The Farmers' Alliance,
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J. BURROWS .....Editor
J. M. THOMPSON.....Business Manager

"In the beauty of the lillies
Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom
That transfigures you and me.
As he strove to make men holy
Let us strive to make them free,
Since God is marching on."
—*Julia Ward Howe.*

"Laurel crowns cleave to deserts,
And power to him who power exerts."

"A ruddy drop of manly blood
The surging sea outweighs."
—*Emerson.*

"He who cannot reason is a fool,
He who will not reason is a coward,
He who dare not reason is a slave."

N. R. P. A.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE

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LINCOLN, NEBRASKA.

J. BURROWS, Editor.
J. M. THOMPSON, Business Ma'gr.

The Great Alliance Weekly and the Leading Independent Paper of the State.

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Lincoln, Nebraska.

THE TWO FUNDS.

We invite attention to our propositions for raising an Alliance library fund and an Independent campaign fund, published on the inside of this issue. We are offering one fifth of every subscription sent for that purpose, to one of those funds. We desire this offer to be appreciated, and want a hearty response to it. We have a right to expect that much. If the offer is not responded to heartily we shall withdraw it, though we don't expect to do so. But systematic work should be started in each precinct to swell these funds.

A JUDICIAL CURIOSITY.

Are There Any More of the Same Sort?

We have received the following letter from our esteemed friend Hon. E. O. Kretsinger, of Beatrice. We honor the man who takes the stand on the pass question that Judge Babcock does. We have published the names of some officials who have passes. We take pleasure in publishing the name of this judge who does not accept them; and we shall be very glad indeed to enlarge the list. The day will come when it will be a disgrace to accept free transportation from railroad corporations. Here is the letter:

BEATRICE NEB., JAN. 26, 1892.

HON. J. BURROWS, DEAR SIR:—If you wish to commend a judge of the district court in Nebraska who refuses to accept passes from the railroads, Judge A. H. Babcock, of this city is the man. He deems it highly improper for a judge to place himself under obligations to the railroads by accepting their passes. He is the only judge I know of in Nebraska that takes such an honest view of the matter I assure you that I consider it refreshing in this corporate-cursed state to know *one* judge who will not accept favors from one class of wealthy litigants.

I am sincerely yours,
E. O. KRETSINGER.

AGAINST LABOR.

The new Lincoln daily, the *Evening Sun*, has made a bad break at the start in refusing to hire union printers. The unions have of necessity condemned it and placed it under a boycott which will array the whole laboring class against it. It cannot hope to rival the *Journal* in serving the capitalist class, and if it so early antagonizes the working class it will stand a good chance to get ground to powder between the two opposing forces.

HON. J. H. BROADY.

Judge Broady, late of Beatrice, has removed to Lincoln, where he has engaged in the practice of the law. Judge Broady is one of the ablest and best known jurists of the west. That a large practice will fall to his share goes without saying. His office is in the Burr block.

The Speculators and the Washburn Bill.

We find in the *Chicago Trade Bulletin* of Jan. 21st the protest of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce against the Washburn Bill for preventing option dealing. The protest is so full of untruths that it seems strange that respectable merchants could be found who would consent to put their names to it. It states that the selling of futures is necessary to preserve the dealer's credit and financial security. It seems peculiar that the selling of products one does not own, and never expects to, which have no actual existence, should be a safer basis of credit and financial security than selling products which the seller actually owns.

It also states that except for the sales of futures there would be "great difficulty in getting money" with which to buy the grain. That is to say, wind grain, which the seller doesn't own and which has no existence except in imagination, is better security on which to borrow money than the actual stuff in store.

This protest complains that the Washburn bill would limit buyers and destroy competition—would drive out of the business all but two classes, viz: Millers and exporters; and it claims that the carrying expenses and losses are paid by speculators, and do not lessen the price obtained by farmers.

What the bill aims at is to have actual produce behind every sale. If persons wish to speculate in grain the bill would not prevent them. Every purchaser could sell again. That the bill would limit the number of persons who were striving to break the market is probably true. Therein would lie one of its chief benefits.

The protest denies that the future selling of grain tends to lower prices. If it is grain that is sold this is correct. But if shorts are sold it does tend to lower prices. They think the short side is too dangerous a one to be taken deliberately, but there has been plenty of *brave* traders found willing to take that side and take it with big amounts too. Why don't they take the bull side? Oh that is too hard work—breaking the market is easier.

