

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

Section 4, Pages 91 - 120

This handbook presents a discussion about what is wrong in the economic system, according to the Populist perspective. It was written by P. B. Maxson and J. C. Hebbard, both Kansans, who were active in the Alliance and Populist causes. It deals primarily with financial issues, but contains some information on the price of crops, railroads, etc.

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A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

GRANT VERSUS GRANT.

79

amendments submitted, and still more significantly in the debates upon the President's message. As reported from the Finance Committee, the first section fixed the maximum limit of United States notes at \$382,000,000. The limit was raised to \$400,000,000 on motion of Mr. Wright, of Iowa, and the Senate refused to allow any clause for future reduction. This was \$44,000,000 beyond the amount of legal-tender notes then in circulation. 'The action of Congress followed an earnest popular demand, resulting from the distrust which had become so general in consequence of the panic. A large proportion of the business men, especially in the West and Southwest, believed that an increased circulation of notes would bring great relief.'

A LITTLE HISTORY OF CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION AND AN EXECUTIVE VETO OF THE MEASURE.—The following matter may be considered in connection with the foregoing matter presented by Hon. James G. Blaine. This Senate bill No. 617, entitled "An act to fix the amount of United States notes and the circulation of national banks, and for other purposes," was vetoed by President Grant on April 22, 1874. The President's views on finance, as in his message expressed to Congress, are reproduced for the purpose of "shedding more light:"

"Practically, it is a question whether the measure under discussion would give an additional dollar to the irredeemable paper currency of the country or not, and whether, by requiring three-fourths of the reserves to be retained by the banks, and prohibiting interest to be received on the balance, it might not prove a contraction. But the fact cannot be concealed that theoretically the bill increases the paper circulation \$100,000,000, less only the amount of reserves restrained from circulation by a certain provision. It is a fair inference, therefore, that if, in practice, the measure should fail to create the abundance of circulation expected of it, the friends of the measure, particularly those out of Congress, would clamor for such inflation as would give the expected relief.

"The theory, in my belief, is a departure from the true principles of finance, national interest, national obligations to creditors, congressional promises, party pledges—on the part of both political parties—and of personal views and promises made by me in every annual message sent to Congress, and in each inaugural address.

"A declaration contained in the act of June 30, 1864, created an obligation that the total amount of United States notes issued, or to be issued, should never exceed \$400,000,000. The amount in actual circulation was actually reduced to \$356,000,000, at which point Congress passed the act of February 4, 1868, suspending the further reduction of the currency. The \$44,000,000 have ever been regarded as a reserve to be used only in a case of emergency, such as has occurred on several occasions, and must occur, when from any cause revenues suddenly fall below expenditures, and such a reserve is necessary because the fractional currency, amounting to \$56,000,000, is redeemable in legal tender on call."

The vetoed bill had passed the Senate by a vote of yeas, 29; nays, 24. It passed the House by a vote of yeas, 140; nays, 102.

CONTINUED CONFESSION FROM SPEAKER BLAINE.—This historian thus proceeds with his narrative:

"At the beginning of the session of Congress President Grant had clearly intimated that he had come to the same conclusion, *i. e.*, 'that an increased circulation of notes would bring great relief.' He said in his annual message: 'In view of the great actual contraction that has taken place in the currency, and the comparative con-

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

80

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

traction continually going on, due to the increase of manufacturers and all the industries, *I do not believe there is too much of it now for the dullest period of the year.* Instead, if clearing-houses should be established, thus forcing redemption, it is a question for your consideration whether banking should not be made free, retaining all the safeguards now required to secure bill-holders.' But nearly five months had elapsed since the President had expressed these views, and during that time he had to come to more conservative conclusions, and he now vetoed the bill, which did not seem so radical in its provisions as his own recommendation had been. To make national banking free before compelling the banks to redeem their notes in coin, would have proved a measureless inflation, and the President wisely receded from the position assumed in his annual message."

It is a matter of tradition that the veto message of President Grant was very exasperating to many Republicans, who had been completely lured into the belief that he was heartily in favor of the bill which he had vetoed, and which they had presumed he had favored in his annual message. Hence, it became a serious matter to properly nurse their keen and sore disappointment, several of them, at first, contemplating a revolt.

A CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENT CONCERNING THE RESERVE.—The late Senator James B. Beck, of Kentucky, who in 1874 was a member of the House of Representatives, submitted the following in a speech:

"Until the law of April, 1866, was passed, which authorized a contraction of \$10,000,000 in the first six months, by permitting legal-tender notes to be retired and canceled, and \$4,000 per month hereafter, which continued under Mr. McCulloch's administration until the law passed in February, 1868, when Congress stopped the further reduction at a point when the currency was \$365,000,000—before the passage of that law of 1866, I repeat, no doubt ever arose in the mind of anybody in the country that \$400,000,000 was the amount of currency legally in circulation, and no Secretary ever supposed that he had the right to contract it or withdraw it from circulation. We now propose to restore the currency to the point at which it stood prior to the law of 1866. The difficulty arose out of the Secretary of the Treasury, backed by the opinion of the Treasurer of the United States, but in violation of law, in my opinion, but as I believe, honestly, or at least urged to it by necessity, claiming that the amount of currency is now legally \$400,000,000. He claims that the difference between \$365,000,000 and \$400,000,000 is a reserve to be used by the Secretary as the exigencies of the Department may require. It is in no sense a reserve. The currency is to-day legally either \$356,000,000 or \$400,000,000."

In the House, a motion to fix the amount at \$356,000,000 was negatived by a vote of 171 to 70; at \$382,000,000, it was negatived by a vote of 171 to 74, but it carried at \$400,000,000 by a vote of 168 to 80, on March 23, 1874. In the Senate, the vote on this last proposition carried on March 25, 1874, by a vote of 31 to 26. But President Grant vetoed the Senate bill April 22, 1874, and the Senate vote was then 34 to 30—not two-thirds by considerable.

RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS AND CONTINUED CONTRACTION.—In the House of Representatives, on December 8, 1874, Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, alluding to resumption, exclaimed:

"Specie payments! There never were specie payments; there never will be specie payments."

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

NOTICE HOLMAN'S WORDS.

81

But Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, on December 21, 1874, introduced a bill in the Senate providing for the resumption of specie payments, on and after January 1, 1879, which passed that body by a vote of yeas, 32; nays, 14; absent, 27.

On January 7, 1875, it passed the House of Representatives by a vote of yeas, 136; nays, 98; absent or not voting, 54.

Hon. William S. Holman, of Indiana, who first entered the House of Representatives in 1859, in a speech made in the House on January 12, 1875, alluded to the resumption bill as having been put through on the double-quick. He thus spoke:

"I am opposed to the national-banking system, because I am opposed to a system of currency the benefit of which is to accrue to a body of capitalists instead of a currency which, being issued in the form of Government notes—lawful money—accrues to the advantage of the whole people. I am in favor of greenbacks as the currency of the country, so that the benefit of it may reach the entire people, instead of the large profits arising from paper money inuring to a comparatively small portion of the people of the United States. The resumption bill was forced through this House by the simple power of the majority, without any consideration. No bill of a corresponding importance ever passed this House, it seems to me, at least without some opportunity for consideration of the subject or opportunity of amendment."

PASSAGE OF THE RESUMPTION ACT, AS EXPRESSED BY MR. BLAINE.—On pages 563-565, in the second volume of Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," appears the following:

"The party in the majority in the Forty-third Congress was held responsible for the condition of industry and trade, and the elections of 1874 showed how widespread and intense was the dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. For the first time since the accession of the Republican party to power in the Union, an opposition majority was elected to the House of Representatives. The Republican leaders took warning, and agreed that before losing control of the lower house they would secure the passage of an act for the resumption of specie payments. President Grant and Secretary Bristow were earnest in recommending a measure of that character. Personal conferences to compare views, to consolidate Republican opinion, and to induce harmony of action, were held early in the second session of the Forty-third Congress. Concessions were made, a middle ground was secured, and a measure was finally perfected. The long discussion had demonstrated the difficulties of the situation. But public necessities and party interest combined to induce a sacrifice of financial theories in order that practical results might be achieved.

"The bill reported to the Senate by Mr. Sherman on December 21, 1874, embodied the conclusions which had been reached by private conferences. The next day he gave notice that he would press it to an immediate vote. The Senate passed the bill by a vote of 32 to 14. Not a single Democratic member of the Senate supported it. The only Republicans voting against it were Senators Sprague, of Rhode Island, and Tipton, of Nebraska. In the House the Democrats were unanimous against it. The act was a Republican measure, opposed by the Democratic party.

"The most remarkable feature of the bill was the promptness with which it was passed, after the long period—the House having passed it on January 7, 1875, by a vote of 125 to 106—of preparatory debate in both Houses of Congress on the subject. Nearly ten years had elapsed since the war closed, and although the subject

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

82

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

was one which constantly engaged the attention of financiers, and to a large extent enlisted the interest of the public, it had never been framed into a practical legislative measure. It had now been accomplished, as might well be said, in a day. The pressure upon the Republicans, caused by the Democratic victory of the preceding autumn, was very great. The leaders of the Democratic party had no faith in the measure, but they knew how troublesome was the subject; they knew that it had proved the stumbling-block in the Republican policy for years, and they were more than willing that it should be taken out of the way on the eve of their accession to the control of the House of Representatives. If the act should prove to be successful their hostility to it might be forgotten, and they could well arraign their opponents for so long neglecting to enact it. If, on the other hand, it should prove unsuccessful, it would remain a standing reproach to the financial policy of the Republican party. As the leaders of the Democracy viewed it, the resumption act, passed over their combined vote, could do them no harm, while the chances were that it would inure to their advantage."

