powerful always in debate, clear and succinct in expression, the Senator gave us to understand in a speech day before yesterday that it was not want of confidence on the part of our people that has caused all this trouble and commotion. I have that Senator's speech before me, and I wish to call attention particularly to a paragraph on page 390 of the RECORD. The Senator says:

The national credit of the American Republic, tried by every test which can be applied, is better and stronger to-day than the credit of any other government on the globe. Her bonds, her promissory notes to pay her debts, as they may be called, bearing a low rate of interest, stand at a premium in the money markets of the whole earth, and even the cold, cowardly instinct of hoarded, inactive, interest-hunting capital, in its cautious search for permanent investments, seizes upon them with swift greed wherever they can be found. The safety of the security appeases somewhat even the usurer's highly seasoned appetite for richer profits.

And, strange as it may appear, the Senator from Indiana is not only authorized to speak for the Administration and to explain the President's views, if they need any explanation, but the Senator kindly and deliberately says so to the Senate. In the first paragraph of his able and lucid speech he says:

It is undoubtedly true that the calm, unbiased public opinion of the great body of the American people, irrespective of parties, justifies the action of the Executive in assembling the legislative branch of the Government at this time, and yet the causes which have made such action necessary are I think, widely and dangerously misunderstood and by certain classes purposely and persistently misrepresented.

Then the Senator proceeds to state what the causes are not; and the first one is that it is not that the people have lost confidence in the credit of the Government's paper.

The people of this country are not afraid of the public credit; they never were afraid of it. In the time of the nation's need we were all pleased to receive and to use as money that which the Congress of the United States authorized and directed that we should receive as money; and so it is to-day. There is no clamor upon the part of any class except the usurers. They and they only are clamoring about the credit of the Government, and it is only because they desire to add to their already ill-gotten gains.

If the people were afraid of the credit of their Government, and feared that we would dishonor our notes, they would not hoard them as they are doing now, and the national banks would not feel themselves compelled to issue clearing-house certificates and require that they shall be used as money, nor would they be paying a premium upon currency.

The first week of our meeting, Mr. President, the usual report of R. G. Dun & Co.'s Mercantile Agency was given to the world. On the first page there is a long recital of the business failures and embarrassments, the breaking of banking houses, the hoarding of currency, the closing of manufacturing establishments, the throwing out of thousands of working people upon the streets without employment. These things show that something else, everything else, if you please, except what the President urges

upon the attention of Congress, has caused our present misfortunes.

Mr. President, far be it from me, and it ought to be far from every patriotic citizen, to even suggest that our own people are ashamed or afraid of their own currency. Let me read from this report of the Mercantile Agency:

The long-desired meeting of Congress, a President's message which fully answered expectations, and the arrival of \$13,200,000 gold from Europe with \$10,000,000 more on the way, have not brought the improvement many anticipated. Stocks are stronger, but failures continue, and the closing of industrial establishments; idle hands multiply and silent shops; and the disorganization of domestic exchanges is even greater than a week ago. Yet there is a more hopeful spirit, though the nation looks to Washington with some impatience when the Senate seems disposed to rival the mills in working short time. While statesmen consider, merchants and bankers and unemployed thousands anxiously wait, knowing that the wrecks of each passing week make the task of recovery more difficult. There has been no startling crash, but the formal failures of banks, including one in this city and several in Nashville, number thirty-four, while refusals to pay except through a clearing house or with limitations are becoming more common. The commercial disasters, three hundred and ninety-four in number, include such names as E. H. Coleman, the "Iron King"; J. H. Walker & Co., Chicago, in dry goods, and H. L. Hotchkiss, in stocks. Whatever relief Congress has power to give may be less fruitful for good if long deferred.

The machinery of exchanges has almost stopped. When \$30 per \$1,000 is paid for New York exchanges at Chicago, and \$15 or \$20 at other Western cities, settlements between the East and the West, which ordinarily amount to \$3,200,000,000 in a year, become extremely difficult. Even the New York Central could not get currency here on checks of the Boston and Albany, and was obliged to send to Boston for the money. The root of the trouble is that, according to reports of July 12 to the Comptroller, over \$131,000,000 of deposits had been withdrawn in two months from part of the national banks, and probably \$177,000,000 from all, besides unknown sums from savings, State, and private banks, and during the month, since July 12, the withdrawal and hoarding must have been relatively even greater. A premium of 1 to 2 per cent is paid for gold, and 3 to 4 per cent for currency. The Government is printing \$1,250,000 bank notes daily. The clearing house has issued \$5,000,000 more certificates, and the hope is that confidence may be revived and hoardings unlocked.

There are multitudinous other evidences besides those of the commercial reports. I have nearly an armful of newspaper clippings that I collected for the purpose of ascertaining what these troubles have come from. Evidently the President is mistaken. All the testimony is against him. I do not wish to be understood as criticising the President or his motives. I am discussing statements made in a public document, and that only.

I have great faith in the personal honor and in the patriotism of the President of the United States. I would honor any occupant of that office because of his high office; but I am calling the attention of the Senate and of the country to the actual facts as they exist, for the purpose of showing before I get through that it is not want of confidence on the part of the people, but it is because of practical treason upon the part of a few of our citizens, a class which I hope will some day be relieved from the responsibility of stealing from the people. I mean the usurers and the fortune wreckers at the great trade centers who fatten on the misfortunes of other men.

There are other alleged causes, and I will refer to two of them before going further. The speakers and the writers of both the great political parties have been telling us for years, upon the one side, that our protective policy was carrying the country to ruin, and, upon the other side, that the free-trade tendencies of the opposite party were doing exactly the same thing; and that now what ails us, one party says, is our protective tariff laws, and the other party says it is the fear of the people that our tariff legislation will be disturbed.

Let us think a moment about this matter. It can not be that our protective policy has injured us to this extent or that it would ever do it, for if I should cite no other argument one alone is sufficient. To-day more than one-half in value of the goods that we are receiving from foreign countries come in free of duty, and the duty we pay upon the rest amounts to only about \$150,000,000 a year.

Then, on the other hand, I take issue with those friends who insist that it is the free-trade tendencies of the Democratic party that are causing all the trouble in the factories, in the mines, in the workshops, and other places. That can hardly be true. Carpenters and builders and that class of men who are to-day idle have no interest, either directly or indirectly, in tariff duties. What fear have the farm hands, the miners in the mountains, the sailors, the clerks in the mercantile establishments and in the business houses as to the prospective danger to manufacturing establishments by the course of the Administration now in power?

Mr. HAWLEY. May I make a suggestion to the Senator just there?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAWLEY. Suppose a manufacturing town that has been thriving and growing is so afraid of alterations in the tariff that it concludes to suspend all building operations, pigeonholes the plans for a new factory or a new wing, what becomes of the

carpenters who expect to work a year upon it, for example? It involves the prosperity of the whole village.

Mr. PEFFER. I remember once upon a time seeing a young man of a romantic turn of mind sitting down and resting himself beneath the shade of a towering rock. In the midst of his meditations I inquired what he was thinking about. He said he was thinking that if in the future he should bring his child there to look at the magnificent scenery surrounding him and the rock should fall and kill the boy how lonely he would be in his old age. Whenever manufacturing establishments do, as a matter of fact, close their establishments because they expect or because they fear any tampering with the tariff, I will then answer the Senator's question. I do not believe there is one such case in a thousand.

I have no doubt, Mr. President, that there are a good many cases where gentlemen do not proceed with projected enterprises, because they fear that possibly they will not receive the protection that the laws have afforded those who have been at work in the same line in past years. I can understand that very well. I know of some instances of that kind, and it is entirely logical. But I insist that the records of the failures to-day and for the last half-dozen years in the manufacturing establishments show that it is not fear of being closed by any prospective tariff policy, but it is for want of orders. The people in the country have not money to buy with. My own constituents are selling wheat at from 25 to 40 cents a bushel, corn at no more than the cost to produce it, horses at one-fourth of their value, and cattle at one-third less than their value. They are unable to prosecute their accustomed marches to the merchant for goods; the merchant fails to sell, and the manufacturers do not receive orders. That is the trouble.

Mr. President, I have often listened to this outcry with wonder and astonishment. I have no party prejudice in the matter. I have always been a protectionist and I am at this hour. But I do not believe in protecting one man against other men in matters of business. I do not believe in protecting one interest against other interests, and taxing the masses of the people to support a few men. I am utterly opposed to that, and so is the whole party to which I belong. But protection means protection to national industries as a national matter. That was the theory of the fathers. It was the theory of the old party that I loved so well, and never departed from until it abandoned the policy of its own early history.

Now, if the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. HAWLEY] will turn to the Democratic platform in the year 1884, he will see that while there is a proposition to revise the tariff, it is expressly stipulated that whatever revision is done shall be along the line of saving to the working people of the country whatever they have gained by reason of this protective policy. The President in his message in 1887, which was made the rallying cry of the party afterwards, took the same ground. He gave the people to understand that their industries should not be molested except upon a fair line which would save to the workingman whatever he is entitled to to make him equal with his competitor upon the other side of the ocean, with his cheaper labor and his cheaper clothing.

I see the Senator from Texas [Mr. MILLS] standing before me and honoring me with his attention. He, as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives, presented a bill to that body for their action early in 1888, after the President's message had been given to the country. The bill was drawn upon the lines of the message, and was so stated by the distinguished chairman of that important committee; and the Senator from Connecticut will remember that the woolen mills which are established in his own State and all through New England and New York were left with a protection averaging about 40 per cent.

The same class of men who managed to get along in 1846, and from that to 1857, with a tariff duty averaging about 30 per cent or along there, and a still lower one in 1857, and did not then even ask for any increase for the purpose of protection, are not scared now at the tariff outlook. When Congress met in 1861, in view of the great war that was coming, called together for the purpose of raising armies and equipping them, and revised the tariff, it was done not for protection to manufacturers, but to raise revenue, and every increase that was made afterwards was made not for protection, but to save the manufacturers against the effect of a tax levy made upon them to support the armies.

In 1864 we authorized them to go abroad and employ labor and bring it here, under contract and a year's mortgage on their income; and not until nearly a dozen years afterwards were the masses of the people aware that such an act had ever been passed. We are now reaping its fruits in Pennsylvania, where men are marched to the polls and vote by number, instead of by name.

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Somebody in the city of New York is sending to me regularly the weekly publication known as American Industries. It is in the Democratic party the same as the American Economist is in the Republican party. The editor sent out a very intelligent and capable reporter among the manufacturers to ask their opinions about the revision of the tariff, and in not a single instance that has come under my observation did those men recommend a duty below 40 per cent, the average of the Mills bill, on the lower grades of woolen cloth. The Democratic party dare not, if it wanted at this hour, to establish free trade in this country. The very men who are controlling both the great parties to-day are the men who are standing behind the great manufacturing interests, and all the money power in Christendom, if need be, will be brought to bear to prevent the consummation of a plan of that kind.

There is no danger of free trade unless this fight is forced upon us to the end, and then every custom-house will be closed and the trade of the world from that time on will be free. That is where we are drifting; and the men who are behind the throne to-day are the men whom I blame for hastening that consummation when it comes. All that we ask is, to use the language of the old Virginia slave, that "you tote fair." If we upon our farms are compelled to compete with what you call the pauper labor of other countries, you can do it, and we say you must do it before this fight ends. Be fair with us and we will be fair with you.

But if the tariff was what ailed us the President would have been careful to say so. The very fact that it is omitted from his message is evidence to the country that the interests of the people are not going to be disturbed by any proposed legislation of any party. There is as much patriotism among the Democracy as there is among the Republicans. Thank God, the great war of the sections is over. A little while ago I read a speech delivered by the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. GORDON], who thirty-odd years ago was at the head of an army in gray uniform. He was talking to the old veterans of the rebellion, and he said to them, "The time has come when this Union and this whole country is ours."

"We have but one flag, we have but one destiny. Our hearts and our hands are united as citizens of a common country, and we be to the enemy that strikes at our vitals." I have heard no more patriotic utterances in this body than have fallen from the lips of men whom we went down to visit in 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, and 1865.

I did not expect to be drawn off in this sort of a discussion, Mr. President, but the well-meant interruption of the Senator from Connecticut, kindly disposed as he always is, for the time being stimulated a thought upon that line.

The President of the United States was not well advised. Who were his advisers? They were the same to whom his predecessors since 1873 have gone for counsel. And who were they? By reference to the current newspaper chronicles of September, 1890, we find that the Secretary of the Treasury then paid a visit to New York City, and the cause of his visit was an alleged "stringency in the money market." Out in Kansas, in Nebraska, in Iowa, in all of that splendid region down in the Carolinas and in the Virginias and through to Texas, in all the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, there was the same stringency in the money market.

On the 31st day of March, 1890, the average market price of corn in Kansas was 15 cents a bushel, when it cost 21 cents to raise it. We made known our wants. Our farmers and those from every agricultural State in the Union poured in letters by the thousand to the Secretary of Agriculture and to all the officers of the Government who had any connection with the business of farming. The Secretary, in response to their appeal, wrote a long letter in small print, occupying four pages of foolscap, in which he conceded the justice of their complaint. He spoke kindly about their condition, and the only encouragement the Secretary could offer them was that Congress was at that time discussing the currency question, and he thought in due time the same body would increase the duties upon wheat and corn and other agricultural products brought in from foreign countries. Then, he thought, the farmers would have more money and they would have more protection. That was the condition of the farming population at that time.