It is all stuff their saying that "the short seller can never sell a bushel more futures than he buys, for all contracts must be complete at maturity by delivery of the property." It requires a great deal of gall for a respectable merchant to make such a statement.

Continuing they say, "that the practice of future selling for speculation pure and simple tends rather to enhance values than depreciate them," that is, the more you offer for sale of a thing the higher the price you get for it. Any friend of the Washburn Bill can see that it will not restrict buyers, and farmers would be only too glad to pay a wider margin if necessary to those buying the actual grain if they could be relieved of the baneful *competition* of sales by non owners.

They claim the markets are much steadier than formerly. Steadier downward would be more like the truth.

The statement that it is desirable to substitute speculation and uncertainty for legitimate business and certainty caps the climax in that wonderful document from the Minneapolis so-called Chamber of Commerce. Stop this worse than horse stealing.

The Great Industrial Conference.

Official information for the great Industrial Conference to be held in St. Louis, February 22, 1892. The following rates of transportation have been secured:

States of Kansas and Nebraska. One lowest first class fare for round trip to St. Louis. Dates of sale February 20th to 22d inclusive, with return limit March 10th. From points in Kansas on the M. K. & T. and K. C. F. S. & M. R. R's, tickets will also be on sale February 23d.

Hotel accommodations have been arranged for at from 50 cents to one dollar per day for room, no board; and in hotels and select boarding houses, convenient to the exposition building where the meetings of the convention will be held, at from $1.25 to $2.00 per day for room and board.

If you desire your accommodation secured in advance, please state the price you desire to pay for room, or room and board, and whether you desire committee rooms at your hotels or not. Any request will receive prompt attention and no charge for services rendered. It is recommended that delegates have their quarters secured in advance.

For hotel accommodations address all communications to

M. F. DOUD,
Chairman Merchants' Hotel and Boarding Bureau, 56 Mitchell Building.

For further particulars as to transportation of delegates, headquarters for the different labor organizations and other matters pertaining to the conference address

S. H. SNIDER,
Chairman committee on arrangements, Hotel Richelieu, St. Louis, Mo.

The Reform Press association will meet in St. Louis on the 19th of February, 1892. Editors of reform papers will please look after transportation on local lines that do not run into St. Louis. Headquarters for the Press association will be at the Hotel Richelieu.

For information regarding meeting of Press association, address

W. S. MORGAN,
Sec'y-Treas., St. Louis, Mo.

One by One the Roses Fall.

S. H. Sornberger, of Wahoo, who was active in the independent campaign last fall, and who had the presumption to aspire to a nomination for district judge on the independent ticket, has received the g. b. from the Elkhorn road. He was acting as its attorney in Saunders county. This is well. The road don't tolerate independents in its offices.

Mr. S. has formed a law partnership with Geo. W. Simpson of Wahoo. It will be a strong firm.

POWDERLY'S NATIVITY.

We have received a sketch of Mr. Powderly's life, which we will publish next week, from Mr. O. P. Waltman, of Redington, Neb. Mr. W. states that Mr. Powderly was born at Carbondale, Pa., January 22, 1849, and that his parents came from Ireland. If this is so of course Mr. Powderly is eligible for president.

GOVERNOR BOYD.

Let Us Have No More Monkeying.

Jas. E. Boyd has been declared a citizen of the United States by the highest judicial authority in the land, and is, therefore, eligible to the office of Governor, to which he was declared elected by the Legislature in joint convention.

The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court was withheld, *by railroad influence*, until just before the court adjourned for six weeks.

So, in the regular official course, it will be two months or more before Mr. Boyd can be given the place he is by law entitled to.

But there is another course which may be pursued. Gov. Thayer can voluntarily relinquish possession of the office to which he has now no legal tenure.

Railroad influence is being brought to bear to induce Gov. Thayer to contest possession inch by inch, and to hold the office to the last moment.

This is done because G W. Holdrege *et al* fear that Gov. Boyd will call an extra session of the legislature to district the state and reduce railroad rates.

Now we have just this to say: If Gov. Thayer wishes to cover his name with infamy, and sacrifice the last particle of respect the people of this state have for him, he will do as the railroads wish. If he wishes to place himself in an honorable position before the people of Nebraska he will see Gov. Boyd installed in his office with the least possible delay.

We say this, occupying an absolutely neutral position between these two men.

Gov. Thayer has this morning refused to inform us what he will do.

MR. BRYAN'S BILLS.