Let Mr. Blaine's statement be remembered: "The act was a Republican measure, opposed by the Democratic party."

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

CHAPTER VIII.

A CHECK IN THE ATTEMPT TO EXTERMINATE THE GREENBACK.

Hon. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, on November 16, 1877, as a champion of "honest coin money," thus spoke in the House of Representatives:

"I make this statement, without fear of contradiction — because I have carefully examined the list of illustrious names and the records they have left behind them — that for several generations it was the almost unanimous opinion of the American people, that the only sound, safe, trustworthy standard of value was coin of a standard weight and fineness, or a paper currency convertible into coin at the will of the holder. It is true that there was here and there a theorist, dreaming of the philosopher's stone, dreaming of a time when paper money, which he worshiped as a kind of fetish, would be crowned as a god; but those dreamers were so few in number that they made no ripple on the current of public thought, and their theories formed no part of public opinion.

"Every President who has left a record on the subject has spoken without qualification in favor of the doctrine I have announced. No man ever sat in the chair of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States who, if he has spoken at all on the subject, has not left on record an opinion equally strong, from Hamilton down to the present moment."

Since that time, of Hayes as President and Sherman as Secretary of the Treasury, the executive chair of the nation has been filled by Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, and Harrison, and the finance Secretaries have been William Windom, Charles J. Folger, Walter Q. Gresham, Hugh McCulloch, Daniel Manning, Charles S. Fairchild, and Charles Foster.

If what Mr. Garfield said, as above quoted, were true, who will deny that the latter-named gentlemen, who have filled the positions above stated, have had any different views from those entertained by their predecessors, according to the statement furnished by Mr. Garfield?

Whether the position of all the officials referred to be truly stated or not, is a matter that may be determined by the inquiring, intelligent reader. But, in a deploring, forlorn state of mind, Mr. Garfield said:

"Let the wild crop of financial literature that has sprung into life within the last twelve years witness how widely and how far we have drifted. We have lost our old moorings, have thrown overboard our old compass; we sail by alien stars, looking not for the haven, but are afloat on an unknown sea."

MONEY IS THE MASTER; IT RULES THE PRESS, THE COURTS, AND THE LEGISLATIVE HALLS.—The friendship that Mr. Garfield manifested for the greenback might be expressed in these remarks of his:

"The trouble with our greenback dollar is this: It has two distinct functions, one a purchasing power, and the other a debt-paying power. It is equal to one hundred cents to pay an old, private debt. But no law can give it purchasing power in the general markets of the world, unless it represents a *known standard of coin value*.

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

84

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

"Although I do not believe in keeping greenbacks as a permanent currency in the United States; although I do not believe, myself, in the Government becoming a permanent banker, yet I am willing, for one, that, in order to prevent the shock to business which gentlemen fear, \$300,000,000 of greenbacks shall be allowed to remain in circulation as long as the wants of trade show manifestly that they are needed.

"We are bound for three great reasons to maintain the resumption of specie payments: First, because the sanctity of the public faith requires it; second, because the material prosperity of the country demands it; and, third, because our future prosperity demands that the agitation shall cease, and that the country shall find a safe and permanent basis for financial peace."

This "specie-payment" theory had before this, in Mr. Garfield's speech, been thus illustrated to his satisfaction:

"Statistics, which no man will gainsay, will show that ninety-five per cent. of all the great mercantile transactions of England are done by drafts, checks, and commercial bills, and only five per cent. by the actual use of cash. The great business of commerce and trade is done by drafts and bills. Money is now only the small change of commerce. In this country we have adopted the habits of England."

But different ideas of a financial basis for prosperity than those entertained by Mr. Garfield are gaining a hold in our land, and who shall stay their march?

THE HOUSE EFFORT IN 1877 TO REPEAL RESUMPTION.—On October 31, 1877, Hon. Thomas Ewing, jr., of Ohio—the first Chief Justice of the State of Kansas—as instructed by the House Committee on Banking and Currency, reported House bill No. 805, with the title "A bill to repeal all that part of the act approved January 14, 1875, known as the resumption act, which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to dispose of United States bonds and redeem and cancel the greenback currency."

Hon. Philip C. Hayes, a Representative from Illinois, in a speech made in the House on November 16, 1877, said:

"The history of the resumption act will show that, from the day of its passage up to the present time, it has wrought evil and only evil continually. At no time has it proved of any benefit to any class of our people except to those who were trafficking in or holding Government bonds. These men have reaped a rich reward under the operations of this act, but the great majority of our people have felt the act too oppressive, and burdensome in the extreme.

"It is absolutely suicidal, ruinous to all business interests, for a nation situated as we were in 1875 to attempt to force resumption by a contraction of the volume of its currency. In my estimation, we had none too much currency at that time to meet the actual demands of trade. The entire amount of paper money in circulation on January 1, 1875, was only \$778,176,250. There was also in the country at that time about \$100,000,000 in gold. If we estimate our population at 42,000,000, it is only \$21 per capita. Great Britain, in 1875, had \$24.70 per capita; Germany, \$25 per capita; France, \$41.66 per capita.

"Our greenback currency was issued in good faith. It was issued by a rich, strong and honest nation. Is it not time for us to make it a legal tender for all debts, both public and private, except in those cases where the law or contract provides for payment in coin?"

On the same day Hon. James Phelps, of Connecticut, said:

"A uniform paper currency is better than one issued partly by the Government

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

WORDS OF HASKELL AND KNAPP.

85

and partly by private corporations. To give the banks under the present system the exclusive privilege of issuing notes, is to confer upon them a monopoly of the greatest value."

Hon. D. C. Haskell, of Kansas, in a speech made in the House of Representatives, on November 17, 1877, said:

"We have sixty millions less of currency in circulation to-day than there was two and a half years ago, counting national bank notes and legal-tenders. During the five years immediately preceding the resumption of the Bank of England in 1821, the contraction amounted to one hundred and two millions. It very nearly ruined English industries, and yet we, in two and a half years, have accomplished an equal contraction, and that too through the operations of a law that was intended to relieve our industries by a slight *increase* of currency.

"Are we to sit idly by, suffering all the ills of a forced contraction, resulting in stagnant industries and universal distress, under the operation of a law so uncertain in its terms that a definition of its meaning must be left to the absolution of one man, the Secretary of the Treasury?

"I am satisfied that if any other important law than this resumption act was found to be as uncertain and indefinite in its provisions, it would be snatched from the statute book within the hour. We ask that Wall street, the Rothschilds and the Barings shall no longer have control of our financial legislation; and when I charge that our legislation has been in the interest of the capitalist and the dealer of money, I charge that which I can prove from the record, and I challenge successful contradiction."

Hon. Robert M. Knapp, of the House, from Illinois, thus spoke, on November 16, 1877:

"Not only have the American people been at the mercy of foreign nations in their efforts to rehabilitate our internal trade relations, but the war, in its excessive money demands, subjected the country to the control of the money-holder, both at home and abroad. All our legislation, State and national, has followed their dictation, and the remorseless rule of avarice has been the mainspring of public action.

"First, we find a floating debt created by the war, non-interest bearing. Next, a bonded, interest-bearing debt, exempted from taxation, to absorb the floating debt, and to provide for future contingencies. Next, a national-banking system, to give this bonded, interest-bearing, tax-exempted debt greater usefulness at home, securing to the banker 6 per cent., in gold, annually, interest on a bond that was purchasable in the market at from 33½ to 50 per cent. in gold of its representative value, thus establishing an overshadowing coöperative money-monopoly, destined and intended to absorb and control the capital, credits and industry and fate of the country."

THE NATIONAL-BANK SYSTEM THE FRIEND OF SPECIE RESUMPTION.—Representative Hayes spoke boldly and earnestly upon the schemes and studied machinations of those men who ever and anon manage, as best they may from the money centers of the old and the new world, the general financial legislation of the civilized nations of the earth. The following matter is good for serious consideration and mature reflection for true, patriotic people anywhere and everywhere:

"Foreign financial policies and foreign money-dealers will control all our material interests unless the national-banking system that makes our financial control easily accessible to them be destroyed. The remedy, and only remedy, is in their extirpation, the whole administration of affairs being under the domination of bankers

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

86

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

and money-dealers at home and abroad, having no interest in the people and no sympathy for our institutions. Every grinding expedient that avarice could invent was resorted to to make a dollar weigh more than the blood of the laborer or the brain of the producer. A howl for specie resumption was the consequence. Great money lovers are never lovers of liberty; the vice of avarice freezes all the fountains of justice and humanity, and likens its victims to the stuff that glitters, that they gloat over. One of the chiefest safeguards of the future is to make the people know them and the machinery they use to foster their passion."

STEALTHY PROCESSES BY WHICH THE CONSPIRATORS SUCCEEDED.—Mr. Hayes continues to lift the veil, in the following plain statement of what might be called startling facts:

"This is the home side of the coalition. The ownership of nearly all the remaining amount of the bonded debt represented the foreign partnership in the coalition.

"The coalition consummated, let us follow their insidious processes of public robbery. The principal of the debt by legal construction and from every consideration of justice was payable in paper issued upon the faith and credit of the Government.