The Secretary of the Treasury made a visit to New York to confer—not with the people; he paid no attention to the people in the West or the South; he paid no attention to the masses of the people anywhere; but this is what he did: He sent out cards of invitation to a few bankers and other capitalists to meet him at the subtreasury building, and they met and discussed the situation.

Now, if Senators will turn to page 29 of the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for that year they will find a clear, suc-

cinct statement of why he called upon those bankers and other capitalists and what the result of his call was.

The result is put down in a table on page 30 of the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1890. It shows that he purchased bonds from those bankers and other capitalists at a premium of 25 to 26 per cent; that he advanced nine months' interest on a large number of bonds that were not yet due, the total amount of the disbursements being \$98,276,682.10. The amount of the advanced interest was \$12,009,951.50. These several transactions are fully set out in the Secretary's report, on pages 28, 29, and 30, as follows:

Accordingly, on July 19, 1890, a circular was published rescinding that under which purchases had been made since April 17, 1888, and inviting new proposals, to be considered July 24, for the sale of the two classes of bonds before mentioned. Under this circular there were offered on the day prescribed \$6,408,350 4 per cents and \$594,550 4½ per cents, at prices varying from 121.763 to 128.263 for 4s, and from 103½ to 104.40 for 4½s, of which there were purchased all the 4 per cents offered at 124 or less, amounting to \$6,331,350, and all the 4½s offered at 103½ or less, amounting to \$394,550. As the amount obtained on this day was less than the Government desired to purchase, the provisions of the circular were extended, with the result that further purchases were made, amounting in the aggregate to \$9,652,500 4s and \$706,450 4½ per cents.

It was soon apparent that these purchases were inadequate to meet existing conditions; therefore, on August 19 the Department gave notice that 4½ per cent bonds would be redeemed with interest to and including May 31, 1891; and two days later the circular of August 21 was published, inviting the surrender for redemption of twenty millions of those bonds, upon condition of the prepayment after September 1, 1890, of all the interest to and including August 31, 1891, on the bonds so surrendered. Under this circular there were redeemed \$20,060,700 4½ per cents.

Notwithstanding the disbursements resulting from purchases and redemptions of bonds under the circulars of July 19 and August 21, the industrial and commercial interests of the country required that large additional amounts should be at once returned to the channels of trade. Accordingly, a circular was published August 30, 1890, inviting the surrender of an additional twenty millions of 4 per cents upon the same terms as before. This was followed by another, dated September 6, inviting holders of the 4 per cent bonds to accept prepayment of interest on those bonds to July 1, 1891, a privilege which was subsequently extended to the holders of currency 6s. Under this circular of August 30 there were redeemed \$18,678,100 4½ per cent bonds, and under that of September 6 there was prepaid on the 4 per cent bonds and currency 6s interest amounting to \$12,009,951.50.

These prepayments of interest are expressly authorized by section 3699 of the Revised Statutes. They were deemed expedient because of the disposition of the holders of bonds to demand exorbitant prices for them.

The amount of public money set free within seventy-five days by these several disbursements was nearly \$76,660,000, and the net gain to circulation was not less than \$45,000,000, yet the financial conditions made further prompt disbursements imperatively necessary. A circular was, therefore, published September 13, 1890, inviting proposals, to be considered on the 17th, for the sale, to the Government, of \$16,000,000 of 4 per cent bonds. The offerings under this circular amounted to \$35,514,900, of which \$17,071,150 were offered at 123½ or less, and were accepted.

The total disbursements since June 30, 1890, by the means above set forth, are recapitulated as follows:

	Bonds re- deemed.	Disburse- ment.
Under circular of Apr. 17, 1888.....	\$2,133,350	\$2,358,894.00
Under circular of July 19, 1890.....	17,324,850	21,225,989.46
Under circular of Aug. 19, 1890.....	560,050	581,138.12
Under circular of Aug. 21, 1890.....	20,060,700	20,964,868.42
Under circular of Aug. 30, 1890.....	18,678,100	19,518,176.83
Under circular of Sept. 6, 1890.....	(*)	12,009,951.50
Under circular of Sept. 13, 1890.....	17,071,150	21,617,673.77
Total.....	75,828,200	98,276,682.10

*Prepayment of interest.

The people who needed money in the transaction of their business were not heard. The back of the Government was turned upon them. The face of our officers was toward Wall street and the bankers and capitalists there. The Secretary of the Treasury could pay money into their pockets by the purchasing of bonds, the premium on which amounted to \$17,000,000. He could advance them nine months' interest upon bonds not yet due, amounting to \$12,000,000 more, making in all over \$27,000,000 of the public money paid to the bankers and other capitalists of Wall street, without adequate consideration, while the people were left to dig a little deeper and to raise a little more 15-cent corn.

I remarked that the present Chief Executive consulted with that class of men, the men whom his predecessors consulted since 1873. I will not go back beyond 1890; it would take too much time. Now, who were the President's advisers in this case? Coming a little closer home we will see how like the proceedings of 1890 were those of 1893. It was currently reported in the newspaper dispatches along about the 21st, 22d, and 23d of April last that the Secretary of the Treasury thought, speaking for himself, that the Treasury notes which had been issued in payment for silver bullion might properly be paid in silver. He carelessly dropped the remark somewhere in company, as it was alleged, "There is plenty of silver in the Treasury; there is no danger of a collapse there."

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No sooner did the wires carry the news of this suggestion than a gentleman from New York City, whose name was given at the time and need not now be repeated, started for Washington. The next day the newspapers came out with this heading: "The President speaks," and the President gave to the country in his own language his determination concerning the payment of those notes. The New York World, in commenting upon the President's statement that all the obligations of the Government will be paid in gold, used this language:

President Cleveland evidently feared that Secretary Carlisle's statement, given to the public on Thursday, was misunderstood, or at least that it did not afford a very clear explanation of the present financial situation and the adopted policy of the Administration, and so for the second time within three days he has taken the management of the Treasury into his own hands. The complaint can not be made that he has not spoken plainly or that he has kept the public in doubt as to just what he thinks should be done and what he intends to do.

The President gave the country to understand that every one of the Treasury notes would be paid in gold.

On the 26th of April the newspapers gave us some knowledge of the gentleman who was moving backward and forward between New York and Washington. His name is given as Jordan. The reporter says:

Assistant Treasurer Jordan did not give up yesterday to a series of conferences on the subject of gold. The bankers are less disposed to talk with Jordan. They are not convinced that he represents anybody above him, and they prefer to await the arrival of Secretary Carlisle, that they may talk directly to him.

Then the Secretary kindly went over, as the newspapers informed us, and in a little while he and the bankers agreed to disagree. After the trouble came, when there was a deficit in the Treasury so far as the \$100,000,000 mark was concerned, the bankers of Chicago, the bankers of Denver, and the bankers of Kansas City offered gold to the Government, and some of the little banks way in the back woods tendered a few thousand dollars—if that was all they had—in gold to help the Treasury out; but the bankers of Wall street could not agree with the Secretary and they advanced not a dollar, yet they were the President's advisers.

Now, Mr. President, it is very important that we should know who is dictating our financial policy; and in saying that I do not wish to be understood as saying that the Chief Magistrate of the American Republic is being dwarfed by anybody's influence. What I do mean to say is that the President of the United States, honestly believing that the policy dictated by the bankers and the "Napoleons of finance" was the proper policy of the country, so says boldly to the people. He has never gone into the background to say this thing. It has not been said in a corner.

Mr. Cleveland (and I honor him for his courage) is willing to say before the whole world what he believes. He has done it from the beginning. He is doing it now. No, no; the President is great among strong men; but he believes in a wrong philosophy that was taught to him in his childhood. Instead of learning his law at the feet of Gamaliel he learned his law at the feet of the Rothschilds, Baring & Co., Clews, Drexel, and that class of men—the men who received their teaching from the economists that built up the Bank of England and all the great banks of antiquity except only one.

Now, I wish to inquire a little into the character of those men in order that we may see and that the country may see who it is that is talking to us. Away back about thirty-four or thirty-five years ago a young man in the city of New York, having a speculative turn of mind, was anxious to become a member of a body of gentlemen who then met in the basement of a building in that city to transact their business. They refused admission to the young man. He came to the conclusion that he would follow a system of tactics that would force somebody to terms, just as our traders in grain force people to terms sometimes. He says:

After numerous efforts to gain admission to the exchange without success—

I am talking about the stock exchange of New York—

I finally made up my mind to force it. I at once inserted an advertisement in the newspapers, and proposed to buy and sell stocks at a sixteenth of 1 per cent each way. This was such a bombshell in the camp of these old fogies that they were almost paralyzed. What rendered it more distasteful to them still was the fact that, while they lost customers, I steadily gained them. The result was that they felt compelled to admit me to their ranks, so that I could be kept amenable to their rules, and do business only in their own conventional fashion. My membership cost me in all, initiation fee and other trifling expenses in connection therewith, \$500. This—

Says the gentleman—

presents a striking contrast to the recent price of a seat, \$35,000; but though this difference seems very large, yet the changes in every other respect connected with Wall street affairs have been in similar proportions.

Then he goes on in the next page and says:

Youthful speculators—

Like himself—

Had not then learned the "crooked"—

In quotation marks—

methods of the young idea of modern times. It was there also that Daniel Drew began to accumulate those millions that afterwards were subject to such a rude scattering. It was there that the celebrated "corners" in Rock Island, Prairie du Chien, and Harlem were concocted. It was there that the wealth was accumulated which built 20,000 miles of Western railroads, causing many millions of acres, that would otherwise have been a wilderness, to blossom like the rose, in spite of Mr. Powderly's opinion that no material good can come out of speculation, and thus adding immense wealth in real estate to the country, besides conferring incalculable benefits on trade and commerce, and preparing comfortable homes not only for the pioneers and surplus population of the Eastern States, but a teeming soil that has attracted the downtrodden of every nation to come and partake of the blessings of freedom and prosperity.

I have read from pages 9 and 10 of "Twenty-eight Years in Wall Street," by Henry Clews.

Now, Mr. President, going along a little further to pages 19 or 20, I will simply call attention to what is said there, without reading more than a portion of it. My object in this is to show the character—moral, financial, and political—that the advisers of our public men put before the world. I am doing it in their own words. Henry Clews is the young man I was speaking of, a recognized banker and stock-broker, a man standing high not only in his profession, but standing high in social and religious circles in the city of New York and everywhere, notwithstanding he goes before the world exposing himself and his co-workers as the most extensive gamblers in the world. Those are harsh words, I understand; but wait, Mr. President. It is time that the people have these things exposed to them in all their nakedness and deformity. On page 16 Mr. Clews says:

Wall street has furnished the money that has set the wheels of industry in motion over the vast continent, and in one century has brought us abreast, in the industrial arts, of countries that had from one to two thousand years the start of us.

Claiming the progress of our American civilization, grand as it is, to be the output and the legitimate offspring of this gambling institution in the very heart of our country.

It must be galling to some of these people that we are now the most available candidates—

Speaking of the people of other countries—

for the commercial and industrial supremacy of the world, and we have obtained this position, in a great measure, through the instrumentality of Wall street as a civilizer.

Then I refer, without reading it, to the portion of chapter 3, beginning on page 16, which I have marked in red, to show the methods by which those men accumulated their vast fortunes; and he speaks of them as having grown gray in their business. He says that they will come down from their comfortable homes in the time of panic, and these panics occur with reasonable certainty three or four times every year. They wait until they see a cloud no larger than a man's hand presaging the coming of a storm in the financial world. Then, he says, they go out of their homes like spiders in advance of a storm. They go down to their offices and rake in a few million dollars that somebody else has lost and then retire again to the bosom of their happy families.

These men are fortune-wreckers. They think no more of throwing a mortgage of fifteen, twenty, or one hundred million dollars over a railroad, or county, or State, or a nation than they do of eating an oyster for breakfast; and these are the class of men from whom we seek advice. This is what Mr. Clews says of them:

But few gain sufficient experience in Wall street to command success until they reach that period of life in which they have one foot in the grave. When this time comes these old veterans of the street usually spend long intervals of repose at their comfortable homes, and in times of panic, which recur sometimes oftener than once a year, these old fellows will be seen in Wall street hobbling down on their canes to their brokers' offices.

Then they always buy good stocks to the extent of their bank balances, which have been permitted to accumulate for just such an emergency. The panic usually rages until enough of these cash purchases of stock is made to afford a big "take-in." When the panic has spent its force, these old fellows, who have been resting judiciously on their oars in expectation of the inevitable event, which usually returns with the regularity of the seasons, quickly realize, deposit their profits with their bankers, or the overplus thereof, after purchasing more real estate that is on the up grade, for permanent investment, and retire for another season to the quietude of their splendid homes and the bosoms of their happy families.