We have received from Hon. W. P. Bryan printed copies of his bills to place on the free list barbed wire and iron rods for fencing, salt, binding twine and lumber. These are four separate bills. Of course each will have to be acted upon on its merits. We have also received a copy of his joint resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people of the several states whenever they shall make provision for same by statute or constitution.

This resolution is in direct line with the Alliance demand, and should pass.

THE ALLIANCE LOSING GROUND.

O. O. Outcalt, clerk of the district court of Coffee Co., Kansas, writes us:

The Alliance is losing ground here—so say the republican papers. It is true in a sense. I have just issued twelve orders of sale—mortgage foreclosures, involving 2,005 acres of land and nine town lots. The judgments aggregate $44,583 79. Looks like losing ground with a vengeance, dosn't it?

NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

The meeting of the National Farmers' Alliance in Chicago last week was well attended, and was called to order promptly by President Powers. Major McClaughry, chief of police of Chicago welcomed the delegates in a hearty graceful speech, which was responded to by Mr. Powers in his best vein. Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Nebraska and Washington were represented.

The committee on resolutions consisted of Allen Root, of Nebraska, Joshua Crawford of Ohio, J. H. Saunders of Iowa, Wm Kruesh of Indiana, Geo. D. Brown of Pennsylvania, D. F. Raven of Washington and Milton George of Illinois.

D. F. Raven of Washington (state) was elected President. The Vice-Presidents chosen were, A. E Bronson of Illinois, J. J. Furlong of Minnesota, W. A. Kelsey of Indiana, G. W. Moore of Pennsylvania, O. Hull of Nebraska, J. H. Saunders of Iowa, D. E. Hedges of Washington, and W. K. Lickens of Ohio. Prof. Adolph d'Allemand of Nebraska was elected Secretary-Treasurer. G. E. Lawrence of Ohio was elected National Lecturer and G. M. Brown of Pennsylvania Assistant Lecturer.

The committee of Education chosen was, Mrs. J. A. Pratt of Nebraska, P. H. Donlon of Iowa, Joshua Crawford of Ohio, Milton George of Illinois, and J. C. Van Patton of Washington.

The matter of sending delegates to the St. Louis conference which meets Feb. 22 was left to the individual states. Nebraska with a much larger delegation than the other states was solidly in favor, the other states voted not to be represented there, except a section of Iowa, which sends three delegates.

President Powers in his annual address stated that the impression that the Alliance attempts to oppose other legitimate interests is wrong. He spoke at length and ably upon the reforms needed in the nation.

Hon. Ignatius Donnelly spoke of the effort that was being made by leading members of the prohibition, national reform and people's party to bring these forces together in one party. He favored the plan proposed by Mr. Washburn of the people's party for the nationalization of the liquor traffic eliminating the element of profit and explained fully the details of the plan. His speech was well received.

State Assembly K. of L.

State Assembly K. of L., has just closed its seventh annual session at Omaha, and the meeting was one of much interest. Nearly every assembly in the state was represented and business of much interest to the organization transacted. The local assemblies of Omaha did much to make the visit of the delegates to their city a pleasant one and the entertainment given by the working girls at exposition hall on Monday evening was thoroughly enjoyed by all.

The local committees succeeded in raising by subscription and other means over $200 to assist the state assembly in defraying the expenses of the assembly, and proper resolutions were adopted thanking the local committees, the members and the people of Omaha, who so generously contributed to this fund.

The reports of the officers showed a steady growth throughout the year and bright prospects for future work and usefulness. An increase in membership of 26 per cent over last year was noted, increase of locals paying tax 45 per cent over last year and increase in receipts over that of last year nearly 200 per cent.

The treasurer's report showed a healthy financial condition and reported a considerable balance on hand.

Shall We Have Free and Unlimited Silver Coinage.

JOINT DISCUSSION BY EDWARD ROSEWATER AND J. BURROWS.

MR. ROSEWATER'S ARGUMENT.

SECOND ARTICLE.

1. I fully agree with Mr. Burrows that the vital point at issue in the present discussion is the expediency of free and unlimited coinage of silver as it affects the welfare of our people. I cheerfully concede that we ought to have free and unlimited coinage if thereby the welfare of our people could be promoted. If a mere increase in the volume of money, regardless of its exchange value or purchasing power, would insure general prosperity, it would be manifestly the duty of every government to bend all its energies toward increasing the volume of its stock of money. If, as Mr Burrows insists, the intrinsic or commercial value of metallic money cuts no figure, every nation could at pleasure enormously increase its volume of money by reducing the weight and quality of its coins.