"Then it came that the principal of the bonded debt should be paid in gold. Thus commenced that patriotic inspiration of the coalition to protect the public honor and the public credit, that was hallooed from every shaving-shop and every national bank, and reverberated from the shores of Germany and England, maintained to justify this intended robbery of our people, and legislation through these instrumentalities was procured that absorbed near a thousand millions of our substance.

"Investigation will demonstrate the fact that our financial legislation during these periods has been suggested and controlled by foreign money-dealers, having no sympathy for our institutions and no interest in our welfare; that our legislation instead of proceeding, as upon theory it should, in the interest of the people, has been submitted to the merciless control of the foreign Shylock, sustained by the irresistible money combination of the national-banking system.

"Foreign financial managers encouraged the demonetization of silver. The national-banking system sustains this policy, while every dictate of interest and common sense suggests that we give value to our own production by extending its usefulness and consumption."

KANSAS OPENING FIRE ON THE RESUMPTIONISTS.—On November 6, 1877, Hon. William A. Phillips, of Kansas, delivered a very lengthy speech, in which he said:

"In the resumption bill of 1875, as passed through the Senate and rushed through the House, the question as to the issue of legal tender is supposed to have been left open, though Senator Sherman, of Ohio, had declared that 'until the reduction of the United States notes to \$300,000,000 they cannot be reissued.' I went to the Treasury Department this morning and saw Mr. Secretary Sherman, from whom I learned that the amount of legal-tender notes withdrawn on account of the issue of national-bank notes is \$27,509,108.

"This amount, as the secretary informed me, has been canceled and destroyed. The question of its destruction was not left to the future. It was not left to the Congresses which should meet, but as fast as the circulation of the money of the people could be withdrawn under the third section of the resumption act, it was promptly destroyed to prevent its reissue. The theory of that section was that it would increase by twenty per cent. the currency of the country. There were outstanding at the date of the passage of the act \$382,000,000 of legal-tender notes, and of national-bank notes \$349,894,182. Of the national-bank notes there are now outstanding \$316,775,111.

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

PHILLIPS' S STERN STATEMENTS.

87

"On November 3, 1877, there were outstanding greenbacks, \$354,490,992. There has been, therefore, under the third section of the resumption act, a decrease of national-bank notes amounting to \$35,086,339; of legal-tender notes, canceled and destroyed, \$27,509,108, making a reduction of \$62,595,447 in the volume of the currency under the operation of this section of the resumption act. The result was brought about by an adroit process. When a million of national-bank notes were issued, eight hundred thousand legal-tender notes were canceled and destroyed. When national banks surrendered their circulation, say of a million, eight hundred thousand legal-tender notes were not reissued."

CONTINUED DESCRIPTION OF THE DESTROYERS OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY.

—Congressman Phillips made an expose of the methods in vogue at the Treasury Department and at the office of the Director of the Mint, as follows:

"Indeed, under this cunning machinery a national bank could surrender its notes one day for a million dollars and the next day apply for a fresh circulation, and every time they went through this process, cause the cancellation and destruction of 800,000 legal-tender notes. By this arrangement it was possible for a syndicate of bankers to pump the legal-tender system dry. But that is not all. At the date of the passage of that act there was outstanding in fractional currency \$45,300,173.73—a non-interest-bearing debt, as the legal-tender notes were.

"I was surprised at learning at the office of the Director of the Mint that silver subsidiary coin had been issued in exchange for the fractional currency to the extent of \$23,156,162.82, and up to the first of this month there has been coined of this token coinage \$39,118,000. For the purpose of redeeming the remainder of old fractional currency, upwards of \$9,000,000 of legal-tender notes have been virtually retired, having been placed in the treasury to meet that amount of fractional currency if ever presented. Thus there has been a contraction of \$94,595,000. The national-bank notes cannot do without the legal-tender notes, as the national-bank notes were redeemable in them.

"There has been a reduction of currency equal to one-sixth of its entire volume. What has been the result? It has increased the power of money and the value of money. Real estate has fallen fifty per cent. Since 1868, labor has been constantly depressed in our country. This has been the case ever since Mr. McCulloch adopted his scheme of contraction. I believe that the legal-tender currency is better and safer than the national currency; that the Government is the best custodian of its own coinage and currency. This Government should have left this question of resumption to the legitimate business influences of the country."

Mr. Phillips, who was a very early correspondent of the *New York Tribune* in Kansas Territory, in "the days that really tried men's souls," in a speech made in the House on November 22, 1877, thus referred to the money-changers:

"But yesterday a New York paper called a member of this body an idiot because he made a really eloquent speech in defense of the people against the aggressions of capital. So those papers of Eastern commercial centers abuse the champions of the people. Four men in New York who have made or control great fortunes, much of which has been gained by oblique transactions and watering stocks, have got possession of papers that grew into power because they were the organs of the weak and oppressed, and are fast losing their honor and renown by becoming the tools of avaricious capital. How the ghost of Horace Greeley would agonize if he visited the establishment he founded, for he could not find anything of the ancient *Tribune* from its basement to its tall tower. Once it uttered a giant's voice from Maine to California, for it was the champion of the laboring man. Vainly shall it strive to cover with its dead lion's skin the betrayal of the people. Those members who are



A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

misrepresented and abused have one consolation: in doing the work of their masters these papers have ceased to be metropolitan."

This bill to *repeal* all that part of the act, approved January 14, 1875, known as the resumption act, which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to dispose of United States bonds and redeem and cancel the greenback currency, passed the House on November 23, 1877, by a vote of: Yeas, 133; nays, 120; not voting, 38.

Let one but listen to the following from the organ of the money-mongers, nearly fourteen years later:

The New York *Tribune*, in its issue of July 14, 1891, says in an editorial on "Coin and Paper Representatives:"

"Gold is and has been for many years the only standard of value in this country. No kind of money has passed current here except for the reason that it was practically interchangeable with gold and had equal purchasing power. The silver dollar, though it be a coin, is in fact nothing but a token representing a value which is that of a gold dollar in the world's markets. The paper dollar, whether it be a certificate, a legal-tender note, or a treasury note, or a bank note, passes for exactly the same reason—not because it is a promise to pay one thing or another thing, but because it was made and has been maintained exchangeable on equal terms with a gold dollar, and therefore accepted as its representative. Both, in fact, are nothing more than representative forms of money. The legal-tender quality does, indeed, belong to the silver coins, as to the legal-tender notes; but it is a matter of history that the legal-tender note was not equal in value to the gold dollar, which was also a legal tender, until the notes had been lifted to equality by the approaching resumption of specie payments.

"The farmer or the workingman knows that he can use the silver in small amounts exactly as well, can buy as much with it, and can as easily get it exchanged for gold if he has occasion, but it is less convenient. So there exists a barrier, which laws and prolonged efforts of the Treasury Department have not been able to pass, against the more extended use of silver coins.

"What would happen if the paper should come to be redeemable in silver only? It would cease to be a representative of gold, exchangeable for gold, able to buy as much as the gold dollar, and would at once be rated at the bullion value of the silver coin. The legal-tender quality would not save either from depreciation any more than it prevented the depreciation of greenbacks during the war. Hence it is an imperative necessity, that if the national prosperity is to be preserved there never should be suffered to arise any question as to the exchangeableness of the paper or the silver coin at the desire of any holder. Any step which risks destroying public confidence in the representative character of the silver coin or the paper note, however little it may be so intended, must in fact threaten to rob all wage-earners and to destroy the public prosperity."

LEGISLATION ON THE BASIS OF ENLIGHTENED SELFISHNESS.—Hon. James G. Blaine, in his chapter in his first volume of "Twenty Years of Congress," devoted to tariff history and tariff theories, on page 200, declares:

"As a whole, the record of tariff legislation, from the very origin of the Government, is the record of enlightened selfishness, and enlightened selfishness is the basis of much that is wisest in legislation."

Now it may be submitted, in all good fellowship, that the foregoing *Tribune* editorial appears in the interest of a commercial sense in finance, that believes its enlightenment is so supreme that it is an oracle on finance, nationally

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

ENLIGHTENED SELFISHNESS.

89

famed for wisdom and accuracy of opinions, and hence it must needs claim that its decision in these matters is of the most unquestioned authority.

The general financial legislation in our Government for more than a quarter of a century has been dictated by a *selfishness* predicated upon the doctrine that "might makes right," and there is not even a decent attempt to obscure the manifest selfishness in the foregoing editorial, which would fain *enlighten* the wage-worker as to the need of only *gold* as money. Let it be mentioned, simply by way of comparison, that the silver enactment of 1890 permits the holder of silver bullion to deposit his bullion in the United States treasury, which is not to be coined at all, but which is to remain there idle, locked up for fear that some "dishonest Westerner" might obtain it, and with it be able to discharge the interest on a farm mortgage, or some other incumbrance with it. A thousand-dollar warehouse receipt for deposited bullion silver, with a gold certificate given for its purchase, might be regarded as refined "enlightened selfishness" by the investor in bullion. But let the following matter be seriously examined under the specious plea, "The currency problem has been largely taken out of politics."

CORPORATION AND PRIVATE DEBTS TO BE MADE PAYABLE IN GOLD.—Charles S. Ashley, in *The Popular Science Monthly* for July, 1891, on "A Coming Solution of the Currency Question," said:

"Several copies of railroad mortgages, made within the last ten years, from forms dictated at the great financial centers, lie before me, and in each of them I find the promise to pay "in gold coin of the United States of America of the present standard weight and fineness." This is the solution of the currency problem that the financial world, led purely by that enlightened self-interest which is at the bottom of most improvements, is preparing. No doubt there are hundreds of such mortgages, amounting in the aggregate to at least a billion dollars, and probably much more. The highest court in the land has several times declared that such contracts must be performed literally. If a man promises to pay a certain amount of gold he must do so, whether at the time of payment gold be worth more or less.