If young men had only the patience to watch the speculative signs of the times, as manifested in the periodical egress of these old prophetic speculators from their shells of security, they would make more money at these intervals than by following up the slippery "tips" of the professional "pointers" of the stock exchange all the year round, and they would feel no necessity for hanging at the coat tails, around the hotels, of those specious frauds who pretend to be deep in the councils of the big operators and of all the new "pools" in process of formation. I say to the young speculators, therefore, watch the ominous visits to the street of these old men. They are as certain to be seen on the eve of a panic as spiders creeping stealthily and noiselessly from their cobwebs just before rain.

If you only wait to see them purchase, then put up a fair margin for yourselves, keep out of the "bucket shops" as well as the "sample rooms," and only visit Delmonico's for light lunch in business hours, you can hardly fail to realize handsome profits on your ventures.

What else is there about this? We read the other day, all of us, that in the city of New York there is a club known as the Millionaire Club. Seven hundred of the wealthiest men in the city belong to the club, of which J. Pierpont Morgan is president.

The club has already issued \$2,000,000 in 6 per cent bonds, with the proceeds of which the site for their club building was purchased. Then they invested a large amount in the erection of the building, and now this dispatch tells us that they have put on an additional mortgage of \$2,000,000 for the purpose of furnishing it, putting up finishings of marble and the most costly woods in the world. In the same paper, on the same day, I saw a description of the balls, the costly revelries that that class of men in New York City indulge in. These are the men, I repeat, with whom our executive officers confer—half a dozen speculators who rule the country with an iron hand.

It is time, Mr. President, that we dissolve partnership with Wall street. Since the dawn of history the money-changers have been against the people, always against the people and for themselves. It has been reserved for a Christian civilization in the closing years of the nineteenth century to throw a garb of respectability about the business of the usurer. It may seem a little harsh to characterize those people as I have done. Let me quote the language of the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] delivered in this body the day before yesterday upon the same subject. The Senator says in the second paragraph of his speech:

For the last five months and a little more, the cry of the pessimist—

And as he used that word and paused a moment to breathe I straightened myself, while sitting near him, expecting a thunderbolt at my devoted head and at the people for whom I am speaking, that we were to be termed the pessimists, although I had taken advantage of many occasions to deny that there was any truth in such a charge so far as we were concerned. But the Senator proceeds, and says:

For the last five months and a little more, the cry of the pessimist, the voice of the prophet of financial evil, and the wail of the apostle of national bankruptcy have all been heard in the land. These sounds of warning and menace against the authorities of this Government have gone up from all those financial centers where money, its gains and its power, constitute the chief objects of human worship, and from those—

Not from our poor fellows who dig in the soil and among the rocks, but—

from those centers have also emanated the cruel edicts of great financial corporations, commanding a stern contraction of the currency, a sudden and harsh shrinkage in its circulation, and the consequent inauguration of a panic, a distress period in the public mind.

And not satisfied with that presentation of the case, not satisfied with that arraignment, harsh as it was, after again calling attention to the good quality of our public credit, the Senator in the third paragraph following, says:

Not only do the traffickers in money and the permanent investors of capital hunger and thirst after all the Government bonds now in existence, but their chief complaint against the present Administration is that the President and his very able Secretary of the Treasury have refused their demand to issue at least three hundred millions more. This additional block of national indebtedness, increasing in a time of profound peace the interest-eating burdens of American labor, would be hailed with the keenest delight and swept with miser enjoyment and avidity into unpatriotic vaults by the very parties who have most loudly and continuously declared, ever since the present Administration came into power, that the credit of the Government was in deadly peril and its Treasury practically bankrupt.

I think, Mr. President, with the views of the Senator from Indiana added to mine, we can let Wall street rest a few minutes at least.

And now what kind of advice do they give us? Their advice to the President was, "repeal the Sherman law," and the bill to which I am speaking was presented in due course of proceedings. I have here a letter which I have no doubt was sent by copy to every other member of this body. It is from the same gentleman whose name is appended to this book as its author, Mr. Henry Clews. It is dated New York, August 16, 1893. He says:

To insure the repeal of the Sherman silver law it may not unlikely be necessary from present appearances—

Yes, I should think so—

to offer as a compromise some measure that will continue the recognition of silver as a money metal, in which event why not reenact the Bland silver law with the necessary amendments, changing the parity of the dollar to either 22 to 1, or 24 to 1?

Why not reenact the Bland silver law that was repealed two years ago in order to give us what we now have?

In that case—

Here is the reason, Mr. President. He answers it himself—

In that case the monthly purchases of silver would be at the discretion of the Secretary.

That is it precisely; it would be "at the discretion of the Secretary." You remember, Mr. President, and so do the Senators who are honoring me with their attention, how the Bland law was executed. It was on the statute books a little over twelve years, and during that entire period the law was never executed to its maximum nor beyond a few dollars in advance of the minimum. As Mr. Clews recites very properly, the Secretary was directed to purchase at least \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion,

and he was directed to purchase not more than \$4,000,000 worth. Not less than two nor more than four.

As a matter of fact, while the Secretary did have the discretion which Mr. Clews wants to clothe him with again, to coin \$4,000,000 worth a month, he gave us but \$2,000,060 a month instead of \$4,000,000, as he ought to have done, and by that means kept away from the people during the period of the operation of that law about 375,000,000 silver dollars that they were entitled to. They would have secured that much more than they did secure if the law had been executed.

The total amount of silver bullion purchased under the Bland act (act of February 28, 1878) to August 12, 1890, when the Sherman law took effect, was 323,635,576 standard ounces, costing \$308,199,261, an average of \$1.05 per fine ounce. The number of silver dollars coined out of that bullion was 378,166,793. If the maximum amount of \$4,000,000 worth of bullion had been purchased and coined every month during the time the law was in force instead of \$2,000,060, the total number of dollars coined would have been about 753,000,000, or an increase of about \$375,000,000 above what was actually coined.

Mr. Clews, one of the class who advise our public officers, asks us, inasmuch as they can not get rid of silver, to go back to the Bland law and let the Secretary of the Treasury coin just as many dollars as he pleases, and send out silver certificates upon them, and then, as was so well said by my distinguished friend from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] yesterday, they are not lawful money; you do not pay any taxes upon them; you can not pay your debts with silver certificates unless your creditor is willing to receive them; and if he is a money lender he sticks gold into the note. That is the kind of advice we get!

Mr. President, this kind of treatment of a vital matter is breeding bad blood in some parts of the country and insolence in others. The people at Denver, wild with excitement and under the influence of a temporary invasion of unemployed workmen, fearing the worst, voiced in the language of their governor, patriotic as any man in the country now or in past years, let loose some wild expressions which were thrown out upon the wires, and the people were led to believe that the citizens of Colorado, always a loyal and law-abiding people, were upon the verge of revolution. The metaphors of language at such times must be passed over. If we can smother the conduct of a Government agency to-day in the form of United States banking institutions, surely we can forgive a little looseness of expression among the miners, whose thoughts may be crudely expressed. After all, they are like the jewels that they dig from the mountain. Take away the dross and you have the pure metal left. Let our country get into war, nobody would come quicker than those boys who work in the mines from day to day and feed their little families upon the proceeds.

There is another sentiment sometimes expressed that is equally to be deprecated and to be discouraged. It is the attempt—I do not know that it is an attempt, but it has the effect of arraying one section of the country against another. I heard the other day a gentleman not connected with the party to which I belong, either, say that the two great parties of the country will soon divide upon the Rocky Mountains. I heard another man say that Mason and Dixon's line will be turned half way round, so that, instead of lying between the North and the South, it will lie between the East and the West. Mr. President, let us all here in this Chamber, and wherever our influence can extend, discourage all such language as that.

I would not array one section against another. I would heal all the wounds between different parts of the country. You could not blot out the little State of Massachusetts without expunging a part, and a very important part, of American history. You could not blot out of our history the city of New York without taking away a large part of our most valuable history; nor could you sink the old Keystone, the home of my childhood, without sinking to a very great extent the wealth of this country, and its enterprises, and its important historic recollections. Let us be for the whole country; and whenever we find a custom, no matter whether it be in the West, or the East, or the North, or where it may be, that is wrong, let us expose it; let us fight against it; let us undermine it and destroy its influence.

How ably and eloquently my distinguished friend from Minnesota [Mr. WASHBURN] fought here against the great gamblers in Chicago last fall, and how eloquently the able Senator from Louisiana [Mr. WHITE] defended them! It is a condition, not a section, that confronts us. I have not yet said a word against the East. There are customs and practices in the East that are destroying this country, and it is those customs, those practices that I am contending against. It is that that I would expose in all its deformity before the American people and before the world so that we may understand what ails us.

As was expressed a few days ago by the Senator from Massa-

chusetts [Mr. HOAR], we in the West are not alone to blame in this matter of sectional discussion. I have here something which is but a repetition of many similar expressions that I have found in the metropolitan press of the East. It is from the New York World:

The strength of this organized opposition—

Speaking of the opposition to the repeal of the Sherman law—and its inspiration come primarily from the States of Nevada, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, and the two Dakotas.

The writer omits Kansas and Nebraska, who are of the same family with the hardy mountaineers; and I say to them here now, speaking for the people of Kansas without regard to party affiliations, we are their neighbors and their friends. Their God is our God and we worship in the same tabernacle with them. We will defend them in their mountain gorges to the last, and when we get through with this fight and their mines are open we will send them our wheat and our corn and our cabbage and our potatoes and we will be their friends forever. The writer goes on to say that:

These seven States have a total population, according to the Eleventh Census, of only 1,146,735. Yet they have fourteen Senatorial votes against two for New York, with its 6,000,000 inhabitants.

And that writer was then about a hundred miles from the home of my friend from Rhode Island [Mr. DIXON], whose splendid little State, with all its romantic history, is about as large as two of our Western counties.

These seven States, with less than a million and a quarter population all told, counterbalance in the Senate New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and New Jersey, with their population of 24,885,760.

Then he goes on in the concluding paragraph and asks:

Why should those pocket boroughs have such preponderance of power, a power so wholly out of proportion to their numbers or their importance in any other way?

The same day I picked up the New York Herald and I find a complimentary reference to the Senator from Idaho [Mr. DUBOIS]. If he will give me his attention a moment it may be interesting to him to hear what the Herald had to say about him in connection with the same sort of criticism that I read from the World:

What rubbish—

The writer says—

for Mr. DUBOIS to talk of "battling for the rights of his own people!" Does he suppose the scattered population of Idaho could prosper if the teeming millions of the East, whose capital, brains, and labor make the country what it is, were to be immersed in irretrievable ruin?

When I read that I was moved to take up the statistical record of Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, and Wyoming. I find that the population of those ten States amounts to 4,000,000 and over, made up in large part, as the Senator from Idaho said the other day in choice language, of the best brain and muscle of the Eastern States. They are not foreigners, such as we find to-day in many of the large business establishments and hotels in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

Go out upon the magnificent prairies of Kansas and of Nebraska and you will find the very best form of American manhood and womanhood there. So it is all through that splendid region. We are Americans all. There may be some, and there are a few, who were born in other lands, but they came here to be a part of this thriving and prosperous people; they have assimilated themselves with our population; they are citizens of the States and of the Republic; they vote with us; we elect them to office; they are honored and respected citizens.

In addition to the four million population, I find that their aggregate valuation in 1890 of taxable property—not the estimated, but the actual valuation of their property for taxable purposes—was nearly a thousand and a quarter million dollars—\$1,187,156,990. I find that the six New England States—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—have a population of 4,700,745, just a little more than the population of the ten States to which I have called attention. The value of their property is \$3,558,215,480, just about three times as much as that of the people in the ten States whose names I have mentioned; and yet Kansas was admitted into the Union in 1861, Nebraska several years later, Colorado in 1876, and Idaho, the Dakotas, and the other new States only a few years ago.

Those people have accumulated vast amounts of wealth in the ten census years that have just passed, amounting in all to \$753,709,711. Their progress, their industry, their loyalty, their energy, their sobriety calls for commendation rather than for condemnation. They are yet in their swaddling clothes, while New England is two hundred and fifty years old.

As to the representation in the House of Representatives, those ten States have 24 members and they have 20 Senators, while the six New England States, with about the same population,

have 27 Members and 12 Senators—a total representation of 44 for the ten new States against 39 for the six old ones. The area of the ten States is 921,500 square miles, while that of the six is a little over 66,000 square miles—a proportion of 14 to 1.

I hope we shall hear no more invidious distinctions here or elsewhere concerning the pocket boroughs of the West.

In order that there may be no question about the correctness of the figures which I have given, I will insert as part of my remarks, Census Bulletin No. 104, under date of August 22, 1891, being a preliminary statement showing the assessed valuation of real and personal property of the several States and Territories for 1880 and 1890.

[Census Bulletin No. 104, August 22, 1891.]

Preliminary statement showing the assessed valuation of real and personal property of the several States and Territories for 1880 and 1890.