2. What Mr. Burrows means by saying that the volume of money "involves the question of prices or the relative purchasing power of products or labor, and money" is not very clear. If he had said that the volume of money regulates to a certain extent its purchasing power of products and labor I would concur, but the form in which he states his preposition is as misleading as is the declaration that "in this issue the interests of the money-lender, or the fixed income class, or the creditor class, are at varience with the interests of the producers, the merchants, the mechanics, the debtor class."

3. The advocates of free coinage assert that unlimited and free coinage will enormously increase the volume of money and that an increase in our stock of money would make money cheaper. In other words, they assume that money is governed by the same law that governs all other commodities, which fall in price when abundant and rise in price when scarce. But this is not true as regards the price or "rate of interest" which money commands in the loan market. A large volume of money always begets increased speculation. When money is plenty men are willing to venture upon enterprises that promise large returns, and the money-lender finds no difficulty in raising his interest rates. During the inflation period following the war the money-lending and income class were in high clover. Cheap money loaned on choice city property and farm mortgage securities at from 10 to 12 per cent a year, while what is termed dear money at the present time can be had in abundance on the same class of securities at from 6 to 7 per cent per annum. Every intelligent person knows that the money loaned by bankers is chiefly other people's money. When there is a money stringency or prospect of a panic every prudent banker hauls in his sails by cutting down his line of loans or refusing to loan at any price for fear that the depositors may make a run on his bank. When business is dull and money scarce, deposits run low and legitimate banking yields much smaller profits than in flush times, when loans are made freely and mercantile failures less frequent.

4. The hue and cry that the opposition to free coinage is in the interest of the income class is also unfounded. The fixed income class, if that means the bondholders, were much better off when gold was at a high premium and paper money was superabundant. Money was cheaper then. Ten per cent state, city and county bonds sold at a discount and Uncle Sam paid 5 and 6 per cent on gilt-edged, nontaxable bonds. Today, with what is called dear money, state, county and city bonds drawing 3½ to 5 per cent command a premium and national bonds sell readily at 2 per cent. The bloated bondholders have suffered a greater shrinkage of their fixed income during the past twenty years than would have paid the principal of our entire war debt. The only bond holders that have made large profits are those who have bought their bonds at a discount. There is one class of fixed income people who would suffer by the unlimited coinage of 73-cent dollars, and that is the veterans of the late war and their widows and orphans on the national pension roll. It is to their interest to have a sound currency that will enable them to buy the largest amount of things with the money they get from Uncle Sam. Conceding that free coinage means the raising of the price of commodities it becomes self-evident that the soldiers, and sailors' widows on the pension roll would suffer a shrinkage of their incomes, unless they could induce the government to raise their pensions in proportion, which of course would be improbable. Assuming however that the government might increase these pensions, it would simply mean a forced increase of the pension roll by from ten to twenty millions a year and a corresponding increase of taxes. The advocates of unlimited coinage never tire of holding up the men and women who rely for their livlihood upon fixed incomes as a dangerous class. They forget that hundreds of thousands of these persons are widows and orphans whose patrimony and heritage has been invested in securities by admistrators and guardians.

5. And who are the debtor class and who will profit by the proposed unlimited coinage of silver? The Union and Central Pacific railroads owe the government over $100,000,000, which begins to fall due in 1893, and must all be paid within the next seven years unless the debt is extended. Will it promote the welfare of our people to allow J. Gould and Leland Stanford to pay the debt in depreciated silver dollars instead of money that passes current in all parts of the world.

6. The Union and Central Pacific are not the only corporations that belong to the debtor class. The lowest estimate of the debt of the railroads of the United States exceeds $6,000,000,000. What benefit will the people derive from scaling that colossal debt, unless indeed they buy up the railroads entirely with an irredeemable paper currency? Every large corporation, the Standard oil monopoly, the Whiskey trust, the Brewery trust, the Sugar trust, the Steel Beam trust and all the big and little trusts that have been built up by combination of capital have plastered their possessions with mortgages to the tune of millions upon millions, and therefore they rightfully belong to the debtor class.