"It would be an unspeakable blessing to have the currency question removed from the domain of politics. Questions of so complex a character are precisely those which the people are most illy qualified to decide. It is the interest of all that as few questions as possible having great financial importance should be decided by the political power, for therein lies the source of the corruption of the Government, the oppression of the people, the uncertainty of business, the possibility of panics, a stimulus of class prejudice and class greed, and the obstruction of legitimate public business.

"The currency problem has been taken out of politics in a very large class of cases, and it can readily be done in nearly all.

"The same causes that have led to the insertion of the above-cited provision in railroad mortgages will lead to similar contracts in other instances, particularly in the case of long-time, low-rate real-estate mortgages to insurance companies. If this kind of obligations should become common and of recognized validity, it is obvious that the political pressure, now so great, would be entirely neutralized, because few would have anything to gain from a debasement or enhancement of the value of the coined dollar."

Might not world-wide philanthropy, exercised in the best interests of the sovereign people, suggest that such "enlightened selfishness" be consigned to the tomb of the capulets?

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

CHAPTER IX.

THE TREASURY NOTE PERMANENT AS A CIRCULATING MEDIUM.

On April 29, 1878, Hon. Greenberry L. Fort, Representative from Illinois, moved to suspend the rules and pass a bill to forbid the retirement of the United States legal-tender notes. It provided that, when they came into the treasury, under any law whatever, they should not be retired, canceled, or destroyed, but be received and paid out again, and kept in circulation. The vote on the bill was, yeas, 177; nays, 35; not voting, 79. On May 28, 1878, this bill passed the Senate by a vote of yeas, 41; nays, 18; absent, 17.

On December 1, 1879, President Hayes, in his message to Congress, gave forth the following declaration:

"Since the 1st of January last, United States notes have been promptly redeemed on presentation, and in all business transactions, public and private, in all parts of the country, they are received and paid out as the equivalent of coin. It is my firm conviction that the issue of legal-tender paper money based wholly upon the authority and credit of the Government, except in extreme emergency, is without warrant in the constitution, and a violation of sound financial principles. The issue of United States notes during the late civil war with the capacity of legal tender between private individuals was not authorized except as a means of rescuing the country from imminent peril."

It appears from the foregoing that Mr. Hayes did not hesitate, from the abundance of his desires, to give the fullest possible protection to gold, saying:

"The issue of United States notes during the late civil war with the capacity of legal tender between private individuals was not authorized except as a means of rescuing the country from imminent peril."

Unmindful of Supreme Court decisions, he speaks of the issue of legal-tender paper money as "without warrant in the constitution."

JOHN SHERMAN'S PROPOSITION TO DEBASE THE TREASURY NOTE.—The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report made in 1879, presented the following as the workings of resumption:

"The total amount of United States notes presented for redemption from January 1, to November 1, 1879, was \$11,256,678. But little coin has been demanded on the coin liabilities of the Government during the same period, though the amount accruing exceeded \$600,000,000. The net balance available for resumption increased from \$133,508,804.50 to \$152,737,155.48. There has been but little demand for coin, and United States notes and the circulating notes of national banks have been received and paid out at par with coin in all business transactions, public or private, in all parts of the country.

"The specie standard thus happily secured has given an impetus to all kinds of business. The note of the United States is now received for all public dues. While

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

SHERMAN COMPARED WITH WADE.

91

they are maintained, the legal-tender clause gives no additional credit or sanction to the notes, but tends to impair confidence and to create fears of over-issue. It would seem, therefore, that now and during the maintenance of resumption, it is a useless and objectionable assertion of power, which Congress might now repeal on the ground of expediency alone; hence, the secretary respectfully submits this proposition to Congress, as to repealing the legal-tender clause to all future contracts."

One of the last crowning acts of the Hayes-Sherman financial duet was the refusal to refund outstanding United States bonds approaching maturity, at 4 per cent. This was about the close of the Hayes administration.

"YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON."—On February 27, 1868, Senator Sherman, of Ohio, in a speech of very great length on "The Funding Bill," remarked upon the greenback:

"The amount of bank notes may be left free without any legal limit, if only the right to present the note for redemption is always enforced; redemption is at present in legal-tenders, but we all look to an early resumption of specie payments. Every additional greenback issued tends to depreciate the value of the security, and therefore, as the law itself limits the amount, it must be complied with, whatever is the consequence.

"I trust that before this session of Congress closes, it will adopt such measures as will gradually make the dollar in greenback in the hands of the laboring man equal to a dollar in gold."

Now, let Sherman be quoted against Sherman; let him stand with the variegated hues of the political chameleon, as one may notice an earlier utterance from him in the following quotation:

"Equity and justice are amply satisfied if we redeem these bonds at the end of five years in the same kind of money, of the same intrinsic value it bore at the time they were issued. Gentlemen may reason about this matter over and over again, and they cannot come to any other conclusion; at least that has been my conclusion after the most careful consideration. Senators are sometimes in the habit, in order to defeat the argument of an antagonist, of saying that this is repudiation. Why, sir, every citizen of the United States has conformed his business to the legal-tender clause. He has collected and paid his debts accordingly."

THE NAME OF ANOTHER BUCKEYE STATESMAN BLAZONED WITH GLORY.
—One of the sturdy products of the Western Reserve was the bold and courageous Ben. Wade.

When Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, as President *pro tem* of the United States Senate, wrote the following to a Mr. Denny, of Eaton, Ohio, it had great significance. Read it:

"VICE PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 13, 1867."

"Yours of the 8th inst. is received, and I most cordially agree with every word and sentence of it. I am for the laboring portion of our people. The rich can take care of themselves. While I must scrupulously live up to all the contracts of the Government, and fight repudiation to the death, I will fight the bondholder as resolutely when he undertakes to get more than the pound of flesh. We never agreed to pay the 5-20s in gold; no man can find it in the bond, and I will never consent to have one payment, for the people. It would sink any party, and it ought to. To talk of specie payment or return to specie under present circumstances, is to talk like a fool. It would destroy the country as effectually as a fire. And any con-



A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

traction of the currency at this time, is about as bad. But I have not time to give my ideas in full. Yours truly, BENJAMIN F. WADE."

"CAPT. A. DENNY, Eaton, Ohio."

Here let it be stated that Senator Wade was in the advance guard of the Republican party, fighting bravely for the rights of human nature, fighting that the bondman should be delivered from his thralldom, while John Sherman, early and late, could sustain the fugitive-slave law of 1793 and 1850.

A LIGHT IN THE EAST WITH A HOPEFUL VOICE FOR THE PEOPLE.—On November 26 and 27, 1867, Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, delivered a speech on "Reduction of Currency," having been called upon by Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, to make a defense of what Mr. Blaine called Mr. Butler's financial scheme. His speech was a long and interesting one, in which he said:

"I hold that by the letter, by the spirit, and by the justice of the contract, the five-twenties are payable in the lawful money of the United States. But Mr. Blaine says, by the letter of the law the five-twenties are payable in coin, because no loan of the United States had ever been issued payable in anything else than coin. Why? Because up to that time there was never any currency known to the Government of the United States other than coin. Therefore the seven-thirties of 1861 and the 1881 sixes of 1861, with all the debt prior to the war, were, in letter and in spirit, payable in coin, because Congress in issuing them was dealing in a condition of things and a currency then existing, and therefore the 1861 sixes are payable, according to the fair spirit of the contract, in coin.

"My first proposition is, that every dollar of indebtedness of the United States that is contracted by the acts of Congress making it payable in coin shall be paid in coin, although it takes the last dollar to pay it; but every debt contracted not payable in coin shall be paid in the lawful money of the United States, such as you paid your soldiers with and such as you furnish to your citizens; such as alone is now used as money of the Government, and upon which you impress the image and superscription of the Government, as a guaranty that it shall hereafter be made good."

OBJECTIONS MADE TO DISTORTING THE ENACTMENT.—Whether or not designed to mislead the somewhat careless, superficial reader, it is a matter of fact that much of the financial legislation of the United States of America has been treated as susceptible of different interpretations, and certainly not so plain—in the language of Holy Writ—"that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein." One may here notice how Mr. Butler alludes to Mr. Blaine:

"The provisions of the first section of the act thus creating 'a lawful money' is in these words: 'And such notes, herein authorized, shall be receivable in payment of all taxes, internal duties, excises, debts, and demands of any kind, due to the United States, except duties on imports, and for all claims and demands against the United States of every kind whatsoever except for interest upon bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin; and shall also be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the United States, except duties on imports and interests as aforesaid.'

"Now what does the second section provide? 'Bonds to an amount not exceed-

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

BEN. BUTLER FROM THE EAST.

93

ing \$500,000,000, payable in twenty years from date, and bearing a rate of 6 per cent., payable semi-annually.

"You must see this text upon the letter, and I have never yet found any man bold enough—until my friend from Maine exhibited a degree of courage much superior to any bravery required to face minie bullets in the field—bold enough to insist that the letter of the law did not authorize payment of the principal of the five-twenty bonds in lawful money of the United States.