States and Territories.	Total assessed valuation.		Increase of assessed valuation.	Population.		Assessed valuation per capita.		Increase per cent of assessed valuation.	Increase per cent of population.
	1880.	1890.		1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.		
Total	\$16,902,993,543	\$24,249,589,804	\$7,346,596,261	50,155,783	62,622,250	\$337.01	\$387.62	43.46	24.86
Alabama	122,867,228	197,080,441	74,213,213	1,262,505	1,513,017	97.32	130.26	60.40	19.84
Arizona	9,270,214	21,434,767	12,164,553	40,440	59,630	229.23	359.52	181.22	47.43
Arkansas	80,409,364	6172,408,497	65,999,133	802,525	1,128,179	107.67	152.82	99.53	40.58
California	584,578,086	61,071,102,327	486,524,291	864,684	1,208,130	676.05	886.58	83.23	39.72
Colorado	74,471,693	188,911,325	114,439,632	194,327	412,198	383.23	458.30	153.67	112.12
Connecticut	327,177,885	358,913,906	31,736,521	622,700	746,258	525.42	480.95	9.70	19.84
Delaware	59,951,643	674,134,401	14,132,758	146,608	168,493	408.92	439.99	23.06	14.93
District of Columbia	99,401,787	153,807,641	55,905,754	177,624	230,392	559.62	665.42	54.23	29.71
Florida	30,588,309	76,926,888	45,988,029	299,493	591,422	114.20	196.53	148.05	45.24
Georgia	239,472,599	377,950,784	137,894,185	1,542,180	1,537,355	155.28	205.39	57.58	19.14
Idaho	6,440,876	20,531,905	19,140,429	32,610	84,385	197.51	303.15	297.17	153.77
Illinois	6780,610,384	6727,416,282	259,200,142	3,077,871	3,826,351	225.87	190.11	67.53	24.32
Indiana	727,515,131	782,872,126	55,556,995	1,978,301	2,192,404	307.90	357.08	7.56	10.82
Iowa	398,671,251	6478,818,245	69,646,977	1,624,615	1,911,896	245.89	250.18	19.98	17.68
Kansas	160,891,689	290,593,711	129,702,022	996,096	1,427,096	161.52	203.63	80.61	43.27
Kentucky	350,563,971	512,015,506	162,051,535	1,648,690	1,958,638	212.63	275.80	46.23	12.73
Louisiana	160,162,439	324,320,780	74,158,341	639,946	1,118,587	170.40	209.43	46.30	19.01
Maine	235,878,716	309,129,101	73,150,355	648,936	691,086	363.64	407.61	31.00	1.87
Maryland	6497,307,875	7482,184,824	1,084,876,949	1,783,085	1,042,390	551.91	462.56	63.04	11.49
Massachusetts	1,584,756,802	2,154,134,626	569,377,824	1,783,085	2,238,943	888.77	962.12	35.93	25.57
Michigan	517,666,359	945,450,000	427,783,641	1,636,937	2,083,869	316.24	451.53	82.64	27.92
Minnesota	238,028,087	588,531,743	350,503,656	780,773	1,301,626	390.48	452.08	128.00	66.74
Mississippi	110,628,129	6157,518,906	46,890,777	1,181,597	1,289,600	97.70	122.15	42.39	13.96
Missouri	532,785,801	786,843,753	253,647,652	2,168,380	2,679,184	245.71	293.50	47.59	23.56
Montana	18,609,802	100,392,692	87,783,090	39,159	132,159	475.24	805.04	471.70	237.49
Nebraska	90,585,782	184,770,305	94,184,523	452,402	1,058,910	200.23	174.49	103.97	134.06
Nevada	29,291,459	24,063,335	64,628,074	62,206	45,761	470.42	539.96	615.80	226.51
New Hampshire	164,785,181	252,722,016	87,936,835	346,991	370,530	474.81	671.19	53.39	8.51
New Jersey	572,518,361	668,309,187	115,790,826	1,131,116	1,444,953	503.15	476.36	20.22	27.74
New Mexico	11,803,406	24,041,010	12,237,604	119,565	153,593	95.04	299.76	305.17	28.46
New York	2,651,940,000	3,775,325,688	1,123,385,688	5,082,871	5,997,853	521.74	629.45	42.36	18.00
North Carolina	156,100,202	212,697,287	56,597,085	1,399,750	1,617,947	111.52	131.46	36.26	15.59
North Dakota	8,786,572	1,778,394,536	69,607,964	36,009	182,719	238.06	429.04	792.21	395.05
Ohio	1,534,360,508	1,778,138,457	243,777,949	3,196,062	3,672,816	479.78	484.20	15.89	14.83
Oklahoma					61,834				
Oregon	52,522,084	166,025,731	113,503,647	174,768	313,767	300.52	529.14	216.11	79.53
Pennsylvania	1,683,459,016	2,582,841,082	909,382,016	4,282,891	5,258,014	393.07	493.12	54.02	22.77
Rhode Island	252,536,073	321,764,503	69,227,890	278,531	345,506	913.23	931.28	27.41	24.94
South Carolina	133,560,135	132,182,638	61,877,497	965,577	1,151,149	134.15	114.83	61.03	15.63
South Dakota	11,534,958	131,592,587	120,057,629	98,263	328,808	117.98	400.21	1,040.82	234.80
Tennessee	211,778,538	347,510,103	135,731,565	1,549,359	1,797,518	137.31	190.61	64.09	14.60
Texas	320,364,515	898,642,320	578,277,805	1,591,749	2,235,523	201.27	311.27	117.20	40.44
Utah	24,775,279	104,756,750	79,733,471	143,963	207,905	172.09	503.88	322.84	44.42
Vermont	86,806,775	161,551,328	74,744,553	339,286	332,422	261.24	485.98	86.10	.04
Virginia	308,455,135	362,422,741	53,967,606	1,512,565	1,655,980	203.93	218.86	17.50	9.48
Washington	23,510,693	6124,795,449	100,984,756	75,116	618,930	316.99	357.18	424.12	365.13
West Virginia	139,622,705	160,927,587	30,304,882	73,794	225.76	222.77	21.70	23.84	
Wisconsin	538,871,751	592,890,719	153,918,968	1,315,497	1,686,880	333.69	351.47	35.06	28.23
Wyoming	13,621,829	631,431,495	17,809,666	20,789	60,705	655.24	517.77	130.74	192.01

a The assessed valuation of Oklahoma not being given, the population of that Territory is omitted in calculating the assessed valuation per capita for 1890 of the United States.

b Annual report of 1890.

c The State board of equalization declares that in 1880 the assessed value was 50 per cent and in 1890 only 25 per cent of the true value; hence the reduction.

d Decrease.

e Valuation for local purposes; amount for State purposes, \$459,187,408.

f Valuation for State purposes; amount for local purposes not reported.

g Assessment of 1886; assessment made every five years.

h Not including unorganized counties.

Under the protection of our laws, Mr. President, an aristocracy of wealth has grown up among us, and upon that subject I wish to quote a passage in a speech which I had the honor of delivering in this body on the 12th day of May, 1892. It describes the nature and effect of this wealth of aristocracy of which I have spoken.

We have fostered and fed and fattened men at the expense of the people until they have become a standing menace to popular liberty. Fabulous fortunes have been gathered in the course of a few years. We have many men whose checks are good for a million dollars each at any bank where that amount of money is on deposit. The interests of all these people are virtually the same. Their combined influence is often greater than that of the Government itself, and it grows greater every year.

So powerful has this great moneyed interest become that we find it operating in the business affairs of the country everywhere; in the hovels of the poor, the little stores of the country merchant, on the farm, in the shop, as well as in the great manufacturing establishments, banks, and clearing-houses. It amounts to an all-pervading force, reaching out through every avenue of trade, through every channel of commerce, into every department of business, into the details of every vocation, into every phase and condition of life. It owns every railroad and steamboat line, every telegraph and cable, every packing house, elevator and merchant mill, every bank and stock exchange, all the great newspapers of the country, and the important agencies for news; it has local attorneys at every county seat, trained lawyers at every court, skilled lobbyists at every capital; it dictates party plat forms, controls important nominations, and laughs at the popular will; it

levies tribute on toil, collects revenue from trade, has an interest in every State, and a lien on every town.

It "moves the money that controls the affairs of the world," says a distinguished banker—Mr. Henry Clews. It wields a "mighty power," he says, a power greater than that of monarchies. That is the power which demands gold in payment of debts payable in lawful money; the power that will not accept the bonds of a people whose mountains are rich in gold and silver, unless they are made payable, principal and interest, in gold.

That is the power that demanded 12 per cent annual interest on loans of bank paper to the Government at a time when farmers and mechanics, merchants and clerks, and field and shopmen all over the country volunteered their bodies for use in war; the power that depreciated our currency that it might purchase our bonds at a discount, then demand payment in gold; the power that banks on nontaxable bonds and charges 1 per cent a month on its paper loans; the power that has grown rich on the losses and misfortunes of the people; the power that has usurped the functions of government; that has wrested the prerogatives of voters from their grasp; that nineteen years ago demonetized silver, and has three times since prevented its restoration to its ancient place as one of the money metals; that kept from the people \$375,000,000 of silver coin that they were entitled to under the Bland law; that withdrew \$240,000,000 of national bank notes at a time when the people needed a large and steady increase of currency.

Then in this hour of need to whom shall we look for counsel? I have been criticising the class of persons with whom our public officers had conferred. Shall we look to them still further for our counsel? To the men that fatten upon the people who toil,

or shall we look to the people that produce the wealth of the country and pay the taxes? Shall we look to the bankers who expand and contract the currency at their pleasure and kindly transact the people's business for them at 1 to 4 per cent per month, or shall we turn to the people who have commissioned us, take them into our confidence, and listen to their complaints and act on their demands?

Do you tell me, Mr. President, that only professional financiers shall be heard, and that the demands of boards of trade, stock exchanges, and other commercial bodies shall be taken as the voice of the people? I do not believe that it is too much to say that 75 per cent of the bankers of this country to-day, take them all as a body, have never given twenty-four hours' solid study to the subject of finance. They understand how to shave notes, how to collect interest and rents, but they know nothing about the foundation principles upon which monetary systems are reared.

Judging by our past legislation, these advisers have not been safe ones. Immediately after the great war they insisted upon a contraction of the currency, which cost our people in the end more than the great war cost us, notwithstanding that that in dollars and cents amounted to at least \$10,000,000,000 when Lee surrendered or was captured in 1865. Since that time we have paid about \$2,000,000,000 in principal of our debt. We have paid a good deal more than that in the way of interest. We have paid about \$70,000,000 in premiums and advance interest, and to-day we have a pension roll of over a million persons, requiring a yearly expenditure of from \$150,000,000 to \$160,000,000. Yet, I say, following the advice that was given us by the financiers, cost us twice as much as the whole war in its active operation cost us. I mean that it has cost us that much in the depreciation of property.

There has been a constant effort on the part of the Treasury Department of late years to conceal from the people the true facts in relation to the contraction of our currency.

Our debts were all contracted with the understanding that they were to be paid with paper. The people had no money but paper. Our contracts were made with reference to the paper standard, and so we continued until what was called "the resumption of specie payment," under the act of 1875, which was to take effect on the 1st of January, 1879. Notwithstanding all our business was done with paper, and our promises to pay were promises to pay in paper, still, at the conclusion of the war, Wall street demanded payment in coin. During the fiscal year 1866 something near \$400,000,000 of our currency was withdrawn from circulation and most of it put into interest-bearing bonds. During the next three years, some \$900,000,000 more currency was withdrawn and put into bonds, so that at the beginning of the fiscal year 1870, about thirteen hundred millions of our paper money had been withdrawn from circulation and the currency volume contracted to that extent.

At the beginning of the fiscal year 1866 (July 1, 1865) the amount of paper money in circulation in the United States was \$2,122,437,841.02. During the year, as appears from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1866, on page 164, \$211,239,515.41 was "retired, counted, and destroyed," as follows:

Old issue demand notes.....	\$200,440.75
New issue legal-tender notes.....	6,794,370.65
One-year 5 per cent notes.....	6,319,104.50
Two-year 5 per cent notes.....	2,508,427.50
Two-year 5 per cent coupon notes.....	33,363,097.50
Six per cent compound interest notes.....	81,240,829.00
Gold certificates.....	64,913,800.00
First issue fractional currency.....	2,897,307.88
Second issue fractional currency.....	7,598,479.78
Third issue fractional currency.....	5,414,844.49
Discounted on above for mutilations.....	17,813.36
	211,239,515.41

During the year \$181,096,804 was retired from circulation, but not destroyed, as appears from page 168 of the same report, as follows:

Demand notes redeemable in coin.....	\$288,121
One-year 5 per cent notes.....	2,151,287
Two-year 5 per cent notes.....	5,209,335
Two-year 5 per cent coupon notes.....	1,078,550
Three-year compound-interest notes.....	172,369,511
	181,096,804

On the 30th day of June, 1866, as appears on pages 25 and 26 of the report, the amount of Government paper money out was \$1,550,506,311.61, as follows:

Compound-interest notes due 1867-'68.....	\$159,012,140.00
Treasury notes, seven-thirties, due 1867-'68.....	806,251,550.00
Temporary loan, ten days' notice.....	120,176,198.65
Certificates of indebtedness past due.....	26,391,000.00
United States notes.....	400,891,368.00
Fractional currency.....	27,070,876.96
Gold certificates of deposit.....	10,713,180.00
	1,550,506,311.61

At the beginning of the year the amount of national-bank notes out, as appears from the Treasurer's report, was \$179,595,210. Adding these several amounts together we have a total of paper money out on the 1st day of July, 1866, of \$2,122,437,841.02, as above stated.