7. And then there are the coal barons, the iron and copper mine speculators, and the silver bullionaires and gold quartz millionaires. Every productive mine in America is bonded for all or more than it can produce. Their owners are among the most grasping of our capitalists. Will it promote the public welfare to give this imperious class of debtors the right to scale their honest obligations? Last, but not least, why should the silver mine bullionaire be given the privilege of selling the products of his mines at 30 per cent above its commercial value and paying his debt in money worth 30 per cent less than its face value.

8. Mr. Burrows' conception about the function of mints is, to use a mild term, decidedly crude. The aim of all governments has been to issue coins of weight and fineness corresponding as near as possible in their value to the commercial value of the metal contained therein. Very slight fluctuations have been unavoidable, but whenever the variation of standard coins is material they are recoined. Subsidary coin is usually below standard and intended only for local circulation in limited quantities. Even these are recoined periodically when reduced below standard weight by wear and tear.

9. At the risk of being branded as very reckless and superficial, I take issue with Mr. Burrows when he declares that a coin cannot be said to be debased unless it contains less metal than the law requires. The doctrine that the king can do no wrong has long since been exploded. It is a matter of history that kings and parliaments have by decrees and laws arbitrarily raised the face value of coins above the commercial rating of the metal they contained. Such coins did not contain less metal than the law required, but they were denominated all the world over as debased coin, the same as if they had been fraudulently alloyed or reduced in weight by the sweating process.

10. Mr. Burrows lets the fiat cat out of the bag when he asks:

11. "Suppose the silver and gold coins of this country should be diminished just one-half, what would result? Prices in this country, measured by our coin, would be doubled, but it would have no effect whatever upon our foreign trade. Gold and silver would pay balances on exactly the same basis as before, viz; their commodity value."

12. Well, what would be the result? Would it be anything else than national repudiation by a debased currency?

13 If we can increase the volume of money by a simple fiat that will convert every fifty-cent piece into a dollar, why not go a step further and decree that a dime shall be a legal tender for a dollar? That would increase the price of all commodities tenfold and make debt-paying so much easier. But what would become of the poor man who has nothing to sell except his labor and has everything to buy? Wages are always the last thing to advance and the first to go down.

14. What would become of the wage-workers who have by hard labor and thrift, saved up the surplus of their scanty earnings and placed it in savings banks with a view to buying a home or meeting want and distress in a rainy day?

15. It is passing strange that no champion of free silver has yet discovered the fact that several millions of workingmen and working women belong to the income class. The indebtedness of the savings banks and trust companies to a great multitude of wageworkers is computed at over $2,500,000,000. How would these industrious toilers fare if they were paid back in depreciated money the hard-earned savings which represent labor paid for at gold standard wages? Would it not be downright robbery to pay back these working people in dollars that would buy only 50 cents worth of commodities? I boldly assert that any party or individual that would advocate a law that would give the savings banks the privilege of paying back honest savings in depreciated currency is simply advocating legalized robbery.

16 Mr. Burrows denies that the government stamp does not add to value and he cites the fact that 371¼ grains of pure silver when stamped (coined) as $1 will pay a dollar of debt while 371¼ grains of unstamped pure silver will only be taken by your creditor at its commodity price 73 cents. What is the difference exclaims Mr. Burrows. "One bears the evidence that the law has said it shall pass current for a dollar. The other does not. Consequently coining has added value." Now what is the difference? Would not a piece of tin or a piece of leather with a dollar stamp pay a debt for $1 if made a legal tender? Would not a paper dollar perform the same function, although 100 paper dollars reduced to pulp would not pass current for a farthing?

17. Why then does the 73 cent silver dollar and the valueless paper dollar pay one dollar of debt? Simply because these dollars are redeemable for 100 cents in gold at the national treasury, and therefore they are as valuable as the gold dollar for which they can be exchanged. Why is our government able to exchange the depreciated silver dollars at their full value in gold? Simply and only because the coinage of silver is limited. If it were free to all owners of bullion the treasury vaults would be drained of gold in less than twelve months and the country would be on a silver basis like Mexico, China, Japan and India.

18. Mr. St. John, president of a New York bank that is reputed to be largely interested with the bullionaires in booming mining stocks, points triumphantly to France, is cited by Mr. B. as saying:

> 19. After 276 years of widely varying average relative prices of gold and silver, under moderate variations of relative product, on barely averaging 3 per cent, the mints of France alone for a period of sixty-two years, to 1885, under variations of relative production exceeding 19 per cent, maintained a practically unvarying average relative price in market for gold and silver in spite of divergent coinage laws. * * * * * * *
>
> 20. Under equally free coinage for gold and silver, owners of either bullion sought the mints of France at a value fixed for them, price paid for them in purchasing power decreed by law. In consequence in the period 1821 to 1840, $442,000,000 of the world's abundant silver was welcomed into the legal tender silver coin of France.