"The next class of arguments that the gentleman from Maine puts forward on this question is the proposals in the advertisements of those he terms the authorized agents of the United States who disposed of the loan. For contracting a national debt, I know no other authorized agent of the nation but the Congress of the United States."

IS THE HUMAN HEART DECEITFUL ABOVE ALL THINGS?—There is an explanatory couplet reading thus:

"Ah! what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practice to deceive."

The reader may judge for himself of the straightforwardness that attached to the Treasury Department, as he peruses the following from Hon. Benjamin F. Butler:

"Mr. Jay Cooke advertised, after some sort I agree, but you find another of his advertisements, intended also to sell the loan, that 'a national debt is a national blessing.' Are we bound by contract to that? No management of a national debt can make it a national blessing. The first thing said about the probability that this debt would be paid in gold was in the answer of Secretary Chase to a letter sent him from abroad. It was said in that letter—I do not give the words, but the substance—'It is not understood here in Frankfort that these bonds are payable in gold. If it should be so understood they would bring a much higher price.' The bonds were selling for what? For forty cents on the dollar. I will not think so meanly of this country as to believe it could be supposed these bonds were payable in gold, and then were at this discount even in Europe, which was against us. This letter from Frankfort was sent over here as a stock-jobbing proposition to Secretary Chase. How did he answer it? Through his assistant secretary. The answer all will remember. 'The Government of the United States has always paid all its obligations in gold, and it is to be presumed that it always will.' It was an evasive answer—an answer tending to mislead; whether intended so to do I do not know or say."

The utterances of Secretaries Chase, Fessenden and McCulloch have been pretty well furnished, and, skipping over Secretaries Boutwell and Richardson, of Massachusetts, whose relations to financial matters were less important than that of their predecessors and successors, the matter in reports of Secretaries Bristow and Morrill is of sufficient moment to receive attention.

MUST THE LEGAL-TENDER NOTES BE DISCARDED, BECAUSE THEY PRESERVED THE NATION?—Hon. Benjamin H. Bristow, as Secretary of the Treasury, in his report submitted to Hon. James G. Blaine, as Speaker of the national House, in 1874, said:

"The great and paramount importance of restoring to the Government and the people a sound, stable currency, induces the secretary to bring the subject again to the attention of Congress, and to ask that decisive steps be now taken by the law-making power for a return to a specie basis.

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

94

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

"It will not be denied that the existing issue of legal-tender notes as a circulating medium would never have been made except in the great emergency of a war, involving no less an issue than the preservation of the nation.

"There is abundant evidence in the debates and proceedings of Congress, and in the statutes themselves, that it was not intended to make the legal-tender notes the permanent currency of the country.

"Credit, which necessarily enters largely into commercial transactions, can only be steady and secure where it has for its foundation a stable currency. The quality of stability in money attaches only to coin, which, by common consent of mankind, is the medium of exchange. Besides coin has a high intrinsic value; it can be procured only by labor, and in limited quantities, which cannot be increased by statutory laws."

DOES THE "LEGAL-TENDER DOLLAR," IF USED, "TEND TO BLUNT THE MORAL SENSE?"—Secretary Bristow deliberately published the following in his report, which goes into the archives of the nation:

"As far as existing laws go, there is no reason why the legal-tender note of the denomination of a dollar should pass for one cent of gold, except so far as the Government compels creditors to accept it in discharge of obligations to pay money, and obliges the wealth and commerce of the country to adopt it as a medium of exchange. To this may be added, as an element of the value of the legal-tender dollar, the hope that the Government will sometime or other redeem the paper promises according to their import. The universal use of and reliance upon such a currency tends to blunt the moral sense and impair the natural self-dependence of the people, and trains them to the belief that the Government must directly assist their individual fortunes and business, help them to their personal affairs, and enable them to discharge their debts by partial payment. This inconvertible paper currency begets the delusion that the remedy for private pecuniary distress is in legislative measures, and makes the people unmindful of the fact that the true remedy is in greater production and less spending, and that real prosperity comes only from individual effort and thrift. In the opinion of the secretary, the law should authorize the immediate conversion of legal-tender notes into bonds which should run for a long period bearing a low rate of interest, and to this end the secretary should be authorized to make a Government loan."

Was it a patriotic declaration for such a high official to make concerning "the legal-tender dollar," as this:

"It begets the delusion that the remedy for private pecuniary distress is in legislative measures, and makes the people unmindful of the fact that the true remedy is in greater production and less spending, and that real prosperity comes only from individual effort and thrift."

Has it not been told from that day down to this, that one potent cause for "private pecuniary distress" was from the fact of such a vast over-production of the earth's multifarious bounties?

Could it by any possibility have been an act of financial wisdom, only to those who profit from the labor of the toilers, to have had in 1874, or at any other time, a law that "should authorize the immediate conversion of legal-tender notes into bonds, which should run for a long period," as proposed by

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

MUST THE GREENBACK "GO?"

95

Secretary Bristow? Would even the merest tyro in finances have gravely said:

"Besides, coin has a high intrinsic value; it can be procured only by labor, and in limited quantities, which cannot be increased by statutory laws."

Does this statement suggest exalted statesmanship?

SECRETARY BRISTOW'S SUCCESS AS A PROPHET RATHER INFERIOR.—Inasmuch as the dominant party in our politics has sung pæans of praise to their "resumption scheme," and inasmuch as a high protective tariff "keeps the balance of trade in our favor," and in view of many tens of millions of dollars of our gold being now in Europe, what may be thought of Secretary Bristow's prophecy about gold, as found below:

"That which is of the highest importance is the adoption of the definite policy of resumption. In view of the great and pressing importance of the speediest return to specie payment consonant with steadiness of business and avoidance of violent and sudden contraction, discussion of mere details in advance becomes of little practical consequence. What is demanded by the best interests of the Government and the people, and by the highest considerations of virtue and morality, is that Congress shall undo that state of things which only the necessities of war justified or required in this respect. A wise modification of existing statutes, which neither enable nor permit the executive branch of the Government to effect the restoration of a sound currency, will leave the laws of trade free to resume their operations, and many matters of detail will adjust themselves.

"When the Government shall have resumed specie payment, it may be expected that gold will flow into the country in obedience to the law of supply and demand; the export of our gold product will greatly diminish, and the millions of gold which now constitute only a commodity of trade will resume its proper functions by becoming again a part of the circulating medium."

DESTRUCTION OF GREENBACKS THE PANACEA FOR THE PANIC OF 1873.—Secretary Bristow seemed to think he had found the philosopher's stone in the following:

"The business of the country has not yet recovered from the disasters of the last year's financial panic, the cause of which it is by no means difficult to trace. It was the direct and immediate result of that excessive development of speculative enterprises, over-trading and inflation of credit, which invariably follow large issues of inconvertible paper currency. The almost boundless resources and energies of the country must compel the gradual reestablishment of business, but capital, with its accustomed sensitiveness to danger, is slow to return to the avenues of trade. Labor receives its reward in a currency that is unsteady, and whose purchasing power changes almost daily. Neither the reward of labor nor the value of commodities is measured by any certain standard. The enactment of a law having for its purpose the substitution of a sound and stable medium of exchange for an irredeemable paper currency will tend to restore confidence, and thus cause a revival of industries and general business. There will be no better time in the future to enter upon the work of returning to a specie basis, and the secretary feels that he cannot too strongly urge the adoption of the measure he has indicated, or such others as will more certainly lead to the desired end."

A FEW WORDS FROM THE DIRECT SUCCESSOR OF SECRETARY BRISTOW.—Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, Secretary of the Treasury, in his report

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

96

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

made to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in the centennial year of the nation, put forth the following statements on finance:

"The United States notes, commonly known as legal tender, regarded as a substitute for money, are an anomaly in our monetary system, tolerable and possible only in the exigencies of civil war—the offspring of its perils and limited to its necessities. To allow their continuance as such, after the cause which justified their existence had ceased, is to violate the conditions of their inception, and to sanction what was only tolerable as a necessity, by impressing upon it the stamp of legitimacy. That policy which tolerated the continuance of these notes as money, after the close of the war, must be regarded as a public misfortune.

"Congress, in 1869, treated them as a portion of the public debt, and pledged the faith of the nation to their redemption as such at the earliest practicable period, and the act of 1875 contemplated their redemption in January, 1879."

Would any political party, at this time, *destroy* the few hundred millions of treasury notes,—“an anomaly in our monetary system?”

WAS IT A PUBLIC DUTY TO CONTINUE THE TREASURY NOTES AFTER THE WAR?—Secretary Morrill thus proceeds to state the fell purpose of rapidly diminishing the volume of the legal-tenders:

"The amount of legal-tender notes outstanding November 1, 1876, was \$367,535,716. The amount of said notes on deposit for the purpose of retiring circulation was \$20,910,946.

"From the large accumulations of money at the money centers and the lack of demand for it, it is apparent that the volume of currency is largely in excess of the real demands of legitimate business, and that a portion of the legal-tenders might be gradually withdrawn without embarrassment to the business of the country.

"The legislative action of 1869, which created the act entitled 'An act to strengthen the public credit,' was in harmony with that of the executive administration. It will not be questioned by anyone conversant with the question at that time, that the popular impression, not to say general conviction, was that the pledge was for payment in gold.

"The object and intent of the act of 1873 was confessedly to give to gold the precedence in the statutes of the country it held in the commercial world, practically, and to declare the gold dollar to be in law what it was in fact, the representative of the money unit.

"It is respectfully submitted that the coin payment to which the faith of the nation was pledged in 1869 was gold and not silver."