The total amount of money in the country June 30, 1870, was \$700,645,668. The currency contraction to this extent, in five years, while population and business were rapidly increasing, cost the people fully one-half the value of their property and doubled the burden of their debts.

But what was lost by the people was gained by a class, and they are the class of which I have spoken—the gold speculators.

Let us not deceive ourselves, Mr. President. We are face to face with the gravest problem of the century. No amount of partisan discussion as to where the responsibility for this condition lies will relieve the situation, nor remove from our path the plain duty that we owe to the people in this supreme hour of their need. The situation is full of peril. Dangers beset us on all sides. Involuntary idleness soon brings want, and want brings desperation. Nothing but food satisfies hunger. In this great crisis the country has no use for the partisan. Against him who would strengthen his party at the expense of his country, the verdict of his fellow-citizens will be, "Away with him; crucify him."

But what shall we do? First, let us do what the people ask us to do; give them money. That is what they are asking for. The farmers want money; the manufacturers want money; the laborers want employment in order that they may get money; the bankers themselves want money, and that is all the people are asking for. Let us pass a bill giving them money. I had the honor a few days ago to introduce a bill here for the purpose of issuing \$250,000,000 of money. It has not yet been reported, and I dare say it will not be. That is the quickest way out, and that is my advice.

Then, second, let us have free coinage of silver. What does free coinage mean? A banker asked me the other day, apologizing at the same time, what free coinage meant. When I explained to him that it was simply taking silver bullion in proper condition for mintage to the mints and having it formed into coins for him and taking his coin away, "Why," said he, "that is just like taking wheat to the mill and having it ground into flour." Precisely so, and that is what we are asking. But we are told that we can not have free coinage of silver. No, not now. They will see us later.

Mr. President, my position has been taken upon this subject. It is free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present ratio of 16 to 1—that or nothing. It is a matter of principle upon my part, and upon principle I have no compromise to offer, and will accept none. I have heard since this discussion has come up men of distinction say that they prefer a ratio of 15½ to 1; I have even heard it put down as low as 11 to 1. I can not understand, in view of our past history, why we shall measure silver with gold, rather than measure gold with silver.

In 1831 a committee of this body, composed of distinguished men, was made up, charged with an investigation of the history of our coinage, with a view of enacting some new and important legislation upon the subject. That committee reported that our coinage was gold and silver, and that the object of the committee had been to conform the gold currency to the silver standard, and I assert in this presence that we have been measuring gold by silver continually from the beginning of our Government until 1873, and that at this hour the law of the land is that 371½ grains of pure silver is the standard of our dollar, notwithstanding its representative is to be made out of 25⅞ grains of standard gold.

The act of 1792, in section 9, prescribed the standard of our money to be a dollar, not silver or gold, but a dollar; that the dollar piece should contain 371½ grains of pure silver, and that the value of the dollar should be the value of the Spanish milled dollar. The value of the Spanish milled dollar was ascertained by melting up a thousand of them and dividing the product by a thousand. The quotient was 371½ grains. That was the value of the dollar authorized and coined by the fathers of the Republic. It means that either 371½ grains of silver—that and that only—shall be the value of the dollar, or else it means the value of the products of the country which that much silver would buy. In either case we have the advantage in this argument.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. I wish to know if it is not a fact that the prices of wheat and flour and cotton, as well as of most agricultural products for the last twenty years, commencing before the demonetization of silver and following along down to the present time, have not been regulated and controlled with an accuracy which is remarkable by the price of silver bullion and not by the price of gold?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes, Mr. President, that is true, and there is something more in the same connection that is true; I thank the Senator for calling my attention to it at this particular place in the discussion.

A table of a large number of articles has been compiled by the eminent statistician, Mr. A. Sauerbeck, who finally settled upon forty-five of them. I can not now enumerate all of them, but I am expecting before my remarks go to print that I shall have a list of all of the articles, so that they can be inserted as part of my remarks. Forty-five of them are articles in daily use among the people of the country. Taking them and getting the greatest common divisor of their value as people use them, as the starting point, as the unit, and beginning back in 1874 and coming on down to the present time, the prices of that unit have dropped from year to year, and silver has kept pace in uniform ratio substantially from that time until the present.

The following table gives in parallel columns, for the years 1874-'92, (1) the index numbers for the 45 commodities, and (2) the index numbers of silver for the same years:

Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers.

Year.	Index numbers of 45 principal commodities.	Index number of silver.
1874	102	95.8
1875	96	93.3
1876	95	86.7
1877	94	90.2
1878	87	86.4
1879	83	84.2
1880	88	85.9
1881	85	85.0
1882	84	84.9
1883	82	83.1
1884	76	83.3
1885	72	79.9
1886	69	74.6
1887	68	73.3
1888	70	70.4
1889	72	70.2
1890	72	78.4
1891	72	74.1
1892	68	65.4
1893*		

*Lowest price of wheat on record. Lowest prices of stocks since 1884. June and July lowest price of wool in its history. Fall in price of opium 17 per cent in one week. Lowest price of silver on record.

Between 1850 and 1870 there was a slight rise in the value of commodities, and during the same period silver was at a slight premium compared with gold.

You talk to us about a dishonest dollar. I ask you whether a 70-cent dollar is any more dishonest than a 140-cent dollar or a 150-cent dollar? If you will lay down your 140-cent dollar beside our 70-cent dollar, and strike an average between them, and call that the dollar, then you may talk about an honest dollar, but until that time, I believe it would be better if we would follow the dollar that follows our products, and not the one that follows the banker's receipts. We only ask to have the old coinage law restored, as it existed before the act of 1873.

In this connection, I desire, without going into a history in detail of our coinage, to include in my remarks a sketch which I prepared some time ago, giving a history from the beginning, in 1782, when the Continental Congress appointed a committee to look after the subject, and a final report was made in 1791 to the National Congress, with the concurrence of Jefferson and Madison, establishing our bimetallic system.

HISTORY OF OUR MONETARY UNIT.

As early as 1782 the Continental Congress instituted an investigation into the condition of the coins of the country. At that time every one of the separate States had its own particular coins and values. The money of account was written in pounds, shillings and pence, the British style of counting, though the Spanish dollar was generally current. Mr. Robert Morris made an elaborate report to Congress on the subject, but nothing further was done about it until two years afterwards, when the matter was taken up and referred to a committee of which Thomas Jefferson was a member. Mr. Jefferson was not satisfied with the report of the financier, Mr. Morris, because, he said, while the principle was sound and was ingenious, yet the unit which he proposed was too minute for ordinary use, too laborious for computation either by the head or by figures. As Mr. Jefferson put it, "The price of a loaf of bread would be one-twentieth of a dollar, or 72 units, and a pound of butter would be one-fifth of a dollar, or 288 units."

Some written correspondence passed between Messrs. Morris and Jefferson on the subject, and finally Mr. Jefferson wrote out his views in what he called "Notes on the Establishment of a

Mint." They were submitted to members of the Continental Congress, and finally reported to that body, and were in the end adopted as the rule of our coinage. The notes of Mr. Jefferson, to which reference is made here, may be found on page 162 of volume 1 of his works.

In fixing the unit of money Mr. Jefferson laid down three rules: First, that it be of convenient size to be applied as a measure to the common money transactions of life; second, that its parts and multiples be in an easy proportion to each other so as to facilitate the money arithmetic; and, third, that the unit and its parts or divisions be so nearly of the value of some of the known coins as that they may be of easy adoption for the people; and, he added, "the Spanish dollar seems to fulfill all these conditions."

Mr. Jefferson gave the following as his reasons for selecting the dollar for the unit:

The unit or dollar is a known coin and the most familiar of all to the minds of the people. It is already adopted from South to North, has identified our currency, and therefore happily offers itself as a unit already introduced. Our public debt, our requisitions and their appointments, has given it actual and long position of the place of the unit. The course of our commerce, too, will bring us more of this than of any other foreign coin, and therefore renders it more worthy of attention. I know of no unit which can be proposed in competition with the dollar but the pound. But what is the pound? 1,547 grains of fine silver in Georgia, 1,289 grains in Virginia, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, 1,031½ grains in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, 966½ grains in North Carolina and New York. Which of these shall we adopt? To which State is that preeminence of which all are so jealous, and on which impose the difficulties of a new estimate on their corn, their cattle, and other commodities? Or shall we hang the pound sterling as a common badge upon all their necks? This contains 1,718½ grains of pure silver. It is difficult to familiarize a new coin to the people. It is more difficult to familiarize them to a new coin with a new name. Happily the dollar is familiar to them all, and is already as much referred to as a measure of value as their respective provincial pound.

On the 15th day of April, 1790, the House of Representatives passed a resolution asking the then Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, to prepare a report concerning the establishment of a mint and the coinage of money, and in response to that resolution the Secretary prepared a report and presented it to the House on the 23rd day of January, 1791. He sets out by saying that a plan for an establishment of this nature, that is to say, a mint, involves a great variety of considerations, intricate, nice, and important. The general state of debtor and creditor, all the relations and consequences of price, the essential interests of trade and industry, the value of all property, the whole income of both the state and individuals, are liable to be extensively influenced, beneficially or otherwise, by the judicious or injudicious regulation of this interesting institution.

After discussing the importance of the subject and the interests involved he divides the subjects into six different heads, the first two of which are these: First, what ought to be the nature of the money unit of the United States; and, second, what the proportion between gold and silver, if coins of both metals are to be established.

As to the first of these two divisions, the Secretary, after an elaborate discussion, came to the conclusion that the dollar ought to be established and maintained as the money unit for the currency of the United States, and he used the word "national," as a "national" coin; and he was of opinion that the dollar then generally current, namely, the Spanish milled dollar, ought to be used as the money unit, and it was made of silver. So we have the opinion of Secretary Hamilton that the unit of value for the United States ought to be a silver dollar—a national coin.

As to the second proposition, whether the standard of money ought to be a single one or a double one, the Secretary was of opinion that we ought to establish and maintain the double standard, namely, gold and silver. He was aware, and called attention to the fact, that in the discussion of the subject by public men generally, our American statesmen largely leaned to the opinion that the standard ought to be single, and that silver. But the Secretary came to the conclusion that the double standard was better, and among the reasons he assigned the following:

But, upon the whole, it seems to be the most advisable, as has been observed, not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this can not be done effectually without destroying the office and character of one of them as money, and reducing it to the situation of mere merchandise, which, accordingly, at different times, has been proposed from different and very respectable quarters; but which would probably be a greater evil than occasional variations in the unit from the fluctuations in the relative value of the metals, especially if care be taken to regulate the proportion between them, with an eye to their average commercial value. To annul the use of either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium and is liable to all of the objections which arise by a comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation.

After discussing at some length the probable results of a single standard, the Secretary concluded that the chief if not the sole effect of such a regulation would be to diminish the utility of one of the metals. He then proceeded to discuss the proportion in which the metals ought to be used; that is to say, what amount of silver in pounds or in ounces of weight should be equal to 1 pound or 1 ounce of gold by weight, and he came to the same con-

clusion that Sir Isaac Newton had arrived at in his report to the treasury of Great Britain in 1717, the proportion of about 1 to 15. One unit of weight in gold to 15 of the same units of weight in silver; and such, in fact, was the proportion established in our coinage law the next year.

This report of Mr. Hamilton was by him submitted to Thomas Jefferson, who was then Secretary of State, for his inspection and consideration. After a very careful review and study of Mr. Hamilton's report, Mr. Jefferson made a few suggestions which were in the main accepted by Mr. Hamilton, and the report as it was finally presented to Congress was a substantial agreement between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Jefferson. If there was any difference between them in respect to the subject it was upon the matter of a single or a double standard. Mr. Jefferson inclined to the single standard and that silver, while Mr. Hamilton preferred the double standard, that of silver and gold. The report of Mr. Hamilton is found in volume 3 of his works, beginning at page 149.

Having adopted the silver dollar as the unit, then Mr. Jefferson suggested that we ought to have at least four coins—one a golden piece equal in value to \$10; second, the unit or dollar itself, of silver; third, the tenth of a dollar, of silver also; and, fourth, the hundredth part of a dollar, this to be made of copper. And he suggested that perhaps it would not be amiss to coin three more pieces of silver, one of the value of half a dollar, the other 20 cents, and the other 5 cents. He concludes his notes in these words:

My proposition, then, is that our notation of money shall be decimal, descending at the liberty of the person noting; that the unit of this notation shall be a dollar; that coins shall be accommodated to it from \$10 to the hundredth of a dollar.

As to the weight of a dollar, it was finally agreed that it should be 371½ grains of pure silver, with some alloy of copper. This was incorporated in the first coinage law, passed April 2, 1792. Mr. Jefferson's suggestions throughout were adopted.