What are the historic facts?

21. In 1726 the ratio of gold to silver was placed at 1.14 5-8. An ounce of gold was worth more than 14 5 8 ounces of silver, and consequently gold soon disappeared from circulation. Adam Smith, having visited France in 1764, said: "It is there difficult to get more gold than what is necessary to carry in your pocket."

22. In 1785, Louis XVI., in an edict, calls attention to the fact that the legal ratio of gold to silver differing from the commercial ratio, had as to the gold coins "originated the speculation of selling them to the foreigner, and offers the temptation of a great profit to those who may allow themselves to melt them down." He then ordains that "every gold mark of 24 carats fine shall be worth 15½ marks of silver 12 deniers fine." This established the French ratio of 15½:1 still existing. In 1790 the revolutionists had control of France. They had confiscated lands of the clergy the year before. They wanted money. So they conceived the ingenious idea of using paper money, which they called assignats, basing their value on these confiscated lands. In April they issued 400,000,000 francs as assignats. In September 800,000,000 more. This they declared would be the last. The assignats worked beautifully. Everybody received and exchanged them at full value. Then someone said, just as the greenback inflationists said in the seventies and just as silver men say now: "If this franc is as good as any other franc, how can we have too many of them? The law makes the value of money." So the presses were set to work and within a few years they had issued over forty-five billions of those paper francs. The government seemed surprised that any one should make a difference between a coin franc and a paper franc—and a law was passed that any one making such a difference in trade should be imprisoned for six years. They could jail individuals, but they couldn't jail natural laws. No one would exchange one coin franc for less than nearly 200 paper francs. Then in 1796 these political economists tried another experiment. They cut up the confiscated lands into exact parcels, exchanged the assignats at about three per cent of their face value for what they called mandats, and proclaimed that the holder of mandats could select any parcel of this land and pay in mandats Within a few months the mandats were worth one-seventh of their face value, and they were soon wiped out altogether.

23. In 1803 the ratio of 15½:1 was reenacted. Mr. Chevalier, the eminent French economic authority, writes:

> 24. In the year 1803, when the ratio of 1:15½ between the metals was established, this ratio actually existed in the commercial world; but little by little it changed, and soon gold came to be worth ordinarily a little more than 15½ times as much as silver. This discrepancy sufficed to retire gold from circulation. A few years after the passage of the law of 1803, gold became so scarce that people had to buy it of the money changers when they wanted to carry that kind of cash on their journeys. In fact, the circulation of the two metals side by side had ceased to exist shortly after the year 1803, and twenty five years after that date the circulation consisted of silver only.

25. Sir G. B. Airy, the royal astronomer of England, wrote:

> In the year 1826 I spent some time in France. The gold coin was a little too rich, and no gold coin could be got. The better class of farmers went to market followed by their servants, who carried huge bags of five franc pieces. In 1839 I again passed through France; I wished for gold, and obtained it by paying a heavy prime.

26. In 1848 came the increased production of gold in Russia, in 1849 in California, in 1851 in Australia. Silver soon rose to a value higher than 15½:1 and, consequently, silver rushed out of France at such a rate that a commission even reported the advisability of placing an export duty on silver.

27. Early in the '60s Gresham's law had pushed out from France even the fractional silver coins to such an extent that it became a great public inconvenience. Investigation showed that Belgium and Switzerland were similarly troubled, the result was the organization of the Latin Monetary union in 1865, comprising France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. Later, Greece became a member also. All these countries use the franc system of money. They agreed on a basis of silver coinage, reducing the metallic value of the subsidiary coins. After 1859, silver had again taken the downward course which has characterized its value through the centuries In 1867, at the international monetary conference held at Paris under the presidency of Prince Napolean, it was decided, without a dissenting vote, that gold should be the sole money standard. The spirit of silver demonetization was abroad. Silver had been out of circulation so long in the United States that Mr. Ruggles, the American delegate, in reply to a question of Prince Napoleon, said: "Though the double standard still exists legislatively in the United States, it is virtually abolished in practice, and hence the United States has the gold standard alone." In 1871, after the Franco-German war, Germany decided to place itself on the gold standard, and to demonetize silver. Between 1873 and 1879 Germany sold $140,000,000 dollars of her silver. The neighboring countries which up to that time, had always maintained the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver, became alarmed at the threatened influx of silver and expulsion of gold. So in 1874 the Latin union met, and from that year on there has been no free and unlimited coinage of silver in France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. In 1878 they stopped the coinage of legal tender silver in toto, so that for thirteen years our much applauded bimettalic France has not coined a single legal tender silver coin.