THE LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND HAS BECOME OBSOLETE.—Secretary Bristow spoke of gold coming to us in obedience to the law of supply and demand, but the legislation of the Government of the United States of America in the thirty years last past has made possible the formation of immense combines and gigantic trusts, which can control both the prices and productions of the factories, farms, and mines.

These organizations can create or break markets, as it may inure to their benefit, and those who produce are compelled to sell in a market the making of which they had neither part nor lot in, except as the LOT of being the recipients of prices established and held by syndicate wealth-holders, which prices are often far below the cost of production.

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

GREENBACKS—"NOT MONEY."

97

The wealth-holders are mainly the millionaires who have built up the national-banking system and spoliation tariffs, and who provide the circulating medium in the interest of the wealthy. The Government has parted with its control of the money of the country, and is simply furnishing its notes and bills through a delegated power to a corporate greedy band, called national bankers and gold standardites, thereby placing a nation of so-called freemen under the galling yoke of privileged Shylocks.

The result of this money system and stock gambling may be witnessed in the millions of farms and homes that are mortgaged, the foreclosure of which will install robber-barons (domestic and foreign), and make millions of American people tenants at will—thereby perpetuating the LANDLORD system of the old world in happy, grand America, "the home of the brave and the land of the free." And this in the beginning of the second century of American Presidents!

But, stepping over the hiatus from President Grant to Garfield, let the following financial doctrines be carefully examined.

THE PLATITUDES AND ERRORS IN MR. GARFIELD'S INAUGURAL.—The only state paper that President Garfield was permitted to give his countrymen was his inaugural address, from which the following relative to finance is presented:

"The preservation of public credit and the resumption of specie payments, so successfully attained by the administration of my predecessor, have enabled our people to secure the blessing which the seasons brought. By experience of commercial nations in all ages, it has been found that gold and silver afford the only safe foundation in the monetary system. Congress should provide that compulsory coinage of silver, now required by law, may not disturb our monetary system by driving either metal out of circulation. If possible, such adjustment should be made that the purchasing power of every coined dollar will be exactly equal as a debt-paying power in all the countries of the world. Grave doubts have been entertained whether Congress is authorized by the constitution to make any form of paper money a legal tender. The present issue of United States paper has been sustained by the necessities of war, but paper should depend for its value and currency upon its convenience and in its prompt redemption in coin at the will of the holder, and not upon its compulsory circulation. These notes are not money, but a promise to pay money. If the holders demand it, the promise should be kept."

THE STATUS OF THE REPUBLICANS AND OF MESSRS. GARFIELD AND ARTHUR IN 1880.—The Republican party, at its national convention held at Chicago, on June 2, 1880, resolved:

"The Republican party has raised the value of our paper currency from thirty-eight per cent. to the par with gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has give us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country."

James A. Garfield, in his letter accepting the nomination for President, dated Mentor, Ohio, on July 10, 1880, said:

"The resumption of specie payment, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

98

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the Government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before, and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments."

Chester A. Arthur, accepting the nomination for Vice-President, wrote from New York, on July 15, 1880, as follows:

"The resumption of specie payments—one of the fruits of Republican policy—has brought the return of abundant prosperity and the settlement of many distracting questions. The restoration of sound money, the large reduction of the public debt, and of the burden of interest, the high advancement of the public credit, all attest the ability and courage of the Republican party to deal with such financial problems as may hereafter demand solution. Our paper currency is now as good as gold, and silver is performing its legitimate function for the purpose of change. The principles which should govern the relations of these elements of the currency are simple and clear. There must be no deteriorated coin, no depreciated paper. And every dollar, whether of metal or paper, should stand the test of the world's fixed standard."

Who will rise at any time and give the information as to what "dollar" will "stand the test of the world's fixed standard?"

IMPORTANT OFFICIAL UTTERANCES FROM ACTING PRESIDENT ARTHUR.—President Arthur, in his message to Congress of December 6, 1881, said:

"I concur in the recommendations of the Secretary of the Treasury, that the provision for the coinage of a fixed amount of silver dollars each month be repealed, and that hereafter only so much be coined as shall be necessary to supply the demand."

In his message to Congress of December 4, 1882, President Arthur said:

"In respect to the coinage of silver dollars and the retirement of silver certificates—they forming an unnecessary addition to the paper currency, a sufficient amount of which may be easily supplied by the national banks—I have seen nothing to alter but much to confirm the sentiments to which I gave expression last year.

"I also renew the expression of my conviction that such rapid extinguishment of the national indebtedness as is now taking place is by no means a cause for congratulation; it is a cause rather for serious apprehension.

"Either the surplus must lie idle in the treasury or the Government will be forced to buy at market rates its bonds not then redeemable, and which, under such circumstances, cannot fail to command an enormous premium, or the swollen revenues will be devoted to extravagant expenditure, which, as experience has taught, is ever the bane of an overflowing treasury."

Think of the "rapid extinguishment of the national indebtedness, a cause for serious apprehension!"

In his message of 1881, President Arthur said: "We may well consider whether it is not the part of wisdom to reduce the revenues, even if we delay a little the payment of the debt."

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

PRIVILEGED MONEY-MAKERS.

99

But in his message to Congress for 1883, President Arthur said:

"If there shall be great delay in reducing taxation, it will become necessary either to substitute some other form of currency in place of the national-bank notes, or to make important changes in the laws by which their circulation is now controlled.

"The objections which the Secretary of the Treasury, in his report, urges against the acceptance of any other security than the obligations of the Government itself, as a foundation for national-bank circulation, seem to me insuperable.

"For averting the threatened contraction, two courses have been suggested: One is the issuance of new bonds, having many years to run, bearing a low rate of interest, and exchangeable upon specified terms for those now outstanding. The other course, which commends itself to my own judgment as the better, is the enactment of a law repealing the tax on circulation and permitting the banks to issue notes for an amount equal to 90 per cent. of the market value, instead of as now the face value of their deposited bonds. I agree with the Secretary in the belief that the adoption of this plan would afford the necessary relief."

All a special pleading for national banks, so that they might continue forever.

SOME INTERESTING INCIDENTAL STATEMENTS CONCERNING THE NATIONAL BANKS.—Senator McPherson, of New Jersey, introduced a bill authorizing the issue to national banks of circulation equal to the par value of the bonds deposited as security, which bill passed the Senate on February 25, 1864, by a vote of 43 yeas, 12 nays; absent, 21. The nays were Messrs. Bowen, of Colorado, Coke and Maxey, of Texas, Garland and Walker, of Arkansas, George, of Mississippi, Jones, of Nevada, Kenna, of West Virginia, Plumb, of Kansas, Slater, of Oregon, Vest, of Missouri, and Voorhees, of Indiana. In the course of the debate Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, said: "The national-bank note is the best form of paper money, because its payment is absolutely secure."

Senator John R. McPherson, of New Jersey, presented this:

"The national banks are made the depositories of Government money for a considerable period of time without the Government exacting interest, and the United States treasury is made the clearing-house for the redemption of their notes when presented for payment, which is not often, owing to the quality of the security which stands behind them; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, compared with banking on any other principle, or with less apparent security than Government bonds, the banks thus organized will have a decided advantage in securing the patronage of deposits, which forms a very important item in the banker's profits. Congress has bestowed on the owners of United States bonds this great exclusive grant over all other people—it has made their notes money. Who but a national-banking association can *pay* his debt to another by giving *his own note*? If I owe a debt which must be paid in money, *my* note, however well secured, will not *pay* it. Again, I *pay* interest on my note, and *they draw* interest on theirs. In short, no successful banking, purely as such, can be maintained with profit except under the national system while the system remains, as it always has been, the pet child of Congress.

"While they loan to the people of this country more than three times their loanable capital, they at the same time draw interest on \$379,486,359 of United States bonds, three-fifths and more of their capital. Their deposits are \$1,063,000,000, and their loans are \$1,309,000,000 and some odd thousand dollars. We see that their deposits form the great basis of their loans."

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

100

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

NEW YORK PRESIDENTS IN AGREEMENT ON FINANCE.—In his message submitted to Congress on December 1, 1884, President Arthur thus spoke on silver coinage:

"I concur with the Secretary of the Treasury in recommending the immediate suspension of the coinage of silver dollars, and of the issuance of silver certificates. This is a matter to which in former communications I have more than once invoked the attention of the national legislature. It appears that annually for the past six years, there have been coined, in compliance with the requirements of the act of February 28, 1878, more than \$27,000,000 of silver. The number now outstanding is reported by the secretary to be nearly \$185,000,000, whereof, but little more than \$40,000,000, or less than twenty-two per cent., are in actual circulation. The mere existence of this fact seems to me to furnish of itself a cogent argument for the repeal of the statute which has made such fact possible. The secretary avows his conviction that unless this coinage and the issuance of silver certificates be suspended, silver is likely at no distant day to become our sole metallic standard. The commercial disturbance and the impairment of national credit that would thus be occasioned can scarcely be overestimated.

"I hope that the bill which passed the Senate at the last session, permitting the issue of notes equal to the face value of the deposited bonds, will commend itself to the approval of the House of Representatives, for it seems to be generally conceded that the law governing this matter exacts from the bankers excessive security, and that upon their present bond deposits a larger circulation than is now allowed may be granted with safety."

Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury, whose first appointment to that position was by President Lincoln, was so much opposed to silver coinage as to say:

"Not only would the national credit be seriously impaired if the Government should be under the necessity of using silver dollars or certificates in payment of gold obligations, but business of all kinds would be greatly disturbed; not only so, but gold would at once cease to be a circulating medium, and severe contraction would be the result."