Having provided the details for establishing a mint, section 9 of the act provides as follows:

SEC 9. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be from time to time, struck and coined at the said mint, coins of gold, silver, and copper, of the following denominations, values, and descriptions, namely: Eagles—each to be of the value of ten dollars or units, and to contain two hundred and forty-seven grains and four-eighths of a grain of pure, or two hundred and seventy grains of standard gold. Half eagles—each to be of the value of \$5, and to contain one hundred and twenty-three grains and six-eighths of a grain of pure, or one hundred and thirty-five grains of standard gold. Quarter eagles—each to be of the value of two dollars and a half dollar, and to contain sixty-one grains and seven-eighths of a grain of pure, or sixty-seven grains and four-eighths of a grain of standard gold. Dollars or units—each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current, and to contain three hundred and seventy-one grains and four-sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or four hundred and sixteen grains of standard silver. Half dollars—each to be of half the value of the dollar or unit, and to contain one hundred and eighty-five grains and ten-sixteenth parts of a grain, or two hundred and eight grains of standard silver. Quarter dollars—each to be of one-fourth the value of a dollar or unit, and to contain ninety-two grains and thirteen-sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or one hundred and four grains of standard silver. Dimes—each to be of the value of one-tenth of a dollar or unit, and to contain thirty-seven grains and two-sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or forty-one grains and three-fifth parts of a grain of standard silver. Half dimes—each to be of the value of one-twentieth of a dollar, and to contain eighteen grains and nine-sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or twenty grains and four-fifth parts of a grain of standard silver. Cents—each to be of the value of the one-hundredth part of a dollar, and to contain eleven pennyweights of copper. Half cents—each to be of the value of half a cent, and to contain five pennyweights and a half a pennyweight of copper.

Thomas Jefferson may be justly regarded as the author of our monetary system. If he was not the author of the first coinage law, his views, at least, are embodied in it. He originated the decimal system of coinage—that it should go by tens; he suggested and advocated the adoption of a similar system as to weights and measures, and made an elaborate report upon the subject in connection with his report on coinage.

The Constitution, in prohibiting the States from coining money, contains a provision that no State shall make anything except gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debts. All of our public men when referring to our standard of money invariably used the words "gold and silver." Thomas H. Benton in his Thirty Years in Congress refers to this matter repeatedly, using the words "gold and silver" as if they meant one and the same thing, using them in the singular number. And that was the rule before 1873.

In favoring free and unlimited coinage upon the old system, I do but repeat the demands of the people in their local State and national party platforms. I have here a long list of platforms in 1890—Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, and going on with a number of others, giving the platforms of the different parties, and coming down to Kansas where we are particularly sensitive upon this point—all parties without distinction favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

That has been the doctrine of Democrats from the time of their party's birth to the present, and in this they but followed the teachings of their great leader and the author of our monetary

system. As far back as 1836 Democrats, as a party, declared that "Gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency." In 1880, in their national platform, they declared in favor of "Honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand." This declaration was repeated in their national platform in 1884. Democrats in twenty-three of the States which held State conventions in 1890 declared, in one form or another, in favor of free coinage of silver. Here is what they said:

DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORMS IN 1890.

Arkansas.—We denounce as iniquitous the silver bill as passed by the present Republican House of Representatives, as an attempt to demoralize silver and to build up the fortunes of the favored few, and we favor the free and unrestricted coinage of silver, and an increased volume of currency, restricted alone to the necessary demands of the country, which shall be a legal tender for all debts, public and private. We believe the power to issue and control the volume of the currency belongs alone to the Government, and that this power should not be delegated to or controlled by any other authority.

California.—We favor the free coinage of silver, and demand that it be made an unlimited legal tender for all purposes, public and private.

Colorado.—We condemn the present Administration for reckless and unnecessary waste of public treasure, by means of which the surplus fund accumulated under the wise and economic Administration of Grover Cleveland has practically disappeared, in place of which the country is threatened with a deficiency arising from the increase of expenditures over receipts for the present fiscal year. We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Florida.—We persistently and continuously oppose the pernicious system of contracting the circulating medium of the country, as now conducted by the National Government. The consideration of the subtreasury bill in Congress indicates a desire upon the part of the whole people for an increase of a circulating medium, and that it is the duty of our members in Congress to secure the passage of some law that will give the required relief.

Idaho.—We tender our gratitude to the Democrats in Congress for their almost unanimous votes in both Houses for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and congratulate the people of our Lew State that there is one great political organization in the country committed by its votes in Congress to a measure so essential to the prosperity of Idaho. The silver bill as enacted by the Republican Congress is a compromise in the interests of Wall street, clothes the Secretary of the Treasury with power to refuse to purchase bullion on the pretext that bullion is not offered at the market price, and enables him to bear the silver market by refusing to purchase except at his discretion and at such prices as he may determine.

Illinois.—We demand that all unnecessary restrictions be removed from the coinage of silver.

Indiana.—We denounce the silver bill, so called, recently enacted, as an ignominious surrender to the money power. It perpetuates the demoralization of silver and the single gold standard, whereas the interests of the people require the complete remonetization of silver and its restoration to perfect equality with gold in our coinage. We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver upon the basis existing prior to 1873.

Iowa.—We demand the free coinage of silver, and that it may be made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, and denounce as unjust and dishonest the provision of the law recently enacted allowing parties to stipulate against payment in silver and silver certificates, thus setting one standard of value for the creditor and one for the debtor, one for the poor man, and the other for the rich man.

Massachusetts.—We favor the free coinage of silver. We favor such change in our fiscal laws as will leave the control of our circulating medium of the country wholly in the hands of the Government.

Michigan.—We recall with pride the financial policy of the Federal Government when the Treasury was under control of the Democratic party, when confidence was felt in the prudence and sagacity of its methods, and we ask the business men of this State to contrast that administration with the short-sighted and dangerous policy that has prevailed lately, a policy which has several times threatened and may at any time lead to a financial panic.

Minnesota.—We believe in the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver, unhampered by conditions as to the legal-tender qualities of either and unhampered by the proviso suspending coinage of silver after July 1, 1891. We condemn the Republican policy because it demoralized silver and still refuses the demand of the people for the restoration of silver to a complete equality with gold.

Missouri.—We are in favor of the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and the increase of currency to meet the legitimate demands of trade, and we believe that the power to issue and control the volume of such currency should be assumed by the Government.

Nebraska.—We favor the placing of the silver dollar on its former footing with gold coin in our coinage law, with equal legal-tender qualities, and we denounce as unjust and dishonest the law recently enacted as a discrimination in favor of the gold coin for the benefit of the money power, and we further declare ourselves in favor of the free coinage of silver.

Nevada.—We declare for the free and unlimited coinage of standard silver dollars of the present weight and fineness, to be legal tender for all debts, public and private, equally with gold.

North Carolina.—The Democrats of North Carolina favor the free coinage of silver and an increase of the currency and the repeal of the internal-revenue system. * * * We demand the abolition of national banks and the substitution of legal-tender Treasury notes in lieu of national bank notes, issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on a cash system, regulating the amount needed on a per capita basis, as the business interests of the country expand, and that all money issued by the Government shall be legal tender in payment of all debts, both public and private.

Ohio.—We favor the free coinage of silver with its present ratio with gold.

Oregon.—We reaffirm the position which has ever been maintained by the Democratic party, that gold and silver are equally the people's money; we are opposed to all measures of discrimination against silver, and demand free coinage to supply the needs of business; and that all money issued by the Government be made legal tender for all debts, both public and private.

South Carolina.—We demand the abolition of national banks, and that legal-tender Treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on a cash system, and that all money issued by the Government shall be legal tender in payment of all debts, both public and private. * * * (We favor) the free and unlimited coinage of silver, the increase of currency, and the repeal of the internal-revenue system.

South Dakota.—That we are in favor of the full remonetization of silver, the free and unlimited coinage thereof, and the issuance of coin certificates based thereon, which shall be a full legal tender.

Tennessee.—We demand a currency of gold and silver, and also of paper convertible into coin at the option of the holder, and we demand the free

coinage of silver on the basis originally fixed by law, and that it and the gold dollar shall be equally a unit of value.

Texas.—We are opposed to the continuance of the national banking system and demand the abolishment thereof as soon as by law the same can be done.

* * * We are in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and endorse the action of our Senators and Representatives therefor.

West Virginia.—That the Democrats of West Virginia * * * declare that they are unalterably in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Wyoming.—We demand the free coinage of silver, and we denounce the Republican party for the enactment of a law which makes it discretionary with the Secretary of the Treasury to demonetize silver.

The same year Prohibitionists in Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and Ohio adopted free-coinage resolutions, and independent voters in Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota declared in favor of unlimited silver coinage.

Republicans in their national platforms in 1884 and 1888 adopted the following resolutions:

1884.—We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall be for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

1888.—The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

That language was properly interpreted to mean free coinage of silver equally with gold. Republican writers and speakers so construed it. No other construction could fairly be put upon the words. Bimetallism means the use of two metals alike as a money standard—gold and silver as one. Republican voters so understood it, and they appealed to the country on that construction. The junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. WOLCOTT], in a speech delivered here on the 17th day of June, 1890, stated the case thus:

The open and avowed views of ex-President Cleveland, while they convinced nobody apparently, either in the Democracy or out of it, were yet sufficient to paralyze the efforts of the friends of silver in both political parties to secure its full recognition. The day star of hope did not rise for us until the national convention of 1888. Then the Republican convention declared for silver. It seems dull now to recall the enthusiasm created in the far West in the last campaign. The Republican candidate for the Presidency had been in public life, but his utterances had not been many or particularly important. * * * But we hunted up the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and being ardent and sanguine, and our hearts being illumined with hope, many of us found here and there a phrase or a sentence which indicated a friendly feeling for silver. And we labored among the farmers in the valleys and on the plains and with the toilers in the mining camps in the mountain gulches and cañons with these as texts.

When it was proposed in 1890 to fasten upon the country the Sherman silver law, which I then predicted would disrupt the Republican party, and it will do so yet, our Republican friends in Kansas met in solemn convention and declared quite as solemnly that while the Sherman law was a step in the right direction, "we, the Republicans of Kansas, favor free and unlimited coinage of silver." So said my distinguished predecessor in this Chamber just a few days before his successor was elected.

You say we can not maintain the ratio of 16 to 1. Why not? Did we not do that thing about eighty years, and had anybody complained? Have we ever been compelled to call to our aid the assistance of our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic? We do not ask them to help us in our tariff affairs; we do not ask them to assist us in reference to any of our local matters. Now, when a great cry comes up from the people to restore to them the old law which was taken away from them without their knowledge and without their consent, some influence comes in between us and our lawmakers and says, "You shall not do this thing;" and we do not.

The proper thing for us to do was well stated a few days ago by the Senator from Idaho now in the chair [Mr. DUBOIS]: Place gold and silver upon the same plane; either restore the protection of the law to silver, or remove the protection of the law from gold, and the people do not care which you do.

So far as I am concerned, I had rather see all of our coinage laws wiped out, place gold and silver on the markets the same as we do wheat, and corn, and cotton; let the Government purchase every dollar's worth of both metals which is offered, and as long as the people want silver and gold to rest their paper upon, lay it away and let it rest as a basis without abrasion, and without counterfeiting, and without any sort of change whatever.

The time is not very far distant when the people will discover that they do not need any gold or any silver to base their paper upon; but so long as they want it, let them have it, and let them have all that the miners can dig out of the mountains, and base our paper upon that. I do not believe in the Government supplying individual persons with gold or silver, except that they may buy it the same as they would buy corn or wheat.

Oh, but you ask me, "How are you going to get along with your foreign trade; how are you going to supply the necessary gold to meet balances with foreign nations?" etc. I would do it just the same as I would do in relation to wheat and cotton and corn; I would let the hoarders go and buy it when they want it.

The other day an old friend came to me and said: "I have learned something; I have learned that there is no such thing as a money of the world. I have just sent my boy away on a trip to Europe. He is going to ride among those people there on his bicycle, and take a little exercise. I found, in order to procure money with which the boy could travel, I had to pay a discount. I had to run around from place to place, and finally I succeeded in obtaining what he could use when he got to a foreign country."

From the time when money was invented we have had money-changers and bankers, who have made it a business to supply the citizens of one nation with currency which will pass among the citizens of another nation. That is one of the legitimate functions of banking. Let these speculators procure their gold just the same as I procure my flour, or as my friend from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL] procures his lumber. We go into the flour market and into the lumber market and pay for it in the money of the country. If I am dealing with a citizen of Great Britain, I can easily procure the money which passes current in Great Britain when I get there.

I come now to a very interesting part of the subject, passing over some points which I intended to make, and that is the matter of fiat money. I regret that the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] is not present. Perhaps some Senator who takes the same view of monetary philosophy as he does will represent him. I hold in my hand a small bar of gold about 2 inches in length and one-third of an inch in width. It is standard gold, Mr. President, 22 carats fine, such as we put into our coins. It is pure, with the 10 per cent alloy, ready for mintage. It weighs exactly 258 grains. It is equal in weight with a gold eagle. Now, I ask any Senator upon this floor—and I am sorry, I repeat, that the Senator from Massachusetts is not here, for I wanted to submit the proposition to him, and I wanted to ask him to take this gold bar in his hand, and, being an honest man and a profound lawyer, to answer me the question:

If I owe to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] \$10, can I compel him in law to accept this gold bar in payment of the debt? Can I compel any citizen to accept it in the payment of a debt? Is there any Senator upon the floor who is willing to risk an answer to that question? We all know what the law is, and we all knew yesterday, when we were discussing the bill concerning the national banks, what the law was, but nobody seemed willing to have it enforced. We all understand very well that this bar is not money in any sense of the word; yet Senators who insist upon the intrinsic value of money, and who quarrel over the word "fiat," say that the gold which is in our coin, not the coin itself, but the gold which is in it before it is stamped, is worth as much as the coined metal.