Mr. Burrows takes me to task for quoting historical statements in what he is pleased to call "the most appalling and reckless manner." He ventures to impeach the correctness of the figures I have cited touching the coinage of standard silver dollars. I can only excuse his fearful misstatements in regard to silver coinage by supposing that he has never studied coinage statistics and made his computations from the wrong columns of his financial abstract.

My figures were taken from the official report of Edward O. Leech, director of the United States mint for 1890, bound volume, pages 261 and 263, also the report of director Leech for the fiscal year 1891, bound volume page 213 and 215.

According to Mr. Burrows, the total coinage of silver dollars in 1850 was $1,866,100 and of the minor coins $44,467.50. According to Mr. Leech, the coinage of 1850 consisted of silver dollars, $47,500; half dollars, $1,341,500; quarter dollars $150,700; dimes, $244,150; half dimes$82,250.

Mr. Burrows asserts that during 1851 there were coined, silver dollars, $774,397; minor silver coin, $99.635 43. In 1852, silver dollars, $99,410; minor coins $50,630 94

The director of the mint officiellyreparts in 1851 only 1,300 silver dollars coined; coinage in half dollars, $391-375; quarters, $62,000; in dimes $142,740; in half dimes $82,059; in 3-cent pieces, $185.022. In 1852 the coinage of silver dollars was but $1,100; half dollars, $110,565; quarters, $68.265; dimes $196,550; half dimes, $63,025; 3-cent pieces, $550,965.

Mr. Burrows exclaims "Isn't it strange that in stating the gold coinage for the same year Mr. Rosewater should be correct?" Why is it strange as regards gold when I am also correct as regards silver coinage?

Mr. Burrows flatly contradicts my statement that from 1805 to 1835, during a period of 30 years, not a single standard silver dollar, or any other silver dollar, was coined in the United States, and Mr. Burrows makes the reckless assertion that during that period there was coined $41,372 867 in silver dollars, besides several million in minor silver coins, which he had not taken the trouble to compute.

This is decidedly rich. I take it that the director of the mint ought to know as much about the coinage as Mr. Burrows, and the director's official report shows that not a single silver dollar was coined between the years 1805 and 1835, but that during those thirty years there were coined in half dollars $38,452,398; in quarters, $729 337.74; in in dimes, $922,469.40; in half dimes $514,385.

Mr. B. Says that in 1836 3,606,100 standard silver dollars were coined.

Director Leech reports only 1,000 standard silver dollars coined in 1836.

To recapitulete all of the fictitious figures vouched for by Mr. Burrows as exact facts would exceed my alloted space. Suffice it to say that he has massed all his little tornadoes into one grand cyclone of inexactness when he asserts that the total coinage of silver dollars from 1792 to 1873 was $147,599,897. According to the unimpeachable authority of Director Leech of the United States mint, and several of his predecessors the coinage of silver dollars for the eighty years was only a fraction over $8,000,000 or in round numbers $183,000,000 below Mr. B's cyclonic computation.

I am not up to Mr. Burrows in hocus pocus omnibus Latin, but in plain Anglo-Saxon I repeat back—false in one, false in all!

The whole fabric of false deductions, on which Mr. Burrows bases his arguments relating to silver coinage, which prove not to be facts, falls to the ground with his facts.

I am amazed that a man of Mr. Burrows' penetration should be led into such inexcusable blunders. The figures I have cited have been time and again quoted in both houses of congress and no free coinage advocate has ever before dared to call their accuracy in question.

Inasmuch as this is a friendly discussion of an important economic issue I entertain no doubt but that Mr. Burrows will do me justice by a manly and frank admission that my historic statement concerning the coinage of standard silver dollars is correct.

MR. BURROWS' REPLY.

The question of the volume of money (see Mr. R.'s first paragraph) is the vital question at issue. But not "regardless of its exchange value or purchasing power." Its volume determines its exchange value. If this were not so Shylock would never have conspired to demonetize silver, and thereby halve its volume and double its purchasing power. My supposition as to making our dollars of half their present weight was a mere illustration. Mr. R. has chosen to reply to it as an argument. As I used the illustration it is correct.