The Republican national administration closed with a New York and foreign money policy, adhered to with a most remarkable tenacity; and the Democratic President, Cleveland, received a letter of February 11, 1885, signed by ninety-eight Democratic members of the House of Representatives, addressed to him, in which was expressed the fear that "the banks, the bondholders, and those having fixed incomes," were making a united effort to commit him and his national administration against the continued coinage of the silver dollar, which they hoped would not come to pass.

The reply of President Cleveland on February 24, 1885, was summarized in an avowal that a financial crisis under the operation of the act of Congress of February 28, 1878, was close at hand, that the vaults of the United States treasury were heaped full of silver coin, worth eighty-five cents in gold, which was prescribed by law as the unit of value, and that the sum of gold deposited in the treasury for the purpose of meeting gold obligations and for the redemption of United States notes was perilously near encroachment.

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

CLEVELAND'S FEAR OF SILVER.

101

In his first message to Congress, on December 8, 1885, President Cleveland spoke at length on silver coinage, saying:

"We have now on hand all the silver dollars necessary to supply the present needs of the people and to satisfy those who, from sentiment, wish to see them in circulation, and if their coinage is suspended they can readily be obtained by all who desire them. If the need of more is at any time apparent, their coinage may be renewed. Prosperity hesitates upon our threshold because of the dangers and uncertainties surrounding the continuation of the present silver coinage.

"I recommend the suspension of the compulsory coinage of silver dollars directed by the law passed in February, 1878."

Secretary Manning, of the Treasury, in his report, said:

"Not alone our able statesmen and instructed economists and financiers advise the stopping of silver coinage now, but wherever our fellow-citizens are concentrated in commercial cities and towns, the business classes engaged in the trade, the enterprises and manufactures of those centers, and the still larger masses of workmen employed by them, urge the stopping of the silver coinage now. The interests of the agricultural classes are also endangered by the continuation of this coinage."

President Cleveland, in his message to Congress of December 6, 1886, still contemplated the evils of silver coinage, saying:

"I have seen no reason to change the views expressed in my last annual message on the subject of this compulsory coinage, and I again urge its suspension on the grounds contained in my former recommendation, reinforced by the significant increase of our gold exportations during the last year, and for the further reasons that the more this currency is distributed among the people, the greater becomes our duty to protect it from disaster; that we now have abundance for all our needs, and that there seems but little propriety in building vaults to store such currency, when the only pretense for its coinage is the necessity of its use by the people as a circulating medium. Every fair and legal effort has been made by the Treasury Department to distribute this currency among the people."

SECRETARY McCULLOCH'S DEVOTION TO METALLIC CURRENCY.—Mr. McCulloch declared his belief that a decided movement towards contraction of the currency was not only a public necessity, but that it would speedily dissipate the apprehension which generally existed, that the effect of such a policy must necessarily be to make money scarce and to diminish the prosperity of the country. The following literal quotation sets forth his financial views:

"An irredeemable paper currency may be a necessity, but it can scarcely fail, if long continued, to be a calamity to any people. Gold and silver are the only proper measure of value. They have been made so by the tacit agreement of nations, and are the necessary regulator of trade, the medium by which balances are settled between different countries and between sections of the same country. As a universal measure of value they are a commercial necessity.

"The people are now comparatively free from debt; the banks, with their secured circulation and large investments in Government securities, although not in an easy condition, and doubtless too much extended, are it is believed generally solvent. There is an immense volume of paper money in circulation — under the influence of which prices, already enormously high, are steadily advancing, and speculation

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

102

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

is increasing—which must be contracted if similar disasters to 1837 and 1857 would be avoided."

As Mr. McCulloch was finance minister under three national administrations—Lincoln, Johnson, and Arthur—he thereby becomes a special object of consideration in the matters that are closely related to our developed financial system, so much copied after and built upon the British system. A banker, at Fort Wayne, Indiana, he would quite naturally cling to the hardest kind of hard money theories, and, while in the long time ago he might have had a little reverence for silver dollars, yet his affection for them was long since given to the winds.

THE TEN YEARS OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION, FROM 1881 TO 1891, INCLUSIVE.—Indulging in a reminiscent mood of thought, the statement is given that James A. Garfield, Chester A. Arthur, S. Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison have each and all been in favor of a British system of finance which has GOLD for its basis, as in direct and positive antagonism to the essentially American idea, founded upon truly democratic-republican principles, of furnishing to the people of this great nation of the United States of America a sound system of MONEY AT COST, having no dependence upon a perpetual interest-bearing debt.

Was not this a brief and early method of the Lincoln administration, ere it was throttled by the money-changers on the Atlantic slope, and by their organized allies, if not imperious managers, in the financial centers of the old world? And did not the Democratic party, in its national convention of 1868, temporarily adhere to the virtue of the nation's treasury note? And "the Plumed Knight," who is to this day the idol of "the remnant of the grand old Republican party," and who, but for Cleveland, would have been inaugurated President on March 4, 1885, was not he of the same faith in finance as Presidents Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, and Harrison, neither one of whom were friends to the standard silver dollar?

NAMES OF THE MODERN MINISTERS OF FINANCE.—During the Garfield-Arthur administration, William Windom, Charles J. Folger and Hugh McCulloch were the Secretaries of the Treasury Department, and did they not, each and all, avow themselves to be in full accord with a system of finance that was approved by the government of Great Britain and by the monarchs—kingly and financial—of the old world?

Daniel Manning and Charles S. Fairchild—Secretaries of the Treasury during the Cleveland national administration—were they not, as eminent New Yorkers, preëminently gold-standard men, without any wavering or possible shadow of turning?

And, during the Harrison administration, of our time, have not Messrs. Windom and Foster followed closely in the footsteps of President Cleveland's ministers of finance—Messrs. Manning and Fairchild? Could not all of these four Secretaries of the Treasury, in a financial point of view, have been alike acceptable to Presidents Cleveland and Harrison? And, judging from

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

SHERMAN'S POOR MEMORY.

103

the way that Secretary Foster has started out, may he not be destined to be "the noblest Briton," and the least really AMERICAN one, of them all?

IS JOHN SHERMAN A MAN OF POOR MEMORY?—Senator Sherman has recently given the public the following:

"I know of no instance where money has been loaned by the Government at the rate of one or two per cent., or any other rate. If such a loan has ever been made, it was with authority of law. It is true that under the national-banking law a bank may be made the depository of the public money received from custom duties. This is done, not for the benefit of the banks, but solely for the convenience of the people and the security of the Government. In such cases the bank has to give security in United States bonds equal to the amount of deposits, and the money may be drawn by the Government on call.

"It is also true that, during President Cleveland's administration, at a time when there was a real or supposed stringency, the then Secretary of the Treasury deposited in national banks a large amount of public money, other than that derived from customs, with a view to relieve the stringency. I believed and proclaimed at the time that this was neither authorized by law nor was it good policy. The money should have been promptly used in the purchase or payment of the public debt."

What remarkable truthfulness in this following sentence:

"No such deposit was made by a Republican administration, and the money so deposited was withdrawn as rapidly as was prudent. I know of no case in the history of our Government where money has been loaned to individuals. The proposition to loan money to farmers at two per cent. is entirely novel and without precedent."

It would hardly be worth while to point out the errors *seriatim* that occur in the foregoing quotation; but it is in order to inquire of Mr. Sherman, if he not measurably avoided the main question at issue, whether the national-bank bills furnished to the national banks by reason of their deposit of Government bonds as a security are a gift, a loan, or what are they?

Under the provisions of the national-banking law, is not the first step to organize a number of men, not less than five, into an association, with a capital of not less than \$50,000?

Is it not the second step for this bank organization to lend the Government not less than \$50,000 in current funds for twenty years, and to receive Government bonds drawing interest semi-annually?

Is it not the third step to deposit these bonds in the United States Treasury as security for 90 per cent. of their amount in national-bank notes, the Government printing this currency at its own expense?

And is not the fourth step that the banks must pay the Government semi-annually one per cent. upon the currency it has furnished? and should any bank fail to do so, is it not provided that the Government shall deduct that amount from the semi-annual interest accruing on these deposited bonds?

Now, if an affirmative answer may be made to these inquiries, is not the relation of the national banks to the Government a matter of mutual loans and interest?

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

104

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

Let the following quotation from a speech made in the United States Senate by Hon. P. B. Plumb be noticed:

"The Treasury Department is in active partnership with the national banks. The Secretary of the Treasury has loaned to the banks over \$61,000,000 of the public funds, instead of buying bonds and saving interest. He has chosen to do this, and up to date the banks have been willing to receive the money. *It costs them nothing, and they could loan it to the people at current rates of interest.*"

Now, when Senator Sherman says that "no such deposit was made by a Republican administration," can it be that he has really forgotten that while he was Secretary of the Treasury, from 1877 to 1881, he used the First National Bank of New York as a depository, and that the bank did not pay a cent of interest to the Government on deposits that probably brought it \$20,000,000 therefrom during Mr. Sherman's four-years' term? Could he also forget that he was a director and stockholder in this said bank? Can he believe that the ways of a selfish statesman are absolutely past finding out? Echo inquires, "Can he?"

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

CHAPTER X.

THE HISTORIC DAY OF APRIL 5, 1880.