Now, I put the question before them in the presence of the American Senate, and I ask again, is there any Senator upon the floor who will say as a Senator that a piece of standard gold, thoroughly tested, weighing as much as the eagle, can be forced upon any creditor against his consent? Everyone will answer no, of course.

I place before you now a gold eagle, coined according to the law, of precisely the same weight and fineness of the bar I have shown to you. I ask you whether that coin can be forced upon any creditor? "Why," you say, "it does not need any forcing. The law of the land makes that legal tender, and no one would think of refusing it." Now, I ask the Senators why is it that the coin is money, and the gold bar is not?

I put the question so plainly that the wayfaring man, though a fool, can not err in the answer: What makes the coin money and the bar a commodity? The law, and only the law. The law alone makes money value.

This bar was made for me by a firm of jewelers in the city of Chicago. I sent the order through a jeweler of Washington. When it was returned I saw it weighed upon scales, so that I know the exact weight of the two pieces. There is a trifling difference—a hair or two only—between them, yet one is money, a full legal tender, and the other is not money, though of precisely the same weight, the same metal, and the same quality.

What, then, becomes of this theory of fiat money? The Senator from Massachusetts spoke about maintaining a fifty-cent dollar at a parity, insisting that 50 cents of the dollar was clear fiat; yet we are maintaining it at a parity, and we are forcing a fraud upon the people according to this argument.

I have here some of the old Continental notes [exhibiting] that there is so much talk about, which helped the boys out of their troubles during the war of the Revolution.

Under the authority of the Continental Congress not a legal dollar could go out, no taxes could be levied, no revenues could be collected, and yet this paper passed among the soldiers of the Revolution as money. It was different when we came to the war of the Rebellion. We then had a Government established, au-

thorized to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, and we made our own money. I think a little more of the same medicine would be very acceptable to the people at this time.

Mr. COCKRELL. Does the Senator intend to have the form of those notes printed?

Mr. PEPPER. No, I had not thought about that.

Mr. COCKRELL. Why not let the form of them be printed in the RECORD?

Mr. PEPPER. The peculiar designs and the borders can not be reproduced without a good deal of trouble and expense; but I will state the form and dimensions of the several pieces and give the reading matter on their faces.

Number 1 is a rectangle, 2½ inches by 3¼ inches, and reads: "One-third of a dollar, according to a resolution of Congress passed at Philadelphia February 17, 1776."

Number 2 is 3 by 3¼ inches, with bordering, and reads: "This bill entitles the bearer to receive six Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold or silver, according to a resolution of Congress passed at Philadelphia May 9, 1776."

Number 3 is in similar form and reading. It was issued from Baltimore, February 26, 1777, and is for \$7.

Number 4 is for \$8, issued from Philadelphia, September 26, 1778.

Number 5 is for \$4. No place of issue is stated, but the date is January 14, 1779.

The reading of the several bills is nearly alike—"The bearer is entitled to receive * * * Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold or silver."

Number 5 reads: "* * * Spanish milled dollars, or an equal sum in gold or silver."

Mr. GALLINGER. I am extremely interested in the discussion on the part of the Senator from Kansas, and, if it will not interrupt him, I should like to propound one question for information.

Mr. PEPPER. Very good.

Mr. GALLINGER. I should like to ask the Senator what is the value of the gold bar which he has exhibited to the Senate?

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the Senator for the question. I had intended mentioning it, but forgot to do so. Among the jewelers this gold bar would bring \$8.80.

Mr. GALLINGER. What is the value of the coin which the Senator exhibited?

Mr. PEPPER. It is \$10.

Mr. GALLINGER. So that, after all, the Government stamp or the Government authority does not give the entire value to the coin?

Mr. PEPPER. Oh, no.

Mr. GALLINGER. And the gold bar is not fiat money?

Mr. PEPPER. The gold bar is not money at all, fiat or any other kind; but the coin is money, and it is fiat money. It says upon its face "\$10." That is all. That is what the law says its value shall be, and there is no other way of gauging its value, Mr. President, but by the terms of the law. The law says it shall be of the value of \$10.

Mr. BUTLER. May I make an inquiry of the Senator for information, for I was very much interested in the question of the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. PEPPER. Certainly.

Mr. BUTLER. I understood the Senator to say that the value of the bar is only \$8.80. So the stamp of the Government increases its value \$1.20.

Mr. PEPPER. Yes, sir. In connection with that, I do not wish to be understood as saying that the value of \$8.80 is intrinsically in the metal, because that is not the truth. A large part of the measure of the value for commercial purposes is given to it by reason of the Government using such a large quantity of gold for money. More than 50 per cent of the gold product of the world is used for monetary purposes.

Take away the protection of the law, throw it upon the open market the same as you do silver, and it will go down like silver has gone down to the level of other property, and then we shall have justice done, and not until then.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. There is 10 per cent of alloy in the bar?

Mr. PEPPER. There is—the same as in the coin.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. There is 10 per cent of alloy?

Mr. PEPPER. It is nine-tenths fine.

Mr. MITCHELL of Oregon. Suppose there was no alloy at all in the bar, leaving the alloy in the coin, what would be the difference between the bar and the coin in value?

Mr. PEPPER. The jeweler gave me a statement showing how jewelers measure the value of their gold. It is done by carats per pennyweight. Pure gold is 24 carats fine, dividing the weight into pennyweights of 24 grains each. For every pennyweight of 8-carat gold, the worth would be 32 cents. For a pennyweight of 10-carat gold the value would be 40 cents; of

14 carats the value would be 56 cents; of 18 carats, 72 cents; of 22 carats (the coin standard), 88 cents; and of 24 carats, pure gold, the value would be 96 cents. I asked him, "When I bring this bar back to sell to the jeweler, what can I get for it?" and he replied, \$8.80. Then he gave me a card showing how gold is valued by the jewelers.

Just one word, Mr. President, about bimetalism. It is a very indefinite term. I may be a bimetalist and yet believe in using silver for only the minor coins. I may be a bimetalist and be willing that silver shall be a legal tender to the extent of only \$5. Upon the same principle I will be a trimetalist, because we use nickel as money—gold, silver, and nickel. By the same philosophy I might be a quadrometalist, because we use gold, silver, nickel, and copper—four different metals. But the test of a bimetalist, from my standpoint, is, do you believe in the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1?

In this bill there is a platform utterance at the end of the statutory provision which declares that it is the policy of this country to maintain a parity between the metals. That same platform utterance was enunciated in the Sherman law, that we propose to maintain a parity between the metals. Mr. President, we do not do anything of the kind. When we enacted the coinage law of 1873 we dropped the silver dollar utterly out of the list of coins. In 1878, when an attempt was made to restore the old law, we were put off with a compromise of \$2,000,000 a month—not to exceed \$4,000,000 a month—and the Treasury Department, with the advice, consent, and direction of the Chief Executive under both parties, gave us one-half the law and kept the other half away from us. Now, gentlemen may say what they please, this is an attempt to drive away from the people every vestige of legislation in favor of silver.

"Ah, but you say, 'We intend to keep the silver coin that we have at a parity.'" I do not know whether you do or not. I only know what you have done, and if you succeed in carrying through this legislation your next step will be utterly to demonetize silver. But if I be mistaken about that, if we can maintain a parity at one ratio we can do it at another.

I will now pass on very hurriedly, omitting a good many things I had intended to say, for the purpose of giving way for other matters. It is said that this will drive us to a silver standard. Suppose it does, who will be injured? Who will be benefited? I would much prefer that our business, if it has to be transacted upon a monometallic basis, be upon the basis of silver; and I think I can give very good reasons for it.

The nations of Europe, with whom a large part of our trade is conducted, are as to a great many articles compelled to pay a large tribute before they are permitted to land them upon our shores. We tax them upon their manufactured goods; we tax them upon their cloth, their wool and their cotton; we tax them upon their cutlery; we tax them upon their coal and upon their salt, and upon a great many other articles which our people are constantly using.

Instead of throwing open our doors wide for the trade of the world, we tax the trade of that portion of the world that to-day is most largely interested in the things we have to sell, and those are gold-using countries. We can get along without the trade of those countries, if we have to do it, so far as our manufactured goods are concerned. Here we have upon our southern border twelve States in South America; we have six States in Central America, and we have Mexico. There is a field for our manufactures, while on the other side of the Atlantic is a field for our farm products. I have been surprised at the character and drift of our legislation the last four or five years in that respect.

Our farmers are to trade in Europe, where we levy taxes upon their products, while our manufacturers are permitted or asked to trade in the South American states, where the people raise their own wheat, and their own corn, and their own cattle, and their own sheep, and their own wool. If we need tea or coffee that we can not produce in our own country, both are grown extensively in Brazil. If there are spices that we need, we can get them in the islands of the sea. If there is anything that we need, that our people do not produce, we can find it somewhere without landing a ship upon British, or German, or French soil.

All of the countries to which I have referred are silver-using countries. They would be ready at any time to unite with us upon an international monetary standard, while, if Mr. Gladstone speaks the truth—and we all think he does—we need never expect any international agreement with Great Britain upon any other basis than gold.

I would be willing to have an international conference for the purpose of agreeing upon a unit of value, that value to be based upon the common divisor of a large number of articles in general use among the people. Give to that unit of value a name, whatever it is, I care not what. Give it a name. Then let it be represented by a sign on paper which shall be an obligation of the

government whose stamp it bears, and have no other kind of international agreement except one between the nations as nations. Let individuals settle their own balances in their own way and accommodate their trade to that condition of things; but as to a metallic basis or a local monetary system, I believe in having an American standard, an American system, just as we have in all the rest of our administration.

Mr. President, we are looking in the wrong direction for the primary cause of our trouble.

We are but infants at the beginning of the alphabet. "Standing as we do in the evening of the most fruitful century of human progress, looking backward over achievements grand in their scope, astounding in their numbers, and bewildering in their effects—discovery, invention, development in all departments of effort, change and improvement everywhere; and looking forward toward the dawn of a higher and broader civilization, with fresh discoveries of genius, and nobler reaches of mind, when we shall have happier conditions, with larger liberty, purer pleasures, and the enjoyment of more abundant leisure, strange it is that we are just beginning to study one of the most subtle and cunning agencies of human activity, operating in men's affairs as the alchemy of spring sets the forces of nature at work to bring forth verdure and flowers and move vegetation on toward the harvest time.

How strange that this should be true. That while we have changed our methods in all departments of industry and are now searching for new and better ways along every avenue of growth, we hold with an almost desperate grip to a money system that descended to us from the barbarism of the past. The time is at hand when we need improvement in our methods of providing and distributing this most convenient repository of values. The things which are bound up in the one word "money" are an innumerable host that no man can number, involving endless development of mind and thought and energy, perpetual progress and growth. As healthy blood imparts vigor and strength to the human body, so money in active circulation quickens the pulses of trade, encourages the toiling poor, gives employment to willing hands, and brings prosperity and peace to the people.

The great trouble with us arises from the simple fact (and I speak the words with emphasis) that we permit a few men to control our finances. Am I to be censured for suggesting this thought? Was Cyrus H. McCormick an outlaw because he invented a machine that laid the old grain cradle and the sickle in the shade? Was Watts to be excommunicated because he invented the eccentric wheel in the steam engine, or Stevens for inventing the elevator to carry wheat and flour from the lower floor to the upper one? Are the Cramps to be censured because they have brought down the cost of shipbuilding to a level with the mechanics on the Clyde? Are the men who propose changes by way of improvement to be ostracized because they ask that something new be tried? We have tested our financial system and find it wanting. Now, let us look about us and see if there is not something better. We are at the mercy of the usurers to-day, and the usurer is he whose bounty is toil, whose blessing is want, whose rule is poverty. His breath is pestilence, his presence is a perpetual menace to liberty and to every interest which men hold dear.

I have spoken about the repeal of the Sherman law. As that is not responsible for our misfortunes its repeal will add nothing by way of relief to the people, and, so far as I am concerned, it shall never be repealed unless in connection with the act repealing it we have the old coinage law of our fathers restored to the statute books.

In this time of trouble to whom shall we turn? Let us ask the people. What do they want? They ask bread and we offer them a stone. They ask for more money and we propose to give them less. They ask the loan of money and we close the banks. They ask for the use of their own funds now in bank and they are compelled to pay a premium. They ask for means to carry on their daily business and we permit the usurers to corner the currency, and we tell the banks to hoard all the lawful money they can get hold of and give out their own certificates to be used as money.

Who asks for the repeal of the Sherman law? Let the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. VOORHEES] answer. The repeal of the Sherman law means, as was so well stated by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] a few days ago, a gold standard. It is said on the other side that they propose to maintain the present silver coins as money. I understand that very well; but you propose to measure them by a gold standard, and that is what we object to. Take away the protection of the law from gold and we are ready to meet you halfway; but until you do that we are on this side of the line with our faces to the front.