In paragraph second Mr. R attacks the interest problem, and shows an entire misunderstanding of the principles which control it. He says "a large volume of money always begets increased speculation." This is one of those common assertions that will not bear investigation. A large volume of money increases all legitimate business enterprises. There are always a certain proportion of men who prefer speculation. In prosperous times this proportion is fairly maintained. But in times of depression, like the present, the proportion of speculators is much greater than in times of prosperity. In stringent times legitimate business languishes, money accumulates at financial centers, and seeks speculative enterprises where rewards may be large, and time of investment short. In such times, also, interest on long time loans is nominally low, while on short time loans it is abnormally high. That is exactly the situation at the present time, and for some time past. The past ten years has been peculiarly a speculative decade. I suppose there has never before been a decade when there was so much speculation in proportion to legitimate trade. Nor has there ever been a decade when the burden of interest was so great. Interest, as well as all debts, is paid in products. The price of products determines the burden of interest. With wheat at 50 cents a bushel it takes just twice as much to pay a given sum of interest as it does at a dollar a bushel, though the nominal rate of interest in each case is the same. As a matter of fact the 10 and 12 per cent interest in Mr. R 's first period was lower, and less of a burden, than the 6 and 7 per cent at the present time. One has only to consult the prices current in the two terms to be convinced of this fact. The men who were borrowers then, and are now, well know this to be true.

Mr R. says the fixed income class, "if this means the bondholders, were much better off when gold was at a high premium and paper money was superabundant." If that is true they did not know when they were well off, and made some gross mistakes. The bondholders hastened by the credit strengthening act, to change the terms of payment of $1,500,000,000 of United States bonds from lawful money to coin—they hastened to destroy the lawful money and come to a specie basis—they hastened for the very purpose of diminishing the volume of money, to demonetize silver at a time when the bonded debt of the world was the greatest at any period of its history. They showed that they preferred to double the purchasing power of money and diminish the nominal rate of interest one-half. And if Mr. R. will recall his forgotten Dabold he will discover that they were very right. In doubling the purchasing power of money they doubled the value of their principal, while it the rate of interest was only half what it was before its purchasing power was not lessened. If this is true Mr. R.'s assertion that "the bondholders have suffered a greater shrinkage of their incomes during the past twenty years than would have paid the national debt," is simply absurd. And facts prove that it is as absurd practically as it is in theory. The enormous concentration of wealth in the past twenty years is well-known. Who has got it? All the figures lately compiled snow that the fixed income class has got it. They have got it because the peoples' debts remained payable in dollars, unscaled, while the purchasing power of dollars, and the accumulative power of interest, were doubled. The facts are so plain that I deem argument superfluous.

But when Mr. R. attempts to define the debtor class he caps the climax of absurdity, and shows a beclouded mental condition that is amazing. (See paragraphs 3 and 4.) He has strangely omitted the national bankers from his list of poor debtors. The creditor or fixed income class is that class which derives its income from rents and interest in their different forms, in money. That this class may owe bonds makes no difference. In the case of the railroads those bonds are never intended to be paid. This interest is an expense account, of the same nature as operating or repair accounts. These corporations have "beplastered their possessions with mortgages" so that they can more conveniently and secretly bring to bear against the people the ever-working, all-absorbing, silent, omnipotent power of interest. They have plastered them with mortgages representing fictitious investments to conceal the enormous returns they receive on capital actually invested. If the debt of the Pacific road is ever paid it will be paid in money earned by the people. And is it not better that they should obtain that money in fair prices for their products, such as they would receive under the double standard, rather than in production at starvation prices, as at present?

The cheekiest thing connected with this silver controversy is found in the accusation that the free coinage men wish to scale their obligations and pay their debt in depreciated dollars. Every man at all posted on the question knows that the money power of this country and the world performed on two occasions the most gigantic job of scaling the world has ever seen—first when it changed the standard of payment of fifteen hundred millions of bonds, second when it demonetized silver. It doubled the value of every dollar, and doubled the burden of every debt, by those acts. We never had a depreciated silver dollar until congress, at the bidding of that power, demonetized silver. We would have a depreciated gold dollar to-day if the same means were used to depreciate it, and we will have no more depreciated silver dollars as soon as silver is restored to free and unlimited coinage.

In connection with his sympathy with the railroads, whiskey trusts, etc., whom Mr. Resewater fears will be