In the House of Representatives, on April 5, 1880, Hon. James B. Weaver, of Iowa, after long and patient waiting, was enabled to get before the House the following resolutions, which seemed to the capitalistic managers in the body to be a regular hornet's nest thrust upon the believers of an "honest money," whose respectable and sole foundation was GOLD, and which Hon. James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, had characterized as "God's money"—the money made out of metal that Almighty God himself had virtually proclaimed as the monetary standard just and righteous for the children of men! But here are the well-chosen, well-worded resolutions:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this House that all currency, whether metallic or paper, necessary for the use and convenience of the people, should be issued and its volume controlled by the Government, and not by or through the bank corporations of the country; and when so issued, should be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private.

"Resolved, That in the judgment of this House, that portion of the interest-bearing debt of the United States which shall become redeemable in the year 1881, or prior thereto, being in amount \$782,000,000, should not be refunded beyond the power of the Government to call in said obligations and pay them at any time, but should be paid as rapidly as possible, and according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, the mints of the United States should be operated to their full capacity in the coinage of standard silver dollars and such other coinage as the business interests of the country may require."

THE LAST CONGRESSIONAL EFFORT OF MR. GARFIELD.—In December, 1863, Mr. Garfield entered the national House of Representatives, and Speaker Colfax assigned him on the standing committees a place down about the tail end of the Committee on Military Affairs, for he had made some history as chief on the staff of General Rosecrans, though some of it was made known in later days, through correspondence had with Hon. Salmon P. Chase. At the opening of a later session of Congress, the tradition is, as furnished by one of Mr. Garfield's campaign biographers in 1880, which was published by the Harper Brothers, that he went to Speaker Colfax and desired a place on a committee where he would have to study finance and political economy, for he knew nothing about them. But here is his display of financial knowledge in the following remarks made April 5, 1880:

"I never heard the provisions of this resolution until it was read from the desk a few moments ago. It has, however, attained some historical importance by being talked about a good deal in the newspapers, and by blocking the other business of the House for some weeks. As I listened to its reading, I noticed that it was one of



A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

those mixed propositions which has some good things in it which everybody would probably like and vote for if they were separated; but the good things are used to sugar over what, in my judgment, is most pernicious.

"There are three things in this resolution to which I call the attention of the House before they vote. The first is a proposition of the largest possible proportion—that all money, whether of coin or paper, that is to circulate in this country ought to be manufactured and issued directly by the Government. I stop there.

"I want to say on that proposition to the majority in this House [Democrats], who are so strongly opposed to what they call centralization, that never was there a measure offered to the Congress of so vast and far-reaching centralism. It would convert the treasury of the United States into a manufactory of paper money. It makes the House of Representatives and the Senate, or the caucus of the party which happens to be in the majority, the absolute dictator of the financial and business affairs of this country. This scheme surpasses all the centralism and all the Cæsarism that were ever charged upon the Republican party in the wildest days of the war, or in the events growing out of the war."

WAS EVER IGNORANT IMPERIALISM MORE FULLY EXHIBITED?—Think of this statesman panting to expose his profound knowledge of a monetary system, as portrayed in the foregoing haughty remarks, so fitly characteristic of a legislative, well-paid servant to the money centers of New York, London, and Frankfort-on-the-Main! Think of this great and good man's appeal to that House that had a handsome Democratic majority, to courageously resist (in the above resolutions) this "measure offered to the Congress of so vast and far-reaching centralism;" that "money should be manufactured and issued directly by the Government!" "To convert the treasury of the United States into a manufactory of paper money!" Oh! oh! But let us follow on to know this political philosopher:

"Now, I say, without fear of contradiction, that prior to 1862 the wildest dreamer in American finance was never wild enough to propose such a measure of centralization as that single proposition implies. The Government should prescribe general laws in reference to the quality and character of our paper money, but should never become the direct manufacturer and issuer of it.

"The second point involved in this resolution is, that the Government of the United States shall pay its public debts in this manufactured money—manufactured to order at the treasury factory. Notwithstanding the solemn acknowledged pledge of this Government to pay the principal and interest of its public debt in coin, this resolution declares that in this legal-tender paper the public debt shall be payable.

"Now the third point in this resolution is, that there shall be no refunding of the \$780,000,000 to fall due this year and next, but that all shall be paid. How? Out of the resources of the nation? Yes; but the money to be manufactured at the treasury is to be called part of these resources. Print it to death; that is the way to dispose of the public debt, says this resolution."

THE TRIPLE-HEADED MONSTER OF CENTRALIZATION, INFLATION, AND REPUDIATION.—The charge against patriotic people—who have had the best of reasons for opposing the merciless, oppressive and withering gold and national-bank monetary system, that might be spoken of, in connection with long-time, interest-bearing bonds, as a sort of direct legacy of fratricidal strife,

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

THE TRIPLE-HEADED MONSTER.

107

which culminated at length in armed hostility to the national Government — of belonging to a combination that made a "triple-headed monster of centralization, inflation, and repudiation," might startle one, had not such depraved, superserviceable folly been so many times put upon exhibition by the enslaved or purchased votaries of the money power. But hear Mr. Garfield's conclusion:

"I have only to say, that these three make the triple-headed monster, of centralization, inflation and repudiation combined. This monster is to be let loose on the country as the last spawn of the dying party that thought it had a little life in it a year ago.

"It is put out at this moment to test the courage of the two political parties; it is offered at this moment when the roar of the presidential contest comes to us from all quarters of the country. In a few moments we shall see what both the political parties will do with this beast. All I have to say for one is, meet it and throttle it; in the name of honesty, in the name of the public peace and prosperity, in the name of the rights of individual citizens of this country against centralism worse than we ever dreamed of, meet it and fight it like men. Let both parties show their courage by meeting boldly and putting an end to its power for mischief. Let the vote be taken."

As Representative Garfield was frequently claimed to be an eminently-classical statesman, he might have designated the "Weaver resolutions" as a BRIAREAN "monster," and thus have been more figurative in statement, though possibly less poetical. But notice the BATHOS, somewhat characteristic of this profound statesman, in his valiant command to Democrats and Republicans (both parties) to show their courage, to meet and throttle this beast, "which is offered at this moment when the roar of the presidential contest comes to us from all quarters of the country." "Throttle it," forsooth; "in the name of honesty, in the name of the public peace and prosperity, in the name of the rights of individual citizens of this country against centralism worse than we ever dreamed of, meet it and fight it like men!"

THE MONSTER LET LOOSE AS THE LAST SPAWN OF THE DYING PARTY. — In 1880, James A. Garfield and James B. Weaver were presidential candidates, the latter having been the candidate of the "spawn of the dying party that thought it had a little life in it a year ago."

In 1890 "this monster" was delivered of a "spawn," whose product was a very great surprise to men possessed of the ideas which Mr. Garfield clothed in bitter words on April 5, 1880. Since that day there has been a widening of the chasm between haughty capital and oppressed labor, and there is now such a fierce, irresistible conflict waged between these opposing forces, that one or the other must needs "go to the wall."

A hand-book devoted mainly to the money question

108

HAND-BOOK ON FINANCE.

Below are given some statistics that may have their uses.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE.

State.	Cooper, 1876.	Weaver, 1880.	Green- back gain.
Missouri.....	3,498	35,045	31,547
Michigan.....	9,060	34,795	25,735
Iowa.....	9,001	32,327	23,326
Texas.....		27,405	27,405
Illinois.....	17,233	26,358	9,125
Pennsylvania.....	7,187	20,668	13,481
Kansas.....	6,876	19,710	12,166
Indiana.....	9,533	12,986	3,353
New York.....	1,987	12,373	10,386
Kentucky.....	1,944	11,498	9,554
West Virginia.....	1,373	9,079	7,706
Wisconsin.....	1,509	7,980	6,471
Ohio.....	3,057	6,456	3,399
Tennessee.....		5,916	5,916
Mississippi.....		5,797	5,797

No State is reported that cast less than 5,000 Greenback votes.

Eight speeches on these resolutions, other than the Garfield speech, were made, and, when the vote was taken, votes were cast for the measure from two-thirds of the States, but Messrs. James B. Belford, of Colorado, and William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, were the only Republicans among the eighty-four yeas.

WAS THE LION BEARDED IN HIS DEN; THE GARFIELD IN HIS HALL? —There was in that Congress a Representative whose home was then at Indianapolis, Indiana, the beautiful city where our President Harrison resides. There was a beauty and harmony in the dwelling-place of the Congressman referred to, and it was ever sacred to peace and love. This gentleman was a minister of the gospel that had been proclaimed by the Prince of Peace, and he seemed ever willing to blow the trumpet in the political and spiritual Zion, and to sound an alarm even in the hall of the House of Representatives. Like Thomas Jefferson, he could tremble for his country, "remembering that God is just, and that His justice cannot sleep forever." And here are given some of the remarks of this patriotic statesman, who did not fear to follow Mr. Garfield — Hon. Gilbert De La Matyr:

"The short, terse and comprehensive resolutions under discussion, and the equally terse, clear and comprehensive speech of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield), who is, unquestionably, the ablest leader of the hard-money party of the country, present the vital issues pending in our politics.

"The resolutions state: *First*, That the people, through their Government, should resume their constitutional right to issue and control the volume of currency. *Second*, That the money thus issued and controlled in volume shall be full legal tender, making it of uniform value. *Third*, That the portion of the bonded debt, soon to be payable, at the option of the Government, should be paid as rapidly as practicable, and not refunded in a manner to forbid the Government the option of paying