I wondered, when I heard the Senator from Indiana the other day, how it will appear in print when the historian comes to

speak of the political apostasy of that distinguished Senator. He labored hard and eloquently to show that he has abandoned none of the views that the people understood him to entertain in the years gone by. I have quoted that distinguished man frequently upon the public platform. "Here is what Senator VOORHEES, of Indiana, said upon the floor of the American Senate," I said to the people. "We have one great apostle of liberty in our ranks battling for the rights of the common people, that they may have their money restored to them." The Senator still insists that he is a bimetalist, but he is following in the lead of one who says all our obligations shall be paid in gold. He is following in the lead of one who says that silver coinage ought to be discontinued and not another silver dollar coined. He is following in the lead of men who are headed the other way; and, while grasping the hand of Wall street in one hand, they slap the people in the face with the other.

There can be but one construction put upon this whole proceeding. You are attempting to drive the country to the standard of the gamblers. That is what it means, Mr. President, nothing more or nothing less, stripped of all verbiage. I ask no better description of that class of men whom I have denominated gamblers than that used by the distinguished Senator from Indiana, for whom I have the highest personal regard.

Mr. President, when listening to that speech, and after reading it again in print that I might not be mistaken, it seemed to me that I could read the old story of Isaac and his boys. The old man's eyes had become dimmed and they played a trick on him. There was a skin of fur put upon his son's hands, and the old man heard his voice, and he said, "Come near, that I may feel whether this is all right. The voice," he says, "is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." (See Genesis, 27, to verse 29.) The Senator is talking for the people, but he is voting with their enemies.

The next proposition is to increase the national bank circulation; and yet when I introduced a little innocent resolution in this body yesterday asking for information from the Treasury Department whether the banks were doing business in violation of law, immediately a storm in this Chamber arose which has spread its effect all over the country. It will reach out into every hamlet, into every lodge of the Knights of Labor, and into every assembly of the Farmers' Alliance; it will be discussed at the firesides of the people, by the threshing machines, by the forges, and in the mills. The people will wonder why that resolution was not adopted, in view of the fact that a bill was pending which proposed to give to the banks an additional \$20,000,000 of notes to lend to the people. I have here the resolution which I submitted. It is as follows:

First. Whether, and in what respect, the national banks, or any of them, in the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are being now conducted in violation of law.

Second. Whether said banks are paying depositors' checks promptly in lawful money.

Third. Whether said banks, or any of them, are demanding rates of interest higher than those provided by law for the loan of money or in discounting notes and bills.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to say in this connection, lest I may not have the opportunity to do it again, that I made no charge against the Secretary of the Treasury nor the Comptroller of the Currency nor against anyone. It was common rumor that the banks of the country were violating the law; that they were refusing to honor the checks of their depositors; that they were issuing clearing-house certificates and compelling the people to use them as currency in their daily transactions. I simply wanted to have this matter officially contradicted, or I wanted to have the country know that there was some reason why it was permitted; that was all. I did not want to censure anybody. I believe that under the present condition of things the New York banks did just what they had to do to save themselves, under the circumstances. I believe the whole system is wrong.

Mr. MCPHERSON rose.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator will please pardon me until I get through on this point. I believe the whole system is wrong; but having brought us to this trouble, having the country and its business upon their backs, there was nothing left for them to do but to send out their clearing-house certificates, just as I have known merchants in the time of a currency famine to issue their own orders or checks to pass as currency among the people until the storm is over.

Mr. MCPHERSON. Will it interfere with the Senator if I should ask him a question?

Mr. PEPPER. No, sir; it does not interfere with me.

Mr. MCPHERSON. The Senator stated that it was common rumor that the banks were acting illegally. I should like to know if he expects the Comptroller of the Currency to dispute every common rumor that may appear in the newspapers or in the open air? Unless complaints should be made to the Comp-

troller of the Currency in a formal manner how is he to take cognizance of the matter and proceed as against common rumor?

Mr. PEPPER. In the discussion that we had here yesterday abundant reasons were shown—

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. PEPPER. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. Is it not true that the assistant treasurer at New York is a member of the Clearing House Association at New York, and therefore the Treasury Department is charged with a knowledge of the violation of the law?

Mr. PEPPER. I have no doubt that there are members of this body and members of the other House who are members of the Clearing House Association in New York or some other city. I have no doubt that members of the Administration are bankers and members of clearing-house associations. But, Mr. President, this was not a charge against any of the officers. It was a simple request for information, and upon that point a quibble was raised yesterday as to the legal status of it.

The Comptroller of the Currency is placed in charge of the national banking law. It is his business to know when the law is violated. It is his business to understand the working of the banking system, just as a jeweller understands the working of a clock. During the great war, a part of the time at Fort Donelson, I was placed in charge of the stores belonging to the commissary department, and it was part of my business to sell supplies to the officers. There were many times that we could not effect the proper change, and in order to supply the want of a currency I simply wrote a little check with my name signed, as "Good for 10 cents—PEPPER"; and those checks circulated throughout all the camp month after month as money.

So in this case, all I wanted to know, all that the resolution asked for, was to know what is being done by the banks. Then we could determine what else ought to be done, if anything. I wanted the country to understand officially whether the banks of the great cities are using anything else than lawful money as currency. I wanted to know whether they are paying their depositors. I wanted to know whether they are charging unlawful rates of interest. I was satisfied that with the honor, the intelligence, and the capacity of the Secretary of the Treasury and his able assistant, the Comptroller of the Currency, they would understand just what the Senate wanted and would give us the actual facts.

Then it was my purpose, I will state very frankly to the Senate, that if it should be shown upon official evidence what was

conceded upon this floor to be the truth, I would have an additional argument to urge upon the Senate for the destruction of that system, and after we have adjourned, having discharged our duty here, I might go before the people and show to them the defects of this system that has grown up under our fostering care; that was all. I did not expect to court-martial anybody or ask that any man be sent to prison. I wanted the facts, that the Senate might first have them, and that the country might have them next.

I have a table here showing the stock of money in the country on the 1st day of July, 1893:

Statement showing the amounts of gold and silver coins and certificates, United States notes and national-bank notes in circulation July 1, 1893.

	General stock, coined or issued.	In Treasury.	Amount in circulation July 1, 1893.	Amount in circulation July 1, 1892.
Gold coin.....	\$513,743,623	\$110,109,923	\$403,633,700	\$408,767,740
Standard silver dollars.....	419,332,450	302,302,707	57,029,743	56,730,484
Subsidiary silver.....	77,255,212	11,855,944	65,400,268	62,733,513
Gold certificates.....	94,041,189	1,071,170	92,970,019	141,235,333
Silver certificates.....	330,957,504	4,468,339	326,489,165	325,820,803
Treasury notes, act July 14, 1890.....	147,190,227	0,528,533	140,661,694	\$8,651,657
United States notes.....	346,631,016	25,805,333	320,826,683	311,814,840
Currency certificates, act June 8, 1872.....	12,365,000	430,000	11,935,000	29,230,660
National-bank notes.....	178,713,872	3,982,733	174,731,139	167,390,357
Total.....	2,120,281,093	520,534,682	1,593,726,411	1,603,073,333

Let us turn our faces to the people and give them, say, at least \$250,000,000 now, and then after having done that we can talk about ratio a little while again.

We must have more money. There is not enough gold in the world to make money plenty at present rates of value. We must have silver in addition, and particularly for payments of comparatively small amounts. But there is not enough of gold and silver combined for use as money. We must have paper also, and there is not enough of gold and silver and paper money, all as one, now in use to supply the common need. As we can not suddenly increase our coinage to any great extent, we must resort to paper to supply immediate and pressing demands.

Here is an interesting table taken from Rothwell's "Universal Bimetallism":

Monetary systems and approximate stocks of money in the principal countries of the world, 1891.

Countries and money systems.	Ratio of silver to 1 of gold.		Population in millions.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver. 1=\$1,000,000.			Uncovered paper.	Gross total.	Percentages.				Per capita.			
	Full tender.	Limited tender.			Full tender.	Limited tender.	Total.			Gold.	Silver.	Uncovered paper.	Total.	Gold.	Silver.	Pa-per.	Total.
United States, gold and silver.....	15.98	14.95	65	\$654,000,000	498	77	575	\$405,730,000	\$1,634,790,000	40.00	35.18	24.82	15.93	\$10.06	\$8.85	\$6.24	\$25.15
United Kingdom, gold.....	14.28	38	38	550,000,000	100	100	100	50,000,000	700,000,000	78.57	14.28	7.15	6.82	14.47	2.63	1.32	18.48
France, gold and silver.....	15½	14.88	39	800,000,000	650	50	700	81,400,000	1,581,400,000	50.58	44.27	5.15	15.40	20.52	17.95	2.09	40.50
Germany, gold.....	15½	13.95	49.5	600,000,000	103	108	211	107,000,000	918,000,000	65.36	23.59	11.65	8.95	12.12	4.26	2.16	18.54
Belgium, gold and silver.....	15½	14.38	6.1	65,000,000	43.4	6.8	55	54,000,000	174,000,000	37.35	31.60	31.05	1.70	10.68	9.02	8.85	23.53
Italy, gold and silver.....	15½	14.38	31	93,600,000	16	34.2	50.2	163,470,000	307,270,000	30.46	16.33	53.21	2.99	3.02	1.62	5.27	9.91
Switzerland, gold and silver.....	15½	14.38	3	15,000,000	11.4	3.6	15	14,000,000	44,000,000	34.09	34.09	31.82	.43	5.00	5.00	4.07	14.67
Greece, gold and silver.....	15½	14.38	2.2	2,000,000	1.8	2.2	4	14,000,000	20,000,000	10.00	20.00	70.00	.19	9.01	1.82	6.36	9.09
Spain, gold and silver.....	15½	14.38	18	40,000,000	120	38.6	158	100,000,000	298,000,000	13.42	53.02	33.56	2.89	2.22	2.78	5.56	16.56
Portugal, gold.....	15½	14.08	5	40,000,000	10	10	10	45,000,000	95,000,000	42.10	10.50	47.40	.93	8.00	2.00	9.00	19.00
Austria-Hungary, gold.....	15½	13.69	40	40,000,000	90	90	90	260,000,000	390,000,000	10.26	23.08	66.66	3.81	1.00	0.25	6.50	9.75
Netherlands, gold and silver.....	15½	15	4.5	25,000,000	61.8	3.2	65	40,000,000	130,000,000	19.23	50.00	30.77	1.26	5.55	14.44	8.89	28.88
Scandinavian Union, gold.....	15½	14.88	8.6	32,000,000	10	10	10	27,000,000	69,000,000	46.38	14.49	39.13	.68	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02
Russia, silver.....	15½	15	113	250,000,000	22	38	60	500,000,000	95,000,000	30.86	7.41	61.73	7.89	2.21	.53	4.42	7.16
Turkey, gold and silver.....	15½	15	33	50,000,000	45	45	45	107,000,000	107,000,000	52.62	47.37	.....	.93	1.52	1.36	.....	2.88
Australia, gold.....	15½	14.28	4	100,000,000	7	7	7	115,000,000	93,460,000	93.46	6.54	.....	1.03	25.00	1.75	.....	26.75
Egypt, gold.....	15½	15.68	7	100,000,000	15	15	15	57,000,000	86,950,000	86.95	13.05	.....	1.13	14.29	2.14	.....	16.43
Mexico, silver.....	16½	.....	11.6	5,000,000	50	.....	50	2,000,000	8,770,000	8.77	87.72	.....	3.51	.57	4.23	.17	4.91
Central America, silver.....	15½	.....	3	.....	5	.....	5	2,000,000	670,000,000	.....	20.00	80.00	.02	.17	.67	.....	84
South America, silver.....	15½	.....	35	45,000,000	25	.....	25	600,000,000	196,000,000	6.72	3.72	80.55	6.53	1.29	.71	17.14	19.14
Japan, gold and silver.....	16.18	.....	40	90,000,000	50	.....	50	56,000,000	928,000,000	45.92	23.57	35.51	1.91	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90
India, silver.....	15	.....	255	.....	900	.....	900	28,000,000	700,000,000	.....	96.98	3.02	9.03	.....	3.53	.11	3.64
China, silver.....	15	.....	400	.....	700	.....	700	.....	100.00	.....	100.00	.....	6.82	.....	1.75	.....	1.75
The Straits.....	15	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	100	.....	100,000,000	.....	100.00	.....	.97	.....	.....	.....	.....
Canada, gold.....	15	14.95	4.5	16,000,000	5	5	5	40,000,000	5,000,000	20.23	8.20	65.57	.59	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56
Cuba, Haiti, gold.....	15½	.....	2	20,000,000	1.2	8	2	40,000,000	2,000,000	32.26	3.23	64.51	.60	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	3,632,600,000	3,499.1	553.6	4,052.7	2,629,360,000	10,264,980,000	.....	.....	.....	100.00	.....	.....	.....	.....

Mr. President, the people are going on guard to-day. Their posts are in the farmhouses and in the dwellings of the poor, in the workshops, in the mines, in the forests, on the lakes and rivers, and along the highways of commerce. Their counter-

sign is "loyalty to the Republic;" the Stars and Stripes is their flag; equal rights is their motto; Anglo-Saxon blood is their inheritance; freedom is their birthright, and to be rulers in their own country is their destiny.